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TOWARD A SOURCE BOOK FOR THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOL IN MODERN JEWISH HISTORY - FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT.

by

STEVEN BENNETT JACOBS

v. 1

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters
and Ordination

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1967

Referee, Prof. Sylvan Schwartzman

Coreferee, Prof. Stanley Chyet

TO MY DARLING WIFE

GINGER

WHO HAS MADE ME A COMPLETE

MAN, FULFILLED AS HUSBAND

FATHER AND STUDENT

GIVE HER OF THE FRUIT OF HER HANDS

AND LET HER WORKS PRAISE
HER IN THE GATES

DIGEST

This Source Book for the Religious School in Modern Jewish History covers the period from the French Revolution up to the present. Its purpose is to present history by exposing students to the documents which historians use to reconstruct the past. The religious school student has more often than not, been bored by Jewish history. Through the use of documents, Jewish history can be taught as something viable, something excitingly alive. The student can be made to feel that all at once he is identifying with the Jew of the past as both the object and subject of history.

This manuscript has been divided into four sections. The first deals with the Jew as the object of history. Major documents dealing with Anti-Semitism in Russia, France, elsewhere in Europe as well as in the United States are included. The second section deals with the Emancipation of the Jew and how he was ushered into a new world. In the last two sections, the Jew is seen acting for himself: the third section deals with the development of Zionism and the age-old dream of the return to Palestine, while the final section documents the Jew establishing for himself the major institutions of higher learning and the major Jewish organizations which are now helping shape Jewish history.

In seminars throughout America, history is being taught today through the use of first hand information - through the use of documents. This manuscript has been

prepared by carefully selecting the documents which will appeal to students of every age level and will make the study of Jewish history a running commentary to our lives. The Jewish student, it is hoped, will be enabled, thereby, to dedicate himself to something which he may not have appreciated before.

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INTRODUCTION

This source book in Modern Jewish History attempts to portray the life of Jews from the time of the French Revolution up to the present. The writing of any history begins with the documents available, but these are not an end in themselves. The student must be prepared to make other investigations and pursue furthur study to complement and supplement the documents available. Fortunately, for the student studying this period, there are voluminous historical studies available.

The documents which appear in this source book try to synthesize and briefly tell a story of the Jew since 1789. The manuscript has been divided into four sections dealing with the Jew as he is acted upon and as he acts for himself. The first section of documents deals with the Jew as the object of history, and the documents found here deal with Anti-Semitism. The second section deals with the Jew in his struggle to be emancipated. In the third section, the Jew is seen acting for himself, with the return to Palestine and the whole development of Zionism. The fourth section, finally, sees the Jew shaping the course of his history by establishing his own institutions and major organizations. Each section is prefaced by an introduction. Each document is then, in turn, provided with a short introduction about the content and significance

of the document. The footnotes follow each document, and the bibliography appears at the end of the manuscript.

The facts given in the Introductions may seem distorted to the student or teacher. The attitude of the writer may even seem prejudiced or unhistorical, but this is perhaps due to the fact that the editor overly sympathized with his subject. However, it is hoped that there is some connection between the various sections and that they do not appear to be just a series of disconnected incidents. It would have been easy to choose any 150 documents of the thousands available. This editor did try to choose those he felt were important and most meaningful. Not every document chosen is the best known dealing with the subject because the editor saw in some lesser known documents something that would speak as forcefully and perhaps give a greater insight into history.

The documents are produced as written and have not been edited. The problem of what to select was difficult. The editor found Howard Morley Sachar's book, The Course of Modern Jewish History, an invaluable aid in digesting the history of the period and enabling him to choose what he felt were the most significant documents.

In the preparation of this source book, I am indebted to a number of people who spent many hours with me - guiding me in so many ways - to the librarians of Hebrew Union College who made the library a most pleasant place to live -

to the staff of the American Jewish Archives who make it the most personable and unique institution of its kind. I am particularly indebted to Mrs. Fannie Zelcer, of the Archives staff, who spent hour after hour with me seeking out even the most minute detail of a document.

My gratitude is greatest, however, to my dear teachers Rabbis Sylvan Schwartzman and Stanley Chyet. Rabbi Schwartzman has helped me immeasurably in understanding the great needs of Jewish education and the problems of teaching. The idea for this thesis project came to him when he found difficulty in seeking a document he needed. Dr. Chyet took me on a trip into the past, a trip from which I was able to gain immeasurably for the future in my understanding and in my love for history. Through them I shall hopefully be a true teacher and rabbi in Israel. May they always be my companions.

February 17, 1967
Cincinnati

INTRODUCTION: ANTI-SEMITISM

This first section deals with the Jew as the object of anti-semitic attacks - both verbal and physical. To understand the Jew, the student must see him within a total context of history. The Jew has risen to greatness because the world has tried to stifle his progress. In this section we shall see some of the documents which reflect attempts to suppress the Jew. We start with the Russian experience and with the Jews of Eastern Europe. We move on then to the onslaught of Nazism and the whole period of Hitler - including his impact on Jewish life in the United States. By no means are these documents exhaustive, but they do indicate the hate and sickness with which people have wanted to do away with the Jewish group. For fifteen centuries, the chasm widened between the Jew and his neighbor. The gap became so wide that nineteenth century liberalism could not bridge it. The Nazi period, of course, offered an even more vicious spectacle than the East European period.

THE DAMASCUS BLOOD LIBEL - 1840

Coupled with the Mortara Baptism is another great event in the history of anti-semitic acts. For hundreds of years, Jews have been accused of killing Christians in order to use their blood for ritual purposes at Passover. The accusation this time takes place in Syria where Damascus is located. The following is a trully remarkable document since the policies of our government are involved.

THE DAMASCUS BLOOD LIBEL

Consular Report to the Department of State, March 24, 1840 [1]

[The false and malicious accusation that Jews kill Christians in order to use their blood for ritual purposes at Passover is still being circulated, even in the United States.[2] The charge was first made against particular Jews in England in the twelfth century, and since then almost 200 cases are on record.[3] In the nineteenth century, even before the Damascus Affair of 1840, there were fifteen such cases in Romania, Poland, Russia, Italy, and Germany. That none of these preceding cases aroused the animated attention of both the Jews and non-Jews of several continents to the extent that the Damascus affair did is due to the interaction of two factors in the Damascus case: first, Damascus and its vicinity was in 1840 at the center of a vortex of imperial rivalry among Britain, France, Russia, Austria, and Prussia for the solution of the "Eastern Question," the name given to the process of the disruption of the Turkish empire; secondly, Jews had become increasingly influential in several countries. When, in February 1840, the Jews of Damascus were first imprisoned and tortured to make them confess to a ritual murder, almost all the consular officials in the area believed the charge, and, as is proved by the report of the American consul, published here for the first time, were sympathetic to the persecution of the Jews. With the exception of that taken by our own government, which then had no imperialist interests in the Middle East, the action of the Five Powers was determined primarily by the strategy of empire. In this particular situation, the relationship of forces was favorable to the cause of the Jews and justice.

The essential features of the situation are the following: Syria, in which Damascus is situated, was then controlled by Mehemet Ali (1769–1849), the Governor of Egypt, who had revolted against the Turkish Sultan in 1831 and conquered Syria in 1833; in the spring of 1839 the Sultan tried to reconquer Syria, but his army was defeated, and the Sultan died on June 20, 1839, to be succeeded by the sixteen year old Abdul-Mejid I. Mehemet Ali was now in a position to conquer all of Turkey and establish a new dynasty, but that plan for a new strong Turkish empire ran counter to the interests of England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, which operated in such a manner that by October 1840 Mehemet Ali had been stripped of Syria and other territories and compelled to be content with Egypt alone. Russia, interested in the Straits, opposed the disruption of the Turkish empire because it preferred to conquer it as a unit, while also opposing Mehemet Ali's objective of unifying the Turkish empire because he might be strong enough to prevent the conquest by Russia.[4] Britain sought dominance in the area in order to guarantee its route to India, and regarded Russia as a threat to that aim. Austria, opposing Russia and particularly France, supported Britain. These rivalries were temporarily subordinated, all Four Powers regarding France as the greatest menace because French policy, with Thiers as foreign minister from February 20 to October 29, 1840, was aimed at securing its own dominance in the area by vigorously supporting Mehemet Ali. It took Four Power diplomacy and the Allied fleet to defeat France and Mehemet Ali.

In Syria itself, France was an important element because since 1535 it had enjoyed a "protectorate" over Christians in Turkey; it was the French consul who was the prime mover in the blood accusation; it was Thiers and the French Catholic and even some of the liberal press who backed up the consul. The Jews of England and France, although indignant at the charge of ritual murder and fearful of the consequences of not discrediting it, were slow to react in aid of their brethren because the leaders of the Jewish communities were not unmindful of the objectives of their own foreign offices.[5] Sympathy and fear were curbed by "tact," but when the British foreign office was ready,

and the French foreign office was hopelessly opposed, an Anglo-French Jewish delegation finally went to Alexandria, Egypt. In the far off United States, action on the part of the Jewish community came even more slowly, and followed in the wake of London.

The following report of the American consul at Beyrout is a truly amazing document. Of the utmost significance, however, is the fact that the policy and conduct of our government were in direct contradiction to the views and sympathies expressed by our consul.]

United States Consulate
Beyrout 24th March 1840

Sir,

I have the Honor to relate briefly for Your Honours consideration some details of a most Barbarous secret, for a long time suspected in the Jewish Nation, which at last came to light in the City of Damascus, that of serving themselves of Christian Blood in their unleavened Bread at Easter, a Secret which in these 1840 Years must have made many unfortunate victims.

On the 5th of February last the Revd Capouchin Thomas [6] president of the Catholic Church of Damascus—together with his Servant having, all of a sudden disappeared from that City H. E. Sherif pashaw Governor General of Syria and the French Consul [7] of Damascus employed actively the pollice for making all strict inquiries after them, and some people having declared to have seen that priest and his servant enter on that evening in the Jews quarter, the suspitions of Government fall on the Jews, that they might have assassinated them.

On that day Revd Thomas had put up against the wall of a Jew Barbers shop, a written advertisement for some Articles to be sold by Auction, and was observed that the said advertisement had been removed from its place and put up again with different Wafers than those used by the priest. The Jew Barber was questioned and taken into prison, and after the application of some torments on his person he confessed that the Revd Thomas had been beheaded in the house of David Arari a rich Jew, by Seven of his coreligioners of Damascus,[8] and that, in order to take his Blood, it being ordered by their religion to make use of Christian Blood in their Unleavened Bread at Easter.

The Seven Jews thus accused, as well as all their high Priests; 64 Children, belonging to those families, and all their Butchers were immediately taken to prison, and after severe Tortures [9] and threats several of them confessed also the fact of the murder, adding that they had since cut the body in small pieces and threw it in a Canal, after

collecting all the Blood in a large Bottle for religious purposes, which Bottle they had given to their high Priest. The Pashaw and the french Consul accompanied by Massons and a multitude of People went immediately to the spot, and having searched, they found in reality the Revd Thomas's body all cut in small bits, which were put in a Pinn Box and burried with a grand Prossession in the Church.[10]

The torments on the prisoners having continued, some of them confessed that the Servant also had been beheaded in the house of another jew, his Blood taken to the last drop, and his body cut in the same way like that of the Priest was thrown in another Canal. The Pashaw and the french Consul repared to the place and found that body also in pieces together with three sharp knives. The Murderers of this last are not yet arrested they having made their escape from Damascus, but the Pollice is after them actively employ'd. The Bottle of Blood neither has been found as yet.

The inquisition against the jews in that City (in which there may be 30000. Souls of that Nation) continues with much vigour and no jew can show his face out in the streets.

The french Consul is seizing all their religious Books with a hope of clearing that abominable secret. He found a Book printed in Latin, by "Lucio Ferrajo"[11] in which the passages are found taken from the Talmoud, which I have the honor to accompany in french.

Several of the prisoners in prison have died of the torments of the inquisition, and others turned Turks and the rest in number Seventy two are sentenced to be hanged, but the french Consul has requested to postpone their death in the hope of finding out through more torments the Bottle of Blood, which they pretend to have already distributed to their coreligioners in the different other City's.

In the place where the Servants remains were found a quantity of other human Bons of old date in small bits have been discovered, which proves that they were accustomed in that house to such like umane sacrifices. A Doctor bribed by the Jews declared the Servants Bons to be those of some Beast but the Pashaw having since called a Commission of several Doctors they pronounced them to be umane.

I have the Honor to be with great respect, Sir,

Your Most Obedient Humble Servant

J. Chasseaud [12]

To The Honourable John Forsyth
Secretary of State, Washington

1

OUR STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR - 1840

OUR STATE DEPARTMENT AND THE DAMASCUS AFFAIR

a) The Secretary of State to John Gliddon, our Consul at Alexandria, Egypt; Washington, August 14, 1840 [1]

[Minister Stevenson's letter and the Resolutions printed above were received at the Department of State on August 10, 1840. By that time, the Jewish delegations headed by Montefiore and Crémieux had arrived at Alexandria (August 4) and had the first interview with Mehemet Ali (August 5), who was then much more concerned with studying the Four Power ultimatum than with lesser matters. In addition to presenting a petition with reference to the Jews of Damascus, the delegation also transmitted the address of the London meeting of the Society for the Abolition of Slavery, which both Montefiore and Cremieux had attended in June, and Mehemet Ali, procrastinating, preferred to discuss the latter.[2] Of these developments, our State Department in those days of slow communication could not know. However, four days after the receipt of Minister Stevenson's despatches from London, the Department expressed its official views and instructions to our Consul at Alexandria, "to employ, should the occasion arise," his efforts in support of those already made by "several of the Christian Governments of Europe."]

Sir:— In common with all civilized nations, the people of the United States have learned with horror, the atrocious crimes imputed to the Jews of Damascus, and the cruelties of which they have been the victims. The President [3] fully participates in the public feeling.

and he cannot refrain from expressing equal surprise and pain, that in this advanced age, such unnatural practices should be ascribed to any portion of the religious world, and such barbarous measures be resorted to, in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt; the offences with which these unfortunate people are charged, resemble too much those which, in less enlightened times, were made the pretexts of fanatical persecution or mercenary extortion, to permit a doubt that they are equally unfounded.

The President has witnessed, with the most lively satisfaction, the effort of several of the Christian Governments of Europe, to suppress or mitigate these horrors, and he has learned with no common gratification, their partial success. He is moreover anxious that the active sympathy and generous interposition of the Government of the United States should not be withheld from so benevolent an object, and he has accordingly directed me to instruct you to employ, should the occasion arise, all those good offices and efforts which are compatible with discretion and your official character, to the end that justice and humanity may be extended to those persecuted people, whose cry of distress has reached our shores. I am, sir,

Your obedient servant,

[Signed] John Forsyth.[4]

b) The Secretary of State to our Minister in Turkey, Washington, August 17, 1840 [5]

[Three days after the letter to our Consul at Alexandria, the Secretary of State wrote to our Minister at Constantinople "to prevent or mitigate these horrors." Of particular interest is the definition of the "distinctive characteristic of our government," that its "institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing, the worshipper of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mahomedan, the Jews, and the Christian." None of the Four Powers with which the Sultan was then allied would even have claimed as much.]

David Porter Esq.[6]

Sir,

In common with the people of the U. States, the President has learned with profound feelings of surprise and pain, the atrocious cruelties which have been practised upon the Jews of Damascus and

Rhodes,' in consequence of charges extravagant, & strikingly similar to those, which, in less enlightened ages, were made pretexts for the persecution and spoliation of these unfortunate people. As the scenes of these barbarities are in the Mahomedan dominions, and as such inhuman practices are not of infrequent occurrence in the East the President has directed me to instruct you to do everything in your power with the Government of his Imperial Highness, the Sultan to whom you are accredited, consistent with discretion and your diplomatic character, to prevent or mitigate these horrors, the bare recital of which has caused a shudder throughout the civilised world; and, in an especial manner to direct your philanthropic efforts against the employment of torture in order to compel the confession of imputed guilt. The President is of opinion that from no one can such generous endeavors proceed with so much propriety and effect, as from the Representative of a friendly power, whose institutions, political and civil, place upon the same footing, the worshippers of God, of every faith and form, acknowledging no distinction between the Mahomedan, the Jews, and the Christian. Should you in carrying out these instructions find it necessary or proper to address yourself to any of the Turkish authorities you will refer to this distinctive characteristic of our government, as investing with a peculiar propriety and right the interposition of your good offices in behalf of an oppressed and persecuted race among whose kindred are found some of the most worthy and patriotic of our citizens. In communicating to you the wishes of the President I do not think it adviseable to give you more explicit and minute instructions, but earnestly commend to your zeal and discretion a subject which appeals so strongly to the universal sentiments of justice and humanity.

I am, sir, yr:obt: svt:

J. FORSYTH.

2

JEWS NEED NOT APPLY - 1849

The evidence has grown and shown the widespread activities of the bigot and how the mind of the Anti-Semite grows. Here is another incident of such that appeared in a New York newspaper in 1849.

JEWS NEED NOT APPLY

Editorial, New York Sun, March 17, 1849 [1]

[Interesting is not only the protest of a Jewish shade-painter against his exclusion from the right to equal opportunity in employment but the editor's distinction between institutional and personal discrimination.]

A Bohemian writes to ask us what we meant by saying in our article yesterday on the secret of success, that in this country *all are equally encouraged and protected;* for he says he is a Hebrew by race, though a naturalized citizen, and that certain persons, tradesmen, in advertising in a journal of this city for a number of shade painters, put in as an exception, 'No Jews wanted here.' Bohemian, being a Jew,[2] and a shade painter, thinks the doctrine of equal encouragement and protection don't work here. We did not expect any such interpretation. We meant simply that the *government and institutions* of this country hold out the same inducements and chances to every citizen—in thus much and thus far they are equally protected and encouraged. If individuals, or members of different races and clans will disagree and battle with each other, the quarrel is theirs, and the more pitiable and shameful is it, to him who draws the weapon first and uses it furthest. We apprehend the spirit of our institutions and government is often more liberal and generous than that of many individuals who enjoy its blessings and who ought to imitate its example.

3

THE MORTARA CASE - 1858

There are many cases of secret Baptisms performed on Jews by non-Jews. This case reached the public and an international outcry took place after the boy was taken from his home and put into a home for the education of converts. The non-Catholic press was critical of Pope Pius IX. The Catholic world upheld its point of view because the boy was baptized. The ramifications and interplay among various religious groups and various outcomes have had far reaching results.

121. THE MORTARA CASE

Rev. Isaac Leeser, in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger*, November 25, 1858 [1]

[Edgar Mortara was born in Bologna on August 27, 1851, son of Girolamo Mortara Levi and Marianna Padovani Levi. When he was about a year old, the child endured what the parents considered a minor illness, but the Catholic nurse was persuaded by a neighboring druggist secretly to baptise the Jewish child lest he die a heathen. The nurse kept the baptism secret until 1858, when the Holy Office (the Inquisition) was informed of the baptism. The Archbishop of Bologna, Michele Viale Prelà (1799–1860), with a reputation for "exaggerated fanaticism," immediately ordered the child taken from its home; an officer of the Inquisition, accompanied by gendarmes, on June 23, 1858, informed the distraught parents of the decision, and the following evening took Edgar by force from his parental home to the House of the Catechumini in Rome, an institution for the education of converts.[2] When the facts of the abduction became public, an international outcry developed in Europe (England, France, Russia, Germany, Holland, Austria) and the United States.[3] Between October 30, 1858 and January 27, 1859, indignation meetings were held, in the order given, in Cincinnati, Philadelphia and St. Louis, Boston, Richmond, Baltimore, Charleston, New York, Syracuse, Chicago, New Orleans, Mobile, Indianapolis, Albany, San Francisco, Detroit, Rochester, and Memphis, the largest meetings being in New York (2000 present) and San Francisco (3000 present).

Most of the non-Catholic American press was critical of the abduction and of the Pope, Pius IX, for endorsing the action, with only the Boston *Courier* and the *New York Herald*, later, opposing the protests.[4] Although there was some Catholic dissent in Europe, the American Catholic press unanimously upheld the abduction. Typical was the article in *Brownson's Quarterly Review*, which wrote: "The case entirely turns on this point, that the child had received baptism, which makes him a Christian and entitles him to the privileges of Christian citizenship, which the State guaranties and guards, by insisting on his Christian education. . . . But whatever was the object of the law, the elder Mortara, by hiring a Christian nurse, was its violator and exposed himself to fines which the government forbore inflicting. If she used an opportunity to baptize the child, he must blame himself for employing her. . . . The Jews have shown great want of moderation and prudence in this affair. . . . The wisdom of the President in refusing to interfere even by way of friendly remonstrance is manifest. . . . Our own 'domestic institutions' are quite as unintelligible to those of other countries, and far more liable to become the matter of censure . . ."[5] In this instance, as in the case of the Swiss Treaty, the domestic institution of American slavery was used at home and abroad by supporters of the abduction to embarrass those who protested. The American government's refusal to take any kind of action was openly stated to be based on a desire to avoid foreign official criticism of our peculiar institution.[6] Almost as active as the Jews in the protests were the American Protestants; many of the meetings were attended by Jews and Christians, and many of the speakers were not Jewish. In certain instances, the American nativist Know-Nothing movement, with its rabid anti-alien and anti-Catholic propaganda, seized upon the issue in its own unprincipled way, and the American Jews and Protestants interested in religious liberty found themselves in unwholesome company.[7]

In the letter that follows, Leeser sharply but temperately rebukes an anonymous Catholic who had publicly proposed the suppression of the Jewish religion and its holy books and the destruction of the synagogues.]

THE MORTARA CASE.—TO THE AMERICAN PUBLIC.

There are constantly occurring, in the course of human events, transactions which, from their nature, are calculated to arouse and fix the attention of the friends of freedom and mental progress. It need not be precisely an occurrence of vast magnitude; a battle, where nations immolate each other on the ensanguined field of slaughter, nor one where mighty fleets destroy each other, to satisfy the insatiable ambition of rival tyrants, contending for the empire over the earth; but it may be a wrong inflicted on an humble, before unknown individual, which, from its atrocity and strangeness, may bid the mind to reflect whether indeed it were safe to let such an act pass unheeded, and not provide the means against its recurrence.

Such an act is that which was lately committed in Bologna, a city under the immediate dominion of the Roman Pontiff, who, from his position, claims to be the head of Christendom, and, in this quality, the chief of all mankind—who, by rights, as his followers assert, ought to be subjected to the control of the universal Church, deriving, as the Pope professes, his power immediately, by regular succession, from the founder of Christianity. A claim so universal, based on the assumption of an uncircumscribed religious power—having for its supporters empires, kingdoms, and republics—taught in thousands of schools and colleges, enforced from pulpits all over the world, and propagated by millions of devoted and highly educated ministers, who all have a personal interest in the success of their cause—a claim so universal, I would say, appears almost irresistible. For, while all other religious societies are comparatively small, and goverend [sic] by deliberative bodies, more or less independent, the Church of Rome knows of but one head, one will, which governs and shapes all the vast machinery composed by its countless hierarchy, members of which are met with in every distant settlement wherein the foot of civilization can penetrate, no less than in almost every hospital, and in many schools, either as open or secret emissaries, so that *kindness* may pave the way before force can be resorted to, in order to acquire an entrance for the tenets of Catholicism.

It is a quality attendant on the possession of power, that it regards all it holds as justly belonging to it, no matter how it was acquired.

This is true in political history, where men have been arraigned and punished as traitors for daring to defend their country's wrongs against oppressors or usurpers. It not being my purpose to indite an historical essay, it will not be required of me to prove by examples what every well read person will undoubtedly know without this aid. But religious power is not less oblivious of *original* rights, when it surveys its acquired authority as a whole, from which it will not yield the least, unless compelled to submit to superior force. A case in point, is the Mortara affair, of which I spoke in the beginning. The facts of the occurrence are very simple and will not be disputed. A child, about a year old, was, when sick, secretly baptized, or rather sprinkled, with what is called holy water, by a Roman Catholic nurse-maid. No one was present to witness the deed. Nothing was said of it at the time it took place; but when, after the lapse of about five years, the thing came to the knowledge of the person who is called the Inquisitor of the city of Bologna, he despatched, on the evening of the 23d of June last, a messenger of the self-styled Holy Office (Santo Ufficio), with a sufficient escort of police officers, to seize the child, Edgar Mortara, under the pretext that baptism had been administered by some one, at some time, under some circumstances; the official messenger declined giving particulars. But the unhappy parents showed such distress, were so near despairing, which is easily understood, when one reflects on the tenacity with which pious, or even careless Israelites cling to their religion, the suddenness of the misfortune was so overwhelming, that the messenger consented to leave the child for that night under the parental roof, taking, however, the precaution to place there a sufficient guard to prevent its being carried away out of the jurisdiction of the tribunal whose deputy he was. Next day, the father made all the interest possible, and went to the Inquisitor in person; but he, too, was as brief as his messenger, and simply told the distracted parent that the Holy Office having made the decree, could not be expected to make any alteration in it; his child was a Christian, according to his view of the case, and he could not be permitted to keep it to educate it as an Israelite. One account says that the mother hastened to Modena, where her parents reside, to see what she could effect there, leaving six young children at home; it is also said that grief caused her to be taken seriously ill while there. It is possible that this part of the story may be an embellishment, though there is no reason to doubt it, as it would be perfectly natural, without a great stretch of the imagination. Be this, however, as it may, the emissaries of the

Inquisition, (I will call them no hard names, and only say, they were emissaries worthy of their calling to act as kidnappers,) came with a carriage at the hour of ten o'clock at night, and seizing on Edgar with force, snatched him out of his father's arms, placed him into the vehicle, which was then driven off, surrounded by a military force. This latter precaution was surely useless; for the spirit of the Italian Israelite, except those who have the happiness to live in Sardinia, where a Constitutional government prevails, is so broken, that a pigmy armed with a straw could frighten them from even defending themselves, much less making an aggressive attack on others. The sequel is briefly told, the child was taken to the convent of the Catechumens at Rome, and is there detained to be educated as a Catholic. It is even said that the Pope himself will pay the expenses of his education. The father has been permitted to see him; but when asking for his restoration, he received the hint to keep his peace, for fear of meeting with worse consequences.

In the above, the American people have an unvarnished tale of an occurrence calculated to arouse an anchorite to phrenzy. What wonder, then, that the Israelites of Sardinia met in general conference at Alessandria, sometime in August, and sent memorials to their fellows in faith in England and France to urge them to co-operation?[8] Nor need it excite any astonishment that we, residing in the United States, should move in the matter the moment sufficiently reliable information had been received, to guard us against taking any false step, or accusing any one wrongfully. Some people have, indeed, imagined that the members of the Catholic church in America would disavow this act, and that it would stand out as a deed of barbarity, committed in a country where the principles of freedom are not understood. But in so judging, one would deceive himself. The transaction, on the contrary, is approved of and defended in the official organ of Bishop Neuman,[9] the *Catholic Herald and Visitor*, of November 20th; and also by a writer of a communication in the *Public Ledger*, on November 23d, so that it appears that *the ministers of the Romish community would think themselves bound* to resort to similar measures under a parity of circumstances, and that their not doing it is not owing to any want of inclination, but to the simple *absence of power*. What security this country can have against violence, should ever the Catholics obtain the power to legislate religiously and civilly for the people, may be freely left to every candid person to elucidate for himself; the hand that can write a defence for robbing Mr. Mortara of his

child, under the flimsy pretext now offered, would not hesitate to snatch from your bosom, Oh American matron! the nursling that nestles there, if he were told that it had been made a Catholic through the sacrament of baptism, so that you, its heretic Protestant mother, might not deprive *the Church* of one of its acquired members.

But the whole plea of *"Plures in Unum,"* the author of the communication in the *Ledger,* is based on the assumption that the whole world is bound to regard as binding, what Catholicity has established as dogmas for its own followers. I may hereafter, let me say in passing, pay my respects to the Bishop's organ; let it wait awhile, as it was printed before the resolutions passed at the town meeting of Israelites on the 18th inst.,[10] and of which I may own myself the author, were made public. But *Plures, &c.,* (will he have the kindness to write his name, should he reply to me, as I use my own signature?) steps forward to correct the misapprehension of the Israelites, under the impression that they did not understand the subject of which they were speaking; he, therefore, merits a prompt and full reply. It would, indeed, have displayed more good sense than he shows, not to have called the attention of Americans to his doctrines, even if the Israelites had not fully comprehended them; the public indignation is sufficiently aroused already to the Roman iniquity not to need any fresh fuel; hundreds of non-Israelites in the city are ready to sign the memorial to the President, asking his good offices in the case; but, as he chooses to enlighten our ignorance, let us see what he has to allege. It is no business of mine to apologize for Luther, nor to defend the conduct of Protestants, if it be true that they surreptitiously educate Catholic children in their various creeds; since I am no follower of Luther, and have no greater inclination for Protestantism of all kinds, than for the Romish Church. "I am a Hebrew, and worship the Lord, the God of heaven, who has made the sea and the dry land." Educated partly in a Catholic college, and having enjoyed, though then but a boy, the kindness and instruction of several clergymen of that religion,[11] it would be strange were I to have any prejudice against it. Its tenets, properly carried out, will make men, no doubt, as good as Protestantism. But it would be folly in me, or any one else, to shut my eyes against the baseless assumptions of the teachers and ecclesiastics of that Church—to admit which would be the downfall of all freedom, both religious and civil.

"Plures" tells us, that "baptism is a sacrament which effaces original sin, and makes the recipient a child of God and of the Church." He

therefore assumes, or his Church for him, that without this rite or sacrament *all* are not children of God, and that with it they belong to the Church. But does he not see, that he has to prove the truth of this assumption before he can impose it on Israelites especially, who do not believe in any sacrament? How can he demonstrate to Mortara, for instance, that following, as he has done, the Law of Moses, and *circumcising* his child at the age of eight days, he left him in a condition not to be a child of God? And granting that the baptism afterwards administered without the parents' consent or knowledge, should have conferred on Edgar an additional divine favor not before existing, who gave to the Church the power to seize on him and abduct him away from a father's and a mother's care, even to confer on him the rights and privileges of Christianity, which Israelites are debarred from under the papal dominion—paternal though it is alleged to be? It is not now the question what Church Councils teach; for no doubt they have laid down a canon, that if a Jew is found having in his possession a child baptized by a nurse, he shall be compelled, though he is the father, to give it up to the myrmidons of the Inquisition, or the messenger of an Abbot, a Bishop, a Cardinal, or of the Pope himself. No doubt that the Mortara case comes under this category. But, I demand in the name of freedom of conscience, who authorized the Council of Trent, or any of its predecessors, to decide on the rights of mankind who do not profess to be Catholics? Can "Plures" show any authority derived from the Christian Gospels, even, which would satisfy any man, no matter how high or low his capacity? I will not mention the Old Testament, or, as I would call it, the Bible; for no such power can be derived from that. Hence the whole right is based merely on what Catholics themselves have decreed; and against this all honest men must protest, as a cruel and unwarranted interference in the conscientious convictions of other men. Mortara's child has rights independent of the Pontiff's favor; he was born of parents who owe him no religious allegiance; and it is hence time enough when he growes to man's estate, if even then, to inform him of the great boon *the* Church has conferred upon him when he was a yearling baby, through a nurse fourteen years old.[12] If this baptism had really made any mental impression on him, he would rejoice in the revelation thus brought home to him, and fly for protection to *the* Church from the damnation which he would earn when remaining attached to Judaism. But it appears "Plures" would not be willing any more than Pio Nono,[13] to trust to the miraculous effect of

infant baptism; but he says it was right to steal Edgar, and to prevent his losing the advantage which he had already obtained by being made a member of the Church. So, then, the ineffaceable impression of baptism does not amount to much, and the civil arm has to come to its aid to make it of any avail. There is some absurdity in all this, and on the same plea *the* Church might make any act of barbarity legal, provided it be safe to enforce it, so only that its power and numbers may be thereby extended. It is against this we, as Israelites, complain; it is against such tyranny that we invoke the aid of the President, and of all liberal governments, and it is against this assumption of a never-conferred power that we ask the co-operation of all liberal persons, who dread, by anticipation, to feel the iron heel of *the* Church, should it ever become dominant again.

I have yet much more to say, but must break off at present, as my remarks are, I fear, too long for any paper.

ISAAC LEESER,
Minister Cong. Beth-El-Emeth.[14]

Philadelphia, November 23d, 1858.

4

REVOKING GENERAL GRANT'S ORDER NO. 11 - 1862

Ulysses S. Grant, like many others, judged the whole by its parts. In trying to limit trade with the Confederacy, he was opposed to any trade whatsoever, but had to yield to the Treasury Department. There were hordes of speculators making money out of cotton. A portion of these people were Jews. The documents on the following pages indicate the events and changes that took place during this period.

REVOKING GENERAL GRANT'S ORDER NO. 11

a) Letter to Pres. Abraham Lincoln, from Jews in Paducah, Ky., December 29, 1862

b) Newspaper report of a Delegation to Pres. Lincoln, by Rev. Isaac Mayer Wise, Washington, D. C., January 8, 1863 [1]

[On October 25, 1862, Major-General U. S. Grant assumed command of the Department of the Tennessee, which included northern Mississippi and the parts of Kentucky and Tennessee west of the Tennessee River, and immediately began to prepare for the siege of the strategically important Confederate stronghold of Vicksburg. One of his problems was to limit the trade with the Confederacy. Regarding "any trade whatever" as contributing to the military strength of the Confederacy, Grant opposed all commercial traffic, but he had to yield to the Treasury Department policy, responsive to mercantile clamor, of attempting to regulate the trade. Hordes of speculators swarmed into the Department of the Tennessee, seeking and making enormous profits out of buying cotton, and paying gold for it. (Cotton had jumped from 10 cents a pound in December, 1860 to 68 cents in December, 1862, and was to continue rising rapidly.) On August 28, 1862, Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase tightened the regulations by forbidding transportation of goods or bullion into the Confederacy, but the speculators continued to operate, corrupting many army officers through bribery and partnerships in the illegal enterprises.[2] A portion of these speculators was Jewish. Grant, however, identified the entire traffic with the Jews as such! On November 9 and 10, 1862, he issued two specific orders to officers in Jackson, Tenn., to forbid travel south of Jackson to all persons, "the Israelites especially," because they were "such an intolerable nuisance."[3] Then he received a rebuke from Washington for his failure to solve the problem. On December 17, 1862 he responded in two ways: He wrote to C. P. Wolcott, Assistant Secretary of War, explaining that the Treasury regulations were being violated "mostly by Jews and other unprincipled traders," and proposing that the only real solution was that the Government purchase "all the cotton at a fixed rate" and send it elsewhere to be sold, thus enabling him to expel *all* traders from the Department of the Tennessee. At the same time Grant issued his General Orders, No. 11: "The Jews, as a class violating every regulation of trade established by the Treasury Department and also department orders, are hereby expelled from the department within twenty-four hours from the receipt of this order. . . ."[4] Although, as will be seen from the documents that follow, Lincoln ordered this harsh and discriminatory edict revoked as soon as he was convinced it had really been issued, that portion of the Jewish press that was not fully sup-

porting the war and that in fact had copperhead leanings sought to magnify the issue. It professed it would not be content till "the lineal descendant of Haman," General Grant, was hanged or at least removed from the army, and even rejoiced in his early defeats at Vicksburg.[3] Those Jews who supported the war, however, rejoiced that this official act of injustice against the Jews had been so speedily and decisively corrected.[4] In the general press, editorials critical of Grant's Order appeared in the Cincinnati *Volksfreund* and *Enquirer*, January 3, 1863, in the Philadelphia *Public Ledger and Daily Transcript*, January 13, 1863, and in *The New-York Times*, January 18, 1863, the latter declaring the expulsion of the Jews as a class as "contrary to common sense and common justice—contrary to Republicanism and Christianity."[7]]

Paducah, Ky., *December* 29, 1862.

Hon. Abraham Lincoln,

President of the United States:

General Orders, No. 11, issued by General Grant at Oxford, Miss., December the 17th, commands all post commanders to expel all Jews, without distinction, within twenty-four hours, from his entire department. The undersigned, good and loyal citizens of the United States and residents of this town for many years, engaged in legitimate business as merchants,[8] feel greatly insulted and outraged by this inhuman order, the carrying out of which would be the grossest violation of the Constitution and our rights as good citizens under it, and would place us, besides a large number of other Jewish families of this town, as outlaws before the whole world. We respectfully ask your immediate attention to this enormous outrage on all law and humanity, and pray for your effectual and immediate interposition. We would respectfully refer you to the post commander and post adjutant as to our loyalty, and to all respectable citizens of this community as to our standing as citizens and merchants. We respectfully ask for immediate instructions to be sent to the commander of this post.

D. WOLFF & BROS.
C. F. KASKEL.
J. W. KASKEL.[9]

Washington, D. C., Jan. 8. [1863]

The history of General Grant's order and its revocation forms quite an interesting chapter in the annals of the day. Gentlemen

from Paducah, Ky., telegraphed to the President, who informed General Halleck instantly; we wrote immediately to Secretary [of War] Stanton; but neither the former nor the latter believed that Gen. Grant could have issued an order so absurd and ridiculous, and, therefore, did not do anything in the matter. When Mr. Kaskel came to Washington, January 3, and was introduced to the President, by Mr. Gurley of Cincinnati, the President at once gave order to Gen. Halleck to revoke said order.[10] General Halleck would not believe in the existence of such order, till Mr. Kaskel showed him the official copy. General Halleck instantly and peremptorily revoked the order and telegraphed to Gen. Grant to inform all post commanders instantly, of the will of the government in this matter.[11] The Cincinnati and Louisville delegation came too late.[12]—The order was rescinded. Still we thought proper to see the President and express our thanks for his promptness in this matter.—Mark, however, how democratic things look in Washington. We arrived from Baltimore about 5 P. M. on Wednesday [January 6], arrived in the hotel without changing clothes. Rev. Dr. Lilienthal inquired and was informed that Mr. Gurley was in the same house, but was not in at present. Meanwhile, Mr. Bijur and myself went to Mr. Pendleton of Cincinnati and talked half an hour to him.

On returning to our hotel we met Mr. Gurley, who without bestowing any consideration on our traveling garbs, went with us to the White House and before 8 P. M. we were introduced to the President, who being all alone, received us with that frank cordiality, which, though usually neglected, becomes men high in office so well.[13] Having expressed our thanks for the promptness and dispatch in revoking Gen. Grant's order, the President gave utterance to his surprise that Gen. Grant should have issued so ridiculous an order, and added—"to condemn a class is, to say the least, to wrong the good with the bad. I do not like to hear a class or nationality condemned on account of a few sinners." The President, we must confess, fully illustrated to us and convinced us that he knows of no distinction between Jew and Gentile, that he feels no prejudice against any nationality, and that he by no means will allow that a citizen in any wise be wronged on account of his place of birth or religious confession. He illustrated this point to us in a very happy manner, of which we can only give the substance at present, and promise to give particulars on another occasion. Now then, in our traveling habiliments, we spoke about half

an hour to the President of the U. S. in an open and frank manner, and were dismissed in the same simple style.

Sorry we are to say that Congress did not think proper to be as just as the President is.[14] Congress is not now the people's legislative body, it belongs to a party. Senator Powel[l] of Kentucky, as noted elsewhere, introduced a resolution condemning the unjust order of Gen. Grant, to inform others that orders of this kind must not be issued; but the resolution was tabled to be killed, when called up again. Mr. Pendleton of Cincinnati, attempted in vain on Monday and Tuesday to bring the following resolution before the house. He finally succeeded on Wednesday (yesterday) to propose the following:

Mr. Pendleton offered a preamble setting forth that Major General Grant, on the 17th of December, as the commander of the Department of the Tennessee, did issue an order stating that the Jews, as a class, had violated every regulation of trade established in that department, and for this were to be expelled from the department within twenty-four hours, &c., and as in the pursuance of the order General Grant caused many peaceful citizens to be expelled within twenty-four hours without allegation of misconduct, and with no other proof than that they were members of a certain religious denomination; and whereas said sweeping order makes no discrimination between the innocent and the guilty, and is illegal, unjust, tyrannical and cruel, therefore

Resolved, That the said order deserves the sternest condemnation of the House and of the President of the United States as Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy.

Mr. PENDLETON moved the previous question on the passage of this proposition.

Mr. WASHBURNE (R) moved that it be laid upon the table; and this was agreed to—yeas 56, nays 53.

On motion of Mr. Washburne, the everlasting Mr. Washburne,[15] the resolution was tabled by a vote of 56 yeas to 53 nays. If the Hebrew citizens of the United States were "gentlemen of color," Mr. Washburne would certainly have made a brilliant effort to vindicate their rights and expose a general who committed a gross outrage on them. But being only white men, it would not pay.[16] Partisan legislation, that is all we have to expect of this congress. Mr. Pendleton said Washburne's motive was that of friendship for Grant, whom to defend in congress he had several times taken upon himself; but Republican members openly say, it is a rule of the House to vote down every thing coming from the other side, viz: the democratic. How do you like this remarkable impartiality?

Having to see a good many things to-day, we must conclude this, to say more to-morrow.[17]

THE EDITOR.

[Isaac Mayer Wise]

MAP OF THE PALE OF JEWISH SETTLEMENT

The five million Jews of Russia were long the objects of persecution. They were in great hardship. There were numerous restrictive laws and special legislation enacted against them. Russian law declared that all Jews were aliens. They had very few rights. Besides all the legislation, they were allowed to dwell only in certain provinces of the Empire. The whole life of the Russian Jew was always critical and filled with assaults on his dignity. The Pale also included Russian Poland.

GEORGE PHILIP & SON, LONDON & LIVERPOOL.

6

FIRST IMPORTANT UKASE REGARDING JEWS BY ALEXANDER II - 1857

The Russian people rejoiced because of the new reign. As happy as they were, evenmore so were the Russian Jews. Here was a promise of redemption. Here was a chance to be free from oppression. The time presumbably had come that the Russian and Russian Jew would no longer suffer. After this ukase was issued, a series of minor reforms took place which strengthened the confidence of the Jews.

The first important *ukaz* regarding the Jews was issued by the new emperor on the day of his coronation and sent a thrill of relief and joy through the Jewish ghetto. It was the decree abolishing juvenile conscription and the grievous injustices connected with it.[5] A Jewish poet, who in his childhood was among a group of newly recruited cantonists awaiting transportation to their destination, describes the joy he experienced when the order for their release came:

At about one o'clock in the morning, while we were all asleep in the barracks, we were awakened by a great commotion in the street. The noise came nearer and nearer, and soon we heard vigorous knocks at the iron doors and shutters: "Get up children! A deliverance! You are free!" someone shouted. "An *ukaz* from the tsar to release you!", shouted another. "Praise God, children! Say *Hallel!*" [A special prayer of praise in the Jewish liturgy] several voices called out together. The news was to us as the sound of the great *Shofar* which will awaken the dead on the day of Resurrection. With a cry of joy we sprang from our wretched straw heaps, washed and fell to saying *Hallel.* I was the chazzan [cantor] and my choir accompanied me. After *Hallel* we all joined hands and danced a Jewish "Karehod" [folk dance]. It was a gruesome scene, making one laugh and weep in turn. After the dance I wrote my song, "The Deliverance" [Die Yeshuah] and arranged a beautiful melody for it.[6]

7

THE MAY LAWS - 1882

A great deal of anti-semitic feeling was apparent among the Russian officials. The head of the Ministry of Interior at that time was General Ignetieff. He wanted to prevent the Jews from "exploiting" the peasantry. He posed questions to the local governors as to the best way of containing the Jews. While waiting for their answers, he issued the notorious May Laws of May 3, 1882.

THE MAY LAWS.

On the execution of the Temporary Orders concerning the Jews.*

The Committee of Ministers, having heard the report of the

* *Temporary Laws* are those passed as Resolutions of the Committee of Ministers. The constitutional legislative body is the Council of the Empire, consisting of high officials, all nominees of the Crown, and presided over by the Grand Duke Michael. The Council would not at that time have consented to pass such laws as the May Laws; so Ignatieff had recourse to the alternative, allowed in cases of urgency, of getting the May Laws enacted as Resolutions of the Committee of Ministers. When the Imperial sanction was obtained, they became temporary laws. A temporary law may last for ever. As a matter of fact, the May Laws have already existed over eight years.

Minister of the Interior on the execution of the temporary orders concerning the Jews, resolved—

(1.) As a temporary measure and until a general revision has been made in a proper manner of the laws concerning the Jews, to forbid the Jews henceforth to settle outside the towns and townlets, the only exceptions admitted being in those Jewish colonies that have existed before, and whose inhabitants are agriculturists.

(2.) To suspend temporarily the completion of instruments of purchase of real property and mortgages in the name of Jews; as also the registration of Jews as lessees of landed estates situated outside the precincts of towns and townlets, and also the issue of powers of attorney to enable Jews to manage and dispose of such property.

(3.) To forbid Jews to carry on business on Sundays and on the principal Christian holidays, and that the same laws in force about the closing on such days of places of business belonging to Christians shall, in the same way, apply to places of business owned by Jews.

(4.) That the measures laid down in paragraphs 1, 2 and 3 apply only to the Governments within the Pale of Jewish Settlement.

His Majesty the Emperor was graciously pleased to give his assent to the above resolutions of the Committee of Ministers on the 3rd of May, 1882."

The effect of the first clause of this enactment would clearly be to create a Pale within the Pale. Hitherto, ordinary Jews, if prevented from going beyond the Pale, could move from town to village, and from village to village, within the Pale. This was to be stopped. In process of time all the Jews of the Pale would be cooped up in the towns and "townlets" found within it. There they might be left to "stew in their own juice."

The second clause was not less wide-reaching in its scope, for it tended to the same end, by restricting still further the possibility of Jewish life in the country. If a Jew might not acquire land by purchase, mortgage or lease, or have anything to do with landed estate, his country life must come to an end,

MEETINGS IN NEW YORK AND LONDON TO EXPRESS SYMPATHY FOR OPPRESSED JEWS IN RUSSIA - 1882

On February 1, 1882, at 8 O'clock P.M. at Chickering Hall in New York, meetings and proceedings were started to express sympathy for the Jews in Russia. The meeting was called by John A. Stewart, Esq., and the group nominated Mayor Grace as chairman. The following documents are the resolutions and letters issued by the distinguished names mentioned. The first to write after Pierrepont was the Archbishop of Canterbury of London.

Hon. Edwards Pierrepont, late United States Minister to England, then offered the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That the citizens of New York have heard with sadness and indignation of the sufferings inflicted upon the Jews of Russia, and especially during the past year at Kieff, Odessa, and Warsaw, and elsewhere.

"*Resolved*, That as citizens of a republic friendly to Russia, and which but recently exchanged mournful testimonials of national regard at the assassination of a Czar at St. Petersburg and a President at Washington, we earnestly urge the claims of the Hebrews resident in the empire to just and impartial treatment. In the great family of nations, humanity and justice must constitute bonds of mutual reliance and good will.

"*Resolved*, That in the name of civilization we protest against the spirit of mediæval persecution thus revived in Russia. In this age, the recognized equality of all men, irrespective of their religious confession, an essential element of the American Constitution, is a principle which, in practice, secures the loyal devotion of all classes. This is eminently true of the Hebrews who constitute faithful citizens and subjects wherever accorded the rights of manhood.

"*Resolved*, That we sympathize with our fellow-citizens of the Hebrew faith in their sorrow for their afflicted brethren in Russia and in their energetic efforts for the welcome of the exiles who, fleeing from a hostile populace and unprotected by the authorities, shall seek an asylum in this land.

"*Resolved*, That the people of the United States appeal to their Government for the exercise of such influence with the Government of Russia as the ancient and unbroken friendship between the two nations may justify, to stay the spirit of persecution and redress the injuries it has already inflicted, as well as to secure, by wise and equal administration, the Hebrew subjects of Russia against their recurrence."

"My Dear Lord:—It is a distress to me that I am forbidden by my medical attendant to take part in the meeting your lordship has undertaken to call together to enter an emphatic protest against the recent outrages to which the Jewish people have been exposed. Unable to attend myself. I have asked Canon Farrar to be present (cheers), and express the horror with which I contemplate the disgrace brought on the Christian name by these shameful persecutions."

The Duke of Westminster (cheers) writes:—

"I am unable to attend the meeting to-morrow. I cannot, however, repress my feeling of horror and of indignation at the barbarities and ruin worked upon the defenseless Jews in Russia. I am afraid there can be no doubt as to an enormous amount of great and hideous wrong-doing, but we want more information, to obtain which every effort should be made, and for acquiring which, I believe, the Russian government are willing to give facilities. Meanwhile, I can well understand and can sympathize with the feeling that prompts thousands of our fellow-countrymen to give vent to their indignation against the perpetrators of these barbarities, and of sympathy with those who have suffered and are suffering under these enormities."

The Bishop of Manchester writes:—

"As I signed the requisition to the Lord Mayor, begging him to call a public meeting at the Mansion House, at which an opportunity might be given for the expression of the feeling that, I imagine, is strong in the hearts of all Englishmen with regard to the outrages to which the Jews appear to have been subjected in Russia, I regret that it is out of my power to attend that meeting in person, but the mayor has called a similar meeting in Manchester for Feb. 3d, at which I hope to be present, and when I shall have an opportunity of saying what I feel. I will merely say now that these outrages, as they have been reported in England, have aroused in my breast the liveliest feelings of pity and indignation. I cannot for a moment believe that any civilized government could either encourage or connive at them, and it seems to me that the government of Russia owes it to the place it occupies in Christian Europe, to extend the strong arm of its protection to the weak and helpless, and to repress with all the force at its command acts of pillage and violence which one would have thought were only possible in some by-gone age of barbarism."

The poet laureate (Mr. Tennyson) (loud cheers) wrote:—

"I am unable to be present at the Mansion House on Feb. 1st. Not the less am I dismayed by the reports of this madness of hatred against the Jews (whatever the possible provocation), and of the unspeakable barbarities consequent. If they are not universally denounced, it can only be that they are so alien to the spirit of the age as to be almost unbelievable. The stronger the national protest the better. Our Government, however, may have reason to fear that it may do more harm than good by official intervention."

9

ANTI-JEWISH LEGISLATION IN CZARIST RUSSIA - 1887

On the next few pages, the reader will find some of the many laws enacted against the Jews of Russia. They are self-explanatory and give a full picture of the troublesome acts and restrictions.

ON RELIGION.

A married {man / woman} who adopts the Orthodox Christian faith must sign a declaration to the effect that {he / she} will endeavour to convert {his wife / her husband} to the same faith. (§ 81, *vol. X., part* 1, *issued* 1887.)

Should either a husband or a wife (but not both) adopt Orthodoxy, both are prohibited residence outside the pale of Jewish settlement. (*Ibid. and* § 31, *Suppl. on Passports, vol. XIV., ed.* 1857.)

If a Jew or Jewess converted to the Christian Orthodox religion does not agree to continue his or her life with the spouse remaining in the Jewish religion, the marriage is dissolved, and the convert can marry a person of the Orthodox religion. (§ 81, *Civil Laws; Code of Laws of the Russian Empire, vol. X., part* 1, *ed.* 1887.)

Jews on reaching their fourteenth year, may be received in the Orthodox Church without permission of their parents or guardians. (§ 1, *Suppl. to* § 78 *of the Law on Prevention of Crimes*, 1876.)

The Minister of the Interior may allow Jewish children to be converted to any of the Christian denominations that are tolerated in the Empire, even without the consent of their parents. (§ 3, *Suppl. to* § 76, *Law regarding the Religious*

Law on the Religious Affairs of Foreign Denominations, 1857; § 98, *vol. XIV., Law on Prevention of Crimes*, 1876.)

The establishment of synagogues is allowed only in places where there are no less than eighty Jewish houses, whereas houses of prayer can be started only in places where there are not less than 30 Jewish houses. (*Vol. XI., Religious Affairs of Foreign Denominations*, § 1062; *Build. Laws*, § 259.)

N.B.—Thus in places with a smaller Jewish population the Hebrews are prohibited public prayer under pain of criminal prosecution.

Robbery of articles used in public worship, and of effects appertaining to the synagogue, is not considered as sacrilege. (§§ 219-233, *Penal Code*, 1885; § 170, *Law on Punishments by Justices of the Peace.*)

Affairs of Foreign Denominations, vol. XI., part 1 (*ed.* 1857); § 1, *note to* § 94, *Law on Prevention of Crimes, vol. XIV.*, 1876.)

If either husband or wife adopts Christianity, the children under seven years of age of the same sex as the convert shall also be baptised. (*Ibid., Suppl. to Art.* 76, § 6.)

Every convert to Christianity shall receive a monetary payment of from 15 to 30 roubles, without distinction of sex, and children half that sum. (§ 6, *Suppl. to* § 78 (*note*), *Law on Prevention of Crimes*, 1876.)

Rural communities of Jewish agriculturists shall keep apart from settlers belonging to another persuasion. (§ 979, *vol. IX.*, 1876.)

For the office of Rabbi, only such persons are eligible who have passed a course of instruction either in the old Rabbinical schools, or in a training college for teachers, or in one of the public higher or middle class educational establishments. No one, except the Rabbis or their assistants, may perform the rites of the Jewish faith. Marriages or divorces not having taken place before a Rabbi or his assistant, will be considered illegal. (*Vol. XI., part* 1, *Law about the Religious Affairs of Foreign Denominations*, §§ 1083 *and* 1086, *and note*; § 1135, *and note, issued* 1886 *and* 1887.

N.B.—Both Rabbinical schools were closed in 1873, *i.e.*, seventeen years ago. Of the two training colleges for teachers, one, namely, that of Zitomir, was closed in 1885. Besides, when these colleges were founded, it was ordained by law, that such pupils as intended to become Rabbis should not be received. As to the public educational establishments, it is well known that there neither the Hebrew language, nor the Hebrew religion is taught, but only such branches of knowledge as have nothing in common with Jewish theology. Consequently, such so-called *Crown Rabbis* must necessarily be elected who receive their education at the higher and middle class public establishments, but who are absolutely unable to perform religious rites, which require theological knowledge. Thus it comes to pass, that the religious requirements of the Jewish communities cannot be provided for in a legal manner.

Synagogues and houses of prayer in the same streets and squares where Orthodox churches exist must be situated at a distance of at least a hundred *sajen* from the latter. (§ 258, *vol. XII., part* 1, *Law on Buildings.*)

Public prayer and worship may only be held in the Synagogues and houses of prayer. Jews holding divine worship in their houses without permission of the authorities, will be punished by law. (*Note to* §§ 1060 *and* 1061, *vol. XI., part* 1,

ON PERSONAL STATUS AND RIGHT OF SETTLEMENT AND MOVEMENT.

The Jews are declared to be Aliens, whose social rights are regulated by special ordinances. (*Note 7*, § 835, *vol. IX.*, 1876.)

I.—Permanent Residence Within the Pale of Jewish Settlement.

In the whole Russian Empire (exclusive of the kingdom of Poland) the Jews are prohibited from permanently residing or settling anywhere, except in the following fifteen gubernia:—Bessarabia, Vilna, Vitebsk, Volhynia, Grodno, Ekaterinoslav, Kovno, Minsk, Mohilev, Podolia, Poltava, Taurida (except Sebastopol), Cherson (except Nicolaiev), and Tshernigov, also in the gubernium of Kiev, exclusive of the city of Kiev. These gubernia are, therefore, called the Pale of permanent Jewish Settlement. (§ 16 *of the Law of Passports, vol. XIV.*, 1886.)

Jews who are merchants of the first guild* may live in the city of Kiev, but only in the Libedsky and Plossky districts of the town. (*Ibid.*, § 17, *vol. IV.*)

In the towns Nicolaiev and Sebastopol the right of settlement, of carrying on a trade or the business of contractor, or of obtaining house or landed property, is granted only to Jewish merchants of either guild. (*Law on Passports, Art.* 16.)

Jews are prohibited from residing permanently in the western gubernia situated next the frontier, and also in Bessarabia within 50 versts† of the frontier. From this rule are excepted those Jews who were registered in these

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* The monetary qualification for this guild is payment of taxes of not less than 1000 roubles per annum—of course, a very exceptional condition.

† About 33 English miles.

localities before 27th October, 1858, or who possessed before 27th October, 1858, house and landed property in these localities, although they did not belong to such communities. (*Ibid.*, § 23.)

Jews in the Pale of Permanent Settlement are forbidden to take up new residence outside the towns and townlets, the only exception being in the case of settlers in Jewish agricultural colonies established before 1882. *The removal of Jews from the settlements where they had resided before* 3*rd May*, 1882, *to other settlements is unconditionally prohibited.* (*Vol. IX., Law upon Status*, § 959, *note* 4, 1886, *and note* 5, 1889.)

N.B.—This is one of the principal May laws, of 1882, which has caused so large an influx into the towns. Jews are thereby also, under a recent legal decision, prohibited from removing from one village to another.

II.—Permanent Residence Outside the Pale of Jewish Settlement.

Outside the above mentioned fifteen gubernia only those Jews are permitted to reside who can be classed under the following categories:—

(1.) Merchants of the first guild, both of the Russian Empire and of the Kingdom of Poland, who have satisfied the special conditions established by law.

(2.) Jews who have a diploma of doctor of medicine and surgery, or of doctor of medicine; or who have a diploma of doctor or master of one of the other faculties of the University.

(3.) Jews who have discharged their military duties in accordance with the recruiting law and belong to the reserve; also those soldiers and non-commissioned officers who have unlimited furlough.*

(4.) Jews who have passed the higher educational establishments, inclusive of those for the study of medicine.

(5.) Graduates in pharmacy, dentists and surgeons, also midwives.

(6.) Jews who are studying pharmacy, surgery, and midwifery.

(*Vol. XIV., Law on Passports*, § 17.)

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* This privilege has now been lost by the Jews.

FROM "THE TIMES" (LONDON) - NOVEMBER 5, 1890

The Hon. Secretary to the Russo-Jewish Committee, N. S. Joseph, sent a very moving letter to "The Times". Here is the copy of it in its entirety.

From "The Times," November 5th, 1890.

TO THE EDITOR OF "THE TIMES."

SIR,—Under the light of the most recent intelligence it is now no longer difficult to understand the truth of the Russian assertions of August last, that no new repressive measures against the Jews were intended. Though the draft of the new edict was then not only in existence, but was an open secret, circulated so freely in the Jewish Pale of Settlement that copies found their way to London, Paris, and Vienna, it had not been presented to the Committee of Ministers by its promoter. The Czar's Government was therefore, technically, in a position to deny that any new edict was contemplated. That the promulgation of the new edict had been intended there is no doubt. That at the moment of denial the intention had been abandoned, probably consequent on the cry of horror aroused throughout the civilized world, there can now also be no doubt.

But the sigh of relief that escaped many lips, when the world was told that no new edicts were to be enacted against the Jews of Russia, was scarcely justified by the true state of affairs. The *répertoire* of exceptional and repressive laws against those hapless people was already full enough to enable any amount of persecution. To have issued new edicts against them would have been truly a work of supererogation, while the May Laws of 1882—the hateful work of Ignatieff—were in existence. These, together with the bulky mass of restrictive laws which had been piled one on another during a long succession of years from the days of the Empress Catherine I. were all-sufficient, and with a little ingenuity and enough zeal in their application, the Russian Jews, in their tens and

hundreds of thousands, could be exterminated without the promulgation of any new edict.

And this, in fact, is now being slowly but surely effected. The May Laws of 1882, which all the denials of all the Russian diplomatists cannot blot out from the Statute-book till the Czar, with a stroke of his pen, repeals them, constitute by themselves an instrument of torture and persecution of so odious a character that the ordinary mind fails to grasp their full scope and purport till their practical results are brought to light and their victims stand before us in all their misery. The novelist who depicted a doomed prisoner in a cell with its opposite walls gradually approaching, contracting by slow degrees his breathing space, till they at last immure him in a living tomb, foreshadowed, in fiction and in an individual case, the now imminent fate of countless thousands of human beings in the so-called Pale of Jewish Settlement in Russia. The May Laws of 1882 have been gradually applied, and lately not only with increased severity but in enlarged proportions. Whether the money with which the victims have hitherto been able to bribe the officials and so purchase immunity or evasion has come to an end, or whether the provincial governors, many of whom are humane men and friendly to the Jews, have received orders from headquarters to enforce the law with all possible rigour, the fact remains that the Jews are now being ruthlessly expelled, partly by main force, partly by force of circumstances, from the villages and townlets within the Pale, and are driven into the over-crowded towns, there to swell the volume of chronic poverty and suffering. There they become helpless paupers among the struggling poor, a starving multitude in a hunger-stricken hive. Squeezed within limits too narrow for the old inhabitants, without food or the means of acquiring food, without work or the chance of finding work, their own sad fate is sealed, and before their career is closed they will probably bring pestilence and death to the towns they have unwillingly invaded.

Nor is this the only phase of persecution by which the Israelites of Russia are being slowly done to death. To the

young Jewish student who can live on a crust, semi-starvation is a mere incident of life, and he forgets his hunger if only he can slake his thirst for knowledge. Cramped by the limits of space, deprived of the wealth of earth, he can at least enlarge his intellectual range and store up the wealth of knowledge. But here, too, he is foiled. The gymnasia and Universities are practically closed against him, only a three per cent. proportion of Jews in some, and a five per cent. proportion in others, being permitted. What must this mean to an intellectual race, when in one town alone the Jews number 70 per cent. of the entire population, and when in the whole Pale of Settlement there are only two Universities?

The Jews were reviled by their enemies for following only the paths of commerce, buying and selling, and producing nothing. Thus many abandon commerce, settle in villages and pursue an agricultural life. But the May Laws drive them back into the towns. Exception is made in favour of those settled in the villages before 1882; but again the law declares that even those who have thus settled may not hold the land. They may remain there, but they may not follow the calling that brought them there, and that secured for them the means of living.

The Jews were reviled by their enemies for following only pursuits that brought them monetary wealth. Few Jews in Russia have reached the goal of opulence. Nowhere in the wide world is seen such poverty as pervades the entire Pale of Settlement. But the Jews, scorning the base insinuation that they prize riches above knowledge, claim the higher education, show themselves in the schools worthy of it, and yet the portals of the Universities are closed against them, except within limits wholly disproportionate to their numbers. The few who gain admission achieve the highest triumphs, but find they have been drinking from the cup of Tantalus. The Faculty of Law declares them qualified to be lawyers, but a new regulation forbids them to practise without a Ministerial consent that is now invariably withheld. The Faculty of Medicine declares them qualified to act as Army doctors, but a new law forbids them practising in the Army.

Even the humble post of schoolmaster is no longer open to the Jew, and those on whom long service should have conferred a vested right of employment have been discharged.

It may seem a sorry jest; but the Russian law, in very truth, now declares—the Jew may live here only and shall not live there; if he lives here he must remain here; but wherever he lives he shall not live—he shall not have the means of living. This is the operation of the law as it stands, without any new edict. This is the sentence of death that silently, insidiously, and in the veiled language of obscurely worded laws, has been pronounced against hundreds of thousands of human beings, and the executions are proceeding—not on the scaffold in the sight of gaping multitudes, not in the dungeon by dagger or by bowl, but in the dusky *ghetti* of the Pale, the victims cramped and crushed, starved of air and space and food, with scarcely roof or rags to cover them, kicked and cuffed by officials who scoff at the squalid poverty that officialism has produced, panting for life and light, but with no hope, save of the light and life of another world.

Shall civilized Europe, shall the Christianity of England, behold this slow torture and bloodless massacre and be silent?

Your obedient Servant,

N. S JOSEPH,

Hon. Secretary to the Russo-Jewish Committee. 11

THE MEMORIAL TO THE CZAR - 1890

The citizens of London had a conscience and were terribly disturbed as to what was taking place in Russia concerning the Jews. This document is the appeal they made to Alexander III around the 1890's.

The following is the full text of the Memorial to the Czar, voted at the Guildhall Meeting of the 10th December, 1890:—

TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY, ALEXANDER III.,

EMPEROR OF ALL THE RUSSIAS.

The Memorial of the Citizens of London, in Guildhall assembled, on behalf of the Russian Jews.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY!

We, the Citizens of London, respectfully approach your Majesty, and humbly beg your gracious leave to plead the cause of the afflicted.

Cries of distress have reached us from thousands of suffering Israelites in your vast Empire; and we Englishmen, with pity in our souls for all who suffer, turn to your Majesty to implore for them your Sovereign aid and clemency.

Five millions of your Majesty's subjects groan beneath the yoke of exceptional and restrictive laws. Remnants of a race whence all religion sprang—ours and yours, and every creed on earth that owns one God—men who cling with all devotion to their ancient faith and forms of worship, these Hebrews are in your Empire subject to such laws that under them they cannot live and thrive.

Those laws, built up in bygone times when intolerance was the rule in almost every State, have been intensified by later ordinances, and weigh as grievous burdens on the Hebrew subjects of your Majesty, raising a barrier between them and their Christian fellow-subjects, making them a pariah caste, degraded and despised as if an accursed race.

Pent up in narrow bounds within your Majesty's wide Empire, and even within those bounds forced to reside chiefly in towns that reek and overflow with every form of poverty.

and wretchedness; forbidden all free movement; hedged in every enterprise by restrictive laws; forbidden tenure of land, or all concern in land, their means of livelihood have become so cramped as to render life for them well-nigh impossible.

Nor are they cramped alone in space and action. The higher education is denied them, except in limits far below the due proportion of their needs and aspirations. They may not freely exercise professions, like other subjects of your Majesty, nor may they gain promotion in the Army, however great their merit and their valour.

No wonder if, struggling against such disabilities in the fierce fight for life, their faults and failings should come uppermost, obscuring their many virtues.

For they have virtues. These Israelites, declared aliens by the laws, are patriots still. They serve in the Imperial Army beyond their due proportion; they fight with zeal and valour in Russia's battles, and shed their life-blood for their country's cause. Ever loyal to your Majesty, they strive to obey the law, though its yoke be heavy, and true to the dictates of their Ancient Book, they pray in their Synagogues for the welfare of your Throne and Home.

Sire! we who have learnt to tolerate all creeds, deeming it a part of true religion to permit religious liberty, we beseech your Majesty to repeal those laws that afflict these Israelites. Give them the blessing of equality! In every land where Jews have equal rights, the nation prospers. We pray you, then, annul those special laws and disabilities that crush and cow your Hebrew subjects.

And, mighty Sire! permit the sunshine of your Imperial Grace to brighten their dark homes, and let them feel the warmth of your paternal favour. As every passing year your Majesty's vast Empire widens and grows, so enter a new sphere of conquest, proclaimed by this emancipation Emperor of five million hearts swelling with gratitude.

Sire! your Royal Sister, our Empress Queen (whom God preserve!) bases her throne upon her people's love, making their happiness her own. So may your Majesty gain from your subjects' love all strength and happiness, making your mighty Empire mightier still, rendering your Throne firm and impregnable, reaping new blessings for your House and Home.

Signed on behalf of the Citizens of London,

(Signed) JOSEPH SAVORY,
Lord Mayor.

10*th December*, 1890.

The Memorial was ornamentally engrossed on Vellum, and transmitted by the Lord Mayor to St. Petersburg, with the following Letter :—

MANSION HOUSE, LONDON, E.C.,
December 24th, 1890.

To His Excellency, LIEUT.-GEN. DE RICHTER, Aide-de-camp of H.M. the Emperor, for the reception of petitions.

YOUR EXCELLENCY,—

As Chairman of a Public Meeting held in the Guildhall of the City of London, on the 10th December inst., I have the honour to enclose herewith to your Excellency the respectful Memorial of the Citizens of London to His Imperial Majesty the Emperor, on the subject of the condition of the Jews in Russia.

I beg that your Excellency will do me the honour of laying this Memorial at the feet of His Imperial Majesty, and of kindly acknowledging its receipt.

Your Excellency will observe that the Memorial is expressive of the great esteem and regard entertained by the Citizens of London for His Imperial Majesty and his Throne, and entreats the gracious sympathy and clemency of His Majesty in those humanitarian efforts which are being made for the improvement of the condition of his Jewish subjects.

I need hardly assure your Excellency that the Memorial is not addressed to His Majesty from any political or religious considerations, but solely in the feeling that an expression of friendly interest in the welfare of the Jews in Russia by the City of London will have that gracious and generous reception by His Majesty, that his well-known affection for all classes of the subjects of his vast Empire will prompt.

Begging, that your Excellency will receive the sincere assurance of my high esteem and consideration,

I have the honour to be,
Your obedient servant,

(Signed) JOSEPH SAVORY,
Lord Mayor of the City of London.

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THE ARYAN IS SUPERIOR - 1897

7. HOUSTON STEWART CHAMBERLAIN (1855-1927)
"The Aryan Is Superior"

327. . . . Houston Stewart Chamberlain, born an Englishman, for the first twenty-five years of his life a virtual Frenchman; in the end a German. Natural scientist and philosopher, he exerted a decisive influence on two generations of German intellectuals. He was the intellectual adviser, indeed the mentor of Wilhelm II. . . . In 1897, Chamberlain published his chief work, *The Foundations of the 19th Century* which quickly made him world famous. . . . The Englishman placed the Germans above everyone else in the world and agreed with Wagner that they were destined "to ennoble mankind." . . . Chamberlain designated this highest type . . . "Aryan" . . . considers race relationship higher and more profound than blood relationship; it is the relationship of souls based on affinities, on similarity of character and manner of thought, despite variations in physical characteristics: "In this sense the Judo-European Aryans unquestionably constitute a family," and "the Germanic peoples belong to that group of most gifted people which we are accustomed to designate as "Aryans." The true Aryan type is not frequent in the so-called Aryan nations, and the task is to make it frequent and dominant: "Even if it were proved that in the past there never was an Aryan race, we want there to be one in the future." . . . "Physically and spiritually, the Aryans stand out among all men; hence they are by right the lords of the world." KONRAD HEIDEN

Der Fuehrer: Hitler's Rise to Power, p. 232, 233, 234, 236, 237 13

THE DREYFUS AFFAIR - 1894-1906

On October 15, 1894, Captain Alfred Dreyfus attached to the French general staff, was arrested on supposedly having furnished staff secrets to the German government. He was tried by a court martial for high treason and sentenced to life imprisonment. Here unfolds another great event in the annals of anti-semitic activities. The charge against Dreyfus was based on a copy of a certain secret document - alleged to be in his handwriting. It was finally shown that it was the writing of Esterhazy, a depressed and inert major in the French army and a spy in the pay of Germany. Many were convinced of Dreyfus' innocence. The great defender of Dreyfus was Emile Zola, who wrote an open letter addressed to the President of the Republic with the off repeated phrase "J'accuse". The case was not easy to re-open. After the death of President Faure (1899), Dreyfus was returned and retried. Again he was condemned - then given a pardon. Then the Court of Cassation turned the verdict, and finally Dreyfus was pronounced innocent. The following documents are some of the major highlights that took place over the years.

THE BORDEREAU

Hubert-Joseph Henry was a man in his late forties and was a dominant figure in the War Office of France. He was a career man in the Army. He was in charge of faked documents and disposition of counter-spies.

Without news indicating that you wish to see me, nevertheless, Sir, I send you some interesting information:

1. A note on the hydraulic buffer of the 120 and the way in which this gun behaves (*s'est conduite*);
2. A note on the covering troops (some modifications will be made under the new plan);
3. A note on a modification to the artillery formations;
4. A note about Madagascar;
5. The preliminary Firing Manual of the Field Artillery (14 March 1894).

The last document is extremely difficult to come by and I can only have it at my disposal for very few days. The War Office has sent a fixed number to the Corps, and the Corps are responsible for them. Each officer holding one must return it after manœuvres.

If therefore you wish to take from it what interests you and then keep it for me, I will fetch it. Unless you would like me to have it copied in extenso and only send you the copy.

I am just off to manœuvres.

This letter, the *bordereau*, was written on what is known as *papier-pelure*, or onion-skin semi-transparent paper. It was not in small fragments, or crumpled, but partly torn across twice. It was unsigned and undated, and the envelope was missing. Before going to bed, Henry repaired it with the gummed transparent paper he employed for this kind of work.[1]

2. *The* Bordereau

Sans nouvelles m'indiquant que vous désirez me voir, je vous adresse cependant, Monsieur, quelques renseignements intéressants:

1. Une note sur le frein hydraulique du 120 et la manière dont s'est conduite cette pièce;
2. Une note sur les troupes de couverture (quelques modifications seront apportées par le nouveau plan);
3. Une note sur une modification aux formations de l'artillerie;
4. Une note relative à Madagascar;
5. Le projet de manuel de tir de l'artillerie de campagne (14 mars 1894).

Ce dernier document est extrêmement difficile à se procurer et je ne puis l'avoir à ma disposition que très peu de jours. Le ministère de la Guerre en a envoyé un nombre fixe dans les corps, et ces corps en sont responsables. Chaque officier détenteur doit remettre le sien après les manœuvres.

Si donc vous voulez y prendre ce qui vous intéresse et le tenir à ma disposition après, je le prendrai. A moins que vous ne vouliez que je fasse copier in extenso et ne vous en adresse la copie.

Je vais partir en manœuvres.

THE CANAILLE D. LETTER

In Paris, there were foreign secret service groups. They were within the immunity of their respective Embassies. The two important ones were Col. Max von Schwartz Koppen, the German, and the Italian, Col. Panizzardi. Their activities were unknown to their respective ambassadors.

Among the intercepted letters was one which opened: "Herewith twelve large-scale plans of Nice, which that scum (*canaille*) D. has handed to me for you." The letter was signed "Alexandrine," the pseudonym both attachés used for this correspondence.[1] The letter was undated, and, since the Section was extremely casual in its work, no record was made of the date it was received.[a]

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THE DAVIGNON LETTER - PANIZZARDI TO SCHWARTZ KOPPEN

—Proofs (*Beweise*)—Authority (*Patent*). Dangerous situation for me, relations with a French officer. To bring what he has. Absolute (word partly missing) Bureau de Renseignements [in French]. No relation with the troops. Importance only in coming from the Ministry. Already somewhere else." This note had reached the War Office in late December or early January. Dreyfus had only come to the Second Bureau on January 1.[1] 16

PANIZZARDI TELEGRAM TO ROME

"If Captain Dreyfus has not had relations with you, it would be well to order the Ambassador to publish an official denial, in order to avoid press comment." The Italian War Office replied on the same day that it had had neither direct nor indirect contact with Dreyfus. At the same time the German War Office circulated an enquiry among its military attachés, all of whom replied that hitherto they had never heard of Dreyfus. Both War Offices were bewildered by the allegations. Schwartzkoppen and Panizzardi, with perfect honesty, assured their ambassadors of their ignorance of the prisoner.

17

J'ACCUSE BY ZOLA

Major Du Paty de Clam was an officer in the War Office. He was the one who said that he had hurt his hand and asked Dreyfus to write a letter for him. The Minister of War himself was General Auguste Mercier.

> . . . Observe that General Billot, new Minister of War, was as yet in no way compromised in the previous affair. His hands were clean; he could have established the truth. He dared not; . . . and so there was nothing but a moment of struggle between his conscience and what he felt to be the Army's interests. When that moment had passed it was already too late . . . Here it is a year since Generals Billot, Boisdeffre and Gonse have known that Dreyfus is innocent and they keep the fearful thing to themselves! And those men sleep, and they have wives and children they love!

Zola's tone had grown more excited and angry as he wrote and, having traced the steps that led to Esterhazy's "arranged" acquittal, he burst out in indignation:

> . . . The war-office through every possible expedient, through campaigns in the press, through pressure, influence, has sought to screen Esterhazy, in order to demolish Dreyfus once more . . . what a nest of low intrigue, corruption and dissipation that sacred precinct has become . . . what abominable measures have been resorted to in this affair of folly and stupidity, smacking of low police practice, of unbridled nightmares, of Spanish inquisition — all for the sweet pleasure of a few uniformed . . . personages who grind their heel into the nation, who hurl back into its throat the cry for truth and justice, under the lying guise of "reasons of state" . . .
>
> It is a crime to misdirect public opinion and to pervert it until it becomes delirious. It is a crime to poison small and simple minds, to rouse the passions of intolerance and reaction through the medium of that miserable anti-semitism of which great and liberal France with her Rights of Man, will expire if she is not soon cured. It is a crime to exploit patriotism for motives of hatred and it is a crime, finally, to make of the sword the modern god when all human science is at work to bring about a future of truth and justice.

Finally, Zola had come to the meat of his letter:

> I ACCUSE COLONEL DU PATY DE CLAM of having been

> the diabolical agent of the judicial error . . . and of having continued to defend his deadly work during the past three years through the most absurd and revolting machinations.
>
> I ACCUSE GENERAL MERCIER of having made himself an accomplice in one of the greatest crimes of history, probably through weak-mindedness.
>
> I ACCUSE GENERAL BILLOT of having had in his hands the decisive proofs of the innocence of Dreyfus and of having concealed them . . . out of political motives and to save the face of the General Staff.
>
> I ACCUSE GENERAL BOISDEFFRE AND GENERAL GONSE of being accomplices in the same crime . . .
>
> I ACCUSE GENERAL PELLIEUX . . . of having made a scoundrelly inquest, I mean an inquest of the most monstrous partiality . . .
>
> I ACCUSE THE THREE HANDWRITING EXPERTS . . . of having made lying and fraudulent reports . . .
>
> I ACCUSE THE WAR-OFFICE of having led a vile campaign in the press . . . in order to misdirect public opinion and cover up its sins.
>
> I ACCUSE, LASTLY, THE FIRST COURT-MARTIAL of having violated all human right in condemning a prisoner on testimony kept secret from him, and
>
> I ACCUSE THE SECOND COURT-MARTIAL of having covered up this illegality by order, committing in turn the judicial crime of acquitting a guilty man with full knowledge of his guilt.

In conclusion, Zola had announced:

> I have one passion only, for light, in the name of humanity which has borne so much and has a right to happiness . . . Let them dare to carry me to the court of appeals and let there be an inquest in the full light of the day!
>
> I am waiting.

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FROM DREYFUS' DIARY - ARREST

THE ARREST

THE year 1893 passed without incidents. My daughter Jeanne came to shed a new ray of sunshine in our home.

The year 1894 was to be the last of my service in the Second Bureau of the General Staff of the army. During the last quarter of the year I was named for the regulation term of service in an infantry regiment stationed in Paris.

I began my term on the 1st of October. Saturday, the 13th of October, 1894, I received a service-note directing me to go the following Monday, at nine o'clock in the morning, to the Ministry of War for the general inspection. It was expressly stated that I should be in *tenue bourgeoise* (civilian dress). The hour seemed to me very early for the general inspection, which is usually passed late in the day; the mention of

civilian dress surprised me as well. Still, after making these remarks while reading the note, I soon forgot them, as the matter appeared unimportant.

As was our custom, my wife and I dined on Sunday evening with her parents. We came away gay and light-hearted, as we always did after these family gatherings.

On Monday morning I left my family. My son Pierre, who was then three and a half years old and was accustomed to accompany me to the door when I went out, came with me that morning as usual. That was one of my keenest remembrances through all my misfortunes. Very often in my nights of sorrow and despair I lived over the moment when I held my child in my arms for the last time. In this recollection I always found renewed strength of purpose.

The morning was bright and cool, the rising sun driving away the thin mist; everything foretold a beautiful day. As I was a little ahead of time, I walked back and forth before the Ministry Building for a few minutes, then went up-

stairs. On entering the office I was received by Commandant Picquart, who seemed to be waiting for me, and who took me at once into his room. I was somewhat surprised at finding none of my comrades, as officers are always called in groups to the general inspection. After a few minutes of commonplace conversation Commandant Picquart conducted me to the private office of the Chief of General Staff. I was greatly amazed to find myself received, not by the Chief of General Staff, but by Commandant du Paty de Clam, who was in uniform. Three persons in civilian dress, who were utterly unknown to me, were also there. These three persons were M. Cochefert, *Chef de la Sûreté* (the head of the secret police), his secretary, and the Keeper of the Records, M. Gribelin.

Commandant du Paty de Clam came directly toward me and said in a choking voice: "The General is coming. While waiting, I have a letter to write, and as my finger is sore, will you write it for me?" Strange as the request was under the circumstances, I at once complied. I

sat down at a little table, while Commandant du Paty placed himself at my side and very near me, following my hand with his eye. After first requiring me to fill up an inspection form, he dictated to me a letter of which certain passages recalled the accusing letter that I knew afterward, and which was called the *bordereau*. In the course of his dictation the Commandant interrupted me sharply, saying: "You tremble." (I was not trembling. At the Court Martial of 1894, he explained his brusque interruption by saying that he had perceived I was not trembling under the dictation; believing therefore that he had to do with one who was simulating, he had tried in this way to shake my assurance.) This vehement remark surprised me greatly, as did the hostile attitude of Commandant du Paty. But as all suspicion was far from my mind, I thought only that he was displeased at my writing it badly. My fingers were cold, for the temperature outside was chilly, and I had been only a few minutes in the warm room. So I answered, "My fingers are cold."

As I continued writing without any sign of perturbation, Commandant du Paty tried a new interruption and said violently: "Pay attention; it is a grave matter." Whatever may have been my surprise at a procedure as rude as it was uncommon, I said nothing and simply applied myself to writing more carefully. Thereupon Commandant du Paty, as he explained to the Court Martial of 1894, concluded that, my self-possession being unshakable, it was useless to push the experiment further. The scene of the dictation had been prepared in every detail; but it had not answered the expectations of those who had arranged it.

As soon as the dictation was over, Commandant du Paty arose and, placing his hand on my shoulder, cried out in a loud voice: "In the name of the law, I arrest you; you are accused of the crime of high treason." A thunderbolt falling at my feet would not have produced in me a more violent emotion; I blurted out disconnected sentences, protesting against so infamous an accusation, which nothing in my life could have given rise to.

FROM LAST PAGE OF DREYFUS' DIARY - 1896

Thursday, September 10, 1896.

I am so utterly weary, so broken down in body and soul, that to-day I stop my diary, not being able to foresee how long my strength will hold out, or what day my brain will succumb under the weight of so great a burden.

I finish it by addressing to the President of the Republic this supreme appeal, in case strength and sanity fail before the end of this horrible tragedy: —

"Monsieur le Président de la République: —

"I take the liberty of asking you that this diary, written day by day, be handed to my wife.

"There will be found in it, perhaps, Monsieur le Président, cries of anger, of affright, at the most awful condemnation that ever befell a human being, — a human being who never forfeited his honor. I no longer feel the courage to re-read it, to retrace the bitter journey.

"To-day I have no recriminations to make against anyone; each one has thought himself acting in the fulness of right and conscience.

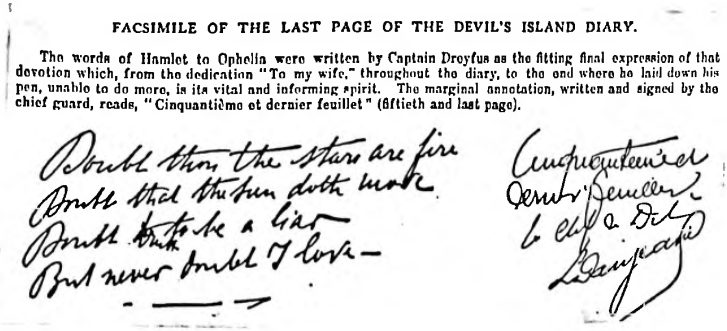
"I simply declare once more that I am innocent of this abominable crime, and I ask ever and again for this one thing, always the same thing, — that the search for the culprit who is the real author of this base crime be diligently prosecuted.

"And when he is discovered, I beseech that the compassion which so great a misfortune as mine inspires may be given to my dear wife. and my darling children."

End of the Diary

FACSIMILE OF THE LAST PAGE OF THE DEVIL'S ISLAND DIARY.

The words of Hamlet to Ophelia were written by Captain Dreyfus as the fitting final expression of that devotion which, from the dedication "To my wife," throughout the diary, to the end where he laid down his pen, unable to do more, is its vital and informing spirit. The marginal annotation, written and signed by the chief guard, reads, "Cinquantième et dernier feuillet" (fiftieth and last page).


Doubt thou the stars are fire
Doubt that the sun doth move
Doubt truth to be a liar
But never doubt I love —

Cinquantième et
dernier feuillet
le chef de Dét
Dreyfus

OBITUARY IN NEW YORK TIMES OF COL. DREYFUS - 1935

COL. DREYFUS DIES IN HIS PARIS HOME

Innocent Victim of Convictions for Treason Ill for Years —He Was 75.

DEVIL'S ISLAND PRISONER

Cleared in 1906, He Returned to Army—Honored for Service in the World War.

Wireless to THE NEW YORK TIMES.

PARIS, July 12.--Lieut. Col. Alfred Dreyfus, the principal figure in one of the most passionately-disputed political controversies in French history, died peacefully in his Paris residence today. He was in his seventy-sixth year.

For [illegible] he had philosophically [illegible] the case that [illegible] his career, which even today can move many Frenchmen who lived through the excitement of "l'affaire Dreyfus" to violent discussion.

For several years Colonel Dreyfus had been in poor health, and for the past year had slowly declined. When the end came at 5 o'clock this afternoon his son, Pierre, and his daughter and son-in-law, Dr. Pierre Paul Levy, were at the bedside with the attending physicians and several friends.

It was announced tonight that the funeral services probably would take place on Sunday when the political groups that so hotly debated the Dreyfus case will be staging competing Bastile Day demonstrations of the kind Paris often witnessed during the struggle for Colonel Dreyfus's vindication, which convulsed off France.

The victim of two convictions for treason had lived in virtual seclusion since the World War in which he had commanded one of the Paris forts.

A bladder ailment and failing vision had confined him to his home for years.

Victim of Conspiracy

By WALTER LITTLEFIELD.

There was never a particle of genuine evidence against Captain Alfred Dreyfus. Nevertheless, he was twice convicted of high treason.

In 1894 the court-martial of Paris, knowing him to be innocent, found him guilty and sentenced him to imprisonment for life in a fortified place, which an ex post facto law designated as Devil's Island.

In 1898 the Paris court-martial acquitted of the identical charge Major Walsin Esterhazy, the ex curia proven traitor.

In 1899 the Cour de Cassation, supreme court of revision and appeal, quashed the conviction of 1894 and sent Dreyfus to be tried on the original charge before the Ille-et-Vilaine court-martial sitting at Rennes, so that the military hierarchy might explate the judicial "error" of five years before.

The Rennes court-martial found Dreyfus guilty "with extenuating circumstances" and sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment. He then accepted pardon on condition that he should still be free to establish his innocence.

In 1903 he petitioned for a revision of his case and three years later the Cour de Cassation quashed the conviction of 1899 and proclaimed his complete innocence. The State formally exculpated and rehabilitated him and those who had been prosecuted for trying to establish his innocence. Meanwhile, an act of amnesty prevented the criminal witnesses and judges from being proceeded against.

Born in Upper Alsace.

Alfred Dreyfus, the youngest of three brothers and three sisters, was born Oct. 9, 1859, at Mulhausen, in Upper Alsace. Their father was one of the principal manufacturers of textiles in the town. In 1872 Germany, on account of the treaty of Frankfurt, forced the inhabitants of Alsace-Lorraine to declare their nationality, and the Dreyfus family with one exception opted to remain French and moved to France. The exception was the eldest son, Jacques, long past military age, who remained to conduct the family business. The two younger brothers, Mathieu and Alfred, went to Paris to live.

In 1878 Alfred, then 19 years old, began his military education at the Ecole Polytechnique. Two years later, with the rank of cadet second lieutenant of artillery, he passed to the Ecole d'Application at Fontainbleau. He received his lieutenant's commission Oct. 1, 1882, and was ordered to the Thirty-first Regiment of Artillery at Le Mans; a year later he was transferred to the mounted artillery attached to the First Independent Cavalry at Paris. On Sept. 12, 1889, he was promoted to captain in the Twenty-first Artillery and then detached for special study in ballistics at the Ecole Centrale de Pyrotechnie Militaire at Bourges. That Winter he became engaged to Lucie Hadamard, the daughter of a Parisian lapidary, and prepared for his examinations for the Ecole Supérieure de Guerre, which he entered April 20, 1890. The next day he married.

When he was graduated two years later his high rank in class caused him to be brevetted to the general staff of the army and he entered that administrative body as probationer (stagiaire) Jan. 1, 1893. He was the first Jewish officer to be so honored.

At that time he was a captain detached from the Fourteenth Artillery. If all went well his probation would naturally end Dec. 31, 1894, and as early as May he had been ordered to pass the last three months of it on active service with the Thirty-ninth Infantry of the Paris garrison. He would not, therefore, be required to attend the manoeuvres of that Autumn.

Arrested in Fall of 1894.

From the beginning of his probation he had resided with his wife and their two children, Pierre, born in 1891, and Jeanne, in 1893, at 6 Avenue du Trocadéro, just across the Seine from the offices of the General Staff, at 10-14 Rue St. Dominique. Neither Captain Dreyfus nor his wife was socially inclined and they received few guests outside their immediate families. His officer's salary, his revenue from the Muehlhausen factory and from his wife's dowry gave them an income of about $10,000 a year. Every Sunday they dined with the Hadamards, 52 Rue de Châteaudun. Their last dinner there was on Oct. 14, 1894, for the next morning Captain Dreyfus was arrested on the charge of high treason at the office of the chief of the General Staff.

The arrest was made in accordance with the plans of anti-Semitic members of the General Staff, which found expression in the unsupported conjecture of Alphonse Bertillon, then famous as the inventor of anthropometric identification, that a certain document of 700 words, unsigned and unaddressed, was in the handwriting of Dreyfus. The document had been stolen from the German Embassy, on Aug. 16. Henceforth to be known as the "Bordereau," it was an invoice enumerating five documents of military value which the writer said he was prepared to deliver. Its technical phrases were not such as would have been employed by an expert artillerist such as Dreyfus. The closing sentence, "I am just off to the manoeuvres," was contrary to the orders he had received in the preceding May.

Nevertheless, he was kept "in military" at the military prison in the Rue du Cherche-Midi until Dec. 5, when he was permitted to receive legal advice and write to his wife. He was repeatedly interrogated and his home was searched. An indictment was drawn up containing anonymous police reports, intended to show that Dreyfus was both libertine and gambler, and depositions of graphologists supporting the conjecture of Bertillon.

Trial Conducted in Secret.

The trial, which began Dec. 19 and lasted four days, was secret. The procedure consisted of attempts to turn the suspicions, insinuations and conjectures of the police inquisition and indictment into legal evidence. One episode illustrates the nature of this evidence: a witness deposed that an "honorable person," whose name he was not required to divulge, had told him that Dreyfus was a traitor. The accusation was dramatic and made a deep impression on the seven military judges, none of whom was, like the defendant, an artillery officer.

After they had retired to consider the verdict, the Minister of War, General Auguste Mercier, caused to be laid before them eight documents with a covering letter. Only one of these documents had any reference to Dreyfus, but, by the covering letter, all incriminated him. The document which referred to him was a decoded, intercepted dispatch. Had the decoding been correct it would have completely established his innocence.

By not permitting the defense to examine this evidence the judges violated Article 101 of the "Code of Military Procedure." They found Dreyfus guilty of having delivered "to a foreign power or its agents a certain number of secret or confidential documents concerning the national defense," and prefaced his sentence of life imprisonment in a fortified place with degradation in the presence of the Paris garrison.

This ceremony was carried out on the morning of Jan. 5, 1895, on the parade ground of the Ecole Militaire with the garrison drawn up in a hollow square. There its insignia were ripped from his uniform and his sword broken and cast upon the ground; this was followed by the "rogue's march" around the square punctuated at almost every step by the victim's unceasing cries of "I am innocent," which were answered by yells of derision from the crowd without. The most dramatic account of the affair appeared in L'Autorité, a paper hostile to Dreyfus. By a curious whim of fate it was this account which first aroused sympathy for him abroad and even doubts as to his guilt.

Suffered on Devil's Island.

Dreyfus arrived at the penal colony at Cayenne, French Guiana, March 15, and was confined for a month in the convict prison there until huts for himself and guards could be built on Devil's Island in the bay. This island contains about twenty-five acres. Its greatest altitude is fifty feet and its temperature ranges from 76 to 88 the year round, modified at night by easterly winds; but from December to March it is drenched with rains and becomes a hotbed of fever and insects. In the vestibule of Dreyfus's hut a sentry was stationed day and night. He was forced to do his own cooking, washing and cleaning. He only received matches in exchange for an empty box. Until September, 1896, he could exercise over about half an acre—a treeless triangle formed by his hut, the landing wharf, and a little gully which had once sheltered a leper camp.

In his diary he tells how insects and vermin devoured his food and books; he mentions the "spider crab, whose bite is poisonous." He wrote in his diary off and on until September, 1906, when a rumor reached the Colonial Office that he had escaped. The consequence of this was that he was put in double irons for several weeks and the island fortified.

Dreyfus had been there two years and eight months when, Nov. 15, 1897, his brother, Mathieu, in an open letter to General Billot, who had succeeded General Mercier as Minister of War, denounced Major Walsin Esterhazy of the Seventy-fourth Infantry as the writer of the Bordereau. This denunciation was based on information derived from two sources: directly, from M. Castro, Esterhazy's stock broker, who, seeing a facsimile of the Bordereau, had recognized his client's handwriting; indirectly, from Lieut. Col. Georges Picquart, the head of the Military Intelligence, who had learned by a comparison of handwritings that Esterhazy and not Dreyfus was the author of the Bordereau and hence the traitor.

Zola Accused Plotters.

Esterhazy at once demanded an investigation and then a court-martial. The court-martial cleared him but caused Picquart's arrest on the charge of communicating official documents. Then, three days later, Jan. 13, 1897, appeared Emile Zola's famous letter, "J'accuse," in L'Aurore, denouncing the criminals of the military hierarchy from Mercier down, the judges of the two courts-martial, the handwriting experts, and inviting prosecution on the charge of criminal libel.

At three Zola trials nothing was allowed to be asserted which would reveal the truth about the Dreyfus case, and Zola, after two appeals, realizing that he had sacrificed himself in vain, fled to England and was convicted by default. A few days later, Major Henry, who had succeeded Picquart as head of the Intelligence, confessed to having forged a document which had been used to preserve the Dreyfus conviction. He was arrested. He was found dead in his cell, Aug. 31, 1898—his throat cut with a razor.

By this time, a number of facts had been revealed tending to show that Dreyfus was not in any way implicated in the treason and that both his trial and Esterhazy's had been illegal; so the Cour de Cassation reviewed his case and sent him to be retried at Rennes, with the result already noted—the pardon, the second review of his case, and his complete exculpation and rehabilitation with the cross of the Legion of Honor. In its final judgment the Supreme Tribunal made note of the fact that Dreyfus had "declared his intention to refrain from claiming the financial compensation to which, according to Article 446 of the Code d'Instruction, he had a right."

The factory at Muelhausen had been sold in 1897 to defray the expenses incurred in attempting to prove his innocence, and his brother Jacques had then taken up his abode in Belfort and become a French citizen. In 1894 his two elder sons, who were being prepared in Paris for the military schools of the Polytechnic and Saint-Cyr, had been obliged to abandon their careers; the next two sons had been hounded out of the Lycée at Belfort. Two years later, when almost everybody in France who bore the surname Dreyfus was changing it, Jacques summoned to him his two remaining sons, then of military age, and said:

"You will leave your father's house and return to it no more. You will go to France where your name is scorned and despised, but you will preserve it. It is your duty. Go!"

Won World War Honors.

Dreyfus was restored to the army with the rank of major and was retired three years later. In the World War he volunteered for service, was breveted brigadier general, and put in command of one of the forts of Paris at St. Denis. At the end of the war he was made lieutenant colonel and commander in the Legion of Honor. His son, Pierre, was twice cited for bravery.

A German victim of the war was Major Gen. Max von Schwartzkoppen, who died in the Elizabeth Hospital, Berlin, January, 1917. As military attaché at Paris, in 1894, he had been Esterhazy's chief customer, and a word spoken by him in the proper quarter might have saved Dreyfus, but he was forbidden by his superiors to utter it. When he was dying, however, his wife, Luise, Countess von Wedel, whom he had married in 1902, heard him cry in his delirium:

"Frenchmen, listen to me! Dreyfus is innocent! He was never guilty! Everything was more intrigue and falsification! Dreyfus is innocent!"

When Dreyfus was seeking to have the Cour de Cassation revise his case in 1903, Schwartzkoppen had written a memorandum on it, which was found among his papers. This was published, together with evidential correspondence, in Berlin in 1930, a translation of it appearing in the Oeuvre of Paris. Dreyfus was then making his first visit to Berlin as the guest of his German biographer, Dr. Bruno Weil, who described him as "a friendly old officer, optimistic and with no sign of bitterness." On his return to Paris, Dreyfus wrote to the editor of L'Oeuvre:

> The papers of General Schwartzkoppen make me live again with painful intensity and with such physical and moral sufferings that the years between have not been able to soften the memory of them. They confirm in irrefutable fashion the facts established by the masterly inquiry of the Cour de Cassation which resulted in the revision of 1906.
>
> General von Schwartzkoppen acted like an honest man in revealing all he knew; it is, however, profoundly regrettable that he did not feel it his duty to do so the day he understood that a judicial error had been committed.

Aided 350 Poor Families.

In the Spring of 1934 Dreyfus underwent an operation and spent his seventy-fifth birthday in the following October in a hospital. During the last few months of his life he was nearly blind and found his chief joy in the presence of his children and grandchildren, his ever-devoted wife and in charitable works. In the Summer of 1934 his wife was the sole support of 350 indigent families.

After the pardon of 1899 Dreyfus with his wife and children passed a few months at the home of his sister, Mme. Valabrège, in Carpentras, Southeastern France. Among his visitors was the late Yves Guyot, former Minister of Public Works, and as editor of Le Siècle, one of the most influential Dreyfus aides. Dreyfus told him that the running comment in THE NEW YORK TIMES on the proceedings at Rennes, he believed, had greatly helped Americans to understand his case.

He would never permit his defenders to pose him as a martyr, and, as far as he could, prevented them from making political capital out of his case, whose political significance he would no more admit than its ethnic phase. But when informed in 1933 of the expulsion of his co-religionists from Germany, he exclaimed, as though realizing a mistake for the first time:

"And so my sufferings appear to have been all in vain!"

CODE OF LAWS AS TO RANKS AND CLASSES - 1914

The legal position of Jews in Czarist Russia was determined by the laws set up. Russian law had three classes of population: 1) National inhabitants; 2) Foreign races; and 3) Foreigners. The Jews were included in the second group, also known as "inorodtsi". Also included in this group were the nomadic tribes with whom the Jews had nothing in common. None of the "foreign races" except the Jews were subjected to any legal restrictions.

Extracts from Original Russian Laws Regulating position of Jews Which Were in Force at the Beginning of the War

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CODE OF LAWS AS TO RANKS AND CLASSES

Russian Jews Included in Number of Foreign Races

SEC. 7: "Different rights are instituted in the state (1) for the natural inhabitants, making up the city and country population; (2) for 'foreign races' *inorodtsi*, and (3) for foreigners."

SEC. 762: "To the number of 'foreign races,' *inorodtsi* inhabiting the Russian Empire belong: (1) the foreign races of Siberia; (2) the Samoyeds of the Province of Arkhangelsk; (3) the nomadic foreign races of the Province of Stavropol; (4) the Kalmucks, wandering in the Provinces of Astrakhan and Stavropol; (5) the Kirghiz of the Internal Horde; (6) the foreign races of the territories of Akmolinsk, Lemirechensk, Uralsk, and Turguai; (7) the population of foreign race of the Transcaspian Territory; (8) the Jews."

SEC. 767: "Jews who are Russian subjects are subjected to the general laws in all cases in which there are no special rules enacted concerning the Jews."

22

WHILE CHILDREN FIGHT FOR COUNTRY - PARENTS TREATED AS OUTLAWS - 1915

In the early part of April, 1915, there was an order issued prohibiting the settlement of Jews on the Gulf of Finland. Following this edict, the newspapers published a list of places that were prohibited. With this edict, the accusation of treason was foisted upon all the Jews of Russia. Following is a response by the humiliated Jews and a description of what took place during the expulsion from Kovno and Kurland.

The wholesale accusation of treason was thrown in the face of the Jews not only of Poland, Galicia and Bukowina, but of all the Jews inhabiting the Russian Empire. The Jewish communities addressed a statement to the Commander-in-Chief concerning this case. Some extracts from this document deserve our attention because they illustrate the frame of mind of the Jewish people:

"The entire Jewish people would eject, with disdain and indignation, from their midst those outrageous and base criminals who, having forgotten their duty and conscience at a time of the nation's greatest trial, would by design or in fact violate their sacred duty of loyalty to the fatherland. Never in the space of centuries, however distressing the persecution which the Jews have had to suffer from prejudice, has there been a country wherein the Jews have lived as subjects that would have pronounced the whole of these, its Jewish subjects, to be traitors to their fatherland. For the first time such an attitude on the part of the authorities towards the Jews is manifested nowadays. At a time when our children are fighting in the ranks of the gallant Russian army for the honor and glory of Russia, we, their parents, are subjected to a common responsibility on a level with outlaws, and are subjected to penalties for abominable deeds which are aimed at the betrayal of our own children."

The address concludes:

"We dare address your Imperial Highness in the hope that our humiliation be not enforced any longer; that we be relieved from the stigma of outcasts; that we be allowed through right as loyal sons of the fatherland to exert all our efforts to combat our common enemy."

Expulsion From Kovno and Kurland

To this address no answer was received.

Finally, with the appearance of the enemy within the boundaries of the provinces of Kovno and Kurland came the Orders of the Day of May 10 and 11 for the expulsion of all Jews from many cities and towns of the provinces of Kurland, and in the middle of May the order for the expulsion came from the province of Kovno. The expulsion of Jews from the affected districts of the province of Kovno embraced 120,000 people, and from the province of Grodno, 30,000, or 190,000 people in all. The time given for removal varied from 24 hours, as in Kukyin and in Tsabelnya; on occasions even less than 24 hours were allowed. The exiles were directed to localities on the left shores of the Dnieper, in the governments of Yekaterinoslav and Chernigov, a region entirely foreign to them. The tragedy of this compulsory migration is not yet at an end. At the present moment there are yet tens or hundreds of thousands of people adrift in cattle cars, far from their native provinces, deprived of shelter, living on charity. For weeks they are kept in cars on the side tracks. The local population hiss at them with cries of "spy" and "treacherous Jews." The people can find no other explanation for this scene.

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THE KUZHI SLANDER - 1915

The following document was required to be posted in the streets side by side with other important orders from the front. This communication was to be made known to the very top brass down to every private. The wide publicity given to the Kuzhi incident was to stir the Russian people and agitate them into greater anti-semitic hatred.

The Kuzhi Slander

Preceding the acts of expulsion from the provinces of Kovno and Kurland, another act of the Government, the consequences of which may prove more fatal than the policy of eviction itself, must be here recorded.

On the 18th of May the following report appeared in the official military organ, *Nash Viestnik*:

"On the night of May 10-11, an attack on a section of one of our infantry regiments in bivouac was made by the Germans at Kuzhi, a little to the northwest of Shavli (Province of Kurland). This incident evinced shocking treachery against our forces by a certain part of the local population, particularly the Jews. Prior to the arrival of our detachments in this hamlet, the Jews had concealed Germans in many of the cellars, and at a signal given by a shot, they set Kuzhi on fire from all sides. Leaping out from the cellars, the Germans rushed to the house of the commander of our infantry regiment. This regrettable incident once more confirms the fundamental requirement of field service—that is, the necessity that utmost attention should be given to guard duty, and especially at those important points that were formerly held by the enemy and are inhabited mostly by Jews."

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NEW RESTRICTIONS OF JEWISH RIGHTS IMPOSED DURING WORLD WAR I - 1915

Russia, seeing that she had so tight a grip on the Jews, now wanted to go all out to crush them. Now, new restrictions were placed in the field of education. Added to this were laws designed to limit Jewish participation in municipal governmental affairs of the cities in Russian Poland.

NEW RESTRICTIONS OF JEWISH RIGHTS IMPOSED DURING THE WAR

1. *Educational Restrictions—Admittance of Jews into Secondary Schools*

"The Acting Minister of Public Education instructed the Curators of the Educational Districts to accept the following rules in place of the existing regulations, as to the admittance of Jews into secondary schools:

"(1) Jews are admitted to examinations at the same time with students of other faiths.

"(2) The successes of the Jews as shown at the examination are marked either 'satisfactory' or 'unsatisfactory.'

"(3) From those who get the 'satisfactory' mark the children of Jews who have been called into the active army and have received a distinction, or of those who have been killed or wounded, shall be given preference over other Jews for admittance to Jewish vacancies in the limits of the per cent. norm.

"(4) Those who got the satisfactory mark and who are the children of Jews who have been called to the active army, but who do not satisfy the conditions of section 3, are admitted to the Jewish vacancies which are left, after the enrollment of persons mentioned in section 3.

"(5) If the number of Jews mentioned in section 4 is larger than the number of vacancies, a lot shall be cast among them.

"(6) The Jewish vacancies left after enrollment of persons mentioned in sections 3-4 shall be divided by lot among the other Jews who got the 'satisfactory' mark at the examination."*

* "Russkiye Vedomosty" (Moscow Daily), April 5, 1915.

2. *Restriction of Jewish Rights in the Polish Municipal Self-Government Introduced During the War.*

The law introducing municipal self-government in Russian Poland was promulgated on March 17 (March 30), 1915, in order of article 87 of the fundamental laws (i. e., without the assent of the National Duma and Council of Empire).

The law subjects the Jews in the Polish Municipal Corporations to the following restrictions:

"Article xxiii

"Sec. 12: Jews are not eligible for Chairmen of Municipal Councils, or as Presidents, Vice-Presidents, City Elders, or members of the Executive Committees. They shall not be admitted to the management of separate branches of the city affairs, or of the city government. The Jews shall also not be eligible to the offices of Municipal Secretary or Secretary of the Executive Committee, neither of Acting Secretaries.

"Sec. 16: For the administration of the election of city aldermen, the voters shall be divided into three electoral colleges: the first to be composed of persons of Russian origin; the second, of Jews, and the third to consist of all others voters.

"Sec. 18: In cities where the Jews comprise over *one-half* of the total population of the city, the second electoral college elects *one-fifth* of the total number of the city aldermen; in other cities the number of aldermen to which the second electoral college is entitled shall depend on the proportion of the number of its voters to the total number of voters in both of the other electoral colleges. But it shall in no case exceed *one-tenth* of the total number of aldermen." 25

A. F. OF L. RESOLUTION - 1915

The Jews of America were concerned about their coreligionists in Russia and Rumania. At its convention in 1915, the A.F.L. passed the following resolution. Other trade unions, particularly those in England, also passed similar resolutions and made them known to the world.

American Federation of Labor

The convention of the American Federation of Labor held in November, 1915, in San Francisco, Cal., adopted the following resolution:

Resolution 113:

"*Whereas,* It has been the good fortune of the people of the United States to be comparatively free from the turmoil of European strife, its hatreds and prejudices; and

"*Whereas,* The people and the government of the United States are in a position to exercise a beneficient influence in aiding the world to lay a foundation for a durable and permanent peace based upon justice to all; and

"*Whereas,* In some of the war countries of Europe, and in Roumania the Jewish people are still deprived of elementary political and civic rights; and

"*Whereas,* Every form of religious oppression and discrimination is contrary to the spirit of the American people; therefore, be it

"*Resolved,* That the American Federation of Labor requests the Government of the United States to urge upon the governments of the nations of other countries to cease discriminations wherever they exist, and now practiced against the Jewish people; and be it further

"*Resolved,* That the same appeal be made by the American Federation of Labor to the organized workers of all nations."

RUSSIAN WRITERS COME TO DEFENSE OF JEWS - 1915

Again, many of the consciences of the Russian people were stirred by the atrocities against the Jews. Here some of their statements are reproduced. On the second page, the reader sees that the writer is comparing Russia with the Jews - as the Jews are to Russia, so is Russia to Europe.

Manifesto on Position of Jews

Two hundred and twenty-five (225) leading Russian publicists and writers have issued at the beginning of the war a manifesto which declares (in part):

"The sorely-tried Jewish nation which has given to the world such precious contributions in the domain of religion, of philosophy, of poetry; which has always shared the travails and trials of Russian life; which has been hurt so often by prejudice and insult; which more than once has proven its love for Russia, and its devotion to her cause is now again exposed to unjust accusations and persecutions.

"The Russian Jews, who are industriously working with us in all spheres of labor and activity that are accessible to them, have given so many convincing proofs of their sincere desire to be with us, to render service to our cause . . . that the limitation of their right to citizenship is not only a crying injustice, but also reacts injuriously to the very interests of the State.

Complete Emancipation of Jews Demanded

"Russians, let us remember that the Russian Jew has no other country than Russia, and that nothing is dearer to a man than the soil on which he is born. Let us understand that the prosperity and power of Russia are inseparable to the well being and the liberty of all the nationalities which constitute its vast Empire. Let us understand this truth, act according to our intelligence

and our conscience, and we shall be certain that the ultimate disappearance of persecutions against the Jews and their complete emancipation shall form one of the conditions of a truly constructive regime."

LEONID ANDREIEFF, distinguished Russian novelist:

Persecutions and Restrictions Fatally Crippling Lives of Russian Jews

"*. . . A near solution of the 'Jewish question' evokes a holiday spirit, a feeling of bright, enthusiastic joy.. For, if for the Jews themselves the Pale, the educational embargo, and the rest was a fatal and immovable fact, crippling their lives, they were for me, the Russian, something like an immovable, deforming excrescence, received at an unknown time or condition.*

"Is it not queer and strange to think at present that our alleged "barbarity," of which we are accused by our enemies and which makes our friends so indecisive and confused, should be wholly and exclusively based on our Jewish question and its bloody excesses? Take away from Russia these excesses, even if you were to leave anti-semitism in those outwardly decent forms under which it is completing its last days in the backward countries of western Europe, and we shall at once become very decent Europeans, by no means Asiatics or barbarians, whose place is beyond the Ural Mountains.

"I need not refer to Jewish heroism in the defence of the country, to their tragic loyalty and love for Russia, in order to justify the new measures. To demonstrate time and again that 'the Jew is also a man,' would be bowing too low to an absurdity, would insult those whom you love and respect.

"To the Jews' tragic love for Russia corresponds our equally tragic love for Europe, for we ourselves are *the Jews* of Europe; our frontier is the same *Pale of Settlement*, the unique old Russian Ghetto...

JEWS CAN LIVE TEMPORARILY OUTSIDE OF PALE - 1916

The notorious Pale of Settlement was temporarily abolished except for certain capitals and other localities due to the invasion of Western Russia by the Germans during World War I. Cities and villages lay burned and in ruin. Something had to be done to absorb the refugees, who were trying to save themselves by fleeing to different places within the Russian empire.

In View of Extraordinary Circumstances Jews Temporarily Permitted to Live in Towns Outside of the Pale

Pursuant to his authorization by the Council of Ministers of August 4 (17) Prince Cherbator, the Acting Minister of Interior, has sent, on August 15-28 the Governors and Prefects the following circular:

"I beg to inform your Excellency, for the purpose of giving the necessary orders, that in view of the extraordinary circumstances of the time of war and pending the general revision in the manner laid down by the law of the laws and regulations in force concerning Jews, I have permitted, in accordance with the decision of the Council of Ministers of the 4-17th inst. and by virtue of article 158 and 314 of the Establishment of the Ministries, Edition 1892 and Continuation of 1912, Jews to live in the towns outside the Pale of their general Settlement, with the exception of the Capitals and of the localities within the jurisdiction of the Ministries of the Imperial Court and of War."

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DESCRIPTION OF AN AVERAGE POGROM - 1919

Can there be an "average" pogrom? Destruction is destruction. Up to this time, the outstanding features of a pogrom against Jews was damaging Jewish goods, rape, and other forms of violence. Murder seldom took place. At the beginning of the Twentieth Century, the pogroms became bloodthirsty and excelled in violence that surpassed any other period. It can be assumed that no less than 70,000 victims perished.

The following is a description of the average pogrom:

"The gang breaks into the township, spreads all over the streets, separate groups break into the Jewish houses, killing without distinction of age and sex everybody they meet, with the exception of women, who are bestially violated before they are murdered, and men are forced to give up all there is in the house before being killed.

"Everything that can be removed is taken away, the rest is destroyed, the walls, doors and windows are broken in search of money. On one group departing another comes, then a third, until absolutely nothing is left that could possibly be taken away. All clothing and linen is taken, not only from those who escape death, but also from the corpses of the dead. A new administration is established in the place, and a deputation of the Jews miraculously preserved go to them or to the Christians who are supposed to be friendly to Jews, and request protection. As a rule the new authorities consent to grant the protection on the condition that a certain contribution is paid by the Jews. With great difficulty a contribution is paid and then a new claim arrives from the authorities for contributions in kind, and it is the duty of the Jews to obtain a certain number of boots and a certain quantity of meat for the soldiers. In the meantime small groups continue terrorizing the Jews, exact money, murder and violate. Then the town is occupied by the Soviet troops who often continue the robbery of their predecessors. But soon all the gangs return, as the front fluctuates and the place continually changes hands. Thus, for instance, Boguslav was taken five times during one week. Every change of Government or administration brings about new pogroms, and the end of it is that the terrorized population, ruined and exhausted, naked and barefooted, without a single coin in their pocket, fly heedless of the climatic condition and risking the dangers of the journey, to the nearest town in the vain hope of getting protection there."

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT RELATIVE TO THE OUTRAGES AGAINST JEWS BY GENERAL DENIKEN'S SOLDIERS - 1919

When General Deniken's soldiers conducted a pogrom, the Jews tried to take refuge in the synagogue and church. The courtyard was covered with bodies of women, children, old men, and young girls who had been ravished. Sixty Jews, whom the soldiers found in the church, were killed. They set fire to Jewish homes. Dogs and pigs gnawed at the bodies of the dead and the wounded. Parents stood by powerless as their daughters were raped. Yet, Deniken said he was not anti-semitic.

OFFICIAL DOCUMENT RELATIVE TO THE OUTRAGES PERPETRATED UPON THE JEWS BY GEN. DENIKIN'S SOLDIERS

Petition Sent to Gen. Denikin by Representatives of the Jewish Communities of Ekaterinoslav, Charkov, Rostov and Taganrog,

July 26th, 1919

FROM THE NEW YORK FORWARD OF NOVEMBER 11, 1919

Not long ago a cable from Constantinople reported that General Denikin informed the world that he is not an Anti-Semite. That was after the soldiers and the Cossacks of his "Volunteer" Army had slaughtered thousands of Jewish children, outraged thousands of Jewish girls, and pillaged dozens of Jewish towns and villages.

In order to prove how much Denikin is "not an Anti-Semite," we publish herewith an official document concerning Denikin. This was brought to us by Mr. Nathan Brenner, an American Jew, who several months ago had departed upon a trip to Europe, and visited England, the Caucasus, and Turkey.

The document is a petition sent to Denikin by representatives of the Jewish communities of Ekaterinoslav, Charkov, Rostov and Taganrog. The petition was written by Anti-Bolshevists. The petition follows:

"To his Excellency:

"The nearer the Volunteer Army is moving toward the Southwestern region, the more they occupy towns and provinces populated almost entirely with Jews. The tired and oppressed Jews are longing for order and peace.

"Inasmuch as the large majority of the Jewish population belong to the bourgeoisie, they have been impatiently waiting for the Volunteer Army to redeem them from the proletarian dictatorship. With joy they greeted the oncoming armies and were prepared to help them with money and with men.

"But, to our great misfortune, the Jews were disappointed in their hopes. Instead of the peace and order which you had promised, the soldiers of your Volunteer Army brought to the Jews pogroms and horror, and in many cases those in power have themselves displayed animosity towards the Jews.

"In saying this to your Excellency we are fully aware of the heavy responsibility which we, the Jewish representatives, are taking upon ourselves. We understand full well that in an occupation there usually occurs unpleasantness, but to our great regret we must say that what is taking place is not an infrequent occurrence in scattered places but occurs systematically wherever the Volunteer Army enters. Especially violent were the outbreaks in Ekaterinoslav, where all the Jewish houses in four streets were plundered and outrages committed upon hundreds of Jewish girls and many Jews killed. The pogrom in Ekaterinoslav is still in progress. In Charkov there occur daily murders and robberies which assume the character of a 'quiet pogrom.' In a number of smaller cities like Avedeivaka, Yenakievo, Grinishno, Sinelnikovo, Lozovaya, Volki, Bogoduchov, and other towns, such occurrences are taking place.

"We also find it necessary to remark that in several places the higher officials had even tried to curb the wild masses but were not successful. The printed propaganda of the 'Oswotch' (an Organization to Liberate the Fatherland) and especially several orders issued by the Commandant

concerning the Jewish Volunteers served to inflate the passion of the ignorant masses and to paralyze the activities of the Administrators.

"As soon as the Volunteers enter a city, they immediately post inflammatory circulars against the Jews. The circulars are sent out together with the official orders of the commanding officers. Even the official bulletins contain agitations against the Jews.

"The attitude of many of the higher officers toward the Jews and toward the Jewish Volunteers is a very dangerous one. Our youth is ready to give their lives for Russia but they are rejected and insulted.

Here are given a number of facts showing how Denikine's officers expelled Jewish soldiers and how they were insulted.

"Such an attitude puts the Jews in a dangerous position; the ignorant masses infer from that that the Jews stand without the Law and that one is free to do with them whatever he likes.

"Your Excellency! We do not ask for mercy but for justice. At the time when the Peace Conference is giving the Jewish people a place in the League of Nations, we cannot permit the thought that our brothers should be robbed, that our women should be outraged, and our sons mistreated, just because among Jews there are Bolsheviki. No one should wreak vengeance on the peaceful Jewish population, because it is no more the fault of the Jews that they gave a Trotzky and a Swertlow than it is the fault of the Russians that they have given a Lenin and a Gorky.

"In the name of the four largest communities which are in the region under your control, we take the authority to petition you to put a stop to the outrages and injustices.

"Your Excellency—do not refuse us and issue a proclamation to the Russian people and to the Army that the Jewish people should not be made responsible for that fact that a few Jews are Bolsheviki.

"We ask your Excellency to declare officially that according to the Law of the Provisional Government, the Jews are Citizens with full rights and that no one is permitted to violate these rights.

"Together with all other Citizens we also have the right to give our lives to Russia by serving in the Army. If you will issue such a proclamation to the Army, you will thereby confirm the right which is so holy to us.

"The people will listen to you, your words will bring peace in the ranks of the masses. It will bring peace among the various parts of the population and will create for you a firm position which you will find necessary in your further struggle for a United Russia."

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REPORT TO PRESIDENT WILSON CONCERNING JEWS OF UKRAINE - 1919

In 1919, the United States Secretary of State made an inspection of the Ukraine. His interest was to ascertain the condition of the "Jewish Race" and how the Jews were treated. This report was given to Woodrow Wilson, who in turn presented it to the Senate in 1920.

REPORT BY BRIG. GEN. JADWIN, U. S. A., UPON A TOUR OF INSPECTION MADE BY HIM IN THE UKRAINE THE LATTER PART OF SEPTEMBER, 1919

66TH CONGRESS
2nd Session

DOCUMENT
No. 176

SENATE

CONDITIONS IN THE UKRAINE RESPECTING TREATMENT OF JEWS

MESSAGE
from the
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
transmitting,

In Response to a Senate Resolution of December 20, 1919, a Communication from the Secretary of State, Submitting a Report on the Actual Condition in the Ukraine with Respect to the Treatment of Members of the Jewish Race.

January 12, 1920—Read; referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and ordered to be printed.

TO THE SENATE:

I transmit herewith a report from the Secretary of State, in response to the resolution adopted by the Senate on December 16 (calendar day, December 20), 1919, requesting the State Department to transmit to the Senate such information as may be available, not inconsistent with the public interest, showing the actual condition in the Ukraine with respect to the treatment of members of the Jewish race.

WOODROW WILSON.

THE WHITE HOUSE
12 *January*, 1920

THE PRESIDENT:

The undersigned, the Secretary of State, has the honor to lay before the President, with a view of its transmission to the Senate, if his judgment approves thereof, the following report in response to the Senate's resolution of December 16 (calendar day, December 20), 1919, reading as follows:

> Resolved, That the attention of the Senate having been called to the reported massacre of members of the Jewish race in the Ukraine and to the existence and execution of pogroms, which indicate a determination to exterminate the Jews of Ukrainia, it is requested of the State Department that such information as may be available, not inconsistent with the public interest, be transmitted to the Senate showing the actual conditions in the Ukraine.

The most recent first-hand information furnished by an American official which the Department of State has received on the subject matter of the resolution is contained in a report by Brig. Gen. Jadwin, United States Army, upon a tour of inspection made by him in the Ukraine during the latter part of September last. The pertinent part of that report reads as follows:

> The story of the Jews is a serious one. A Jewish committee furnished me with a statement giving the names of certain towns, dates of pogroms, and number killed at each place. The total of this list was 10,712. They also furnished the names of other towns and some totals bring the number, September 9, up to 29,000. They did not, however, produce exact dates of exact number reported to be killed at each town. This was, of course, difficult for them to do as the Government of Kiev had changed hands several times and most of their towns were in Petlura territory and their information came in by rather irregular ways. They promised to give these dates and exact numbers but had not produced them up to the time I left Kiev.
>
> I have no good reason for doubting the 10,712 figure and would not be surprised if the 29,000 figure was substantially correct.
>
> They claim that besides these there were doubtless many others killed of whom they have no record. Most of those killed are reported to have been done away with by bands, but information available was to the effect that bands had also killed about 450 Poles, largely landowners and bourgeoisie.
>
> When the Russian Army broke up, many of the soldiers are said to have taken their weapons home and to have secreted them. In the absence of a general stable government throughout the country these weapons are brought out at times under different leaders. Those especially mentioned include Petlura, Gregeroff, Struck, Zylony, and Sokolow. There was nothing to show whether the killings were with the knowledge or connivance of these leaders or had been done independently by some men who at other times were in their bands. Proof was not furnished that the actions were concerted or that any one man was responsible for a large number of the deaths.

There were many killed during the last spring, but the figures for the past few months have been much less.

An officer of Petlura's army said that when Kiev was taken there were many prisoners sent back to Winnica. On one trainload of prisoners sent back there were six Jews who had been Bolshevik commissars. When the train arrived at Winnica and the prisoners taken off it was found that the six commissars had been killed by the other prisoners. The latter claimed that the commissars led them into their difficulties.

There are about 20,000 Jews from other parts of the country now taking refuge in Kiev under the protection of Denikin's volunteer army.

Denikin's officers advised that orders against excesses had been issued from general headquarters; also that one major general was relieved from his command because he was not considered to have exerted sufficient efforts to prevent a pogrom. Several soldiers were sentenced in Kiev from 10 to 15 years' hard labor for attempting to steal from Jews. At Lozonia some officers and soldiers have been arrested and are to be tried for alleged participation in excesses.

One pogrom happened while we were at Kiev. The Jews alleged that a large number were slaughtered at Fastow. I saw several Russian officers who stated that at the time in question, which was during the big Bolshevik attack on Kiev, the brigade commander stationed at Fastow had sent all his troops except his personal staff, personal guard, and train crew out of Fastow to the front. While in this situation the train was suddenly surrounded by a number of townspeople, among whom many Jews were recognized. They were armed with pitchforks, axes., etc. An attempt was made on the life of the engineer of the train, but the brigade commander succeeded in getting the train under way and joined his forces on the front. The town was in the hands of the Bolsheviks for one day. It was the scene of heavy fighting for four days, in the course of which some 400 are understood to have been killed. I noticed in driving through the town of Fastow that many houses had crosses on them and on inquiry was told that these crosses indicated the residences of Christians.

At the invitation of Lieut. Gen. Bredow I attended a review of part of his troops on a Sunday following my arrival in Kiev. The metropolite of Kiev, Anthony, who is the head of the Russian Church for Southern Russia, and who had been removed by Petlura and confined in prison in Ukraine and Poland for some six months, had just returned to Kiev. In connection with the review the metropolite blessed the troops, a most impressive ceremony. The religious piety of the young men was marked and very impressive.

Having had experience with the entry of the Polish troops into Minsk where I had seen the good effect of a proclamation to the civilian population by Mr. Morgenthau, and of a pastoral letter to the people and soldiers by the Roman Catholic bishop of Minsk, I

called on the metropolite, talked the Jewish situation over with him, and requested him to issue an encyclical letter to all his flocks enjoining restraint from any attempts on the lives of Jews. The metropolite felt that much of the trouble for the Jews resulted partly from their own actions and teachings and stressed some teachings of the Old Testament and other Jewish writings as to the relations of the Jews with other peoples, teachings which are at marked variance with the enlightened ideas of to-day. He, however, referred with pride to a sermon on the subject of the Jews which he had preached in 1903 while bishop of Zytomir, and which was translated into English, French, and German. He promised that he would issue an encyclical letter which would be sent to all the bishops, priests, and congregations in Southern Russia.

The Jews felt that the attacks have been made upon them because they have been confused with the Bolsheviks. They deny that as a rule more than a proportional percentage of the Bolsheviks were Jews. A few of them, however, admit that there may be a higher percentage of Jews among the Bolsheviks than their proportional percentage, but say that this was because Bolshevism had a stronger hold in towns than in the country, and almost all the Jews lived in the towns. They also say that many Jews who became Bolsheviks renounced Judaism and claim that they are Internationalists or Communists and not Jews.

The fact that Trotsky, Bela Kun, and many of the other prominent men are Jews, together with the fact that the Russians have not been accustomed to seeing many Jews in authority, furnished a basis for a propaganda to connect the Jews more closely with Bolshevism than they should be.

There was one rumor to the effect that there is an organization working among the Cossacks who are understood to have disliked the Jews for many years; that the object of the order is to stir the Cossacks up against former army officers, the bourgeoisie and the Jews.

The situation of the Jews is evidently precarious but will naturally improve greatly when order is established, the population disarmed, a gendarmerie established, the land question improved, and education becomes more general.

It may be of interest to the Senate to know that the Department of State has recently made a decided effort to obtain further and more recent first-hand information. With this in view it has sent Mr. Evan E. Young, an experienced consul general in the consular service, to Odessa, and has obtained from the navy the services of Rear Admiral McCully, who has had a long experience of Russian affairs and is conversant with the Russian language. Admiral McCully has been designated as special agent of the Department of State and instructed to proceed to the south of Russia for general purposes of observation. Both he and Mr. Young are now en route; but it is feared that the recent military advances of the Bolsheviki may prevent their penetrating into the Ukraine.

The situation in the Ukraine, especially with respect to the condition of the Jews there, is receiving the constant attention of the Department of State, whose intention it is to do everything practicable to keep in touch with developments in that quarter.

Respectfully submitted.

ROBERT LANSING.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,

Washington, January 7, 1920.

LETTER FROM RUSSIAN AUTHOR KOROLENKO - 1919

There were many fine people who spoke out against events taking place around them. Vladimir Korolenko had a conscience which bade him to speak out against the atrocities of the time. Here, he vividly describes a new page of history being enacted before his very eyes. Great courage was shown by non-Jews who were not involved and it certainly would have been safer for them to keep quiet.

LETTER FROM THE RUSSIAN AUTHOR, VLADIMIR KOROLENKO

Published Under the Title: "A New Page," in the Utro-luga of Ekaterinodar, September 12th, 1919

Poltava has lately lived through a new upheaval. On July 28th, in the evening, the Bolsheviki evacuated the town in haste. This precipitate departure more closely resembled a panic-flight than a retreat. The last detachments left Kiev station. After this came a slight shelling of the town, a spitting of guns and machine-gun bullets. Some projectiles exploded above the houses; it would be difficult to say whether these found any victims or their number; we think, however, they could not have been many.

Thus a new page has been turned in the hitsory of our town, which has already passed through many upheavals. The opening of this new era is not bright. Whilst I was writing these lines, upon the morrow of the occupation of the town, plunder and pogrom were raging within its streets and dwellings. Houses inhabited by Jews were broken into and even the poorest were robbed of their belongings. A second detachment came while the first robbers were leaving and carried away what they had left behind; they then went away themselves, only to be replaced by further robbers. In the course of a discussion held the next day at the Town Hall, it was stated that some houses had been plundered as many as seven times and more. To-day (the third day) the news is again sad; uninterrupted plundering is taking place in several streets. An order has just been issued which prohibits plunder and theatens the plunderers with shooting. Two evildoers were shot upon the third day.

Before leaving, the Bolsheviki released from prison 150 Red Guards who had, no doubt, been arrested for crimes against the law, of a more or less serious nature. Afterwards a mysterious band of rebels arrived, pulled down the prison and the police station, and set free all the prisoners, many of whom had been guilty of the most abominable crimes. Under these conditions, the inhabitants anxiously awaited the occupation of the town by the army, on the protection of which they counted with the utmost hope. This hope was dashed, as the military detachments are the ringleaders of the pogromistic wave, and the worst elements in the town joyfully follow suit. Goods thrown out of Jewish dwellings into the street are seized upon by civilians and even by children who lead the Cossacks from one courtyard to another and point out the Jews. This is sad augury for the morals of the youthful elements in the near future.

"Jews are only robbed. . . . No one is killed. . . ." This is true, but remains a petty excuse, as it reverts to the black days of the past, and happenings which will not and cannot recur. Among the hostages taken away by the Bolsheviki during their retreat, whose fate is dim

and unknown, there were numerous Jews. The whole population of Poltava knows what more well-to-do representatives of the Jewish population were made to suffer when they were sent inland for hard labor. Thirty-five of them, bearing on their bodies the signs of abominable torture, were taken to the hospitals in such a pitiable state as to cause one of the members of the Bolsheviki authorities in command, to include in the report the following passage: "Death to the scoundrels who have dishonored the Bolshevist authorities by such cruelties."

The Jews, therefore, also suffered from the Bolshevist régime. The better classes of Jews were the ones most affected, but it was not exceptional to find poor Jews lying in the Bolshevist prisons. Now, as is the case in all pogroms, the poorer class of Jews suffers most: small tradesmen, workmen, etc., who work hard to earn a miserable pittance, are robbed of their best belongings left over from the Bolshevist "requisitions."

Yes, it may be said that the new leaf in the history of this town is sad; it has, at the opening, darkened the beginning of a régime which has been looked forward to by many as an era of solid legality and stability as regards right; this right to be broad and to equally and fairly cover by its protection all people, all classes established during the centuries gone by, all ranks of society. Now these peoples are asking: "Is this the way in which the new era is to commence?" "When will this cloud of mean hatred, of pogroms and tears pass away?"

This sombre page of life in our town was written by me during the first days, when plunder was still rife in the streets. I had intended writing a series of short letters in a local newspaper, appearing after a newspaperless period—except for the Bolshevist official paper. I considered it impossible for and unworthy of a "free" press to begin their intercourse with readers by keepng silent regarding things seen by all, and against which it is every man's duty to strongly protest. But . . . neither this note, nor the following ones ever saw the light of publicity. I shall again attempt to bring this "New Page" in front of the public so as to inform them on the conditions of life in the Poltava region and of its characteristic traits. There is no harm in the fact that these happenings will be talked about. Whether one wishes it or not, accounts of them are on everybody's tongue, and they are very often exaggerated. The real evil is that such happenings should have taken place and should continue to do so in a certain measure (in the villages). To pass them over in silence would be to once again revert to the policy of the ostrich.

(*Signed*) VLADIMIR KOROLENKO.

Poltava, July 30, 1919.

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LEWISOHN LETTER - NO JEWISH FUTURE IN EUROPE - 1925

Ludwig Lewisohn wrote an extremely important letter to a magazine called the Nation. He was despondent over what was taking place in Europe. It is one of his lesser known documents, but one which is exremely full of insight. Lewisohn was an American Jew working for the Nation and living in Europe at the time.

Correspondence

✓ Palestine or Russia?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR Your columns being always open to anyone who pleads IN A GOOD cause, you will perhaps permit me to voice a warning OF THE most tragic import in a matter that concerns the fate of AN ENTIRE people.

MY morning paper brings me, through the Jewish Tele-GRAPH Agency, the news that the Joint Distribution Commit-tee OF American Jewry proposes to raise $15,000,000 for the ASSISTANCE of Jews in Russia and other European countries. The Telegraph Agency adds a brief interview with Mr. Louis Mar-SHALL I must take this interview as it is reported. In it Mr. MARSHALL is quoted as saying that this great drive will not inter-FERE with Zionist activity in the United States but that he OBJECTS to the claim of the American Zionists that Palestine SHOULD have priority, on the ground that no benevolent activity HAS THE right to a monopoly.

I am not a member of the Zionist organization. I have NEVER paid my shekel and I don't think I ever will. I want to keep both my mind and my hands free. But after a fairly long AND FAIRLY thorough study of the Jewish situation in both EUROPE and Palestine I feel it my duty to protest with all possi-BLE VIGOR with all possible urgency against the investment of ONE Penny of Jewish money anywhere except in Palestine. No more disastrous no more tragic error could be made. I am not impugning the good faith of the Soviet authorities in their settling Jewish farmers on Crimean lands. I impugn THE conscious good faith of no one. I assert that there is no hope in Europe. It does not matter whether the regime is a red tyranny or a white, a capitalistic oligarchy tinged with mon-archism as in Germany or a military despotism masquerading as a republic; it does not matter who are the "ins" or who are the "outs". At the first sign of popular tumult, whatever its cause, whatever its character, the people, whether in Soviet Russia or elsewhere, will rise up and smite the Jews. Promises count for nothing the good faith of liberals is powerless, treaties are scraps of paper. If these Jews of today are not slaughtered, they will be crucified, shot, their children will be tomorrow. To spend one penny on keeping a Jew in Eastern or Central Europe is to subsidize murder. Palestine is not one form of benevolence among others. It is not benevolence at all. It is the only hope, the only duty, the only salvation.

Yesterday they pulled the beards of all the Jews on the streets of Riga; today they acquitted *Hakenkreuzler* in Silesia for destroying a synagogue. The Poles have made a gesture of peace. They want an American loan. If they get it they will reverse the gesture. If they don't get it they will blame the Jews. In Germany prices are rising. The people are told to smite the Jews. If France is other-minded, why does she not speak one word to curb the bloody Poles? If Italy is other-minded whence these intrigues that seek to cripple us in the Near East? A thousand details could be gathered daily, nay hourly.

And let not my American friends believe that there is or can be an exception. There is none. Did they themselves believe that the gates of America would ever be closed on the distressed of Israel? And if that could happen, what do they expect of Europe?

The causes of the hopelessness of the European situation are intricate. Yet they are clear when once they have been grasped. Christianity has never changed the real character of the pagan world. There are a few instinctive Christians everywhere and there are numerous Gentiles among them. But the broad masses of mankind are pagan barbarians, delighting in war and force, diverted by slaughter, instinctively wreaking irritation, discontent, or the mere playfulness of drunkenness on the weaker, the pacific, the minority, the different. To imagine that they have either gallantry or honor is as gross a superstition as to suppose that war can be anything but gruesomely relentless. Wherever the Jews must remain a small minority among a European people, there is no security nor health nor hope. The excuses of the majority differ from century to century. The Jew is not a Christian. The Jew is not an Aryan. The Jew is not . . . The Jew is . . . An inextricable mass of lies and self-deceptions. The Jew is in a minority. The Jew is a Jew. He has been murdered; he is being murdered; he will be murdered. There is no hope.

No hope—except in Palestine. We have the pledged word of the nations; we have the pledged honor of Britain that *there* we may some day become an effective if not an actual majority. With $15,000,000 we could come within sight of our goal. Crimean villages may be overrun by another Petlura or Denikin. Do our American Jews not remember that trail of blood? They have not seen, as I have, the children in Palestine who saw their fathers and their brothers buried alive. They have not seen, as I have seen, the whips and scorpions of Poland and Hungary. With $15,000,000 for Palestine we could so fortify and accelerate our work and make it so effective for the welfare and the civilization of the whole of the Near East that Britain may be tempted—as she needs but to be tempted—to include within the limits of the promised homeland the great and scarcely peopled tracts of Trans-Jordania with which our historical connection is hardly less clear than with the country from the Jordan to the sea. With $15,000,000 . . . But my imagination is staggered. For I can see Nahalal in the valley of Jezreel multiplied an hundred times, or Balfouria, or the lovely suburbs at the foot of the glory of Carmel. It was a Jew who said: "Man does not live by bread alone." He lives by an immortal and inexpugnable idea. The Crimean settlements will not flourish even while they are undemolished by Cossack or Tartar. There will be no health in them. It is useless to give bread to the Ghetto of Vilna. The bread will wither in the mouths of them that taste it. There is an idea alive today—an inspiration, an unquenchable, indomitable hope. Its name is Eretz Israel. I see outstretched hands of millions—stretched out not after the sour bread of charity, not after the cold clods of an alien and forever embattled land, but after the peace of Jerusalem and the excellency of Carmel.

Vienna, September 5 LUDWIG LEWISOHN

FROM THE DEARBORN INDEPENDENT - THE JEW IN CHARACTER AND BUSINESS - 1920

Many of the anti-semitic policies and documents that were written in the United States during the 1920's emanated from Dearborn, Michigan. The Dearborn Independent was the organ of Henry Ford, and it broadcast its vicious attacks against the Jews in a series of articles that were read all over the world. After its anti-semitic remarks had done their harm, Henry Ford then decided to retract his magazine's policy. Here are reproduced one of the articles that appeared and this is followed by the actual letter which Henry Ford wrote.

The Jew in Character and Business

THE Jew is again being singled out for critical attention throughout the world. His emergence in the financial, political and social spheres has been so complete and spectacular since the war, that his place, power and purpose in the world are being given a new scrutiny, much of it unfriendly. Persecution is not a new experience to the Jew, but intensive scrutiny of his nature and super-nationality is. He has suffered for more than 2,000 years from what may be called the instinctive anti-Semitism of the other races, but this antagonism has never been intelligent nor has it been able to make itself intelligible. Nowadays, however, the Jew is being placed, as it were, under the microscope of economic observation that the reasons for his power, the reasons for his separateness, the reasons for his suffering may be defined and understood.

In Russia he is charged with being the source of Bolshevism, an accusation which is serious or not according to the circle in which it is made; we in America, hearing the fervid eloquence and perceiving the prophetic ardor of young Jewish apostles of social and industrial reform, can calmly estimate how it may be. In Germany he is charged with being the cause of the Empire's collapse and a very considerable literature has sprung up, bearing with it a mass of circumstantial evidence that gives the thinker pause. In England he is charged with being the real world ruler, who rules as a super-nation over the nations, rules by the power of gold, and who plays nation against nation for his own purposes, remaining himself discreetly in the background. In America it is pointed out to what extent the elder Jews of wealth and the younger Jews of ambition swarmed through the war organizations—principally those departments which dealt with the commercial and industrial business of war, and also the extent to which they have clung to the advantage

which their experience as agents of the government gave them.

In simple words, the question of the Jews has come to the fore, but like other questions which lend themselves to prejudice, efforts will be made to hush it up as impolitic for open discussion. If, however, experience has taught us anything it is that questions thus suppressed will sooner or later break out in undesirable and unprofitable forms.

The Jew is the world's enigma. Poor in his masses, he yet controls the world's finances. Scattered abroad without country or government, he yet presents a unity of race continuity which no other people has achieved. Living under legal disabilities in almost every land, he has become the power behind many a throne. There are ancient prophecies to the effect that the Jew will return to his own land and from that center rule the world, though not until he has undergone an assault by the united nations of mankind.

The single description which will include a larger percentage of Jews than members of any other race is this: he is in business. It may be only gathering rags and selling them, but he is in business. From the sale of old clothes to the control of international trade and finance, the Jew is supremely gifted for business. More than any other race he exhibits a decided aversion to industrial employment, which he balances by an equally decided adaptability to trade. The Gentile boy works his way up, taking employment in the productive or technical departments; but the Jewish boy prefers to begin as messenger, salesman or clerk—anything—so long as it is connected with the commercial side of the business. An early Prussian census illustrates this characteristic: of a total population of 269,400, the Jews comprised six per cent or 16,164. Of these, 12,000 were traders and 4,164 were workmen. Of the Gentile population, the other 94 per cent, or 153,236 people, there were only 17,000 traders.

A modern census would show a large professional and literary class added to the traders, but no diminution of the percentage of traders and not much if any increase in the number of wage toilers. In America alone most of the big business, the trusts and the banks, the natural resources and the chief agricultural

products, especially tobacco, cotton and sugar, are in the control of Jewish financiers or their agents. Jewish journalists are a large and powerful group here. "Large numbers of department stores are held by Jewish firms," says the Jewish Encyclopedia, and many if not most of them are run under Gentile names. Jews are the largest and most numerous landlords of residence property in the country. They are supreme in the theatrical world. They absolutely control the circulation of publications throughout the country. Fewer than any race whose presence among us is noticeable, they receive daily an amount of favorable publicity which would be impossible did they not have the facilities for creating and distributing it themselves. Werner Sombart, in his "Jew and Modern Capitalism" says, "If the conditions in America continue to develop along the same lines as in the last generation, if the immigration statistics and the proportion of births among all the nationalities remain the same, our imagination may picture the United States of fifty or a hundred years hence as a land inhabited only by Slavs, Negroes and Jews, wherein the Jews will naturally occupy the position of economic leadership." Sombart is a pro-Jewish writer.

The question is, If the Jew is in control, how did it happen? This is a free country. The Jew comprises only about three per cent of the population; to every Jew there are 97 Gentiles; to the 3,000,000 Jews in the United States there are 97,000,000 Gentiles. If the Jew is in control, is it because of his superior ability, or is it because of the inferiority and don't-care attitude of the Gentiles?

It would be very simple to answer that the Jews came to America, took their chances like other people and proved more successful in the competitive struggle. But that would not include all the facts. And before a more adequate answer can be given, two points should be made clear. The first is this: all Jews are not rich controllers of wealth. There are poor Jews aplenty, though most of them even in their poverty are their own masters. While it may be true that the chief financial controllers of the country are Jews, it is not true that every Jew is one of the financial controllers of the country. The classes must be kept

distinct for a reason which will appear when the methods of the rich Jews and the methods of the poor Jews to gain power are differentiated. Secondly, the fact of Jewish solidarity renders it difficult to measure Gentile and Jewish achievements by the same standard. When a great block of wealth in America was made possible by the lavish use of another block of wealth from across the seas; that is to say, when certain Jewish immigrants came to the United States with the financial backing of European Jewry behind them, it would be unfair to explain the rise of that class of immigration by the same rules which account for the rise of, say, the Germans or the Poles who came here with no resource but their ambition and strength. To be sure, many individual Jews come in that way, too, with no dependence but themselves, but it would not be true to say that the massive control of affairs which is exercised by Jewish wealth was won by individual initiative; it was rather the extension of financial control across the sea.

That, indeed, is where any explanation of Jewish control must begin. Here is a race whose entire period of national history saw them peasants on the land, whose ancient genius was spiritual rather than material, bucolic rather than commercial, yet today, when they have no country, no government, and are persecuted in one way or another everywhere they go, they are declared to be the principal though unofficial rulers of the earth. How does so strange a charge arise, and why do so many circumstances seem to justify it?

Begin at the beginning. During the formative period of their national character the Jews lived under a law which made plutocracy and pauperism equally impossible among them. Modern reformers who are constructing model social systems on paper would do well to look into the social system under which the early Jews were organized. The Law of Moses made a "money aristocracy," such as Jewish financiers form today, impossible because it forbade the taking of interest. It made impossible also the continuous enjoyment of profit wrung out of another's distress. Profiteering and sheer speculation were not favored under the Jewish system. There could be no land-

hogging; the land was apportioned among the people, and though it might be lost by debt or sold under stress, it was returned every 50 years to its original family ownership, at which time, called "The Year of Jubilee," there was practically a new social beginning. The rise of great landlords and a moneyed class was impossible under such a system, although the interim of 50 years gave ample scope for individual initiative to assert itself under fair competitive conditions.

If, therefore, the Jews had retained their status as a nation, and had remained in Palestine under the Law of Moses, they would hardly have achieved the financial distinction which they have since won. Jews never got rich out of one another. Even in modern times they have not become rich out of each other but out of the nations among whom they dwelt. Jewish law permitted the Jew to do business with a Gentile on a different basis than that on which he did business with a brother Jew. What is called "the Law of the Stranger" was defined thus: "unto a stranger thou mayest lend upon usury; but unto thy brother thou shalt not lend upon usury."

Being dispersed among the nations, but never merging themselves with the nations and never losing a very distinctive identity, the Jew has had the opportunity to practice "the ethics of the stranger" for many centuries. Being strangers among strangers, and often among cruelly hostile strangers, they have found this law a compensating advantage. Still, this alone would not account for the Jew's preeminence in finance. The explanation of that must be sought in the Jew himself, his vigor, resourcefulness and special proclivities.

Very early in the Jewish story we discover the tendency of Israel to be a master nation, with other nations as its vassals. Notwithstanding the fact that the whole prophetic purpose with reference to Israel seems to have been the moral enlightenment of the world through its agency, Israel's "will to mastery" apparently hindered that purpose. At least such would seem to be the tone of the Old Testament. Divinely ordered to drive out the Canaanites that their corrupt ideas might not contaminate Israel, the Jews did not obey, according to the old record. They looked over the Canaanitish people and perceived

what great amount of man-power would be wasted if they were expelled, and so Israel enslaved them—"And it came to pass, when Israel was strong, that they put the Canaanites to tribute, and did not utterly drive them out." It was this form of disobedience, this preference of material mastery over spiritual leadership, that marked the beginning of Israel's age-long disciplinary distress.

The Jews' dispersion among the nations temporarily (that is, for more than 25 centuries now) changed the program which their scriptures declare was divinely planned, and that dispersion continues until today. There are spiritual leaders in modern Judaism who still claim that Israel's mission to the nations is spiritual, but their assertions that Israel is today fulfilling that mission are not as convincing as they might be if accompanied by more evidence. Israel throughout the modern centuries is still looking at the Gentile world and estimating what its man-power can be made to yield. But the discipline upon Israel still holds; he is an exile from his own land, condemned to be discriminated against wherever he goes, until the time when exile and homelessness shall end in a re-established Palestine, and Jerusalem again become the moral center of the earth, even as the elder prophets have declared.

Had the Jew become an employe, a worker for other men, his dispersion would not probably have been so wide. But becoming a trader, his instincts drew him round the habitable earth. There were Jews in China at an early date. They appeared as traders in England at the time of the Saxons. Jewish traders were in South America 100 years before the Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth Rock. Jews established the sugar industry in the Island of St. Thomas in 1492. They were well established in Brazil when only a few villages dotted the eastern coast of what is now the United States. And how far they penetrated when once they came here is indicated by the fact that the first white child born in Georgia was a Jew—Isaac Minis. The Jew's presence round the earth, his clannishness with his own people, made him a nation scattered among the nations, a corporation with agents everywhere.

Another talent, however, contributed greatly to his rise in financial power—his ability to invent new devices for doing business. Until the Jew was pitted against the world, business was very crudely done. And when we trace the origins of many of the business methods which simplify and facilitate trade today, more likely than not we find a Jewish name at the end of the clue. Many of the indispensable instruments of credit and exchange were thought out by Jewish merchants, not only for use between themselves, but to check and hold the Gentiles with whom they dealt. The oldest bill of exchange extant was drawn by a Jew —one Simon Rubens. The promissory note was a Jewish invention, as was also the check "payable to bearer."

An interesting bit of history attaches to the "payable to bearer" instrument. The Jews' enemies were always stripping them of their last ounce of wealth, yet strangely, the Jews recovered very quickly and were soon rich again. How this sudden recovery from looting and poverty? Their assets were concealed under "bearer" and so a goodly portion was always saved. In an age when it was lawful for any pirate to seize goods consigned to Jews, the Jews were able to protect themselves by consigning goods on policies that bore no names.

The influence of the Jew was to center business around goods instead of persons. Previously all claims had been against persons; the Jew knew that the goods were more reliable than the persons with whom he dealt, and so he contrived to have claims laid against goods. Besides, this device enabled him to keep himself out of sight as much as possible. This introduced an element of hardness into business, inasmuch as it was goods which were being dealt in rather than men being dealt with, and this hardness remains. Another tendency which survives and which is of advantage in veiling the very large control which Jews have attained, is of the same origin as "bearer" bills; it permits a business dominated by Jewish capital to appear under a name that gives no hint of Jewish control.

The Jew is the only and original international capitalist, but as a rule he prefers not to emblazon that

fact upon the skies; he prefers to use Gentile banks and trust companies as his agents and instruments. The suggestive term "Gentile front" often appears in connection with this practice.

The invention of the stock exchange is also credited to Jewish financial talent. In Berlin, Paris, London, Frankfort and Hamburg, Jews were in control of the first stock exchanges, while Venice and Genoa were openly referred to in the talk of the day as "Jew cities" where great trading and banking facilities might be found. The Bank of England was established upon the counsel and assistance of Jewish emigrants from Holland. The Bank of Amsterdam and the Bank of Hamburg both arose through Jewish influence.

There is a curious fact to be noted in connection with the persecution and consequent wanderings of the Jews about Europe and that is: wherever they wandered, the center of business seemed to go with them. When the Jews were free in Spain, there was the world's gold center. When Spain drove out the Jews, Spain lost financial leadership and has never regained it. Students of the economic history of Europe have always been puzzled to discover why the center of trade should have shifted from Spain, Portugal and Italy, up to the northern countries of Holland, Germany and England. They have sought for the cause in many things, but none has proved completely explanatory. When, however, it is known that the change was coincident with the expulsion of the Jews from the South and their flight to the North, when it is known that upon the Jews' arrival the northern countries began a commercial life which has flourished until our day, the explanation does not seem difficult. Time and again it has proved to be the fact that when the Jews were forced to move, the center of the world's precious metals moved with them.

This distribution of the Jews over Europe and the world, each Jewish community linked in a fellowship of blood, faith and suffering with every other group, made it possible for the Jew to be international in the sense that no other race or group of merchants could be at that time. Not only were they everywhere (Americans and Russians are everywhere, too) but they were in touch. They were organized before

the days of conscious international commercial organizations, they were bound together by the sinews of a common life. It was observed by many writers in the Middle Ages that the Jews knew more of what was transpiring in Europe than the governments did. They also had better knowledge of what was likely to occur. They knew more about conditions than the statesmen did. This information they imparted by letter from group to group, country to country. Indeed, they may be said thus to have originated unconsciously the financial news-letter. Certainly the information they were able to obtain and thus distribute was invaluable to them in their speculative enterprises. Advance knowledge was an immense advantage in days when news was scarce, slow and unreliable.

This enabled Jewish financiers to become the agents of national loans, a form of business which they encouraged wherever possible. The Jew has always desired to have nations for his customers. National loans were facilitated by the presence of members of the same family of financiers in various countries, thus making an interlocking directorate by which king could be played against king, government against government, and the shrewdest use made of national prejudices and fears, all to the no small profit of the fiscal agent.

One of the charges most commonly made against Jewish financiers today is that they still favor this larger field of finance. Indeed, in all the criticism that is heard regarding the Jew as a business man, there is comparatively little said against him as an individual merchant serving individual customers. Thousands of small Jewish merchants are highly respected by their trade, just as tens of thousands of Jewish families are respected as our neighbors. The criticism, insofar as it respects the more important financiers, is not racial at all. Unfortunately the element of race, which so easily lends itself to misinterpretation as racial prejudice, is injected into the question by the mere fact that the chain of international finance as it is traced around the world discloses at every link a Jewish capitalist, financial family, or a Jewish-controlled banking system. Many have professed to see in this circumstance a conscious organization of Jewish power for

Gentile control, while others have attributed the circumstance to Jewish racial sympathies, to the continuity of their family affairs down the line of descent, and to the increase of collateral branches. In the old Scriptural phrase, Israel grows as the vine grows, ever shooting out new branches and deepening old roots, but always part of the one vine.

The Jew's aptitude for dealing with governments may also be traced to the years of his persecution. He early learned the power of gold in dealing with mercenary enemies. Wherever he went there followed him like a curse the aroused antipathy of other peoples. The Jew was never popular as a race; even the most fervid Jew will not deny that, howsoever he may explain it. Individuals have been popular, of course; many phases of Jewish nature are found to be very lovable when known; but nevertheless one of the burdens the Jews have had to bear as a race is this burden of racial unpopularity. Even in modern times, in civilized countries, in conditions which render persecution absolutely impossible, this unpopularity exists. And what is more, the Jew has not seemed to care to cultivate the friendship of the Gentile masses, due perhaps to the failures of experience, but due more likely to his inborn persuasion that he belongs to a superior race. Whatever the true reason, he has always placed his main dependence on cultivating friendship with kings and nobles. What cared the Jew if the people gnashed their teeth against him, so long as the king and the court were his friends? Thus there was always, even through most of the severely trying times, "a court Jew," one who had bought by loans and held by the strangle-hold of debt an entrance to the king's chamber. The policy of the Jews has always been to "go to headquarters." They never tried to placate the Russian people, but they did endeavor to enlist the Russian court. They never tried to placate the German people, but they did succeed in permeating the German court. In England they shrug their shoulders at the outspoken anti-Jew reactions of the British populace—what care they? Have they not all of lorddom at their heels, do they not hold the strings of Britain's purse?

Through this ability of theirs to "go to headquar-

ters" it is possible to account for the stronghold they got upon various governments and nations. Added to this ability was, of course, the ability to produce what the governments wanted. If a government wanted a loan, the Jew at court could arrange it through Jews at other financial centers and political capitals. If one government wanted to pay another government a debt without risking the precious metal to a mule train through a robber-infested country, the Jew at court arranged that too. He transferred a piece of paper and the debt was paid by the banking house at the foreign capital. The first time an army was ever fed in the modern commissary way, it was done by a Jew—he had the capital and he had the system; moreover he had the delight of having a nation for his customer.

And this tendency, which served the race so well throughout the troublous centuries, shows no sign of abatement. Certainly, seeing to what an extent a race numerically so unimportant influences the various governments of the world today, the Jew who reflects upon the disparity between his people's numbers and their power may be pardoned if he sees in that fact a proof of their racial superiority.

It may be said also that Jewish inventiveness in business devices continues to the present time, as well as Jewish adaptability to changing conditions. The Jew is credited with being the first to establish branch houses in foreign countries in order that responsible representatives of the home office might be on the ground taking instant advantage of every opening. During the war a great deal was said about the "peaceful penetration" which the "German Government" had effected in the United States by establishing here branch offices and factories of German firms. The fact that there were many German branch houses here is unquestionable. It should be known, however, that they were not the evidence of German enterprise but of Jewish enterprise. The old German business houses were too conservative to "run after customers" even in the hustling United States, but the Jewish firms were not, and they came straight to America and hustled. In due time the competition forced the more conservative German firms to follow suit. But the idea was Jewish in its origin, not German.

Another modern business method whose origin is credited to Jewish financiers is that by which related industries are brought together, as for example, if an electrical power company is acquired, then the street railway company using the electricity would be acquired too, one purpose being in this way to conserve all the profit accruing along the line, from the origination of the power down to the delivery of the street car ride; but perhaps the main purpose being that, by the control of the power house the price of current could be increased to the car company, and by the control of the car company the cost of a ride could be increased to the public, the controllers thus receiving an additional profit all down the line. There is much of this going on in the world today, and in the United States particularly. The portion of the business immediately next to the ultimate consumer explains that its costs have risen, but it does not explain that the costs were increased by the owners and not by outsiders who were forced to do so by economic pressure.

There is apparently in the world today a central financial force which is playing a vast and closely organized game, with the world for its table and universal control for its stakes. The people of civilized countries have lost all confidence in the explanation that "economic conditions" are responsible for all the changes that occur. Under the camouflage of "economic law" a great many phenomena have been accounted for which were not due to any law whatever except the law of the selfish human will as operated by a few men who have the purpose and the power to work on a wide scale with nations as their vassals.

Whatever else may be national, no one today believes that finance is national. Finance is international. Nobody today believes that international finance is in any way competitive. There are some independent banking houses, but few strong independent ones. The great masters, the few whose minds see clearly the entire play of the plan, control numerous banking houses and trust companies, and one is used for this while another is used for that, but there is no disharmony between them, no correction of each other's methods, no competition in the interests of the business world. There is as much unity of policy be-

tween the principal banking houses of every country as there is between the various branches of the United States Post Office—and for the same reason, namely, they are all operated from the same source and for the same purpose.

Just before the war Germany bought very heavily in American cotton and had huge quantities of it tied up here for export. When war came, the ownership of that mountainous mass of cotton wealth changed in one night from Jewish names in Hamburg to Jewish names in London. At this writing cotton is selling in England for less than it is selling in the United States, and the effect of that is to lower the American price. When the price lowers sufficiently, the market is cleared of cotton by buyers previously prepared, and then the price soars to high figures again. In the meantime, the same powers that have engineered the apparently causeless strengthening and weakening of the cotton market, have seized upon stricken Germany to be the sweatshop of the world. Certain groups control the cotton, lend it to Germany to be manufactured, leave a pittance of it there in payment for the labor that was used, and then profiteer the length and breadth of the world on the lie that "cotton is scarce." And when, tracing all these anti-social and colossally unfair methods to their source, it is found that the responsible parties all have a common characteristic, is it any wonder that the warning which comes across the sea—"Wait until America becomes awake to the Jew!"—has a new meaning?

Certainly, economic reasons no longer explain the condition in which the world finds itself today. Neither does the ordinary explanation of "the heartlessness of capital." Capital has endeavored as never before to meet the demands of labor, and labor has gone to extremes in leading capital to new concessions—but what has it advantaged either of them? Labor has heretofore thought that capital was the sky over it, and it made the sky yield, but behold, there was yet an higher sky which neither capital nor labor had seen in their struggles one with another. That sky is so far unyielding.

That which we call capital here in America is usually money used in production, and we mistakenly refer

to the manufacturer, the manager of work, the provider of tools and jobs—we refer to him as the "capitalist." Oh, no. He is not the capitalist in the real sense. Why, he himself must go to capitalists for the money with which to finance his plans. There is a power yet above him—a power which treats him far more callously and holds him in a more ruthless hand than he would ever dare display to labor. That, indeed, is one of the tragedies of these times, that "labor" and "capital" are fighting each other, when the conditions against which each one of them protests, and from which each one of them suffers, is not within their power to remedy at all, unless they find a way to wrest world control from that group of international financiers who create and control both these conditions.

There is a super-capitalism which is supported wholly by the fiction that gold is wealth. There is a super-government which is allied to no government, which is free from them all, and yet which has its hand in them all. There is a race, a part of humanity, which has never yet been received as a welcome part, and which has succeeded in raising itself to a power that the proudest Gentile race has never claimed—not even Rome in the days of her proudest power. It is becoming more and more the conviction of men all over the world that the labor question, the wage question, the land question cannot be settled until first of all this matter of an international super-capitalistic government is settled.

"To the victor belongs the spoils" is an old saying. And in a sense it is true that if all this power of control has been gained and held by a few men of a long-despised race, then either they are super-men whom it is powerless to resist, or they are ordinary men whom the rest of the world has permitted to obtain an undue and unsafe degree of power. Unless the Jews are super-men, the Gentiles will have themselves to blame for what has transpired, and they can look for rectification in a new scrutiny of the situation and a candid examination of the experiences of other countries.

34

HENRY FORD - RETRACTION LETTER TO LOUIS MARSHALL - 1927

Ford Motor Company

Manufacturers of Automobiles, Trucks and Tractors
Fordson Plant
Dearborn, Mich.

FACTORY AND GENERAL OFFICES
DETROIT

Mr. Earl J. Davis,
Detroit, Michigan.

June 30
1 9 2 7

My dear Sir:

I hereby approve of the attached statement and authorize you and Mr. Joseph Palma to deliver same to Louis Marshall, of New York City.

Yours respectfully,

Henry Ford

For some time past I have given consideration to the series of articles concerning Jews which since 1920 have appeared in The Dearborn Independent. Some of them have been reprinted in pamphlet form under the title "The International Jew." Although both publications are my property, it goes without saying that in the multitude of my activities it has been impossible for me to devote personal attention to their management or to keep informed as to their contents. It has therefore inevitably followed that the conduct and policies of these publications had to be delegated to men whom I placed in charge of them and upon whom I relied implicitly.

To my great regret I have learned that Jews generally, and particularly those of this country, not only resent these publications as promoting anti-Semitism, but regard me as their enemy. Trusted friends with whom I have conferred recently, have assured me in all sincerity that in their opinion the character of the charges and insinuations made against the Jews, both individually and collectively, contained in many of the articles which have been circulated periodically in The Dearborn Independent and have been reprinted in the pamphlets mentioned, justifies the righteous indignation entertained by Jews everywhere toward me because of the mental anguish occasioned by the unprovoked reflections made upon them.

This has led me to direct my personal attention to this subject, in order to ascertain the exact nature of these articles. As a result of this survey I confess that I am deeply mortified that this journal, which is intended to be constructive and not destructive, has been made the medium for resurrecting exploded fictions, for giving currency to the so-called Protocols of The Wise Men of Zion, which have been demonstrated, as I learn, to be gross forgeries, and for contending that the Jews have been engaged in a conspiracy to control the capital and the industries of the world, besides laying at their door many offenses against decency, public order and good morals. Had I appreciated even the general nature, to say nothing of the details, of these utterances, I would have forbidden their circulation without a moment's hesitation, because I am fully aware of the virtues of the Jewish people as a whole, of what they and their ancestors have done for civilization and for mankind toward the development of commerce and industry, of their sobriety and diligence, their benevolence, and their unselfish interest in the public welfare. Of course there are black sheep in every flock, as there are among men of all races, creeds and nationalities who are at times evil-doers. It is wrong, however, to judge a people by a few individuals, and I therefore join in condemning unreservedly all wholesale denunciations and attacks.

Those who know me can bear witness that it is not in my nature to inflict insult upon and to occasion pain to anybody, and that it has been my effort to free myself from prejudice. Because of that I frankly confess that I have been greatly shocked as a result of my study and examination of the files of The Dearborn Independent and of the pamphlets entitled "The International Jew". I deem it to be my duty as an honorable man to make amends for the wrong done to the Jews as fellow-men and brothers, by asking their forgiveness for the harm that I have unintentionally committed, by retracting so far as lies within my power the offensive charges laid at their door by these publications, and by giving them the unqualified assurance that henceforth they may look to me for friendship and good-will.

It is needless to add that the pamphlets which have been distributed throughout the country and in foreign lands will be withdrawn from circulation, that in every way possible I will make it known that they have my unqualified disapproval, and that henceforth The Dearborn Independent will be conducted under such auspices that articles reflecting upon the Jews will never again appear in its columns.

Finally, let me add that this statement is made on my own initiative and wholly in the interest of right and justice

and in accordance with what I regard as my solemn duty as a man and as a citizen.

Henry Ford

Dearborn, Michigan,
June 30th, 1 9 2 7.

35

THE NUREMBERG AND OTHER LAWS ON CITIZENSHIP AND RACE -

1933-1938

The following documents deal with the first steps leading to Nazi Germany's "final solution of the Jewish problem". The thoughts expressed by these documents reveal the anti-semitic mind; they reflect the thousands of people who followed the lead of the Nazis in hating and bating the Jews, relegating them to "second class citizenship", and finally doing away with them. Following the first three documents are other vivid descriptions and pictures of the holocaust.

1. COLD POGROM: GERMAN ANTI-JEWISH LAWS

313.

Civil servants of non-Aryan descent must retire. . . . (*Civil Service Law,* April, 1933)

The work of Panel doctors (group medicine) of non-Aryan descent . . . must cease. (*Decree on National Health Insurance Service,* April, 1933)

Only a person of German or cognate blood may be a peasant. (*Homestead Law,* September, 1933)

Only such persons may be editors—who are . . . of Aryan descent and not married to a person of non-Aryan descent. (*Law regarding editors,* October, 1933)

Jews are not to be admitted to the law profession. (*Regulations regarding lawyers,* February, 1936)

Jews are not to be admitted as apothecaries. (*Apothecaries regulations*, April, 1937)

From January 1, 1939, Jews . . . are forbidden to own retail stores, mailorder houses or order departments and to carry on trade. If a Jew is employed in an enterprise in an executive position, he may be given notice to leave within six weeks. (*Field Marshal Goering's Decree to Eliminate Jews from Economic Life*, November, 1938) Quoted in *We Americans*, p. 11, 12, 13

2. OUTCASTS

(a) The Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race

314.

The Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935

The Reichstag has adopted unanimously the following law which is herewith promulgated:

ARTICLE I.

1. A subject of the State is he who belongs to the protective union of the German Reich and who, therefore, has particular obligations towards the Reich.

ARTICLE II.

1. A citizen of the Reich is only that subject who is of German or kindred blood and who through his conduct, shows that he is both desirous and fit to serve faithfully the German people and the Reich. . . .

First Supplementary Decree of November 14, 1935

ARTICLE III.

Only citizens of the Reich, as bearers of full political rights, can exercise the right of voting in political affairs and can hold public office.

ARTICLE IV.

1. A Jew cannot be a citizen of the Reich. He cannot exercise the right to vote; he cannot occupy public office.

ARTICLE V.

1. A Jew is anyone who is descended from at least three grandparents who were racially full Jews. . . .

2. A Jew is also one who is descended from 2 full-Jewish grandparents if:

a. He belonged to the Jewish religious community at the time this law was issued or who joined the community later.

b. At the time the law was issued he was married to a person who was a Jew or was subsequently married to a Jew.

c. He is the offspring from a marriage with a Jew, in the sense of Sec. I which was contracted after the coming into effect of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor of September 15, 1935.

d. He is the offspring of an extra-marital relationship with a Jew, according to Sec. I and will be born out of wedlock after July 31, 1936. Quoted by HENRI LICHTENBERGER *The Third Reich*, p. 312-313 36

THE LAW FOR THE PROTECTION OF GERMAN BLOOD AND HONOR -

The mention, in the document, of Reichstag means Parliament.

The Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor
September 15, 1935

Imbued with the knowledge that the purity of the German blood is the necessary condition for the continued existence of the German people, and animated by the inflexible will to ensure the existence of the German nation for all future times, the Reichstag has unanimously adopted the following law. . . .

ARTICLE I.

1. Marriage between Jews and subjects of the German or kindred blood are forbidden. Marriages concluded despite this law are invalid, even if they are concluded abroad in order to circumvent this law.

ARTICLE II.

Extra-marital relations between Jews and subjects of German or kindred blood are forbidden.

ARTICLE III.

Jews may not employ in domestic service female subjects of German or kindred blood who are under the age of 45 years.

ARTICLE IV.

a. Jews are forbidden to display the Reich and national flag or to show the national colors.

b. The display of the Jewish colors, however, is permitted for them. . . .

37

A GERMAN OBITUARY - 1933

The following is an obituary which appeared in a German newspaper. It is reprinted here from the Manchester Guardian. The agony of the oppressed has been shown in every way possible, and here is yet another way that horror was expressed.

Reprinted from the "Manchester Guardian,"
Friday, May 12, 1933.

A GERMAN OBITUARY

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—The following obituary notice appeared in a recent issue of the "Berliner Tageblatt."

On ——, after terrible sufferings, the death has occurred of —— —— aged 45.

The deceased was a well-known, philanthropic, and widely beloved doctor. One day about the middle of March a woman came to his consulting hour and begged him to go at once with her to her home where there was a critical case of illness. He left his other work to attend to the case. On emerging on to the street he was seized by a group of men, dragged to a local Nazi office, stripped naked, and terribly beaten.

From there he was transferred to a sort of Nazi barracks, and later to a hospital from which the Jewish doctors had all been expelled and which was used to harbour "dangerous" patients of this sort. The only food available was the solid rations of the Nazi troops. "What's good enough for my men is good enough for him," said one of the head personages when approached with a petition for invalid food.

Death finally released him after many days of agony. His funeral was attended by a thousand people—a courageous demonstration in these times. He leaves a wife and children. The case is known to many but cannot be openly spoken of.—Yours &c. M

London, May 6.

Reprinted from the "Manchester Guardian,"
Monday, May 22, 1933.

A GERMAN OBITUARY

To the Editor of the Manchester Guardian.

Sir,—In your issue of May 12 you published under the heading "A German Obituary" details of the murder by Nazis of a well-known Jewish doctor in Berlin.

News has now reached me that, after his death, his widow was subjected to continual persecution and driven to ask for a passport for abroad. This was refused, and pressure was applied to wrest from her a signed document stating that her late husband "had died a natural death." On her refusal to give her signature, the Nazi persecution became so intense that in the first days of May she sought escape in a voluntary death. She is survived by several young children.—Yours, &c., M.

London, May 18.

THE BENJAMIN FRANKLIN FORGERY - 1939

This forgery refers to a supposed exerpt taken from the Journal of Charles Pinckney of South Carolina concerning the proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of 1789. Here Franklin supposedly made disparaging remarks about the Jews. This document was used to divide the Americans during the reign of Hitler and was a successful weapon. It appeared in various forms all over America. An exerpt follows.

"There is a great danger for the United States of America. This great danger is the Jew. Gentlemen, in every land the Jews have settled they have depressed the moral level and lowered the degree of commercial honesty. They have remained apart and unassimilated; oppressed, they attempt to strangle the nation financially, as in the case of Portugal and Spain.

For more than seventeen hundred years they have lamented their sorrowful fate—namely, that they have been driven out of their mother land; but, gentlemen, if the civilized world today should give them back Palestine and their property, they would immediately find pressing reason for not returning there. Why? . . . Because they are vampires and vampires cannot live on other vampires—they cannot live among themselves. They must live among Christians and others who do not belong to their race.

If they are not expelled from the United States by the Constitution within less than one hundred years, they will stream into this country in such numbers that they will rule and destroy us and change our form of Government for which we Americans shed our blood and sacrificed our lives, property and personal freedom. If the Jews are not excluded within two hundred years, our children will be working in the fields to feed Jews while they remain in counting houses, gleefully rubbing their hands.

I warn you, gentlemen, if you do not exclude the Jews forever, your children and your children's children will curse you in their graves. Their ideas are not those of Americans even when they lived among us for ten generations. The leopard cannot change his spots. The Jews are a danger to this land and if they are allowed to enter, they will imperil our institutions. They should be excluded by the Constitution."

Quoted from *Benjamin Franklin Vindicated*, published by American Jewish Committee, 1939

THE GROSS-WANNSEE CONFERENCE - 1942

The Gross-Wannsee conference was scheduled just as a luncheon meeting. It was started and finished on the same afternoon. The foreign office of German and several decree-making agencies were represented. At least two years of work and the setting up of other conferences came forth from this meeting. The main plan of business was the deportation of Jewry of all of Axis Europe. Whenever Jews petitioned for rights, counter-petitions were produced by leading German citizens, urging the authorities to keep the Jews in their ghettos. The prospect of Jewish emancipation genuinely frightened most Germans. With the rise of Napoleon and his French armies humiliating German pride in one battle after another, the Jews became the outcasts - foreigners - potential traitors and Francophiles. Here we enter into a part of a history of the Jews and the world that will never be forgotten.

The conference was originally scheduled for December 9, 1941, but it was postponed, at the last minute, until January 20, 1942, at noon, "followed by luncheon."[33] On that day the conference was held in the offices of the RSHA, *Am Grossen Wannsee* No. 50/58. The following officials were present:[34]

SS-Obergruppenführer Heydrich, Chairman (RSHA)
Gauleiter Dr. Meyer (East Ministry)
Reichsamtsleiter Dr. Leibbrandt (East Ministry)
Staatssekretär Dr. Stuckart (Interior Ministry)
Staatssekretär Neumann (Office of Four-Year Plan)
Staatssekretär Dr. Freisler (Justice Ministry)
Staatssekretär Dr. Bühler (*Generalgouvernement*)
Unterstaatssekretär Dr. Luther (Foreign Office)
SS-Oberführer Klopfer (Party Chancellery)
Ministerialdirektor Kritzinger (Reich Chancellery)
SS-Obergruppenführer Hofmann (RuSHA)
SS-Gruppenführer Müller (RSHA IV)
SS-Obersturmbannführer Eichmann (RSHA IV-B-4)
SS-Oberführer Dr. Schöngarth (BdS *Generalgouvernement*)
SS-Sturmbannführer Dr. Lange (KdS Latvia — deputizing for BdS *Ostland*)

Heydrich opened the conference by announcing that he was the plenipotentiary for the preparation of the "final solution of the Jewish question" in Europe; his office was responsible for the central direction of the "final solution" regardless of boundaries. Heydrich then reviewed the emigration policy and cited statistics on emigrated Jews. Instead of emigration, he continued, the Führer had now given his sanction (*Genehmigung*) to the evacuation of the Jews to the East as a further "solution possibility" (*Lösungsmöglichkeit*). The RSHA chief then drew out a chart which indicated the Jewish communities to be evacuated. (The list included even the English Jews.)

Next, Heydrich explained what was to happen to the evacuees: they were to be organized into huge labor columns. In the course of this labor utili-

zation a majority would undoubtedly "fall away through natural decline [*wobei zweifellos ein Grossteil durch natürliche Verminderung ausfallen wird*]." The survivors *(Restbestand)* of this "natural selection" process — representing the tenacious hard core of Jewry — would have to be "treated accordingly" (*wird entsprechend behandelt werden müssen*), since these Jews had been shown in the light of history to be the dangerous Jews, the people who could rebuild Jewish life. Heydrich did not elaborate on the phrase "treated accordingly," although we know from the language of the *Einsatzgruppen* reports that he meant killing.

Practically, Heydrich continued, the implementation of the "final solution" would proceed from west to east. That procedure seemed necessary to him because of the housing shortage. Next he touched on the subject of differential treatment of special classes of Jews. The old Jews, Heydrich announced, were to be sent to a ghetto for old people *(Altersghetto)* at Theresienstadt in the Protektorat. The Jews who had distinguished themselves on the German side in World War I also were to be sent to Theresienstadt. In that manner, he concluded, all interventions in behalf of individuals would be shut out automatically.

Unterstaatssekretär Luther, speaking for the Foreign Office, then made a few comments. Luther felt that the "deeply penetrating treatment of this problem [*tiefgehende Behandlung dieses Problems*]" would create difficulties in some countries, notably Denmark and Norway. He urged that evacuations in such areas be postponed. On the other hand, he foresaw no difficulties in the Balkans and in western Europe.

Following the Luther remarks, the conferees got into an involved discussion of the treatment of the *Mischlinge* and of Jews in mixed marriages. Although this problem affected victims

only in the Reich, the *Staatssekretäre* spent about half the conference time in discussion of the issue.

Finally Staatssekretär Bühler urged that the "final solution" be organized immediately in the *Generalgouvernement*. He explained that in Poland the transport problem was negligible and that not many Jews were working there. The majority, he said, were incapable of work.

At the conclusion of the conference, the participants talked about "the various types of solution possibilities" *(die verschiedenen Arten der Lösungsmöglichkeiten)*. In the course of these concluding remarks, Staatssekretäre Meyer and Bühler urged that certain preparatory measures be started immediately in the occupied eastern territories and the *Generalgouvernement*.

After the meeting was concluded, thirty copies of the conference record were circulated in the ministries and SS main offices. Gradually, the news of the "final solution" seeped into the ranks of the bureaucracy. The knowledge did not come to all officials all at once. How much a man knew depended on his proximity to the destructive operations and on his insight into the nature of the destruction process. During the early months of 1942 one point was not yet clear: the character of the "appropriate treatment" — the details, in other words, of the killing methods. This problem was not solved until spring, when gas-chamber camps were established in Poland. There was consequently a gap in time between the beginning of the deportations and the actual construction of facilities for killing the Jews.

This lag is important. Administratively, it resulted in the overcrowding of some of the eastern ghettos. Psychologically, it lent itself to the creation of a myth. When the bureaucrats had to deal with deportation matters, they kept referring to a Jewish "migration." 40

FROM THE DIARY OF ANN FRANK - 1942

In March, 1945, a young girl of German birth by the name of Ann Frank died in Bergen-Belsen. Unknown to her, she left behind her in Amsterdam a diary shedding light on a part of history that was inhuman. She would never know that the diary she had kept for two years would have tremendous impact on the entire world. She wrote while in hiding from the Nazis. The whole of her diary should be read by every age. It is a miracle that the diary was saved at all. The diary was written to her long-awaited, ficticious friend - a friend whom she called Kitty.

Friday, 9 October, 1942

Dear Kitty,

I've only got dismal and depressing news for you today. Our many Jewish friends are being taken away by the dozen. These people are treated by the Gestapo without a shred of decency, being loaded into cattle trucks and sent to Westerbork, the big Jewish camp in Drente. Westerbork sounds terrible: only one washing cubicle for a hundred people and not nearly enough lavatories. There is no separate accommodation. Men, women, and children all sleep together. One hears of frightful immorality because of this; and a lot of the women, and even girls, who stay there any length of time are expecting babies.

It is impossible to escape; most of the people in the camp are branded as inmates by their shaven heads and many also by their Jewish appearance.

If it is as bad as this in Holland whatever will it be like in the distant and barbarous regions they are sent to? We assume that most of them are murdered. The English radio speaks of their being gassed.

Perhaps that is the quickest way to die. I feel terribly upset. I couldn't tear myself away while Miep told these dreadful stories; and she herself was equally wound up for that matter. Just recently for instance, a poor old crippled Jewess was sitting on her doorstep; she had been told to wait there by the Gestapo, who had gone to fetch a car to take her away. The poor old thing was terrified by the guns that were shooting at English planes overhead, and by the glaring beams of the searchlights. But Miep did not dare take her in; no one would undergo such a risk. The Germans strike without the slightest mercy. Elli too is very quiet: her boy friend has got to go to Germany. She is afraid that the airmen who fly over our homes will drop their bombs, often weighing a million kilos, on Dirk's head. Jokes such as "he's not likely to get a million" and "it only takes one bomb" are in rather bad taste. Dirk is certainly not the only one who has to go: trainloads of boys leave daily. If they stop at a small station en route, sometimes some of them manage to get out unnoticed and escape; perhaps a few manage it. This, however, is not the end of my bad news. Have you ever heard of hostages? That's the latest thing in penalties for sabotage. Can you imagine anything so dreadful?

Prominent citizens—innocent people—are thrown into prison to await their fate. If the saboteur can't be traced, the Gestapo simply put about five hostages against the wall. Announcements of their deaths appear in the papers frequently. These outrages are described as "fatal accidents." Nice people, the Germans! To think that I was once one of them too! No, Hitler took away our nationality long ago. In fact, Germans and Jews are the greatest enemies in the world.

Yours, Anne

FROM DIARY OF WARSAW GHETTO - 1942

Amoungst the material found in the underground archives of the Warsaw Ghetto were a number of documents by S. Sheinkinder, a journalist. His journals in Yiddish describe the daily affairs of life in the ghetto. He did not survive the holocaust, but his documents live on as an abiding memory.

From My Diary, 1942

Tuesday, May 12. This is a notable date. In 1926 there was the May Revolution in Poland. Pilsudski and a group of his officers-henchmen, turned out the Piast and Chiena parties' Government, headed by Vitos, setting up a different government, a dictatorship, which acording to the proclamation of Bartel[1] from the rostrum of the *Sejm* promised to do justice to all citizens, irrespective of nationality. In 1935, on May 12, Pilsudski died and together with him departed the cloak of civic freedom and civic equality. His legacy included the friendship with Germany, the "butcher shop" in Kartuz-Bereza[2] and a band of corrupt, adven-

[1] Professor Kazimierz Bartel, prime minister after the Pilsudski *putsch*. Shortly afterwards he was dismissed from his post and returned to his former occupation as lecturer in the Polytechnic school of Lvov. He was killed by the Germans in July 1941.

[2] A concentration camp in Poland in which opponents of the new regime were imprisoned.

turous and ambitious officers, who caused disintegration within and ruin from without.

On May 12, Rudolf Hess fled in his plane to London. German propaganda spread the report that this theoretician of the Nazi Party and Hitler's deputy was mentally deranged, and tried to reduce the significance of the whole incident. We regarded it as a ray of hope, a sign of rift in the Government of the Third Reich. Every day we hoped for salvation. A year has passed, a year of terror, horror and blood, and humanity has not yet been redeemed of this blood-thirsty monster of destruction.

Once again, this day is inscribed in the annals of Jewish martyrdom. Last night, between ten and eleven o'clock, people living on Zamenhof, Gesia and Kupiecka streets, and on the corner of Nowolipki and Smocza streets plainly heard two shots. For a moment they were startled and shaken and then the calm of night was restored. Today two dead men were found. Moshe Sklar was found in a pool of blood by the gate of Nowolipki 54; Roman Patt was found under similar circumstances at the entrance of Zamenhoff 19.

I got to know Moshe Sklar in the year 1931, when I began my career as a journalist on the staff of *Moment*. Signs of organizational chaos, as a result of unsuccessful application of co-operative principles were already noticeable in the *Yiddishe Presse* publication company, which had a good financial reputation in town. Everybody was conscious of being boss, from the editor-in-chief and the chief administrator down to the janitor, but there was no housekeeping. It was only years later when the publishing company was on the verge of bankruptcy that the "street" learned that not everything was modern in that fine modern building on Nalevki 38.[3] But we had for years borne witness to the daily quarrels and the intrigues between the editorial staff and the printers, between the management and the mechanics, between anybody and everybody. My first impression of Sklar, the taciturn, obstinate, sarcastic printer, was that he was a bad-hearted man, an enemy of the

[3] Which housed the editorial offices and the press of the *Moment* daily

editorial staff. In Jewish publishing houses, enmity between printers and writers was chronic. Being a cub journalist I was afraid of any contact with the veteran, experienced, printer. But in the course of time I learnt that Sklar was not wicked, but that silently, obstinately, he was fighting for somethig. His clean, almost elegant clothes, his carefully combed coal-black hair, distinguished Sklar from his bearded, semi-progressive colleagues of the older generation, and also from the younger printers who loved to show-off in their stylish clothes. Sklar had the qualities of a gifted administrator, as well as the sense of responsibility of a conscientious worker. Some time later I learned that Sklar was not a member of the co-operative. He had deliberately refrained from joining in order to stress his negative attitude towards the confused and rotten co-operative. Years later, when I had reached the rank of senior member of the editorial staff, when I was technical editor, I found once again that Sklar, as foreman in the printing shop, was totally unlike the rest of his colleagues. His word was his bond, if I needed another linotypist or a setter or someone to read proofs. I could always rely on him, which was not the case with others.

Recently, in the war years, we met again, this time in another sphere, in the People's Kitchens Department. Sklar was the manager of the kitchen in 2 Orla Street, which in every respect was an exemplary institution. Towards both his employees and those in need of him he was a strict manager, but at the same time he took care that the soup be good; he fought daily in the Kitchens Department for the members of his staff, for higher wages and for better conditions, to protect their health. He had another job in the artisans' kitchen. Comparatively speaking, materially he was not badly-off, and his friends envied him. And though he never turned away any man seeking a meal, when one of his former colleagues of the *Moment,* who had worked together with him for man years complained, he answered coldly that no man could be sure what the morrow would bring forth.

This was told to me on Thursday, April 16. On the following

day, he, together with some dozens of Jews,[4] were arrested; they were shot in the street. At first it was thought that Sklar too had been shot, but his body was not found. Afterwards his family learned that he was imprisoned in the Pawiak.[5] His relatives cherished a ray of hope that he would return alive.

Last night, at eleven o'clock the people living at the corner of Nowolipki and Smocza streets heard a shot. By the gate of Nowolipki 34 he fell at the hand of the cruel enemy. Within the printers trade-union before the war, Moshe Sklar had been active in the Bund. Recently he had certainly not engaged in that sort of "nonsense." It is not known why he was held for three weeks in Pawiak. It is assumed that he was tortured, that they wanted to get something out of him. They did not know the tough character, the obstinacy of Moshe Sklar. If he knew anything at all it went down with him to the grave.

Roman Patt was completely unknown in the Jewish street, because he was not part of it. I first met him in 1928 during . . . a football match. I was centre-half for the *Ha-gibor* Jewish sports club and he, centre-forward for the Army team of the medical corps at Powonzki. We were not on good terms. He was taller and stouter than I, while I was more hot-headed and obstinate. Unlike the other members of his team, he played fair and did me no harm. After the game I found out that I had been playing against a sergeant. A number of years passed. I was still hanging around the sports fields. The same was the case with him, but now he was a referee with a whistle in his mouth. Sergeant Patt had gained a reputation as a good, moderate and fair referee. And since I was captain of my team, often had occasion to exchange greetings with him, with the result that a slight, formal acquaintance developed between us.

[4] On the night of April 17, 1942, over fifty persons were taken from their homes and shot in the streets of the Ghetto. The official reason is unknown. Among those killed were people active in the Ghetto underground, who had published literature, etc.

[5] A well-known Warsaw prison.

42

FROM GOEBBELS' DIARY - 1943

There was a continuous effort by the Nazis to do away completely with the lives of the Jews of Berlin. Restriction after restriction was placed upon the Jew, leading up to the greatest psychological damage done to the Jew - the compulsory wearing of the "Jewish star" (a yellow Mogen David). Goebbels himself, wanted to get rid of all the Jews of Berlin, and this is reflected in his diary. Goebbels was the officer of propaganda for the Nazis. His reference "to the East" means to the death camps in Poland.

Goebbels, effort to purge Berlin completely of all its Jews is well reflected in some of the entries in his diary:

March 2, 1943:[20] We are finally evacuating the Jews from Berlin. Last Sunday they were brought to the concentration points by means of a surprise-action and will soon be deported to the East. To our regret, we have again witnessed that the better parts of the population, especially the intelligentsia, do not understand our Jewish policy and some of them even go as far as to take the side of the Jews. As a result of this, information about our planned activities was circulated ahead of time and some of the Jews succeeded in getting away, but we shall catch them yet, in spite of everything. At any rate I shall not rest until at least the capital of the Reich is completely free of Jews.

March 9, 1943:[21] I shall see to it that no liaison occur between the Jews of Berlin and the foreign workers.

March 15, 1943,[22] The Jews are completely untrustworthy. I have again stated my opinion to the Führer concerning the importance of uprooting the Jews—the earlier the better—from the entire territory of the Reich. The Führer has agreed to the steps I have taken and has instructed me to go relentlessly on with my actions until no Jew remains in the entire Reich territory.

April 18, 1943:[23] The Jewish question in Berlin has not found its final solution yet. There still remains a considerable number of Jews by law, Jews in privileged mixed marriages and even Jews in simple mixed marriages, here in the city. This presents grave problems. At any rate I am issuing an order that all the Jews still living in Berlin be re-assessed. I do not want any more Jews wearing the Jewish star to be seen walking around in the capital of the Reich. They should either be allowed to go without the star and granted the rights of privileged ones, or be deported for good from the capital. I am convinced that purging Berlin of its Jews is the greatest of my political achievements. Whenever I remember the sight of Berlin in 1926 on my arrival here and compare it to its appearance in 1943, after the Jews have been evacuated, only then can I do justice to the greatness of our achievement in this field.

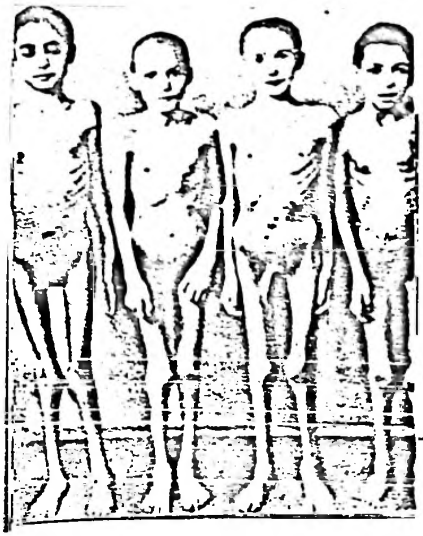
43

FURTHER DOCUMENTS AND PICTURES OF HOLOCAUST

4. היטלר פותח במלחמת העולם

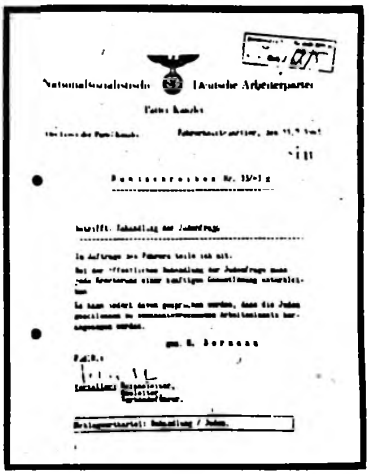
הגרמנים כובשים את פולין ומיד מתחילים בהגשמת "נבואתו" של הפירר, במעשי התעללות, אכזריות, שוד ורצח באוכלוסיה היהודית.

4. HITLER OPENS THE SECOND WORLD WAR
The Germans conquer Poland and immediately begin realizing the "prophecy" of Der Fuehrer by acts of desecration, cruelty, robbery and murder of the Jewish population.



ניסויים רפואיים בילדים

Medical experiments on children



Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei

Partei Kanzlei

Rundverfügung Nr. 13/43 g

Betrifft: Behandlung der Judenfrage

In Aufträge des Führers teile ich mit:

Bei der öffentlichen Behandlung der Judenfrage muss jede Bemerkung einer endgültigen Gesamtlösung unterbleiben.

Es kann nicht oft genug gesagt werden, dass die Juden gesetzlosen in sowjetrussischen Arbeitslagern beschäftigt werden.

gez. M. Bormann

Richtig:

Verteiler: Reichsleiter,
Gauleiter,
Reichsminister.

Reichsparteitag: Behandlung / Juden.

AN ORDER FROM MARTIN BORMANN DATED JULY 7 1943 STATING THAT IT IS FORBIDDEN TO SPEAK IN PUBLIC ABOUT THE FINAL SOLUTION OF THE JEWISH PROBLEM BUT RATHER ABOUT SENDING THE JEWS FOR WORK

הוראה מאת מארטין בורמאן,
מיום 7.7.43, שאין לדבר
בפומבי על הפתרון הכולל
לבעיית היהודים אלא על
שליחתם לעבודה.

1935

Gesetz zum Schutze des deutschen Blutes und der deutschen Ehre.

Vom 15. September 1935.

Durchdrungen von der Erkenntnis, daß die Reinheit des deutschen Blutes die Voraussetzung für den Fortbestand des Deutschen Volkes ist, und beseelt von dem unbeugsamen Willen, das Deutsche Reich für alle Zukunft zu sichern, hat der Reichstag einstimmig das folgende Gesetz beschlossen, das hiermit verkündet wird.

§ 1

(1) Eheschließungen zwischen Juden und Staatsangehörigen deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes sind verboten. Trotzdem geschlossene Ehen sind nichtig, auch wenn sie zur Umgehung dieses Gesetzes im Ausland geschlossen sind.

(2) Die Nichtigkeitsklage kann nur der Staatsanwalt erheben.

§ 2

Außerehelicher Verkehr zwischen Juden und Staatsangehörigen deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes ist verboten.

§ 3

Juden dürfen weibliche Staatsangehörige deutschen oder artverwandten Blutes unter 45 Jahren in ihrem Haushalt nicht beschäftigen.

§ 4

(1) Juden ist das Hissen der Reichs- und Nationalflagge und das Zeigen der Reichsfarben verboten.

(2) Dagegen ist ihnen das Zeigen der jüdischen Farben gestattet. Die Ausübung dieser Befugnis steht unter Staatlichem Schutz.

§ 5

(1) Wer dem Verbot des § 1 zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Zuchthaus bestraft.

(2) Der Mann, der dem Verbot des § 2 zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Gefängnis oder mit Zuchthaus bestraft.

(3) Wer den Bestimmungen des §§ 3 oder 4 zuwiderhandelt, wird mit Geldstrafe bis zu einem Jahr und mit Gefängnis oder mit einer dieser Strafen bestraft.

§ 6

Der Reichsminister des Innern erläßt im Einvernehmen mit dem Stellvertreter des Führers und dem Reichsminister der Justiz die zur Durchführung und Ergänzung des Gesetzes erforderlichen Rechts- und Verwaltungsvorschriften.

§ 7

Das Gesetz tritt am Tage nach der Verkündung, § 3 jedoch erst am 1. Januar 1936 in Kraft.

Nürnberg, den 15. September 1935,
am Reichsparteitag der Freiheit

Der Führer und Reichskanzler
Adolf Hitler

Der Reichsminister des Innern
Frick

Der Reichsminister der Justiz
Dr. Gürtner

Der Stellvertreter des Führers
R. Heß
Reichsminister ohne Geschäftsbereich

דף מתוך חוקי נירנברג.

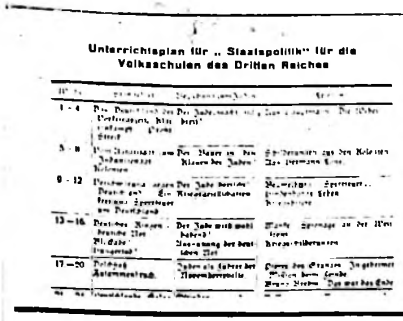
A page from the Nuremberg laws

2. חוקי נירנברג

חוקת היסוד בתחיקה האנטי־יהודית, ולמעשה היסוד „החוקי" להכחדת היהודים ולגזיזת רכושם. הם שללו את זכויות־האזרח מן היהודים, והחוקים שבאו בעקבותיהם הוציאו אותם מחוץ לתחומי החברה, חתרבות והכלכלה ועשום הפקר.

2. THE NUREMBERG LAWS

This was the basis of anti-Jewish legislation, and actually the "legal" basis for the expropriation of Jewish property. These denied the Jews their civil rights and the laws which came after them ostracized the Jews from social, cultural and economic life, rendering them legally defenceless.



Unterrichtsplan für „Staatspolitik" für die Volksschulen des Dritten Reiches

1 - 4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5 - 8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9 - 12	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
13 - 16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
17 - 20	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Der Stürmer

Illustriertes Wochenblatt zum Kampfe um die Wahrheit

Nürnberg, Weihnachtsmonat 1935

Menschenmörder von Anfang an

Der jüdische Weltbolschewismus von Moses bis zur Sowjetunion

תכנית לימודים בבתי הספר, ובתוכה
— סעיפים על יהודים ויהדות.

A school curriculum, containing paragraphs pertaining to Jews and Judaism

דף מתוך העתון האנטישמי „דר שטירמר"

A page for the Anti-Semitic "Der Sturmer"

1. האנטישמיות במחשבה הנאצית

הנאצים הלעיטו את העם הגרמני באנטישמיות, בכל דרכי התעמולה והחינוך הממלכתיים. שנאת־ישראל היתה אחד מעמודי התווך של הנאציזם, ו„הפתרון הסופי לבעיית היהודים" היה לה בבחינת „סוף־מעשה במחשבה תחילה".

1. ANTI-SEMITISM IN NAZI THOUGHT

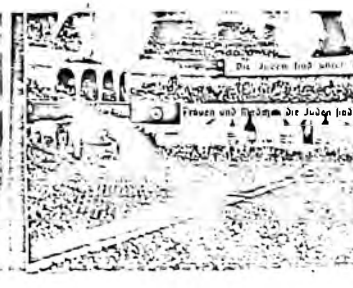
The Nazis fed the German people on Anti-Semitism by means of all forms of propaganda and education. Hatred of the Jewish people was one of the pillars of Nazism and "the final solution of the Jewish problem" actually was the fulfillment of a preconceived plan.

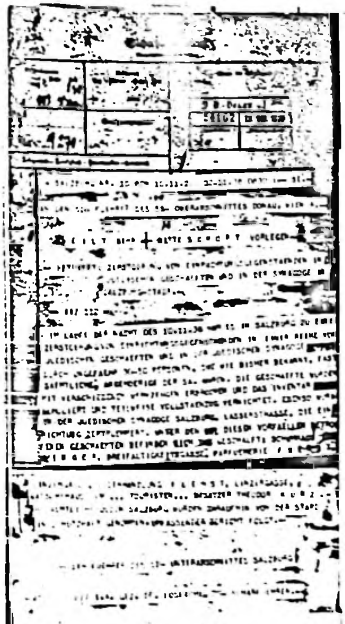
אשה גרמנייה מוקעת ברבים על קשריה עם יהודי.

A German woman ostracized for her ties with a Jew

אסיפה אנטישמית

An Anti-Semitic public meeting





דרח על שרפת בתי־כנסת

Report on the burning of synagogues

3. האנטישמיות במעשה

ב־9 בנובמבר 1938 בליל („ריכס־קריסטאל־נאכל" „ליל הבדולח") נערכו פרעות מאורגנות ביהודים, נחרבו מאות בתי־כנסת ונהרסו אלפי בתי־עסק של יהודים בכל רחבי הריך. רבבות יהודים נשלחו למחנות־ריכוז והוטל קנס מיליארד מארקים על יחודי גרמניה.

3. ANTI-SEMITISM IN PRACTICE

On November 9, 1938, the famous "Crystal Night", Organised outbreaks against Jews were held. Hundreds of synagogues were gutted and destroyed as were thousands of Jewish business establishments throughout Germany. Tens of thousands of Jews were sent to concentration camps and a fine of one billion marks was imposed on German Jewry.

1938

שריפת בתי כנסת

Burning of synagogues

5. הטלאי הצהוב

נתחייבו לענדו כל יהודי גרמניה והארצות הכבושות, כדי להבדילם מכלל האוכלוסים ולהשפילם.

5. THE YELLOW STAR

All Jews in Germany and the occupied countries were compelled to wear this badge in order to distinguish between them and the rest of the population and in order to degrade them.

הטלאי הצהוב
The yellow badge

11. השמדת ילדים
ילדים יהודים היו בעיני הנאצים „חומר ביולוגי יקר־ערך במיוחד" — כפי הגדרתם — ועל השמדתם שקדו בהקפדה מיוחדת, כדי להכרית את עתיד העם היהודי.

11. EXTERMINATION OF CHILDREN
Jewish children were considered as "especially valuable biological material" by the Nazis by their definition — in order to cut off the future of the Jewish people.

ניסויים רפואיים בבני־אדם חיים

Medical experiments on living persons

10. ניסויים בבני אדם חיים
הרופאים הגרמנים ערכו ניסויים רפואיים אכזריים באסירי המחנות. רוב רובם של קרבנות הניסויים מתו כתוצאה מכך.

10. EXPERIMENTS ON LIVING PERSONS
German physicians conducted cruel medical experiments on camp prisoners. Most of the "subjects" died as a result.

YOSSEL RAKOVER'S APPEAL TO GOD - 1943

Despite the thousands of documents available on the catastrophe of the 6 million, one cannot still conceive or have the feeling of even understanding these events. The Jews have always been a proud people. Much has been accomplished and many have risen to great heights because we have been persecuted. Many have even risen to great heights in death. The following document gives us great insight into the mind of the Jew at time time of the catastrophe. It also poses many questions for the Jew to ask himself. This document is trully one of the most telling and beautiful of all the documents recovered.

YOSSEL RAKOVER'S APPEAL TO G-D

In the ruins of the Ghetto of Warsaw, among heaps of charred rubbish, there was found, packed tightly into a small bottle, the following testament written during the ghetto's last hours by a Jew named Yossel Rakover.

"Warsaw, April 28, 1943.

"I, Yossel, son of David Rakover of Tarnopol, a Hassid of the Rabbi of Ger and a descendant of the great, pious and righteous families of Rakover and Meisel, inscribe these lines as the houses of the Warsaw Ghetto go up in flames. The house I am in is one of the last unburnt houses remaining. For several hours an unusually heavy artillery barrage has been crashing down on us, and the walls around are disintegrating under the fire. It will not be long before the house I am in is transformed, like almost every other house of the ghetto, into a grave for its defenders. By the dagger-sharp, unusually crimson rays of the sun that strike through the small, half-walled-up window of my room through which we have been shooting at the enemy day and night, I see that it must be late afternoon, just before sundown, and I cannot regret that this is the last sun that I shall see. All of our notions and emotions have been altered. Death, swift and immediate, seems to us a liberator, sundering our shackles; and beasts of the field in their freedom and gentleness seem to me to be so lovable and dear that I feel a deep pain whenever I hear the evil fiends that lord it over Europe referred to as beasts. It is untrue that the tyrant who rules Europe now has something of the beast in him. He is a typical child of modern man; mankind as a whole spawned him and reared him. He is merely the frankest expression of its innermost, most deeply buried instincts.

"In a forest where I once hid, I encountered a dog one night, sick and hungry, his tail between his legs. Both of us immediately felt the kinship of our situations. He cuddled up to me, buried his head in my lap, and licked my hands. I do not know if I ever cried so much as that night. I threw my arms around his neck, crying like a baby. If I do say that I envied the animals at that moment, it would not be remarkable; but what I felt was more than envy. It was shame. I felt ashamed before the dog to be, not a dog, but a man. That is how matters stand. That is the spiritual level to which we have sunk. Life is a tragedy, death a savior; man a calamity, the beast an ideal; the day a horror, the night - relief.

"When my wife, my children and I - six in all - hid in the forest, it was the night and the night alone that concealed us in its bosom. The day turned us over to our persecutors and murderers. I remember with the most painful clarity the day when the Germans raked with a hail of fire the thousands of refugees on the highway from Grodno to Warsaw. As the sun rose, the airplanes zoomed over us. The whole day long they murdered us. In this massacre, my wife with our seven months old child in her arms perished. And two others of my five remaining children also disappeared that day without a trace. Their names were David and Yehudah, one was four years old, the other six.

"At sunset, the handful of survivors continued their journey in the direction of Warsaw, and I, with my three remaining children, started out to comb the fields and woods at the site of the massacre in search of the children. The entire night we called for them. Only echoes replied. I never saw my two children again, and later in a dream was told that they were in G-d's hands.

"My other three children died in the space of a single year in the Warsaw Ghetto. Rachel, my daughter of ten, heard that it was possible to find scraps of bread in the public dump outside the ghetto walls. The ghetto was starving at the time, and the people who died of starvation lay in the streets like heaps of rags. The people of the ghetto were prepared to face any death but the death of hunger. Against no death did they struggle so fiercely as against death by starvation.

"My daughter, Rachel, told me nothing of her plan to steal out of the ghetto, which was punishable by death. She and a girl friend of the same age started out on the perilous journey. She left home under cover of darkness, and at sunrise she and her friend were caught outside the ghetto walls. Nazi ghetto guards, together with dozens of their Polish underlings, at once started in pursuit of these two Jewish children who had dared to venture out to hunt for a piece of bread in a garbage can. People witnessing the chase could not believe their eyes. One might think that it was a pursuit of dangerous criminals, that horde of fiends running amok in pursuit of a pair of starved ten year olds. They did not endure very long in the unequal match. One of them, my child, running with her last ounce of strength, fell exhausted to the ground, and the Nazis then put a bullet through her head. The other child saved herself, but, dirven out of her mind, died two weeks later.

"The fifth child, Yacob, a boy of thirteen, died on his Bar Mitzvah day of tuberculosis. The last child, my fifteen year old daughter, Chaya, perished during a Kinderaktion - children's operation - that began at sunrise last Rosh Hashonah, and ended at sundown. That day, before sunset, hundreds of Jewish families lost their children.

"Now my time has come. And like Job, I can say of myself, nor am I the only one that can say it, that I return to the soil naked, as naked as the day of my birth.

"I am forty-three years old, and when I look back on the past I can assert confidently, as confident as a man can be of himself, that I have lived as respectable, upstanding life, my heart full of love for G-d. I was once blessed with success, but never boasted of it. My possessions were extensive. My house was open to the needy. I served G-d enthusiastically, and my single request to Him was that He should allow me to worship Him with all my heart, and all my soul, and all my strength.

"I cannot say that my relationship to G-d has remained unchanged after everything I have lived through, but I can say with absolute certainty that my belief in Him has not changed by a hair's breadth. Previously, when I was well off, my relation to G-d was as to one who granted me a favor for nothing, and I was eternally obliged to Him for it. Now my relations to Him are as to one who owes me something, owes me much, and since I feel so, I believe that I have the right to demand it of him. But I do not say, like Job that G-d should point out my sin with His finger so that I may know why I deserve this; for greater and saintlier men than I are now firmly convinced that it is not a question of punishing sinners; something entirely different is taking place in the world. More exactly, it is a time when G-d has veiled His countenance from the world, sacrificing mankind to its wild instincts. This, however, does not mean that the pious members of my people should justify the edict, saying that G-d and His judgements are correct. For saying that we deserve the blows we have received is to malign ourselves, to desecrate the Holy Name of G-d's children. And those that desecrate our name desecrate the Name of the Lord; G-d is maligned by our self-deprecation.

"In a situation like this, I naturally expect no miracles, nor do I ask Him, my lord, to show me any mercy. May He treat me with the same indifference with which He treated millions of His people. I am no exception and I expect no special treatment. I will no longer attempt to save myself, nor flee any more. I will facilitate the work of the fire by moistening my clothing with gasoline. I have three bottles of gasoline left after having emptied several scores of bottles over the heads of the murderers. It was one of the finest moments of my life when I did this, and I was shaken with laughter by it. I never dreamed that the death of people, even of enemies - even of such enemies - could cause me such great pleasure. Foolish humanists may say what they choose. Vengeance was and always will be the last means of waging battle, and the greatest spiritual release of the oppressed. I had never until now understood the precise meaning of the expression in the Talmud that states: Vengeance is sacred because it is mentioned between two of G-d's names: A G-d of vengeance is the Lord. I understand it now. I know now why my heart is so overjoyed at remembering that for thousands of years we have been calling our Lord a G-d of vengeance: A G-d of vengeance is our Lord. We have had a few opportunities to witness true vengeance. When we did, however, it was so good, so worthwhile - I felt such profound happiness, so terribly fortunate - that it seemed an entirely new life was springing up in me. A tank had suddenly broken into our street. It was bombarded with flaming bottles of gasoline from all the embattled houses. They failed to hit their target, however, and the tank continued to approach. My friends and I waited until the tank was almost upon us. Then, through the half-bricked-up window, we suddenly attacked. The tank soon burst into flames and six blazing Nazis jumped out. Ah, how they burned! They burned like the Jews they had set on fire. But they shrieked more. Jews do not shriek. They welcome death like a savior. The Warsaw Ghetto perished in battle. It went down shooting, struggling, blazing, but not shrieking!

"I have three more bottles of gasoline. They are as precious to me as wine to a drunkard. After pouring one over my clothes, I will place the paper on which I write these lines in the empty bottle and hide it among the bricks filling the window of this room. If anyone ever finds it and reads it, he will, perhaps, understand the emotions of a Jew, one of millions, who died forsaken by the G-d in whom he believed unshakeably. I will let the other two bottles explode on the heads of the murderers when my last moment comes.

"There were twelve of us in this room at the outbreak of the rebellion. For nine days we battled against the enemy. All eleven of my comrades have fallen, dying silently in battle, including a small boy of about five - who came here only G-d knows how, and who now lies dead near me, with his face wearing the kind of smile that appears on children's faces when dreaming peacefully - even this child died with the same epic calm as his older comrades. It happened early this morning. Most of us were dead already. The boy scaled the heap of corpses to catch a glimpse of the outside world through the window. He stood beside me in that position for several minutes. Suddenly he fell backwards, rolling down the pile of corpses, and lay like a stone. On his small, pale forehead, between the locks of black hair, there was a spattering of blood.

"Up until yesterday morning when the enemy launched a concentrated drive against this stronghold, one of the last in the ghetto, at sunrise, every one of us was still alive, although five were wounded. During yesterday and today, all of them fell, one after the other, one on top of the

other, watching and firing until shot to death. I have no more ammunition apart from the three bottles of gasoline. From the floors of the house above still come frequent shots, but they can hold out no more hope for me, for by all signs the stairway has been razed by the shell fire, and I think the house is about to collapse. I write these lines lying on the floor. Around me lie my dead comrades. I look into their faces, and it seems to me that a quiet but mocking irony animates them, as if they were saying to me, "A little patience, you foolish man, another few minutes and everything will become clear to you too." This irony is particularly noticeable on the face of the small boy lying near my right hand as if he were sleeping. His small mouth is drawn into a smile exactly as if he were laughing, and I, who still live and feel and think, - it seems to me that he is laughing at me. He laughs with that quiet but eloquent, penetrating laughter so characteristic of the wise, speaking of knowledge with the ignorant who believe they know everything. Yes, he is omniscient now. Everything is clear to the boy now. He even knows why he was born, but had to die so soon, why he died only five years after his birth. And even if he does not know why, he knows at least that it is entirely unimportant, and insignificant whether or not he knows it, in the light of the revelation of that godly majesty of the better world he now inhabits, in the arms of his murdered parents to whom he has returned. In an hour or two I will make the same discovery. Unless my face is eaten by the flames, a similar smile may also rest on it after my death Meanwhile, I still live, and before my death, I wish to speak to my Lord, as a living man, a simple, living, person, who had the great but tragic honor of being a Jew.

"I am proud that I am a Jew, no in spite of the world's treatment of us, but precisely because of this treatment. I should be ashamed to belong to the people who spawned and raised the criminals who are responsible for the deeds that have been perpetrated against us.

"I am proud to be a Jew because it is an art to be a Jew, because it is difficult to be a Jew. It is no art to be an Englishman, and an American or a Frenchman. It may be easier, more comfortable, to be one of them, but not more honorable. Yes, it is an honor to be a Jew.

"I believe that to be a Jew means to be a fighter, an everlasting swimmer against the turbulent, criminal human current. The Jew is a hero, a martyr, a saint. You, our enemies, declare that we are bad, I believe that we are better and finer than you, but even if we were worse - I should like to see how you would look in our place!

"I am happy to belong to the unhappiest of all peoples of the world, whose precepts represent the loftiest and most beautiful of all morality and laws. These immortal precepts which we possess have now been even more sanctified and immortalized by the fact that they have been so debased and insulted by the enemies of the Lord.

"I believe that to be a Jew is an inborn trait. One is born a Jew exactly as one is born an artist. It is impossible to be released from being a Jew. That is our godly attribute that has made us a chosen people. Those who do not understand this will never understand the higher meaning of our martyrdom. If I ever doubted that G-d once designated us as the chosen people, I would believe now that our tribulations have made us the Chosen one.

"I believe in You, G-d of Israel, even though You have done everything to stop me from believing in You. I believe in Your laws even though I cannot excuse your actions. My relationship to You is not the relationship of a slave to his master, but rather that of a pupil to his teacher. I bow my head before your greatness, but will not kiss the lash with which you strike me.

"You say, perhaps, that we have sinned, O Lord? It must surely be true. And therefore we are punished? I can understand that too. But I should like you to tell me - IS THERE ANY SIN IN THE WORLD DESERVING OF SUCH PUNISHMENT AS THE PUNISHMENT WE HAVE RECEIVED?

"You assert that You will yet repay our enemies? I am convinced of it. Repay them without mercy? I have no doubt of that either. I should like You to tell me, however - IS THERE ANY PUNISHMENT IN THE WORLD CAPABLE OF COMPENSATING FOR THE CRIMES THAT HAVE BEEN COMMITTED AGAINST US?

"You say, I know, that it is no longer a question of sin and punishment, but rather a situation in which your countenance is veiled, in which humanity is abandoned to its evil instincts. I should like to ask You, O Lord - and this question burns in me like a consuming fire - WHAT MORE, O WHAT MORE MUST TRANSPIRE BEFORE YOU UNVEIL YOUR COUNTENANCE AGAIN TO THE WORLD?

"I want to say to You that now, more than in any previous period of our eternal path of agony, we, we, the tortured, humiliated, buried alive, and burned alive, we the insulted, the object of mockery, we who have been murdered by the millions, we have the right to know: WHAT ARE THE LIMITS OF YOUR FORBEARANCE?

"I should like to say something more: Do not put the rope under too much strain, lest, alas, it may snap. The test to which You have put us is so severe, so unbearably severe, that You should - You must - forgive those members of Your people who, in their misery have turned from You.

"Forgive those who have turned from You in their misery, but also those who have turned from You in their Happiness. You have transformed our life into such a frightful, perpetual struggle that the cowards among us have been forced to flee from it; and what is happiness but a place of refuge for cowards? Do not chastise them for it. One does not strike cowards, but has mercy on them. Have mercy on them, rather than on us, O Lord.

"Forgive those who have desecrated your name, who have gone over to the service of the other gods, who have become indifferent to you. You have castigated them so severely that they no longer believe that You are their Father, that they have any Father at all.

"I tell You this because I do believe in You, believe in You more strongly than ever, because now I know that You are my Lord, because after all You are not, You cannot after all be the G-d of those whose deeds are the most horrible expression of ungodliness.

"If You are not My Lord, then whose Lord are you? The Lord of the murderers?

"If those that hate me and murder me are so benighted, so evil, what then am I If not the person who reflects something of Your light; of your goodness?

"I cannot extol You for the deeds that You tolerate. I bless You and extol You however, for the very very fact of Your existence, for Your awesome mightiness.

"The murderers themselves have already passed sentence on themselves and will never escape it; but may You carry out a doubly severe sentence on those who are condoning the murder.

"Those that condemn murder orally, but rejoice at it in their hearts... ...Those who meditate in their foul hearts: It is fitting, after all, to say that he is evil, this tyrant, but he carries out a bit of work for us for which we will always be grateful to him!

"It is written in your Torah, that a thief should be punished more severely than a brigand, in spite of the fact that a thief does not attack his victim physically, and merely attempts to take his possessions stealthily.

"The reason for this is that the brigand in attacking his victim in broad daylight, shows no more fear of man than of G-d. The thief on the other hand, fears man but not G-d. His punishment, therefore, is greater.

"I should be satisfied if You dealt with murderers as with brigands, for their attitude towards You and towards us is the same.

"But those who are silent in the face of murder, those who have no fear of you, but fear what people might say (fools, they are unaware that the people will say nothing!) those who express their sympathy with the drowning man but refuse to rescue him -- punish them, O Lord, punish them, I implore You, like the thief, with a doubly severe sentence!

"Death can wait no longer. From the floors above me, the firing becomes weaker by the minute. The last defenders of this stronghold are now falling, and with them falls, and perishes the great, beautiful, and G-d fearing Jewish part of Warsaw. The sun is about to set, and I thank G-d that I will never see it again. Fire lights the small window, and the bit of sky that I can see is flooded with red like a waterfall of blood. In about an hour at the most I will be with the rest of my family and with the millions of other stricken members of my people in that better world where there are no more doubts.

"I die peacefully, but not complacently; persecuted, but not enslaved; embittered, but not cynical; a believer, but not a supplicant; a lover of G-d, but no blind amensayer of His.

"I have followed Him even when He repulsed me. I have followed His commandments even when He castigated me for it; I have loved Him and I love Him even when He has hurled me to the earth, tortured me to death, made me an object of ridicule.

"My rabbi would frequently tell the story of the Jew who fled from the Spanish Inquisition with his wife and child, striking out in a small boat over the stormy sea until he reached a rocky island. A flash of lightning killed his wife; a storm rose and hurled his son into the sea. Then, as lonely as a stone, naked, barefoot, lashed by the storm and terrified by the thunder and lightning, hands turned up to G-d, the Jew, again setting out on his journey through the wastes of the rocky island, turned to G-d with the following words:

"G-d of Israel, I have fled to this place in order to worship You without molestation, to obey Your commandments and sanctify Your name. You, however, have done everything to make me stop believing in You. Now lest it seem to You that You will succeed by these tribulations in driving me from the right path, I notify You, my G-d, and the G-d of my father, THAT IT WILL NOT AVAIL YOU IN THE LEAST. You may insult me, You may castigate me, You may take from me all that I cherish and hold dear in the world, You may torture me to death - I will believe in YOU, I will always love YOU!"

"And these are my last words to You, my wrathful G-d: Nothing will avail you in the least. You have done everything to make me renounce You, to make me lose my faith in You, but I die exactly as I have lived, crying:

"Eternally praised by the G-d of the dead, the G-d of vengeance, of truth, and of law, Who will soon show His face to the world again and shake its foundations with His almighty voice.

"HEAR, O ISRAEL, THE LORD OUR G-D THE LORD IS ONE."

"INTO YOUR HANDS, O LORD, I CONSIGN MY SOUL." 45

TEXT OF CONVENTION OF CRIME OF GENOCIDE - 1948

Genocide is the name given to the systematic destruction of national, racial, religious, and ethnic groups. In our generation it was practiced on the largest scale by Nazi Germany. The purpose of the Convention was to try to prevent future genocide and also to punish those guilty of it. This was done on an international level by trying to make it international law. It is interesting to note that to date, the United States has not endorsed this.

TEXT OF THE CONVENTION

The Contracting Parties,

Having considered the declaration made by the General Assembly of the United Nations in its resolution 96 (I) dated 11 December 1946 that genocide is a crime under international law, contrary to the spirit and aims of the United Nations and condemned by the civilized world;

Recognizing that at all periods of history genocide has inflicted great losses on humanity; and

Being convinced that, in order to liberate mankind from such an odious scourge, international co-operation is required;

Hereby agree as hereinafter provided.

ARTICLE I. The Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish.

ARTICLE II. In the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group as such:

(*a*) Killing members of the group;

(*b*) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to members of the group;

(*c*) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part;

(*d*) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group;

(*e*) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group.

ARTICLE III. The following acts shall be punishable:

(*a*) Genocide;

(*b*) Conspiracy to commit genocide;

(*c*) Direct and public incitement to commit genocide;

(*d*) Attempt to commit genocide;

(*e*) Complicity in genocide.

ARTICLE IV. Persons committing genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be punished, whether they are constitutionally responsible rulers, public officials or private individuals.

ARTICLE V. The Contracting Parties undertake to enact, in accordance with their respective Constitutions, the necessary legislation to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and, in particular, to provide effective penalties for persons guilty of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

ARTICLE VI. Persons charged with genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III shall be tried by a competent tribunal of the State in the territory of which the act was committed, or by such international penal tribunal as may have jurisdiction with respect to those Contracting Parties which shall have accepted its jurisdiction.

ARTICLE VII. Genocide and the other acts enumerated in Article III shall not be considered as political crimes for the purpose of extradition.

The Contracting Parties pledge themselves in such cases to grant extradition in accordance with their laws and treaties in force.

ARTICLE VIII. Any Contracting Party may call upon the competent organs of the United Nations to take such action under the Charter of the United Nations as they consider appropriate for the prevention and suppression of acts of genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III.

ARTICLE IX. Disputes between the Contracting Parties relating to the interpretation, application or fulfilment of the present Convention, including those relating to the responsibility of a State for genocide or any of the other acts enumerated in Article III, shall be submitted to the International Court of Justice at the request of any of the parties to the dispute.

ARTICLE X. The present Convention of which the Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts are equally authentic, shall bear the date of 9 December 1948.

ARTICLE XI. The present Convention shall be open until 31 December 1949 for signature on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State to which an invitation to sign has been addressed by the General Assembly.

The present Convention shall be ratified, and the instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

After 1 January 1950, the present Convention may be acceded to on behalf of any Member of the United Nations and of any non-member State which has received an invitation as aforesaid.

Instruments of accession shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XII. Any Contracting Party may at any time, by notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, extend the application of the present Convention to all or any of the territories for the conduct of whose foreign relations that Contracting Party is responsible.

ARTICLE XIII. On the day when the first twenty instruments of ratification or accession have been deposited, the Secretary-General shall draw up a *procès-verbal* and transmit a copy of it to each Member of the United Nations and to each of the non-member States contemplated in Article XI.

The present Convention shall come into force on the ninetieth day following the date of deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

Any ratification or accession effected subsequent to the latter date shall become effective on the ninetieth day following the deposit of the instrument of ratification or accession.

ARTICLE XIV. The present Convention shall remain in effect for a period of ten years as from the date of its coming into force.

It shall thereafter remain in force for successive periods of five years for such Contracting Parties as have not denounced it at least six months before the expiration of the current period.

Denunciation shall be affected by a written notification addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

ARTICLE XV. If, as a result of denunciations, the number of Parties to the present Convention should become less than sixteen, the Convention shall cease to be in force as from the date on which the last of these denunciations shall become effective.

ARTICLE XVI. A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any Contracting Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General.

The General Assembly shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such request.

ARTICLE XVII. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall notify all Members of the United Nations and the non-member States contemplated in Article XI of the following:

(*a*) Signatures, ratifications and accessions received in accordance with Article XI;

(*b*) Notifications received in accordance with Article XII;

(*c*) The date upon which the present Convention comes into force in accordance with Article XIII;

(*d*) Denunciations received in accordance with Article XIV;

(*e*) The abrogation of the Convention in accordance with Article XV;

(*f*) Notifications received in accordance with Article XVI.

ARTICLE XVIII. The original of the present Convention shall be deposited in the archives of the United Nations.

A certified copy of the Convention shall be transmitted to all Members of the United Nations and to the non-member States contemplated in Article XI.

ARTICLE XIX. The present Convention shall be registered by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on the date of its coming into force.

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CROSS-EXAMINATION OF THE CHIEF OF THE REICH CHANCELLERY

1962

Here is reproduced, in part, a section of the cross-examination of war criminals during the Eichmann trial. The main purpose of cross-examination was to show that the witness or defendant who testified on his own behalf was lying. It was extremely difficult to break down the minds of men who had been drained of all human reasoning and were so filled with Nazi doctrine. Some of the problems can be seen from careful reading of the cross-examination.

Cross-examination of H. Lammers, Chief of the Reich Chancellery

The cross-examination of Lammers, Hitler's evil administrative "genius" is of particular interest since he used tactics similar to those of Eichmann in Jerusalem.

Hans Heinrich Lammers, Reichsminister and Chief of Hitler's Reich Chancellery was an eager and very loyal follower of his Führer. This old civil servant had sold his soul and governmental experience to the Third Reich. He issued "Führer's Orders" even without Hitler's knowledge. For this cross-examination, I had carefully prepared 25 questions all based upon documents of Lammers which I had not shown him before. While this method did not lead to any admissions of this leathern Nazi bureaucrat, his answers unmasked him within 40 minutes as a complete liar. He was sentenced to 20 years in jail. This cross-examination took place in the Wilhelmstrassen Case XI and has never been published as yet outside the trial record:

U.S. Prosecutor Dr. R. M W. Kempner:
[Case 11, German cross-examination of defendant Hans Heinrich Lammers as his own witness on September 23, 1948, 11:35—12:15.]

Q. Herr Dr. Lammers, you are one of the few surviving statesmen of the Third Reich who knew the Führer and his work very well; is that correct?

A. Very well is saying too much. I had a certain amount of insight into his work and way of life.

Q. Thank you. You are not, I am sure, one of those people who now, after the defeat, deny the Führer and shift the blame for Germany's catastrophe to him alone; is that correct?

A. The Führer actually, of course, was the most guilty person in this catastrophe because he inspired everything and he by his actions brought about the catastrophe. As for shifting blame to him I can't do that. I am convinced that actually he wanted the welfare of Germany. Whether his means were always the right ones is something different.

Q. Thank you. Dr. Lammers, later I am going to ask you the following question: do you still maintain that you did not know, during the time you were in office, that thousands of Jews were killed in the East? If you do not maintain this stand now at this moment, then I have no further questions, but I just wanted to ask you once again at the beginning.

A. Yes, I must maintain this statement within the framework of my former testimony.

Q. Thank you. On direct examination you stated that you hadn't heard anything about mass execution of Jews. Did you ever hear about individual killings?

A. Individual cases did come to my knowledge, as in wartime shootings do take place now and again. Such cases too, of course, came to my knowledge. I heard of individual cases . . .

Q. Do you remember that together with the Führer on October 11, 1943, you signed a decree instructing all authorities that illegtimate children born, in the occupied Eastern territories, of indigenous mothers and German fathers should be taken from the mothers and put in the custody of the Reich?

A. I can't remember. Would you show it to me?

Dr. Kempner:

May I offer just for identification under number 3900 exhibit NG-5840, a Führer-decree signed by Adolf Hitler and Dr. Lammers.

Presiding Judge Powers:

Well, the document will be marked for identification as 3900.

FOOTNOTES

1 Morris Schappes, Documentary History of the Jews of the United States, 1654-1875 (New York: Citadel Press, 1950), pp. 200-204.

2 Ibid., pp. 208-210.

3 Ibid., pp. 286-287.

4 Ibid., pp. 385-392.

5 Ibid., pp. 472-476.

6 Russo-Jewish Committee, The Persecution of the Jews in Russia (London: Wertheimer, Lea, and Co., 1891), p. map insert.

7 Louis Greenberg, The Jews in Russia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), Vol. I, pp. 74-75.

8 Russo-Jewish Committee, pp. 6-7.

9 Proceedings of Meetings Held February 1, 1882 to Express Sympathy for Oppressed Jews of Russia (New York: Industrial School of the Hebrew Orphan Asylum, 1882), pp. 6-7, 32-34.

10 Russo-Jewish Committee, pp. 41-43, 48-49.

11 Ibid., pp. 35-38.

12 Ibid., pp. 107-110.

13 Nathan Zuckerman, The Wine of Violence (New York: Association Press, 1947), p. 151.

14 Guy Chapman, The Dreyfus Case (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1955), pp. 55-57.

15 Ibid., pp. 52-53.

16 Ibid., p. 84.

17 Ibid., pp. 81-82.

18 Ibid., pp. 127-130.

19 Alfred Dreyfus, Five Years of My Life: 1894-1899 (New York: McClure, Phillips and Co., 1901), pp. 5-9.

20 Ibid., p. 216a.

21 New York Times July 13, 1935.

22 The War and the Jews in Russia (New York: The National Workman's Committee of Jewish Rights, 1914), p. 40.

23 Ibid., pp. 63-64.

24 Ibid., p. 65.

25 Ibid., pp. 117, 118.

26 Ibid., pp. 121-122.

27 Ibid., pp. 96-97.

28 Ibid., p. 107.

29 American Jewish Congress, The Massacres and Other Atrocities Committed Against the Jews in Southern Russia, (New York, 1920), pp. 13.14.

30 Ibid., pp. 26-28.

31 Ibid., pp. 37-41.

32 Ibid., pp. 56,57.

33 Ludwig Lewisohn, "Letters to the Editor," The Nation, Vol.CXXI (October 7, 1925), p. 385.

34 "The International Jew - The World's Foremost Problem," The Dearborn Independent, (November, 1920), p. 22.

35 American Jewish Archives File on Dearborn Independent.

36 Zuckerman, pp. 142-144.

37 Ibid., p. 144.

38 Manchester Guardian May 12, 1933, and May 22, 1933.

39 Zuckerman, p. 168.

40 Raul Hilberg, The Destruction of the European Jews (Chicago, Quadrangle Press, 1961), pp. 264-265.

41 Ann Frank, The Works of Ann Frank, B. M. Mooyaard, trans. (New York: Doubleday and Co., 1959), pp. 57-58.

42 Nathan Eck and Arieh Leon Kubouy, (ed.), Yad Vashem Studies (Jerusalem: Weiss Press, 1963), pp. 255-258.

43 Ibid., pp. 284-286.

44 Yad Vashem - Warning and Witness (Tel Aviv: Israel-American Offset, 1960).

45 Office of Education of B'nei Akiva, Pamphlet on Catastrophe of 6 Million (1963), pp. 18-24.

46 The Crime of Genocide - A United Nation Convention (New York: United Nations Publication, 1949), pp. 11-15.

47 Yad Vashem Studies, pp. 53-54.

INTRODUCTION: JEWISH EMANCIPATION

The late eighteenth century saw the rise of a demand for equality before the law. There seemed to be a spirit of Messianism in the air. Thus, the troops of Revolutionary France were ready to break open the German and Italian ghettos. Western Europe and even Prussia were under pressure to create efficient bourgeois governments. Medieval corporativism had to be done away with and with it the ghettoized autonomy of the Jews. There was to be no more a special Jewish status. Every Jew would now be able to participate in free enterprise, and the Jew was now about to come in contact with the world outside the ghetto. The Jew would no longer be an alien in Germany or France. He now became a Frenchman of Jewish faith or a German of Jewish faith, with emphasis, where the law was concerned, on his citizenship, not on his religious affiliation. The law, of course, was not always honored, but legal emancipation did make it possible for the Jew to share more fully than before in the life of the larger society around him. This was America.

HAYM SOLOMON RECOUNTS HIS SERVICES TO THE REVOLUTIONARY CAUSE - 1778

Haym Solomon offered his services to the Continental Congress during the War for Independence. They ignored him. During this period, he worked successfully as a broker. At that time he was a recent immigrant from Poland.

HAYM SALOMON OFFERS HIS SERVICES

His Memorial to the Continental Congress, Philadelphia, August 25, 1778 [1]

[In order to avoid being arrested a second time by the British occupation forces in New York, Haym Salomon had fled from the city, leaving his family and his growing fortune behind him. Penniless in Philadelphia, he addressed himself to the Continental Congress, recounting his services to the revolution, and asking for whatever public employment was available. This document, signed by Salomon himself, is the only reliable summary of Salomon's activity and trials during the first three years of the War for Independence.[2] When the Continental Congress ignored Salomon's application for employment, he busied himself with a brokerage business in Philadelphia, and soon became "the most successful of the war brokers."[3]]

To the Honorable the Continental Congress

The Memorial of Hyam Solomon late of the City of New York, Merchant.
humbly sheweth,

That Your Memorialist was some time before the Entry of the British Troops at the said City of New York,[4] and soon after taken up as a Spy and by General Robertson committed to the Provost [5]—That by the Interposition of Lieut. General Heister (who wanted him on account of his Knowledge in the French, polish, Russian Italian &c[a] Languages) he was given over to the Hessian Commander [6] who appointed him in the Commissary Way as purveyor chiefly for the Officers—That being at New York he has been of great Service to the French & American prisoners and has assisted them with Money and helped them off to make their Escape [7]—That this and his close Connexions with such of the Hessian Officers as were inclined to resign and with Monsieur Samuel Demezes has rendred him at last so obnoxious to the British Head Quarters that he was already pursued by the Guards and on Tuesday the 11th inst. he made his happy Escape from thence [8]—This Monsieur Demezes is now most barbarously treated at the Provost's and is seemingly in danger of his Life And the Memorialist begs leave to cause him to be remembred to Congress for an Exchange

Your Memorialist has upon this Event most irrecoverably lost all his Effects and Credits to the Amount of Five or six thousand Pounds sterling and left his distressed Wife [9] and a Child of a Month old at New York waiting that they may soon have an Opportunity to come out from thence with empty hands—

In these Circumstances he most humbly prayeth to grant him any Employ in the Way of his Business whereby he may be enabled to support himself and family—And Your Memorialist as in duty bound &c[a].

Haym Salomon

Philad[a] Aug[t] 25th 1778.

JEWISH EMANCIPATION AND THE DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN

1789

In 1789, Louis XVI of France called together an Estates-General to ask advice as he faced bankruptcy. This group became the National Assembly and started to write a constitution for France. In the preamble to the constitution appeared the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which did away with economic feudalism, oppressive and inequitable taxation, and social stratification. Almost a complete transformation took place. The position of the Catholic Church in France changed radically also. And so the time had come also for a readjustment of Jewish corporate status. On the eve of the Revolution, there were about 40,000 Jews in France. Life was far from intolerable for these Jews, but it was not until 1789 that the Jews of Alcace were allowed to participate freely in commerce.

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MAN AND OF CITIZENS[2] BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE

THE representatives of the people of France, formed into a National Assembly, considering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights,[3] are the sole causes of public misfortunes and corruptions of Government, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, these natural, imprescriptible[4] and inalienable rights: that this declaration being constantly present to the minds of the members of the body social, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties; that the acts of the legislative and executive powers of Government, being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political institutions, may be more respected; and also, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by simple and incontestable principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Constitution, and the general happiness.

For these reasons the National Assembly doth recognise and declare, in the presence of the Supreme Being, and with the hope of his blessing and favour,[5] the following *sacred*[6] rights of men and citizens:—

I. Men are born, and always continue, free and equal in respect of their rights. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man; and these rights are Liberty, Property, Security, and Resistance of Oppression.

III. The Nation is essentially the source of all sovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men, be entitled to any authority which is not expressly derived from it.

IV. Political Liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exercise of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than those which are necessary to secure to every other man the free exercise of the same rights; and these limits are determinable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to society. What is

[1] The great Danton spelt his name thus at this time.
[2] Translation is Tom Paine's. The French reads, "et du citoyen."
[3] Des droits de l'homme.
[4] Sacres.
[5] Et sous les auspices [de l'Être Suprême].
[6] Apparently inserted by Paine.

not prohibited by the law should not be hindered; nor should any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. The law is an expression of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either personally or by their representatives, in its formation. It should be the same to all, whether it protects or punishes; and all being equal in its sight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other distinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man should be accused, arrested, or held in confinement, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has prescribed. All who promote, solicit, execute, or cause to be executed, arbitrary orders, ought to be punished, and every citizen called upon, or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himself culpable by resistance.

VIII. The law ought to impose no other penalties but such as are absolutely and evidently necessary; and no one ought to be punished, but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being presumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indispensable, all rigour to him, more than is necessary to secure his person, ought to be provided against[1] by the law.

X. No man ought to be molested on account of his opinions, not even on account of his religious opinions, provided his avowal of them does not disturb the public order established by the law.

XI. The unrestrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the most precious Rights of Man, every citizen may speak, write, and publish freely, provided he is responsible for the abuse of this liberty, in cases determined by the law.

XII. A public force being necessary to give security to the Rights of Men and of citizens, that force is instituted for the benefit of the community and not for the particular benefit of the persons with whom it is intrusted.

XIII. A common contribution being necessary for the support of the public force, and for defraying the other expenses of Government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.

XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community in which a separation of powers and a security of rights is not provided for, wants a Constitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and sacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in cases of evident public necessity, legally ascertained, and on condition of a previous just indemnity.

[1] Sévèrement reprimée.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S LETTER TO THE JEWS OF NEWPORT - 1790

This letter has come to be known as one of the most famous documents of the period of the building of American ideals. It speaks for itself and gives a real insight into American ideals of justice and freedom. Indeed, it was President Washington who pleaded that "conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness."

"To Bigotry No Sanction, To Persecution No Assistance"

To the Hebrew Congregation in Newport, Rhode Island

Gentlemen:

While I receive, with much satisfaction, your Address replete with expressions of affection and esteem, I rejoice in the opportunity of assuring you, that I shall always retain a grateful remembrance of the cordial welcome I experienced in my visit to Newport, from all classes of Citizens.

The reflection on the days of difficulty and danger which are past, is rendered the more sweet, from a consciousness that they are succeeded by days of uncommon prosperity and security. If we have wisdom to make the best use of the advantages with which we are now favored, we cannot fail, under the just administration of a good government, to become a great and a happy people.

The Citizens of the United States of America have a right to applaud themselves for having given to mankind examples of an enlarged and liberal policy; a policy worthy of imitation. All possess alike liberty of conscience and immunities of citizenship. It is now no more that toleration is spoken of, as if it was by the indulgence of one class of people, that another enjoyed the exercise of their inherent natural rights. For happily the Government of the United States, which gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance, requires only that they who live under its protection should demean themselves as good citizens, in giving it on all occasions their effectual support.

It would be inconsistent with the frankness of my character not to avow that I am pleased with your favorable opinion of my administration, and fervent wishes for my felicity. May the Children of the Stock of Abraham, who dwell in this land, continue to merit and enjoy the good will of the other inhabitants, while every one shall sit in safety under his own wine and fig tree, and there shall be none to make him afraid. May the father of all mercies scatter light and not darkness in our paths, and make us all in our several vocations useful here, and in his own due time and way everlasting happy. 50

—George Washington.

NAPOLEAN AND THE JEWS - NOTE RELATIVE TO THE SANHEDRIN

1806

In 1799, a man on horseback overthrew the controlling group and took over as Emperor. Napoleon perserved nationalism. He set out to rule France, however, with an authoritarian hand. He had his enemies, and they were quick to identify the Revolution with Jewish emancipation. The Royalists tried to make the most of it. They set out to prove that Judaism was incompatable with Christianity - that the Jews were a nation within a nation - an unassimilable body - that the Jews were required to be hostile to Christians - but most of all - that Judaism and Mosaic law were hostile to the law of Jesus. The great concern was just how much attention was Napoleon going to pay to the Jews.

Napoleaon had not given too much thought to the Jewish question until after his victory at Austerlitz. In 1806, he was inundated with anti-Jewish grievances. The first thing that the Emperor did was declare a moratorium of one year on all Jewish judgments for debt against the farmers. But Napoleon was determined to govern the Jews. He felt that he could manipulate them towards civic morality if he worked carefully. He must insure Jewish loyalty to the State - but they must appear to come voluntarily from the Jews themselves. He then decided to assemble 112

Jewish notables. He had them hand picked - rabbis, financiers, businessmen, and scholars. They were welcomed by insults from Count Molé, who charged them with being usurers. But the Jews could remedy this provided that they could prove themselves worthy.

Molé wanted them to define their attitude towards the country and proceeded to ask Twelve questions. A committee worked fast in returning the answers. Molé was not satisfied, but Napoleon was. The Emperor had received the professions of loyalty that he wanted. Now he wanted to create a body that would give the Jews prestige. He had long awaited the time that he could show his benevolence. On September 3, 1806, he issued a summons for a Sanhedrin. Whatever his motivations were, he wanted the Sanhedrin to declare that there are, in the laws of Moses, religious provisions and political provisions. Napoleon needed this body to establish this dichotomy to thus rule out any appeal to Jewish law in contradistinction, to normative French law.

Once the Sanhedrin had made it clear that it would deal solely with dogma and that dogma was immutable, it left itself with a limited area of activity. The Sanhedrim and the consistories then served very simple as instruments for administrative control. For better or worse, the Jews had made their entrace into Western society and had cast

their lot with the nations that granted them citizenship. The documents that follow all deal with this Napoleonic period and the dealings of the Sanhedrin. These are just a few of the many hundreds of documents available. The documents are not always the most important, but rather many were chosen to see the scope of activities dealt with.

Note Relative to the Sanhedrin

I. In order to proceed in an orderly fashion, it is essential to begin by declaring that there are, in the laws of Moses, religious provisions and political provisions; that the religious provisions are immutable but that this does not apply to the political provisions which are susceptible of modification; that it is only the Great Sanhedrin which can establish this distinction; that during the whole period that the Jews dwelt in Palestine and formed the body of a nation, their political circumstances were the same as during the time of Moses and the Great Sanhedrins of old were in no position to make this distinction; that, since the Israelites left their homeland, there has not been any Great Sanhedrin. After the declaration of these principles will come the application.

1. Polygamy was permitted; it must cease being permitted among those Jews who are scattered in the Occident, though it may yet exist among those of the Orient in consideration of the unique situation in which they find themselves.

2. According to the law of Moses, the Jews only regard as their brothers those who profess the same religion. That was all right as long as the Jewish people were surrounded by idolatrous people who had sworn a common hate of the children of Israel; this can stop when the situation has changed, and it is this that the Sanhedrin shall establish by deciding that one must consider as brothers all men, whatever religion they profess, as long as they are not idolatrous and as long as the Jews enjoy in their midst the same rights as they do.

3. Once this fraternity is established, there must proceed from it the obligation to defend the land where the Israelites enjoy the same rights as the other citizens, just as, according to the law of Moses, they must defend the temple at Jerusalem. The Sanhedrin must make a positive law of this.

4. From the doctrine which will be established that the Jews must consider the Christians as brothers, it follows not only that marriages between Christians and Jews not be anathematized but that they be recommended because they are vital to the welfare of the nation.

5. and 6. Divorce and marriage must be subject to the previous observance of the formalities prescribed by the Code Napoleon.

7. and 8. The interpretations relative to loans at

interest, insofar as possible in this project, shall be derived from the acknowledged fraternity.

9. The useful occupations.

Add to the provisions of the proposed decision an invitation to become landlords.

10. Finally, an obligation to proper conduct.

All these decisions are the concern of the Great Sanhedrin, and it is only of this section which deals with dogmas that the work prescribed by the Minister makes mention.

II. Provisions relative to organization and to discipline ought also to be decided upon, and these should be part of the work of the general assembly.[20] Thus, the general assembly shall determine:

1. The organization of sanhedrins or administrative consistories by district and by department, the organization of a central consistory or sanhedrin, and the prerogatives of these institutions which ought to exercise severe regulation of the rabbis;

2. The number of rabbis, the manner in which they will be paid, their obligations and their prerogatives;

3. The conditions necessary in order to be authorized to engage in business and the manner in which this authorization will be granted, subject to the approval of the local authority.

4. The prohibition of any kind of business, of the

right to draw up bills of exchange, of the exercise of brokerage, and of the right to keep shop for any individual who shall not have provided himself with the above authorization;

5. The prohibition for ten years to apply to all Israelites who are not able to prove that they own real estate in France of the right to lend money in exchange for mortgages, and the authorization to the owners of property to lend money on mortgages, but not in excess of the value of the property which they themselves possess;

6. The obligation, in every department or district of the sanhedrin or consistory, to authorize only two marriages between Jews and Jewesses out of every three marriages, the third being between Jew and Christian; if this provision appears to be extremely difficult of execution, it will be necessary to take measures of exhortation, instruction, encouragement, and command which will lead to this goal;

7. The obligation of furnishing a number of conscripts proportionate to the Israelite population without it being possible for an Israelite conscript to provide a replacement except it be another Israelite.

Certain other provisions may be prescribed, but they will come later.

III. Among those provisions specified above, there are several which require not only self-discipline but also

legislation, and for these the agreement of the Council of State is necessary. And so the Great Sanhedrin will explain the political provisions of the law of Moses and will ordain as dogmas only those matters which come under its jurisdiction. The general assembly of Israelites, acting in agreement with the administration and in consideration of the advantages which the revolution accorded to the Jews, will ordain those provisions which deal with organization and discipline. Finally, the Council of State will enact those laws necessary for the carrying out of the provisions and the prohibitions indicated above.

There is in all of this a mixture of dogma, of discipline, and of legislation which results in the need for a Great Sanhedrin, for a general assembly of Israelites, and for mutual agreement with the public authority.

It will require much thought and discernment to distinguish precisely that which should be referred, under this plan, to the Great Sanhedrin, to the great assembly, and to the Council of State.

If legislative concurrence were necessary, it would not entail much difficulty; but it would not be possible to proceed by means of the enactment of laws since we can only arrive at the desired political results by means of civil provisions.[21]

IV. The primary objects in mind have been to protect the

Jewish people, to come to the help of country districts,[22] and to rescue several departments from the disgrace of finding themselves vassals to the Jews, for the mortgage of a great part of the lands of a department to one people who by its morals and by its laws forms a unique nation within the French nation is actual vassalage. It is for this reason that, in a very short time, the threatening but unalienable right of taking possession of property will have to be curbed by certain obstacles. In addition, the property ownership of Jews extends itself unceasingly by means of usury and mortgages, and it has become essential to set limits to it. The secondary objective is to weaken, if not destroy, the tendency of the Jewish people toward such a great number of practices which are contrary to civilization and to the good order or society in all the countries of the world.

It is necessary to put an end to the evil by preventing it; it is necessary to prevent it by changing the Jews.

All the measures proposed must lead to these two results. When, among every three marriages, there will be one between a Jew and a Christian, the blood of the Jews will cease to have any unique character.

When they are prevented from devoting themselves exclusively to usury and brokerage, they will accustom themselves to engage in the crafts, and the tendency toward usury will disappear.

When a proportion of the youth are required to enter the army, they will stop having specifically Jewish interests and feelings; they will assume French interests and feelings.

When they are submitted to the authority of civil law, all that will remain to them as Jews will be dogma, and they will leave their current state of affairs where religion is the only civil law, a situation which exists among the Moslems and which has always been the situation during the infancy of nations. It is wrong to say that the Jews are only degraded in those places where they are persecuted; in Poland, where they are necessary to fill the place of the middle class of society and where they are esteemed and powerful, they are no less vile, dirty, and given to all those customs of the basest dishonesty.

Theorizers will doubtless propose to limit themselves to ameliorative measures in their legislation; but this will not be sufficient. God is accomplished slowly, and a mass of corrupt blood can only be improved by time. However, people are suffering; they are crying; and the intention of His Majesty is to come to their help.

It is necessary to employ the two methods concurrently, one of which aims to put a stop to the conflagration and the other of which aims to extinguish it.

That is why it is necessary to employ at the same time the Great Sanhedrin, the great assembly of Jews, and

regulatory procedures deliberated by the Council of State.

The Great Sanhedrin has the best wishes and the respect of all who are enlightened among the Jews of Europe. With this support, it has the power to expunge from Mosaic legislation all those laws which are atrocious and those which can only refer to the situation of the Jews in Palestine.

Napoleon [51]

IMPERIAL DECREE - SUMMONING THE SANHEDRIN - 1806

IMPERIAL DECREE[1]

containing a moratorium relative to judgments rendered in favor of Jews against farmers who are not engaged in commerce in several departments of the Empire.

At the Palace of Saint-Cloud,

May 30, 1806.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, King of Italy;

Due to the report which was made to us that in several of the northern departments of our Empire certain Jews, not having any other profession that than of usury, have, by the exacting of the most immoderate interest, put many farmers of the country into a state of great distress;

We have decided that we must come to the aid of those of our subjects who have been reduced to these grievous extremes by unjust greed;

These circumstances have, at the same time, made us aware of how urgent it is to revive sentiments of civil morality among those who profess the Jewish religion in the countries under our jurisdiction, sentiments which have, sadly, disappeared among a very great number of them due to the state of degradation in which they have so long languished, a state which it is not at all among our intentions to maintain nor to renew;

For the accomplishment of this plan, we have resolved to convene an assembly of the foremost Jewish notables[2] and

to communicate our intentions to them by means of commissioners whom we shall name for that purpose. This assembly shall arrive at a consensus of the methods which it deems to be the most expedient in order to re-establish among its brothers the exercise of the arts and of the useful professions, the object being to replace, by honest industry, the shameful expedients to which many among them have devoted themselves from father to son for several centuries;

For these reasons,

On the report of our Grand Judge the Minister of Justice and of our Minister of the Interior;

Our Council of State in agreement,

We have decreed and do decree that which follows:

Article 1. The enforcement of all judgments or contracts, other than simple acts of extension, against non-commercial farmers in the departments of Sarre, Roër, Mont-Tonnerre, Haut- and Bas-Rhin, Rhin-et-Moselle, and Vosges, in which titles have been endorsed by these farmers to Jews, is hereby suspended.

2. There shall be formed on July 15 next[3] in our good city of Paris an assembly of individuals who profess the Jewish religion and who live in French territory.

3. The members of this assembly, according to the numbers stated in the attached table, shall come from the departments named therein, and they shall be chosen by the

prefects from among the rabbis, the land owners, and other Jews who are distinguished by their integrity and their intelligence.

4. In the other departments of our Empire, which are not named in the table and where there live from one hundred to five hundred individuals of the Jewish religion, the prefect may name one deputy; from five hundred to one thousand, he may name two deputies; and so on.

5. The deputies chosen shall arrive in Paris before July 10 and shall make their arrival and their addresses known to the secretary of our Minister of the Interior who will inform them as to the place, the day, and the hour when the assembly will open.

6. Our Minister of the Interiorj is charged with the execution of this decree.

Signed, Napoleon

For the Emperor:

The Secretary of State, signed, H.B. Maret 52

THE FAMOUS 12 QUESTIONS ASKED BY COUNT MOLÉ - 1806

To the reader, the questions appear to be "loaded". From the data given about Count Molé, this would definitely appear to be the case.

Rambouillet, August 23, 1806

Monsieur Champagny,

I am sending you notes which will clarify for you the direction which I wish to give to the assembly of Jews and that which my commissioners delegated to that assembly should now do.

Napoleon

Notes Attached To The Preceding Letter

Since the conquest of Jerusalem by Titus, there has never been the opportunity for such a great number of enlightened men belonging to the religion of Moses to meet together; there have always been demands on these dispersed and persecuted Jews for special fees, abjuration of their religion, and other pledges or concessions equally contrary to their interests and their faith. The present situation of these Jews has no similarity to any preceding era in their history. It is demanded that these Jews neither abandon their religion nor make any modification which might be repugnant to the letter and spirit of their religion.

When they were persecuted or hidden to escape persecution, various kinds of doctrines and customs were intro-

duced. The rabbis arrogated to themselves the right to interpret the principles of the faith whenever there was an opportunity for interpretation. But the right of religious legislation may never be given to an individual; it may only be exercised by a general assembly of Jews legally and freely convened and including Spanish and Portuguese, Italian, German and French Jews, representing the Jews of over three quarters of Europe.

Consequently, the first thing to do might be to reconstitute the assembly now convened in Paris into a great sanhedrin whose laws will be placed on an equal footing with the Talmud, to be articles of faith and principles of religious legislation.

When this first thing is accomplished, all the Jews, of whatever nation they might be, will be invited to send delegates to Paris and to participate, through the wisdom of their delegates, in the operations of the Great Sanhedrin. Consequently, there shall be issued, by some sort of proclamation, notification to all the synagogues of Europe.[7] This notification will be addressed officially to the synagogues of France. The decisions which will be arrived at in answer to the questions proposed[8] will then be converted into binding theological decisions or precepts which have the force of ecclesiastical and religious law and which will compose a second body of legislation for the Jews which, while conserving the essential character of that of Moses,

will adapt itself to the current situation of the Jews, to our morals and to our customs.

The following questions have been proposed, namely:

1st Question: Is it lawful for Jews to marry several women? -- It is necessary that a negative response be definitely enunciated and that the present assembly or the Great Sanhedrin forbid polygamy in Europe.

2nd Question. Is divorce permitted by the Jewish religion? Is divorce valid without having been issued by civil courts but rather by virtue of laws contradictory to the French people? -- It is necessary that the assembly, constituted as the Great Sanhedrin, forbid divorce except in those cases permitted by civil law or the Code Napoleon, and that divorce not be permitted to take place without having previously been issued by the civil authority.

3rd Question. May a Jewess marry a Christian or a Christian woman marry a Jew? Or does Jewish law direct that Jews only marry among themselves? -- It is necessary that the Great Sanhedrin declare that religious marriage may not take place except after having been issued by the civil authority and that Jews and Jewesses may marry Frenchmen and Frenchwomen. It is also necessary that the Great Sanhedrin recommend these unions as a means of protection and convenience for the Jewish people.

4th Question. In the eyes of the Jews, are Frenchmen

considered their brothers or foreigners? -- The Sanhedrin, recognizing, as did the assembly, that Frenchmen and Jews are brothers, shall establish this principle: that Jews are the brothers of the inhabitants of every country where they are granted not only toleration but protection and where they are admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges connected to political and civil existence. It is in this area that there exists the basic difference between French and Italian legislation and the legislation of the other countries.

5th Question. In either case, what are the duties which the law prescribes for them in their relationships with Frenchmen who are not of their religion? -- The answer to this question will depend on the answer to the above question.

6th Question. Do Jews, born in France and treated by the law as French citizens, regard France as their homeland; do they feel the obligation to defend France, to obey her laws and to follow all the provisions of the Civil Code? -- It is necessary that the Sanhedrin declare that Jews must defend France as they would defend Jerusalem since they are treated in France as they would be treated in the Holy city; that no more than half the Jews drafted may buy themselves free of service each year and that the others must serve personally.

7th Question. Who appoints the rabbis? -- It is necessary that the Sanhedrin decide by whom rabbis shall be appointed, how they shall be organized and payed, and that the Sanhedrin establish in Paris a council of rabbis the members of which will be recognized as the superiors and the surveillants of the Jews. This committee, resident at Paris, may be called the Committee of Rabbis or any other name.

8th Question. What police jurisdiction do the rabbis exercise among the Jews? What judicial power do they exercise among them?

9th Question. Are the forms of election of rabbis and police jurisdiction regulated by Jewish law or simply sanctioned by custom? -- The Sanhedrin shall enact the necessary laws to determine the method of election of rabbis, their functions and their jurisdiction, etc.

10th Question. Are there professions which Jewish law forbids?

11th Question. Does Jewish law forbid Jews from practicing usury in dealings with their brothers?

12th Question. Does it forbid them or does it permit them to practice usury in dealings with foreigners? -- The Sanhedrin shall forbid usury in dealings with Frenchmen and in dealings with the inhabitants of every country where the Jews are admitted to the enjoyment of civil law. It shall, therefore, interpret the law of Moses to the effect that Jews

must consider all those places where they are citizens to be just as if they were in Jerusalem; that they are foreigners only in those places where they are mistreated and harried by virtue of the law of the land, and that it is only in these places that illicit profit may be tolerated by their religious law. When this point shall have been enacted by the Sanhedrin, it will be possible to re-examine the situation to discover if there are effective means to restrain and check this disposition toward financial speculation, this organization of fraud and usury.

All of the above is only meant to serve as instruction to the commissioners; they will understand what is desired and will look for the best means of accomplishing it in conference particularly with the most influential members of the assembly. When their ideas are organized, they will be submitted to the assembly; they will say that I am satisfied with the zeal that animates them; they will make it understood that the current circumstances are extra-ordinary; that I desire to use every means to assure that the rights which were restored to the Jewish people are not illusory, and, finally, to enable them to find Jerusalem in France. They shall ask that there be formed a committee of nine members chosen from among the most enlightened members of the assembly with whom they can work and produce great results. This committee will report to the assembly. The

first report will have as its object the formation of a great sanhedrin.

Napoleon 53

DECLARATION AND ANSWERS TO 12 QUESTIONS - 1806

Declaration adopted by the Assembly, and
the Answers to the three first Questions.

DECLARATION

Resolved, by the French deputies professing the religion of Moses, that the following Declaration shall precede the answers returned to the questions proposed by the Commissioners of His Imperial and Royal Majesty.

"The assembly, impressed with a deep sense of gratitude, love, respect, and admiration for the sacred person of his Imperial and Royal Majesty, declares, in the name of all Frenchmen professing the religion of Moses, that they are fully determined to prove worthy of the favors His Majesty intends for them, by scrupulously conforming to his paternal intentions; that their religion makes it their duty to consider the law of the prince as the supreme law in civil and political matters; that, consequently, should their religious code, or its various interpretations, contain civil or political commands, at variance with those of the French Code, those commands would, of course, cease to influence and govern them, since they must, above all, acknowledge and obey the laws of the prince.

That, in consequence of this principle, the Jews have, at all times, considered it their duty to obey the laws of the state, and that, since the revolution, they, like all Frenchmen, have acknowledged no others.

First Question.

Is it lawful for Jews to marry more than one wife?

Answer.

It is not lawful for Jews to marry more than one wife: in all European countries they conform to the general practice of marrying only one.

Moses does not command expressly to take several; but he does not forbid it. He seems even to adopt that custom as generally prevailing, since he settles the rights of inheritance between children of different wives. Although this practice still prevails in the East, yet their ancient doctors have enjoined them to restrain from taking more than one wife, except when the man is enabled by his fortune to maintain several.

The case has been different in the West; the wish of adopting the customs of the inhabitants of this part of the world has induced the Jews to renounce Polygamy. But as several individuals still indulged in that practice, a synod was convened at Worms in the eleventh century, composed of one hundred Rabbis, with Guerson at their head. This assembly pronounced an anathema against every Israelite who should, in future, take more than one wife.

Although this prohibition was not to last for ever, the influence of European manners has universally prevailed.

Second Question.

Is divorce allowed by the Jewish Religion? Is divorce valid when not pronounced by Courts of Justice by Virtue of Laws in Contradiction with those of the French Code?

Answer.

Repudiation is allowed by the law of Moses; but it is not valid if not previously pronounced by the French code.

In the eyes of every Israelite, without exception, submission to the prince is the first of duties. It is a principle generally acknowledged among them, that, in every thing relating to civil or political interests the law of the state is the supreme. Before they were admitted in France to share the rights of all citizens, and when they lived under a particular legislation which set them at liberty to follow their religious customs, they had the facility of repudiating their wives; but it was extremely rare to see it put into practice.

Since the revolution, they have acknowledged no other laws on this head but those of the empire. At the epocha when they were admitted to the rank of citizens, the Rabbis and the principal Jews appeared before the municipalities of their respective places of abode, and took an oath to conform in every thing to the laws, and to acknowledge no other rules in all civil matters.

Consequently they can no longer consider as valid the repudiation pronounced by their Rabbis, since, to make it valid, it must have been previously pronounced by competent tribunals; for, in like manner as by an arrete of the Consular Government, the Rabbis could not impart the matrimonial benediction till it appeared to them that the civil contract had been performed before the civil officer, in like manner they cannot pronounce repudiation, until it appears to them that it has already been pronounced by a sentence which gives it validity. Supposing even that the aforesaid "arrete" had been silent on this head, still the rabbinical repudiation could not be valid; for, according to the Rabbis who have written on the civil code of the Jews, such as Joseph Carro in the Abeneser, repudiation is valid only, in case there should be no opposition of any kind. And as the law of the state would form an opposition, in point of civil interests--since one of the parties could avail himself or herself of it against the other--it necessarily follows that, under the influence of the civil code, rabbinical repudiation cannot be valid. Consequently, since the time the Jews have begun to enter into engagements before the civil officer, no one, attached to religious practices, can repudiate his wife but by a double divorce--that pronounced by the law of the state, and that prescribed by the law of Moses; so that under this point of view, it may be justly affirmed, that the Jewish religion agrees on this subject with the civil code.

Third Question.

Can a Jewess marry a Christian, and a Jew a Christian woman? or does the law allow the Jews to intermarry only among themselves?

Answer.

The law does not say that a Jewess cannot marry a Christian, nor a Jew a Christian woman; nor does it state that the Jews can only intermarry among themselves.

The only marriages expressly forbidden by the law, are those with the seven Canaanean nations, with Amon and Moab, and with the Egyptians. The prohibition is absolute concerning the seven Canaanean nations; with regard to Amon and Moab, it is limited, according to many Talmudists, to the men of those nations, and does not extend to the women; it is even thought that these last would have embraced the Jewish religion. As to Egyptians, the prohibition is limited to the third generation. The prohibition in general applies only to nations in idolatry. The Talmud declares formally that modern nations are not to be considered as such, since they worship, like us, the God of heaven and earth. And, accordingly, there has been, at several periods, intermarriages between Jews and Christians in France, in Spain, and in Germany: these marriages were sometimes tolerated, and sometimes forbidden by the laws of those sovereigns, who had received Jews into their dominions.

Unions of this kind are still found in France; but we cannot dissemble that the opinion of the Rabbis is against these marriages. According to their doctrine, although the religion of Moses has not forbidden the Jews from intermarrying with nations not of their religion, yet, as marriage, according to the Talmud, requires religious ceremonies called Kiduschim, with the benediction used in such cases, no marriage can be religiously valid unless these ceremonies have been performed. This could not be done towards persons who would not both of them consider these ceremonies as sacred; and in that case the married couple could separate without the religious divorce; they would then be considered as married civilly but not religiously.

Such is the opinion of the Rabbis, members of this assembly. In general they would be no more inclined to bless the union of a Jewess with a Christian, or of a Jew with a Christian woman, than Catholic priests themselves would be disposed to sanction unions of this kind. The Rabbis acknowledge, however, that a Jew, who marries a Christian woman, does not cease on that account, to be considered as a Jew by his brethren, any more than if he had married a Jewess civilly and not religiously.

Fourth Question.

In the eyes of Jews, are Frenchmen considered as their brethren? Or are they considered as strangers?

Answer.

In the eyes of Jews Frenchman are their brethren, and are not strangers.

The true spirit of the law of Moses is consonant to this mode of considering Frenchmen.

When the Israelites formed a settled and independent nation, their law made it a rule for them to consider strangers as their brethren.

With the most tender care for their welfare, their lawgiver commands to love them, (13) "Love ye therefore the strangers," says he to the Israelites, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

Respect and benevolence towards strangers are inforced by Moses, not as an exhortation to the practice of social morality only, but as an obligation imposed by God himself. "When ye reap the harvest of your land," (14) says he to them, "thou shalt not make clean riddance of the corners of the field when thou reapst, neither shalt thou gather any gleaning of thy harvest; thou shalt leave them unto the poor and to the stranger; I am the Lord thy God. (15) When thou cuttest down thy harvest in the field, thou shalt not go back again to fetch it: it shall be for the stranger, for the fatherless, and the widow: that the Lord thy God may bless the work of thy hands. (16) Thou shalt neither vex a stranger, nor oppress him. (17) The Lord your God doth execute the judgment of the fatherless and widow, and loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment. Love ye therefore the stranger; for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt."

To these sentiments of benevolence towards the Stranger, Moses has added the precept of general love for mankind: "Love thy fellow creature as thyself."

David also expresses himself in these terms: (18) "The Lord is good to all: and his tender mercies are over all his works." This doctrine is also professed by the Talmud.

"We are bound,"says a Talmudist, "to love as our brethren all those who observe the (19) Noachides, whatever their religious opinions may otherwise be. We are bound to visit their sick, to bury their dead, to assist their poor, like those of Israel. In short, there is no act of humanity which a true Israelite is not bound to perform towards those who observe the Noachides." What are these precepts? To abstain from idolatry, from blasphemy, from adultery, not to kill or hurt our neighbors, neither to rob or to deceive, to eat only the flesh of animals killed; in short, to observe the rules of justice; and therefore all the principles of our religion make it our duty to love Frenchmen as our brethren.

A Pagan having consulted the Rabbi Hillel on the Jewish religion, and wishing to know in a few words, in what it consisted, Hillel thus

answered him:"Do not to others what thou shouldst not like to have done to thyself. This," said he, "is all our religion; the rest are only consequences of this principle."

A religion whose fundamental maxims are such - a religion which makes a duty of loving the stranger - which enforces the practice of social virtues, must surely require that its followers should consider their fellow citizens as brethren.

And how could they consider them otherwise when they inhabit the same land, when they are ruled and protected by the same government, and by the same laws? when they enjoy the same rights, and have the same duties to fulfil? There exists even between the Jew and Christian, a tie which abundantly compensates for religion - it is the tie of gratitude. This sentiment was at first excited in us by the mere grant of toleration. It has been increased, these eighteen years, by new favors from government, to such a degree of energy, that now our fate is irrevocably linked with the common fate of all Frenchmen. Yes, France is our country; all Frenchmen are our brethren, and this glorious title, by raising us in our own esteem, becomes a sure pledge that we shall never cease to be worthy of it.

Fifth Question.

In either case, what line of conduct does their law prescribe towards Frenchmen not of their religion?

Answer.

The line of conduct prescribed towards Frenchmen not of our religion, is the same as that prescribed between Jews themselves; we admit of no difference but that of worshipping the Supreme Being, every one in his own way.

The answer to the preceding question has explained the line of conduct which the law of Moses and the Talmud prescribe towards Frenchmen not of our religion. At the present time, when the Jews no longer form a separate people, but enjoy the advantage of being incorporated with the Great Nation, (which privilege they consider as a kind of political redemption) it is impossible that a Jew should treat a Frenchman, not of his religion, in any other manner than he would treat one of his Israelitish brethren.

Sixth Question.

Do Jews born in France, and treated by the laws as French citizens, consider France as their country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they bound to obey the laws and to conform to the discpositions of the civil code?

Answer.

Men who have adopted a country, who have resided in it these many generations---who, even under the restraint of particular laws which abridged their civil rights, were so attached to it that they preferred being debarred from the advantages common to all other citizens, rather than leave it, cannot but consider themselves as Frenchmen in France; and they consider as equally sacred and honorable the bounden duty of defending their country.

Jeremiah, (chapter XXIX.) exhorts the Jews to consider Babylon as their country, although they were to remain in it only for seventy years. He exhorts them to tell the ground, to build houses, to sow, and to plant. His recommendation was so much attended to, that Ezra (chapter II) says, that when Cyrus allowed them to return to Jerusalem to rebuild the temple, forty-two thousand threehundred and sixty only, left Babylon; and that this number was mostly composed of the poorer people, the wealthy having remained in that city.

The love of the country is in the heart of Jews a sentiment so natural, so powerful, and so consonant to their religious opinions, that a French Jew considers himself, in England, as among strangers, although he may be among Jews; and the case is the same with English Jews in France.

To such a pitch is this sentiment carried among them, that, during the last war, French Jews have been seen fighting desperately against other Jews, the subjects of countries then at war with France.

Many of them are covered with honorable wounds, and others have obtained, in the field of honor, the noble rewards of bravery.

Seventh Question.

Who names the Rabbis?

Answer.

Since the revolution, the majority of the chiefs of families names the Rabbi, wherever there is a sufficient number of Jews to maintain one, after previous inquiries as to the morality and learning of the candidate. This mode of election is not, however, uniform; it varies according to place, and, to this day, whatever concerns the election of Rabbis is still in a state of uncertainty.

Eighth Question.

What police jurisdiction fo Rabbis exercise among the Jews? What judicial power do they enjoy among them.

Answer.

The Rabbis exercise no manner of Police Jurisdiction among the Jews.

The qualification of Rabbi is nowhere to be found in the law of Moses, neither did it exist in the days of the first Temple; it is only mentioned towards the end of those of the second.

At these epochas the Jews were governed by Sanhedrim or tribunals. A supreme tribunal, called the Grand Sanhedrim, sat in Jerusalem, and was composed of seventy-one Judges.

There were inferior courts, composed of three judges for civil causes and for police; and another composed of twenty-two judges, which sat in the capital to decide matters of less importance, and which was called the "Lesser Sanhedrim."

It is only in the Misna and in the Talmud that the word Rabbi is found for the first time applied to a doctor in the law; and he was commonly indebted for this qualification to his reputation, and to the opinion generally entertained of his learning.

When the Israelites were totally dispersed, they formed small communities in those places where they were allowed to settle in certain numbers.

Sometimes, in these circumstances, a Rabbi and two other doctors formed a kind of tribunal, named Bethin, that is, House of Justice; the Rabbi fulfilled the functions of Judge, and the other two those of his assessors.

The attributes, and even the existence of these tribunals, have, to this day, always depended on the will of governments under which the Jews have lived, and on the degree of tolerance they have

enjoyed. Since the revolution those rabbinical tribunals are totally suppressed in France, and in Italy. The Jews, raised to the rank of citizens, have conformed in every thing to the laws of the state; and, accordingly, the functions of Rabbis, wherever any are established, are limited to preaching morality in the temples, blessing marriages, and pronouncing divorces.

In places where there are no Rabbis, the Jew who is best instructed in his religion, may, according to the law, impart the marriage benediction without the assistance of a Rabbi; this is attended with an inconveniency, the consequences of which it certainly would be proper to prevent, by extending to all persons, called upon to bless a marriage, the restrictions which the consular Arrete places on functions of Rabbis in this particular.

As to judicial powers, they possess absolutely none; for there is among them neither a settled ecclesiastical hierarchy, nor any subordination in the exercise of their religious functions.

Ninth Question.

Are these forms of Election, and that police-judicial jurisdiction, regulated by the law, or are they only sanctioned by custom?

Answer.

The answer to the preceding questions makes it useless to say much on this, only it may be remarked that, even supposing that Rabbis should have, to this day, preserved some kind of police-judicial-jurisdiction among us, which is not the case, neither such jurisdiction, nor the forms of the elections, could be said to be sanctioned by the law; they should be attributed solely to custom.

Tenth Question.

Are there professions which the law of the Jews forbids them from exercising?

Answer.

There are none: on the contrary, the Talmud (vide Kiduschim, chap. 1st.) expressly declares that "the father who does not teach a profession to his child, rears him up to be a villain."

Eleventh Question.

Does the law forbid the Jews from taking usury from their brethren?

Answer.

Deuteronomy (chap.XXIII. vers. 19) says, "thou shalt not lend

upon interest (21) to thy brother, interest of money, interest of victuals, interest of any thing that is lent upon interest."

The Hebrew word nechech has been improperly translated by the word "usury": in the Hebrew language it means interest of any kind, and not usurious interest. It cannot then be taken in the acceptation now given in the word"usury."

It is even impossible that it could ever have had that acceptation; for usury is an expression relative to, and compared with, another and a lawful interest; and the text contains nothing which alludes to the other term of comparison. What do we understand by usury? Is it not an interest above the legal interest, above the rate fixed by the law? If the law of Moses has not fixed this rate, can it be said that the Hebrew word means an unlawful interest? The word nechech in the Hebrew language answers the Latin word "faenus": to conclude that it means "usury", another word should be found which would mean "interest"; and as such a word does not exist, it follows that all interest is usury, and that all usury is interest.

What was the aim of the lawgiver in forbidding one Hebrew to lend upon interest to another? It was to draw closer between them the bonds of fraternity, to give them a lesson of reciprocal benevolence, and to engage them to help and assist each other with disinterestedness.

The first thought had been to establish among them the equality of property, and the mediocrity of private fortune; hence the institution of the sabbatical year, and of the year of jubilee; the first of which came every seventh year, and the other every fifty years. By the sabbatical year all debtors were released from their obligations: the year of jubilee brought with it the restitution of all estates sold or mortgaged.

It was easy to foresee, that the different qualities of the ground, the greater or lesser industry, the untowardness of the seasons, which might affect both, would necessarily make a difference in the produce of land, and that the more unfortunate Israelite would claim the assistance of him whom fortune should have better favored. Moses did not intend that this last should avail himself of this situation, and that he should require from the other the price of the service he was soliciting; that he should thus aggravate the misery of his brother, and enrich himself by his spoils. It is with a view to this that he says, "Thou shalt not lend upon interest to thy brother." But what want could there exist among the Jews, at a time when they had no trade of any kind? when so little money was in circulation, when the greatest equality prevailed in property? It was, at most a few bushels of corn, some cattle, some agricultural implements; and Moses required that such services should be gratuitous; his intention was to make of his people a nation of husbandmen. For a long time after him, and though Idumaea was at no great distance from the sea-shores, inhabited by the Tyrians, the Sidonians, and other nations possessing shipping and commerce, we do not see the Hebrews much addicted to trade; all

the regulations of their lawgiver seemed designed to divert their attention from commerce.

The prohibition of Moses must therefore be considered only as a principle of charity, and not as a commercial regulation. According to the Talmud, the loan alluded to is to be considered almost as a family loan, as a loan made to a man in want; for in case of a loan made to a merchant, even a Jew, profit adequate to risk should be considered as lawful.

Formerly the word "usury" carried no invidious meaning; it simply implied any interest whatever. The word usury can no longer express the meaning of the Hebrew text: and accordingly the Bible of Osterwald and that of the Portuguese Jews, call "interest" that which Sacy, from the Vulgate, has called "usury".(22)

The law of Moses, therefore, forbids all manner of interest on loan, not only between Jews, but between a Jew and his countryman, without distinction of religion. The loan must be gratuitous whenever it is to oblige those who claim our assistance, and when it is not intended for commercial speculation.

We must not forget that these laws, so humane and so admirable at these early periods, were made for a people which then formed a state and held a rank among nations.

If the remnants of this people, now scattered among all nations, are attentively considered, it will be seen, that, since the Jews have been driven from Palestine, they no longer have had a common country, they no longer have had to maintain among them the primeval equality of property. Although filled with the spirit of their legislation, they have been sensible that the letter of the law could no longer be obeyed when its principle was done away; and they have, therefore, without any scruple, lent money on interest to trading Jews, as well as to men of different persuasions.

Twelfth Question.

Does it forbid or does it allow to take usury from strangers?

Answer.

We have seen, in the answer to the foregoing question, that the prohibition of usury, considered as the smallest interest, was a maxim of charity and of benevolence, rather than a commercial regulation. In this point of view it is equally condemned by the law of Moses and by the Talmud; we are generally forbidden, always on the score of charity, to lend upon interest to our fellow-citizens of different persuasions, as well as to our fellow-Jews.

The disposition of the law, which allows to take interest from the stranger, evidently refers only to nations in commercial intercourse with us; otherwise there would be an evident contradiction between this passage and twenty others of the sacred writings.

"(23) The Lord your God loveth the stranger, in giving him food and raiment; love ye therefore the stranger, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. (24) One law shall be to him that is home-born, and to the stranger. (25) Hear the causes between your brethren, and judge righteously between every man and his brother, and the stranger that is with him. (26) If a stranger sojourn with thee in your land you shall not vex him. (27) Thou shalt neither vex a stranger nor oppress him, for ye were strangers in the land of Egypt. (28) If thy brother be waxen poor, or fallen in decay with thee, thou shalt then relieve him; yea, though he be a stranger, or a sojourner."

Thus the prohibition extended to the stranger who dwelt in Israel; the Holy Writ places them under the safe-guard of God; he is a sacred guest, and God orders us to treat him like the widow and like the orphan.

It is evident that the text of the Vulgate, Extranei faenaberis et fratri tuo non faenaberis, can be understood only as meaning foreign nations in commercial intercourse with us; and, even in this case, the Holy Writ, in allowing to take interest from the stranger, does not mean an extraordinary profit, oppressive and odious to the borrower. Non licuisse Israelitis, say the doctors, usuras immoderatas exigere ab extraneis, etiam divitibus, res est per se nota.

Can Moses be considered as the lawgiver of the universe, because he was the lawgiver of the Jews? Were the laws he gave to the people, which God had intrusted to his care, likely to become the general laws of mankind? "Thou shalt not lend upon interest to thy brother." What security had he, that, in the intercourse which would be naturally established between the Jews and foreign nations, these last would renounce customs generally prevailing in trade, and lend to the Jews without requiring any interest? Was he then bound to sacrifice the interest of his people, and to impoverish the Jews to enrich foreign nations? Is it not absolutely absurd to reproach him with having put a restruction to the precept contained in Deuteronomy? What lawgiver but would have considered such a restriction as a natural principle of reciprocity?

How far superior in simplicity, generosity, justice, and humanity, is the law of Moses, on this head, to those of the Greeks and of the Romans! Can we find, in the history of the ancient Israelites, those scandalous scenes of rebellion excited by the harshness of creditors towards their debtors; those frequent abolitions of debts to prevent the multitude, impoverished by the extortions of lenders, from being driven to despair?

The law of Moses and its interpreters have distinguished, with a praise worthy humanity, the different uses of borrowed money. Is it to maintain a family? Interest is forbidden. Is it to undertake a commercial speculation, by which the principal is adventured? Interest is allowed, even between Jews. "Lend to the poor," says Moses. Here the tribute of gratitude is the only kind of interest allowed; the satisfaction of obliging is the sole recompense of the conferred benefit. The case is different in regard to capitals employed in extensive commerce: there, Moses allows the lender to come in for a share of the profits of the borrower; and as commerce was scarcely known among the Israelites, who were exclusively addicted to agricultural pursuits, and as it was carried on only with strangers, that is with neighboring nations, it was allowed to share its profits with them.

It is in this view of the subject that M. Clermont-Tonnerre made use of these remarkable words in the first National Assembly: "It is said that usury is permitted to the Jews; this assertion is grounded only on a false interpretation of a principle of benevolence and fraternity which forbade them from lending upon interest to one another."

This opinion is also that of Puffendorf and of other writers on the law of nations.

The antagonists of the Jews have laid a great stress on a passage of Maimonides, who seems to represent as a precept, the expression "Anochri tassih",(make profit of the stranger). But although Maimonides has presumed to maintain this opinion, it is well known that his sentiments have been most completely refuted by the learned rabbi Abarbanel. We find, besides, in the Talmud, a treatise of Macot,(Perfection) that one of the ways to arrive at perfection, is to lend without interest to the stranger, even to the idolator. Whatever besides might have been the condescension of God to the Jews, if we may be allowed the expression, it cannot be reasonably supposed that the common father of mankind could, at any time, make usury a precept.

The opinion of Maimonides, which excited all Jewish doctors against him, was principally condemned by the famous Rabbis Moses de Gironda and Solomon Benadaret, upon the grounds, first, that he had relied on the authority of Siffri, a private doctor, whose doctrine has not been sanctioned by the Talmud; for it is a general rule that every rabbinical opinion which is not sanctioned by that work is considered as null and void. Secondly, because, if Maimonides understood that the word Nachri (stranger) was applicable to the Canaanean people doomed by God to destruction, he ought not to have confounded a public right, arising from an extraordinary order of God to the Israelites, considered as a nation, with the private right of an individual towards another individual of that same nation...

THE ORGANIC ORDINANCE - 1806

The Organic Ordinance

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, etc., etc.;

On the report of our Minister of the Interior;

Our Council of State being in agreement,

We have decreed and do decree that which follows:

Article 1. The ordinance decided upon in the general assembly of Jews, convened in Paris on December 10, 1806 (sic), shall be effected and appended to this decree.

Article 2. Our Ministers of the Interior and of Cults are charged, each one in that which concerns him, with the execution of this decree.

Signed, Napoleon

For the Emperor;

The Minister Secretary of State, signed, Hugues B. Maret

Ordinance

Article 1. There shall be established a synagogue and an Israelite consistory in every department containing two thousand people who profess the religion of Moses.

2. In the case where there are not to be found two thousand Israelites in a single department, the consistory will include as many contiguous departments as are necessary

for the inclusion of that number. The seat of the synagogue will always be in the city which has the largest Jewish population.

3. In any case, there cannot be more than one consistory a department.

4. No special synagogue shall be established unless it is proposed by the consistory with the proper authority. Each individual synagogue shall be administered by a rabbi and two notables, all of whom shall be designated by the proper authority.

5. There shall be one grand rabbi for each consistory.

6. The consistories shall be composed of one grand rabbi, of another rabbi or as many as are necessary, and of three other Israelities of whom two shall be chosen from among the inhabitants of the city which is the seat of the consistory.

7. The consistory will be presided over by the oldest of its members who will assume the title of Elder of the consistory.

8. There shall be designated by the proper authority in each consistorial circumscription twenty-five notables chosen from among those who contribute the most.

9. These notables shall proceed to elect the members of the consistory who must be acceptable to the proper authority.

10. No one may be a member of the consistory 1) if he is not thirty years old; 2) if he has gone through bankruptcy and has not honorably re-established himself; 3) if he is known to have practiced usury.

11. Any Israelite who wishes to take up residence in France or in the Kingdom of Italy must give notice within three months of his arrival to the consistory closest to the place where he will establish his residence.

12. The functions of the consistory will be: 1) to see to it that the rabbis are not able to give, whether in public or private, any instruction or explanation of the law which is not in conformity with the responsa of the Assembly of Notables, converted into doctrinal decisions by the Great Sanhedrin; 2) to maintain order within the synagogues, to supervise the administration of each synagogue, to regulate the collection and the use of those funds destined for the expenses of the Mosaic religion, and to see to it that, for the sake or the pretext of religion, there not be formed without express authorization any prayer assembly; 3) to encourage the Israelites of the consistorial circumscription, by whatever means possible, to engage in the useful professions, and to make known to the authorities those who do not have any avowed means of existence; 4) to inform the authorities each year of the number of Israelite conscripts in the

circumscription.

13. There shall be in Paris a Central Consistory composed of three rabbis and of two other Israelites.

14. The rabbis of the Central Consistory shall be chosen from among the grand rabbis, and the other members shall be subject to the conditions of eligibility put forth in article 10.

15. Each year the term of one member of the Central Consistory shall expire, but he will always remain eligible.

16. The annual replacement will be provided for by the remaining members. The newly elected member shall only be installed after having obtained the agreement of the proper authority.

17. The functions of the Central Consistory shall be: 1) correspondence with the consistories; 2) to see to the enforcement of the present ordinance in all its parts; 3) to submit to the proper authority all breaches of enforcement of the aforesaid ordinance, whether by intent or by oversight; 4) to confirm the nominations of rabbis, and to propose to the proper authority, when there is good reason, the dismissal of rabbis and of members of of the consistories.

18. Grand rabbis shall be elected by the notables mentioned in article 8.

19. A newly elected grand rabbi cannot assume his position

until confirmed by the Central Consistory.

20. No rabbi is eligible for election: 1) if he is not a native or naturalized Frenchman or an Italian of the Kingdom of Italy; 2) if he cannot obtain evidence of qualification signed by three Italian grand rabbis if he is an Italian or French grand rabbis if he is French; 3) effective in 1820, if he does not know the French language in Franch and the Italian language in the Kingdom of Italy. One who has some understanding of Greek and Latin in addition to an understanding of Hebrew shall be preferred, other things being equal.

21. The functions of the rabbis shall be: 1) to teach religion; 2) to restrict themselves to the doctrine set forth in the decisifns of the Great Sanhedrin; 3) to hark constantly upon obedience to the laws, notably and in particular to those laws relative to the defense of the homeland, and to exphasize it especially each year at conscription time, from the time of the first call from the authorities until the law is executed; 4) to endeavor to make the Israelites consider military service to be a sacred obligation and to declare to them that, during the period in which they consecrate themselves to this service, the law absolves them from any observances which they cannot reconcile with it; 5) to preach in the synagogues and to recite the prayers

which shall be written both for the Empire and the imperial family; 6) to perform marriages and to declare divorces; except that in no case shall the rabbis be able to proceed in these matters without the applicants' having been duly authorized by the prior civil act of marriage or divorce.

22. The salary of rabbis who are members of the Central Consistory is fixed at 6000 francs, of grand rabbis of the consistories at 3000 francs; the salaries of rabbis of individual synagogues shall be fixed by the groups of Israelites who required the establishment of these synagogues. This salary shall not be less than 1000 francs. The Israelites of the respective circumscriptions may vote to augment this salary.

23. Each consistory shall propose to the proper authority a method of assessment among the Israelites of the circumscription for the payment of the salaries of the rabbis. All other religious expenses shall be determined and apportioned at the request of the consistories by the proper authorities. Payment of the rabbis who are members of the Central Consistory shall be taken from a proportionate levy on the amounts collected in the various consistories.

24. Each consistory shall designate one Israelite, not from among themselves and not a rabbi, to collect those sums

which must be collected in the circumscription.

25. This collector shall pay the rabbis quarterly and shall pay any other religious expenses on presentation of an authorization signed by at least three members of the consistory. He shall present his accounts annually on a fixed date to the consistory assembled.

26. Every rabbi who, after this ordinance shall have taken effect, does not find himself employed and who desires, nevertheless, to maintain his residence in France or in the Kingdom of Italy, shall be required to adhere, by means of his signature on a formal declaration, to the decisions of the Great Sanhedrin. A copy of this declaration shall be sent to the Central Consistory by the consistory which receives it.

27. Those rabbis who were members of the Great Sanhedrin shall have preference, insofar as possible, over all others for positions as grand rabbis.

A true copy,

The Minister Secretary of State, signed, H. B. Maret

55

Sitting of the 9th of December, 1806.

The President took the chair at twelve o'clock. He named, as Commissioners to maintain order, MM. Baruch-Cerf-Berr, Felix Levi, and Dreyfoss.

He announced, that a report of the Committee of Nine stood for the order of the day, the object whereof was to propose a series of regulations for the organization of the Mosaic worship, on which the assembly was to deliberate.

REPORT.

"Gentlemen,

"Your Committee is about to give you the report of a plan agreed upon with the Commissioners of His Imperial Majesty, and which is to be submitted to your decision.

"It contains a series of regulations intended to organize our religious worship. It is the result of communications given by your

REPORT OF COMMITTEE OF NINE - DECEMBER 9, 1806

Committee, and of the instructions given by His Majesty to the Commissioners intrusted with the management of affairs which concern you.

"Before we proceed further, I am directed by your Committee to say, that it is an absolute duty for every one of its members publicly to declare that they have experienced, from the persons thus invested with His Majesty's confidence, amenity, good advice, benevolence, and a constant and sincere wish to promote the salutary measured we thought it our duty to propose.

"If the Mosaic religion, its dogmas, and its practices, had been as perfectly known to government as the other forms of religion, our assistance would have been altogether useless. Much better informed than we are ourselves of what may tend to our happiness, government might have decided without calling us to Paris. The regulations which I am going to submit to you formed an essential part of the objects for which this assembly was convened.

"Already more than once, Gentlemen, you have had opportunities of being convinced, that the government, under which we have the happiness to live, was far from attempting to act contrarily to our consciences by attacking, in the least, very ancient religious opinions, or by shocking, in the smallest degree, that sentiment of predilection which men in general entertain for things they hold sacred from their very infancy.

"And, in consequence, whatever could interfere with our religious dogmas, or with our religious practices, has been carefully avoided. We have been consulted on every point connected with our faith; and in none of the articles of these regulations will you find any point which either directly or indirectly militates against it.

"You will, on the contrary, easily perceive that now, for the first time, the Mosaic worship emerges from the obscurity in which it has been involved these two thousand years; that it emerges from that almost complete state of disorganization in which it had been ever since the revolution; that it now acquires a legal existence; that its ministers are acknowledged by public authority; their functions are fixed and settled; their salary assured, and their influence directed to its true destination.

"These regulations, while they preserve the Mosaic worship in all its purity, are far from encroaching in the least on your civil and political rights. They afford, in general, and in every particular, a full confirmation of what you heard in your sitting of the 18th of September from the Commissioners of His Majesty --"The free exercise of your religious worship and the full enjoyment of your political rights are secured to you." But, in return for his gracious protection, His Majesty requires a religious pledge for the strict adherence to the principles contained in your answers.

"You know, Gentlemen, that such a pledge will be found in the doctrinal decisions of the GREAT SANHEDRIN, grounded on your answers. In the plan of regulations which is about to be submitted to you, and which, as I have already observed, is the result of the instructions given by His Majesty to the Commissioners, and of the views of your Committee, everything has been calculated with the intention to give and strengthen such a pledge.

"The paternal instructions of His Majesty, in this respect, clearly evince his magnanimous design of raising an ancient and celebrated nation from the state of abasement in which it was unjustly retained by prejudice. Every thing is disposed to secure the attainment of this philanthropic object.

"The experience of the past made you justly apprehend whatever tended to establish distinctions, either in opinion or in deeds, between you and the rest of Frenchmen. You had marked with grief that those different shades in manners greatly widened the breach caused by the difference in religion, and had an evident tendency to keep us farther removed from social intercourse, and to perpetuate our forlorn state. Nothing like it is to be apprehended now. As subjects of the French empire or of the kingdom of Italy, the laws of both states contain no exceptions affecting us. As subjects of a particular religion, the public authority places it immediately under its inspection, and thus gives it a legal existence. As objects of the august protection of the prince, we find, in his benevolence, a sure pledge of experiencing, in future, like sentiments in the breasts of our fellow-citizens. His Majesty himself has been pleased to declare, through his Commissioners, that, till now, you had not been treated with justice. Where could we find stronger grounds of reliance than in the avowed intentions of so magnanimous a prince?

"Who among us but sees and feels all the advantages of our new situation? who but finds in it an incitement to emulation, to loyalty, and to the most enthusiastic attachment to our country and to its illustrious ruler? Who, in short, does not wish, most ardently, to prove himself worthy of such favors?

"The means are sure and easy; let the Israelitish youth take up again the profession of arms, in which our ancestors shone so conspicuously; let them be numbered among the brave who are more particularly devoted to the service of a sovereign who has so many rights to our most unlimited services.

"It is, then, evident to every one, that the firm and avowed intention of His Imperial and Royal Majesty, is to restore our Israelitish brethren to the dignity of men and of citizens. As the plan of regulations I am going to present contains all the encouragement which benevolence and justice could dictate for our protection, your Committee would think it an insult on your wisdom to doubt, for an instant, of its being adopted in all its parts."

The plan is as follows:

The Deputies composing the assembly of the Israelites, convened by the Imperial decree of the 30th of May, having heard the report of the Committee of Nine, named to prepare the ground-work of the deliberations of the assembly, considering what plan might be presented to their brethren of France and Italy for the better regulation of their religious worship and for the internal police of the same, has unanimously(36) adopted the following.

PLAN.

Art. I. A Synagogue and a Consistory shall be established in every department which contains two thousand individuals professing the religion of Moses.

II. In case a department should not contain two thousand Israelites, the jurisdiction of the Consistorial Synagogue shall extend over as many of the adjoining departments as shall make up the said number. The seat of the Synagogue shall always be in the most populous city.

III. In no case can there be more than one Consistorial Synagogue for each department.

IV. No particular Synagogue can be established, but after being proposed by the Consistorial Synagogue, to the competent authority. Each particular Synagogue shall be superintended by a Rabbi and two elders, who shall be named by the competent authorities.

V. There shall be a Grand Rabbi in each Consistorial Synagogue.

VI. The Consistories shall be composed, as much as possible, of a grand Rabbi, and of three other Israelites, two of whom shall be chosen among the inhabitants of the town which is the Seat of the Consistory.

VII. The oldest member shall be President of the Consistory. He shall take the title of Elder of the Consistory.

VIII. In each Consistorial district the competent authority shall name twenty-five Notables among the Israelites who pay the largest contributions.

IX. These Notables shall name the members of the Consistory, who must be approved by the competent authority.

X. No one can be a member of the Consistory if he is not thirty years of age, if he has been a bankrupt, unless he honorably paid afterwards, or if he is known to be a usurer.

XI. Every Israelite, wishing to settle in France or in the kingdom of Italy, shall give notice of his intention, within three months after his arrival, to the Consistory nearest his place of residence.

XII. The functions of the Consistory shall be -

1st. To see that the Rabbis do not, either in public or in private, give any instructions or explanations of the law, in contradiction to the answers of the assembly confirmed by the decisions of the GREAT SANHEDRIN.

2nd. To maintain order in the interior of Synagogues, to inspect the administration of particular Synagogues, to settle the assessment, and to regulate the use of the sums necessary for the maintenance of the Mosaic worship, and to see that for cause or under the pretence of religion, no praying assembly be formed without being expressly authorized.

3rd. To encourage, by all possible means, the Israelites of the Consistorial district to follow useful professions, and to report to government the names of those who cannot render satisfactory account of their means of subsistence.

4th. To give annually to government the number of the Israelitish conscripts within the district.

XIII. There shall be formed in Paris a Central Consistory, composed of three Rabbis and two other Israelites.

XIV. The Rabbis of the Central Consistory shall be selected from the Grand Rabbis, and the rules contained in the tenth article shall apply to all others.

XV. A member of the Central Consistory shall go out every year, but he may always be re-elected.

XVI. The vacant place shall be filled by the remaining members. The member elect shall not take his place till his election is approved by government.

XVII. The functions of the Central Consistory are,

1st. To correspond with the Consistories.

2nd. To watch over the execution of every article of the present regulations.

3rd. To denounce to the competent authority all infractions of these said regulations, either through negligence or through design.

4th. To confirm the nomination of Rabbis, and to propose to the competent authority, when necessary, the removal of Rabbis and of members of Consistories.

XVIII. The Grand Rabbi shall be named by the twenty-five Notables mentioned in the eighth article.

XIX. The new Grand Rabbi elect shall not enter into his functions till he has been approved by the Central Consistory.

XX. No Rabbi can be elected -

1st. If he is not a native of France or of Italy, or if he has not been naturalized.

2nd. If he does not produce a certificate of his abilities, signed by three Frenchmen, if he is a Frenchman, and by three Italians, if he is an Italian: and from the year 1820, if he does not understand the French language in France, and the Italian in the kingdom of Italy. The candidate who joins some proficiency in Greek or Latin to the knowledge of the Hebrew language, will be preferred, all things besides being equal.

XXI. The functions of the Rabbis are -

1st. To teach religion.

2nd. To inculcate the doctrines contained in the decisions of the GREAT SANHEDRIN.

3rd. To preach obedience to the laws, and more particularly to those which relate to the defense of the country; to dwell especially on this point every year, at the epoch of the conscription, from the moment government shall first call upon the people till the law is fully executed.

4th. To represent military service to the Israelites as a sacred duty, and to declare to them, that, while they are engaged in it the law exempts them from the practices which might be found incompatible with it.

5th. To preach in the Synagogues, and to recite the prayers which are publicly made for the Emperor and the Imperial Family.

6th. To celebrate marriages and to pronounce divorces, without, on any pretence, acting in either case, till the parties

who require their ministry have produced due proofs of the act having been sanctioned by the civil authority.

XXII. The salary of the Rabbis, members of the Central Consistory, is fixed at six thousand livres; that of the Grand Rabbis of Consistorial Synagogues at three thousand livres; that of the Rabbis of particular Synagogues shall be fixed by the community of Israelites which shall have required the establishment of such a Synagogue; it cannot be less than a thousand livres. The Israelites of the several districts may vote an augmentation of these salaries.

XXIII. Each Consistory shall present to the competent authority a plan of assessment among the Israelites of the district for the sums necessary to pay the stipends of the Rabbis. The other expenses of worship shall be fixed and assessed by the competent authority, on the demands of the Consistories. The salary of the central Rabbis shall be proportionately paid out of the sums levied on the several districts.

XXIV. Each Consistory shall name an Israelite, not a Rabbi, nor member of the Consistory, to receive the sums which shall be levied in the district.

XXV. This Treasurer shall pay quarterly the salary of the Rabbis, and the other expenses of worship, upon orders, signed by at least three members of the Consistory. He shall give his account every year, on a fixed day, in a full assembly of the Consistory.

XXVI. Every Rabbi who, after the promulgation of the present regulations, shall be unemployed, and will choose, nevertheless, to remain in France or in Italy, shall be bound to adhere formally, and to sign a declaration of his adherence to, the decisions og the GREAT SANHEDRIN. The copy of this declaration shall be sent to the Central Consistory, by the Consistory which shall have received it.

XXVII. The Rabbis who are members of the GREAT SANHEDRIN shall be, as much as possible, preferred to all others, to fill the places of Grand Rabbis.

REGULATION OF COMMERCIAL TRANSACTIONS AND RESIDENCES OF JEWS

1807

Regulation of Commercial Transactions and Residences of Jews

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, etc., etc.;
On the report of our Minister of the Interior;
Our Council of State in agreement,
We have decreed and do decree that which follows:

TITLE I

Article 1. From the date of the publication of this decree, the moratorium declared by our decree of May 30, 1806, on the payment of debts to Jews is cancelled.

2. The aforesaid debts, however, shall be subject to the following provisions.

3. Any transaction for a loan made by Jews: to minors without the consent of their guardians; to women without the consent of their husbands; to the lower ranks of military personnel without the consent of their captains, or to the higher ranks without the consent of their corps chiefs; shall be considered void so that the holder of

the debt cannot take unfair advantage. And our courts may not authorize any suits for the recovery of such loans.

4. No bill of exchange, no promissory note, and no obligation nor promise signed by one of our non-commercial subjects in favor of a Jew shall be collectable unless the holder of the debt can prove that the complete value of the note has been rendered to the debtor without any fraud.

5. Any debt, the capital of which shall be increased as a matter of course or the capital of which shall become entirely hidden by the accumulation of interest in excess of five per cent, shall be reduced by our courts. If the interest attached to the capital exceeds ten per cent, the debt shall be declared usurious and, thus, cancelled.

6. For legitimate and non-usurious debts, our courts are authorized to grant extensions to the debtors in conformity with equity.

TITLE II

7. From the first day of the coming July and thenceforth, no Jew shall be permitted to devote himself to any business, negotiation, or any type of commerce without having received a specific license from the Prefect of his department. This license will only be granted on the receipt

of precise information and of certification: 1) from the municipal council stating that the said Jew does not devote himself to any illicit business; 2) from the consistory of the district in which he lives attesting to his good conduct and his integrity.

8. This license must be renewed annually.

9. The attorneys-general of our courts are specifically instructed to revoke these licenses on the decision of the court whenever it comes to their attention that a licensed Jew is engaging in usury or devoting himself to fraudulent business.

10. Any commercial action undertaken by an unlicensed Jew shall be null and of no value.

11. The preceding shall also apply to any mortgage taken on property by an unlicensed Jew, whenever it can be proven that the said mortgage was taken in payment of a debt resulting from a bill of exchange or from any commercial enterprise whatsoever.

12. All contracts or obligations endorsed for the profit of an unlicensed Jew, in matters foreign to regular commerce, may be annulled after an inquiry by our courts. The debtor shall be allowed to prove that there was usury or some fraudulent transaction, and, if the proof is valid, these debts shall be liable either to arbitrary reduction by the courts or to annulment if the usury exceeds ten

per cent.

13. The provisions of article 4, title 1, of this decree, concerning bills of exchange, promissory notes, etc., are applicable for the future as well as the past.

14. No Jew shall be allowed to lend money on collateral to servants or hired people nor to lend money on collateral to any other persons unless the document be drawn up by a notary who will certify in the document that the items were counted in his presence and in the presence of witnesses. Otherwise he shall forfeit all rights to the debtors wages, and our courts will, in such a case, be able to order free restitution.

15. Jews may not be allowed, under the same penalties, to receive the tools, utensils, implements, or clothing of day workers or servants in lieu of payment of debts.

TITLE III

16. No Jew not actually now living in our departments of Haut- and Bas-Rhin shall be hereafter admitted to take up residence there.

In the other departments of the Empire, no Jew not actually now living in them shall be admitted to take up residence except in a case where he acquires a rural property and devotes himself to agriculture, without entering into any commercial or business transactions. It shall be possible to make exceptions to the

provisions of this article by means of a special dispensation from us.

17. The Jewish population in our departments shall never be allowed to supply replacements for conscription; consequently, every Jewish conscript shall be subject to personal service.

General Provisions

18. The provisions included in this decree shall remain in effect for ten years in the hope that, at the end of this period and as a result of these various measures made necessary because of the Jews, there will no longer be any difference between them and the other citizens of our Empire. But, nevertheless, if our hope is disappointed these provisions shall be extended until whatever time shall be judged convenient.

19. The Jews living in Bordeaux and in the departments of Gironde and Landes, not having caused any complaints and not ever having devoted themselves to illicit business, are not included under the provisions of this decree.

Signed, Napoleon

For the Emperor:

The Minister Secretary of State, signed, Hugues B. Maret [57]

LETTER CONCERNING APPROVAL FOR COMMERCIAL PATENTS - 1808

Letter from the Consistory of Bas-Rhin to its Surveillant Commissioners Relative to the Approval of Applications for Commercial Patents

Strasbourg, the _____, 181_.

The Israelite Consistory of
the Lower Rhenish Departments,

To M. _____,
Surveillant Commissioner of the Temple
at _____

In regard to the seventh article of the Decree of March 17, 1808, no Jew is permitted to obtain a patent[34] unless he first receives a good conduct and honesty certificate from his consistory.[35] In order to put this regulation into effect, the Prefect of the Consistory will send lists of all Israelites applying for patents to the Consistory. However, since the behavior of all the Jews under the Consistory's jurisdiction cannot be known by the Consistory, the enclosed list of Israelites in your congregation, Mr. Commissioner, who

desire patents is being forwarded to you with the request that, within a week, you designate those who are worthy of a good conduct and honesty certicate and those who are unworthy. In the latter case, you should indicate the reasons why they are unworthy of certification. We further request that you be certain to determine this matter without bias but in all truth and impartiality. The Consistory will make use of your testimony in case of any appeal.

Your reply must be written either in French or in German.

Accept our greetings.

The members of the Consistory:

J. Rehns. S. Alexander.

Jacob Meyer, Rabbi. 58

CONSISTORIAL INSTALLATION AND DECREE - 1808

Consistorial Installation Decree

October 19, 1808.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, etc., etc.;

On the report of our Minister of Cults;

Considering the ordinance decided upon in the general assembly of Jews held in Paris, December 10, 1806, and our decree of March 17, 1808, which provides for its execution;

Considering our decree of the same day relative to the organization of the Jewish religion in the Empire and article 41 of the second part of the law of 18 Germinal, Year X;

Our Council of State in agreement,

We have decreed and do decree that which follows:

Article 1. The members of the Central Consistory of the Jews, established in our fair city of Paris by our decree of July (sic) 17, last, shall be installed by our Councillor of State, the Prefect of the department of Seine, when, with their hands on the Bible, they take the oath prescribed by article 6 of the law of 18 Germinal, Year X, the wording of which is attached to this decree.

2. The members of the consistories of the Israelite synagogues which are established in the departments of the Empire shall be installed by the prefects of the various departments by means of the oath which follows.

3. Our Minister of Cults is charged with the execution of this decree.

Signed, Napoleon

For the Emperor:

The Minister Secretary of State, signed,

Hugues B. Maret

Oath Of Office

I swear and promise before God on the holy Bible to observe obedience to the Constitution of the Empire and fidelity to the Emperor. I also swear to make known anything I might discover which is contrary to the interests of the sovereign or of the state. 59

DECREE RELATIVE TO THE NAMES OF JEWS - 1808

Decree Relative to the Names of Jews

July 20, 1808.

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, etc., etc.;

On the report of our Minister of the Interior;

Our Council of State in agreement,

We have decreed and do decree that which follows:

Article 1. Those subjects of our Empire who follow the Hebraic religion and who, until now, have not adopted family names and first names are hereby ordered to adopt them within three months of the publication of this decree and to declare them officially to the civil officer of the community in which they live.

2. Foreign Jews who desire to live in the Empire and who come under the conditions of article 1 are ordered to

follow the same procedure within three months following their entry into France.

3. Names taken from the Old Testament and names of towns will not be acceptable as family names. Only those names which are authorized under the law of 11 Germinal, Year XI, are acceptable.

4. The consistories, when drawing up the statement of Jews in their communities, are ordered to verify and to make known to the authorities whether all have individually fulfilled the conditions prescribed under the preceding articles. They are also ordered to observe and to make known to the authorities those Jews of their communities who have changed their names without having conformed to the provisions of the aforementioned law of 11 Germinal, Year XI.

5. Not affected by the provisions of this decree shall be those Jews of our states or foreign Jews desirous of settling here who have known family and first names which they have always had, even if these names are from the Old Testament or from towns where they have lived.

6. The Jews mentioned in the preceding article who wish to preserve their family and first names are nevertheless ordered to make declaration of them in this manner; the Jews of our states before the mayor of the community in which they live, and foreign Jews before the mayor of

the town in which they propose to live, in either case within the time limits imposed by article 1.

7. Any Jews who will not have complied with the formalities of this decree within the time limits imposed shall be deported from the kingdom. This applies equally to those who by some public act or by some private arrangement change their names arbitrarily and without conforming to the provisions of the law of 11 Germinal, Year XI. They shall be prosecuted and punished in conformity with the laws similarly to forgers and in accordance with the exigencies of the particular cases.

8. Our Chief Justice, the Minister of Justice, and our Ministers of the Interior and of Cults are charged, each in that area which concerns him, with the execution of this decree.

Signed, Napoleon

For the Emperor;

The Minister Secretary of State, signed, Hugues B. Maret 60

LETTER DENOUNCING CONDUCT OF CERTAIN JEWS - 1810

It would appear here that a class superiority existed. The Jewish upper classes felt their freedom and were very concerned that Jewry appeared as they did to the entire community.

Letter from the Central Consistory to the Jews of Bas-Rhin Denouncing the Conduct of Certain Jews

Paris, October 22, 1810.

THE CENTRAL CONSISTORY

OF ISRAELITES OF THE EMPIRE

TO ITS CO-RELIGIONISTS OF BAS-RHIN.

Israelites,

Complaints have arisen on all sides relative to the

selfishness, the brutishness, and the insubordination of certain individuals among you.

Possibly your consistorial officers have been obliged to deviate from the strict provisions of the law occasionally in order to prevent the scandal that would have resulted from the clash of those passions which divide you and mislead you.

But whatever may have been the good intentions of the members of your consistory, our duties oblige us, nevertheless, to remind them of the limits that the law has set for the powers of the consistories and of their delegates at the temples.

The many proofs that we have had of the wisdom and the fine spirit which characterize each of the members of your consistory are a definite guarantee for us that similar errors will not take place in the future.[18]

Israelites, now having fulfilled the obligation that the law and liberty of conscience impose upon us with regard to your religious leaders, it remains for the Central Consistory to advise you of the duties which you must fulfill toward religion and society.

The insubordination and the license of impious persons occasioned the dispersion of our ancestors, their degradation, and the calamities of all kinds which afflicted them through eighteen centuries.

These shameful passions and an absolute lack of any concept of society still exist among certain individuals of your locality. It is their iniquity which generated the unfavorable opinion about the mass of our co-religionists of Alsace and caused them to be considered as a mass of depraved beings, incapable of fulfilling their obligations and enjoying civil rights. Their turpitude provoked the just severity of the most paternal and most just monarch.[19]

Israelites, do not allow yourselves to be mislead by these disgraceful disturbers, these veritable scourges of the human race and dangerous enemies of our holy religion. Let honesty and loyalty be the basis of your conduct and your actions. Let your love for our august sovereign, your docility and your obedience to the laws of the state, your ardor which brings you to devote yourselves to the defense of the nation and to the sciences, the arts, and the useful occupations, and, finally, your respect for the judges and your regard for your religious leaders who were honored by the choice of His Majesty; let all these testify to the authorities that you deserve to be freed from the provisions of the Decree of March 17, 1808, and that you are worthy of the honorable titles of Frenchmen and subjects of the great Napoleon.

Remember also, Israelites, that the laws of nature and of religion both command beneficence toward one's fellowmen; do not make it necessary for your consistory to resort

to the assessments that the law authorizes formally as provided by article 7 of the imperial decree of March 17, 1808, to force you to give charity. What kind of opinion can be held, by the government and by your own compatriots, about men who show themselves to be so avaricious and so selfish?

We implore you, in the name of religion and of humanity, to see to the needs of the indigent of your towns by means of donations and voluntary subscriptions.

The blessings of heaven and the consideration of the government and of your compatriots of the other religions will be your sweet and glorious reward.[20]

We have the honor of saluting you.

The members of the Central Consistory:

The Chevalier de Cologna, Grand Rabbi, acting president;

J. Lazard; B. Cerf-Berr;

Emmanuel Deutz, Grand Rabbi. 61

TOWARD A SOURCE BOOK FOR THE RELIGIOUS SCHOOL IN MODERN JEWISH HISTORY - FROM THE FRENCH REVOLUTION TO THE PRESENT.

by

Steven Bennett Jacobs

v.2

Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts in Hebrew Letters
and Ordination

THE GRAND RABBI OF NANCE DISCOURAGES SUPPORT OF VAGRANTS

1810

Circular from the Grand Rabbi of Nancy Discouraging the Support of Vagrants and Encouraging the Useful Occupations[24]

THE GRAND RABBI

OF THE CONSISTORY OF NANCY,

To the Israelites of the Circumscription

My Brothers,

In spite of the vicissitudes that have tried us ever since the dispersion, and although many of our laws were neglected or perverted, we may flatter ourselves that we have always remained faithful to the law which prescribes charity. Thanks to our hospitable virtues, our wandering brothers found momentary refuge, bread, and a comforting welcome.

What would have become of these unfortunate Israelites during those disastrous and remote epochs, when the governments were so cruel as to drive them out of their birthplaces or so blind as to tolerate them there while depriving them of the means of existence, without these aids!

But customs produced by persecution cannot be authorized under an empire of justice and of laws.[25] Vice and idleness ought not to be favored by abuses of benefaction. Now that in this Empire each citizen, without exception as to creed, may live by means of his work and his industry, is it not distressing and scandalous still to see Israelites[26] among those individuals who parade their misery and their

idleness from town to town, stealing from society the debt that the citizen owes to it from his work and stealing from the hard-working and compassionate father of a family the portion of food that should go to his children?

It is these people who, as children, were brought up without receiving any true idea of religion and without the habit of work, which is the guardian of morality.[27]

However, we profess a religion which inspires a love of the useful occupations. We still celebrate the agricultural festivals ordained by Moses. Our rabbis placed so much importance on the mechanical occupations that they declared that this type of occupation should accompany wisdom, which, without it, is vain and leads to sin. (Mesechta Aboth).

Your first duty is, then, not to facilitate an existence for these individuals whom I have pointed out which hurts the interest of society.

Indeed, these vagabonds who come from remote countries do not bring with them any guarantee of their conduct.[28]

The Israelite who would give in to a dangerous pity, forgetting that he is exposing himself to violation of the precept which orders us to keep distant from evil (Mesechta Aboth), would be guilty of reprehensible conduct as he would be helping to preserve the custom known by the name of Pletten,[29] the source of so much abuse.

Israelites who cherish our country and our religion, give your charity to a more praiseworthy purpose; use it for the eduction of our youth whose great efforts will contrast with the shameful inertia imposed on their ancestors. Join in those pious enterprises which have as their object the teaching of the useful crafts to poor children and thus acquiring for them a modest morality and a taste for hard work, conforming with the spirit of our religion.

The Talmud teaches that the father who does not instruct his son in a profession raises him for a life of thievery. It is worthy of real Israelites to remove innocent youths from this sad fortune and to turn them away from habits of peddling, which is so close to idleness. Moreover, the aged and the inform, the widow and the orphan have equal rights to your aid. It is of the unfortunate person that the Eternal said: "When he directs his cries to Me, I will hear them, for I am the God of mercy." (Exodus 32)30

Nancy, February 22, 1810.

Jacob Schweich 62

GENERAL OF POLICE TO ISRAELITES CONCERNING JEWISH VAGRANTS

1811

Letter from the Commissioner-General of Police of Strasbourg to the Consistory of Bas-Rhin Relative to Jewish Vagrants

Strasbourg, June 19, 1811.

THE COMMISSIONER-GENERAL OF POLICE
OF STRASBOURG,

TO THE ISRAELITE CONSISTORY OF BAS-RHIN

Gentlemen,

Despite the care that you have taken to prevent the wanderings of your impoverished and begging co-religionists

by charging each synagogue with administering relief to the indigent of its district, begging continues; and I know, without any doubt, that Israelite beggers constantly come to this city and exhaust the pity of their co-religionists. This state of affairs is contrary to the public order; it preserves a dangerous condition of vagrancy, and it is contrary to the wise purposes of the Government which desires to tear your co-religionists away from laziness and from all the evils which are the inevitable consequence of that laziness and to force them into useful occupations.

It is one of my duties, as well as one of my principles, to put up a dike against this renewed torrent.

Consequently, I wish to inform you, Gentlemen, that I have taken severe measures to arrest, just like any other vagabond beggar, every Israelite who might come to this city to beg alms in the houses or elsewhere.

I invite you, Gentlemen, to have the contents of my letter published in every synagogue of the department.

I expect, because of your concern for good order and the execution of the laws,[12] that you will convince your co-religionists of Strasbourg to have every foreign Israelite, who visits homes in this city to solicit charity, brought to the Commissioners of Police of their respective neighborhoods or to the General Commissariat.

Please accept, Gentlemen, the assurance of my utmost

consideration.

Signed, Popp

Having seen the above letter, the Israelite Consistory of Bas-Rhin orders that it be printed in the two languages [14] and addressed to the Commissioners in charge of the Temples under its jurisdiction with the invitation to post it so that no one may fail to see it.

Strasbourg, June 24, 1811.

Signed, Rehns and

Mayer Samuel[15] 63

JACOB HENRY SPEAKS FOR EQUALITY - 1809

Jacob Henry was a brave individual who dared not that others would rule him. He was a staunch advocate for equality before the law. He fought and spoke for others, but really gained his own freedom and equality. A member of the House of Commons of North Carolina wanted to deny him his seat because he did not believe in the New Testament. Henry delivered this impressive and famous speech. He retained his seat. The North Carolina State Constitution, up to then, had restricted office holding to Protestants - that was the law, which admittedly Henry's constituents ignored in electing him. It is unlikely Henry himself wrote the speech he delivered. He had the help of some Christian-Catholic colleagues.

JACOB HENRY SPEAKS FOR EQUALITY

An Address in the Committee of the Whole of the House of Commons of North Carolina, December 6, 1809 [1]

[This lofty address became justly celebrated and was widely reprinted soon after it was delivered. Challenging and eloquent, it argues "that the Conduct alone is the subject of human laws, and that man ought to suffer civil disqualification for what he does and not for what he thinks." The speech was delivered under trying circumstances. Jacob Henry [2] had represented Carteret County in the House of Commons of North Carolina in 1808, and was re-elected in 1809. Two weeks after the session of 1809 opened, Mr. Hugh C. Mills of Rockingham County moved that Henry's seat be vacated because, contrary to the Constitutional requirement, he "denies the divine authority of the New Testament, and refused to take the oath prescribed by law for his qualification."[3] The following day the House, as a Committee of the Whole, debated the question, and Henry delivered this impressive address; the same day the House concurred in the recommendation that the resolution be rejected. In the debate, Henry was aided by two prominent Catholics, William Gaston, then member of the House and later Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, and John Louis Taylor, then the Attorney-General.[4] Jacob Henry retained his seat, but the victory was equivocal: the House had construed the constitutional provision as allowing Jews and Catholics to hold legislative office, but not executive or other office![5] Henry's speech was also used in furthering the struggle for equality in other states too: in Maryland, the address was quoted in debate in 1819 and 1822.]

To the Hon[ble] the Speaker,[6] and members of the House of Commons.

I must confess that the resolution against me yesterday was quite unexpected, as I had a right to expect, that the Gentleman who introduced it, would have had the politeness to have given me notice of it.

The Gentleman has stated that I deny the divine authority of the old and new Testament.

However Gentlemen, I know not the design of the declaration of Rights made by the people of this State in the year '76 and one day before the Constitution, if it was not to consecrate certain great and fundamental rights and Principles, which even the Constitution cannot impair: For the 44th section of the latter instrument declares that

the declaration of rights ought never to be violated on any pretence whatever—If there is any apparent ~~discrepancy~~ difference between the two instruments they ought if possible be reconciled. But if there is a final repugnance between them, the declarition [sic] of Rights must be considered paramount: For I beleive [sic] that it is to the Constitution as the Constitution is to a Law; it controls and directs it absolutely and conclusively. If then a belief in the Protestant religion is required by the Constitution to qualify a man for a seat in this House and such qualification is dispensed with by the declaration of rights, the provission [sic] of the Constitution must be altogether inoperative, as the Language of the Bill of rights is that all men have a natural and unalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own Conscience. It is undoubtedly a natural right, and when it is declared to be an unalienable one, by the people in their sovereign and original capacity, any attempt to alienate it either by the Constitution or by Law, must be vain and fruitless. It is difficult to conceive how such a provission [sic] crept into the Constitution unless it was from the difficulty the human mind feels in suddenly emancipating itself from fetters by which it has long been enchained: And how adverse it is to the feelings and manners of the *people* of the present day every Gentleman may satisfy himself by glancing at the Religious beliefs of the persons who fill the various civil offices in this State—There are Presbyterians, Lutherians [sic], Calvinists, Menonists [sic], Baptists, Trinitarians & Unitarians. But as far as my observation extends, there are fewer Protestants in the strickt [sic] sense of the word used by the Convention than of any other persuasion; for I supposed that they meant by it the Prostentant [sic] religion as established by Law in England. For other persuasions we see houses of Worship in almost every part of the State, but very few for protestants; so few, that indeed I fear that the people of this State, would for some time, remain unrepresented in this House, if the clause of the Constitution is supposed to be in force. So far from beleiving [sic] in the truths of the 39 articles, I will venture to assert that a majority of the people have never read them. If a man should hold religious principles incompatible with the freedoom [sic] and safety of the State, I do not hesitate to pronounce that he should be excluded from the public Councils of the same; and I trust if I know myself no one would be more ready to aid and assist than myself. But I should really be at a loss to specify any known religious principles which are thus dangerous, it is surely

a question between a man and his Maker, and requires more than human attributes to pronounce which of the numerous Sects prevailing in the world is most acceptable to the Deity. If a man fulfills the duties of that religion which his education or his Conscience has pointed to him as the true one; no person, I hold, in this our land of liberty, has a right to arraign him at the bar of any inquisition—And the day I trust is long past, when principles merely speculative were propagated by force, when the sincere and pious were made victims, and the light minded bribed into hypocrites.

The proud monuments of liberty knew that the purest homage man could render to the Almighty was in the sacrafice [sic] of his passions and in the performance of his duties; that the ruler of the universe would receive with equal benignity, the various offerings of mans adoration if they proceed from an humble spirit and sincere mind; that intolerance in matters of faith, had been from the earliest ages of the world, the severest torments by which mankind could be afflicted; and that governments were only concerned about the actions and conduct of man, and not his speculative notions. Who among us feels himself so exalted above his fellows, as to have a right to dictate to them their mode of belief? Shall this free Country set an example of Persecution, which even the returning reason of enslaved Europe would not submit to? Will you bind the Conscience in Chains, and fasten conviction upon the mind, in spite of the conclusions of reason, and of those ties and habitudes which are blended with every pulsation of the heart? Are you prepared to plunge at once from the sublime hieghts [sic] of moral legislation, into the dark and gloomy caverns of superstitious ignorance? Will you drive from your shores and from the shelter of your consti[tu]tions, all who do not lay their oblations on the same alter [sic], observe the same ritual, and subscribe to the same dogmas[?] If so which amongst the various sects into which we are divided, shall be the favored one? No Gentlemen, I should insult your understandings, to suppose it possible that you could ever assent to such absurdities. For you all know that persecution in all its shapes and modifications, is contrary to the Genius of our Government, and the sperit [sic] of our laws; and that it can never produce any other effect, than to render men hypocrites or martyrs. When Charles the fifth, Emperor of Germany, tired of the cares of Government, resigned his *Crown* to his son, he retired to a *monastery*, where he amused the evening of his life, in regulating the movements of watches, endeavouring to make a number keep the same time, but not being

able to make any two go exactly alike, it led him to reflect upon the folly and crimes he had committed, in attempting the impossibility of making men think alike!!

Nothing is more easily demonstrated than that the Conduct alone is the subject of human laws, and that man ought to suffer civil disqualification for what he does and not for what he thinks. The mind can receive laws only from him, of whose divine essence it is a portion; he alone can punish disobedience; for who else can know its movements; or estimate their merits? The religion I profess, inculcates every duty which man owes to his fellow men; it enjoins upon its votaries, the practice of every virtue, and the detestation of every vice; it teaches them to hope for the favor of Heaven exactly in proportion as their lives are directed by just, honorable and beneficent maxims—This then Gentlemen is my Creed; it was impressed upon my infant mind, it has been the director of my youth, the monitor of my manhood, and will I trust be the Consolation of my old age. ~~Can this religion be founded upon the denial of the divine authority of the old and new Testament?~~ At any rates Gentlemen, I am sure that you cannot see, anything in this relegion [sic], to deprive me of my seat in this House. So far as relates to my life and conduct, the examination of these, I submit with cheerfulness to your candid and liberal construction. What may be the religion of those, who have made this objection against me, or whether they have any religion or not, I am unable to say. I have never considered it my duty to prye [sic] into the belief of my fellow citizens or neighbours, if their actions are upright and their conduct just, the rest is for their own consideration not for mine. I do not seek to make converts to my faith, whatever it may be esteemed in the eyes of my officious friend, nor do I exclude any man from my esteem or friendship, because he and I differ in that respect—The same charity therefore it is not unreasonable to expect will be extended to myself, because in all things that relate to the State and to the duties of civil life, I am bound by the same obligations, with my fellow citizens; nor does any man subscribe more sincerely than myself to the maxim, "Whatever ye would that men should do unto [ye], do ye so even unto them, for such is the Law and the Prophets."]

With the highest respect

I remain Gentlemen

yours respectfully

J. Henry 64

DEDICATION OF ISRAEL JACOBSON'S TEMPLE OF JACOB - 1810

Israel Jacobson is many times referred to as the Father of Reform Judaism. He was a successful businessman in Central Germany. He realized that many people would welcome reforms in the liturgy and that a different expression of religion was desirable. He then went on to establish the first modern synagogue. Many reforms (i.e., confirmation) came into being during his lifetime. In his speech at the dedication of the Temple of Jacob, in Seesen, Germany, he spelled out his ideas and aspirations for Reform.

DEDICATION ADDRESS (*Israel Jacobson*)

It has been left to the tolerance of our days to bring about and to make possible that which only a little while ago would have appeared impossible. In building this edifice, it has not been my intent to bring about a complete religious unification of all religions. One accomplishes nothing at all if one desires everything or too much at one time. What is needed is gradual and slow development as is demonstrated by nature itself, when it brings forth its greater spiritual and physical accomplishments. Any divergence from this wise procedure of our common mother Nature which human stubbornness or frivolity might suggest, would only be followed by failures or even by the very opposite of that which was desired. What I had in mind when I first thought about building this temple was *your* religious education, my Israelite brothers, *your* customs, *your* worship, etc. Be it far from me that I should have any secret intention to undermine the pillars of your faith, to diminish our old and honored principles through the glitter of new opinions, or that, because of some hidden vanity, I should become a traitor to both our religion and you. You know my faithful adherence to the faith of my fathers. I need not protest it. My actions will witness for me more than my words. But if I do seek here first some rapprochement between you and our Christian neighbors, I would ask more for your gratitude and honest help than for your criticism or even opposition. For your true and progressive enlightenment depends upon this rapprochement. On it depends the education of your spirit for true religiosity and, at the same time also, your future greater political welfare. Who would dare to deny that our service is sickly because of many useless things, that in part it has degenerated into a thoughtless recitation of prayers and formulae, that it kills devotion more than encourages it, and that it limits our religious principles to that fund of knowledge which for centuries has remained in our treasure houses without increase and without ennoblement. On all sides, enlightenment opens up new areas for development. Why should we alone remain behind?

Let us be honest, my brothers. Our ritual is still weighted down with religious customs which must be rightfully offensive to reason as well as to our Christian friends. It desecrates the holiness of our religion and dishonors the reasonable man to place too great a value upon such customs; and on the other hand, he is greatly honored if he can increasingly encourage himself and his friends to realize their dispensability. Our ecclesiastical office, the Israelite Consistory, is willing to help us, is greatly concerned with the improvement of our synagogues and schools, spreads more correct principles abroad, and will, without partisanship, do the best for us even if at the moment we cannot see the flowers or fruits of these efforts.

And you, my highly honored other friends, who in name and in some aspects are different from my faith, I hope I have the full agreement of your sympathetic hearts in the principles I have set forth of the intent of this temple building, and of the hope for a happier future for my compatriots. There is nothing in this intent that in any way contradicts the principles of pure religion, of the demands of general morality, of reason, or of your own humanitarian attitude. I trust, therefore, that you will be far from receiving my brothers coldly. I trust that you will not reject them, as did your forebears only too often, but rather, that you will accept them with love into the circle of your society and business; that you will solicitously stretch out your hand to us in that rapprochement which I have sketched in its ideological outline, and for the sake of which partially I have dedicated this temple. Accept, therefore, my deepest and most devoted thanks for your warm interest in this rare celebration which you have so obviously manifested for me and my friends through your precious presence and through the expression of your sentiments.

And Thou, O God, whose mighty hand has lifted up our people once again after such long debasement, just as it happened once after a long imprisonment; Thou, O God, whose goodness has made it possible to complete the work of several years and bring it to a happy ending—grant unto us further, we pray, that we might sense the glorious traces of Thy love, of Thy benevolence, of Thy protection, both in the faith of our compatriots as in the results of this temple building. But with this confidence let us not be guilty of the indolence of delay, of the embarrassment of indecisiveness, of the mystical hope of the superstitious, and merely hope for Thine assistance. May we, conscious of our dignity, never forget *man*, the high destiny of a being whom Thou hast gifted with reason and freedom, that he might think for himself, act for himself, and whom Thou didst destine not to be a soulless machine in the plan of Thy creation. Let us never despair of the good cause of religion and mankind. Let us not lose heart when new obstacles will be thrust across our path, when we find that any beginning, like the uplifting and enlightenment of a dispersed people, can proceed but slowly and with many difficulties, and can mature only after centuries. Above all, O God, make us vividly conscious that we are brothers with all the adherents of other divine teachings; that we are descendants of one humanity which adores Thee as their common Father; that we are brothers who must learn love and gentle tolerance; brothers, finally, who under Thy guidance walk toward a common goal... 65

THE BEGINNINGS OF REFORM JUSAISM IN AMERICA - 1824

Reform Judaism had its start in early nineteenth century Germany among the country's upper-class and more intellectual Jews, but one might have foreseen the future and anticipated that Reform would transplant itself to the shores of America. In America, it began under comparable circumstances - among the better educated, more prosperous Jews of Charleston, South Carolina.

BEGINNINGS OF REFORM JUDAISM

Memorial to the President and Members of the Adjunta of Kaal Kadosh Beth Elohim of Charleston, South-Carolina, December 23, 1824 [1]

[This memorial, signed by forty-seven Jews of Charleston, is the first document specifically expressing the impulse to Reform Judaism in the United States. This impulse came from the needs of the rising Jewish middle class. These well-to-do business men attempted to adapt themselves as far as possible to the forms of life of the non-Jewish upper class with which they had or sought ever closer relations. Thus the emphasis was laid upon reducing the differences between Judaism and Christianity. The arbitrary rejection of this petition by the leaders of the Congregation Beth Elohim led to the founding of the Reformed Society of Israelites on January 16, 1825, under the leadership of Isaac Harby. Although the Society was disbanded on May 2, 1833, the Congregation Beth Elohim itself was reorganized in 1836, and elected a rabbi who followed the path of the Hamburg Reform Temple. The memorial itself notes an "apathy and neglect" on the part of the Jews of Charleston, then possibly the largest and wealthiest Jewish community in the country, and attributes this falling away to "certain defects which are apparent in the present system of worship." Seeking to check this decline in religious affiliation, the petitioners propose a "more rational means of worshipping the true God," by shortening the services, using English translations of the Hebrew prayers so that they may be comprehensible to the worshippers, abolishing the system of synagogue offerings, and instituting an "English discourse" on religious themes weekly. The text of the petition was drafted by Abraham Moise.[2]]

Gentlemen,

The memorial of the undersigned, showeth unto your honourable body, that they have witnessed with deep regret, the apathy and neglect

which have been manifested towards our holy religion. As inheritors of the *true faith*, and always proud to be considered by the world as a portion of "God's chosen people," they have been pained to perceive the gradual decay of that system of worship, which, for ages past, *peculiarly* distinguished us from among the nations of the earth. Not unmindful, however, of the various causes which regulate human conduct; and at the same time, unwilling to shield themselves from any censure to which their actions may justly entitle them, they have ingenuously investigated the reasons which may have led them from the Synagogue, and are now seriously impressed with the belief, that certain defects which are apparent in the present system of worship, are the sole causes of the evils complained of.

In pointing out these defects, however, your memorialists seek no other end, than the future welfare and respectability of the nation. As members of the great family of Israel, they cannot consent to place before their children examples which are only calculated to darken the mind, and withhold from the rising generation the more rational means of worshipping the true God.

It is to this, therefore, your memorialists would, in the first place, invite the serious attention of your honourable body. By causing the Hasan, or reader, to repeat in English such part of the Hebrew prayers as may be deemed necessary, it is confidently believed that the congregation generally would be more forcibly impressed with the necessity of Divine Worship, and the moral obligations which they owe to themselves and their Creator; While such a course, would lead to more decency and decorum during the time they are engaged in the performance of religious duties. It is not every one who has the means, and many have not the time, to acquire a knowledge of the Hebrew language, and consequently to become enlightened in the principles of Judaism; What then is the course pursued in all religious societies for the purpose of disseminating the peculiar tenets of their faith among the poor and uninformed? The principles of their religion are expounded to them from the pulpit in the language that they understand; for instance, in the Catholic, the German and the French Protestant Churches: by this means the ignorant part of mankind attend their places of worship with some profit to their morals, and even improvement to their minds; they return from them with hearts turned to piety, and with feelings elevated by their sacred character. In this consists the beauty of religion,—when men are invoked by its divine spirit, to the practice of virtue and morality.

These results, it is respectfully submitted, would be sufficient of themselves to induce the alterations requested. But your memorialists cannot fail to impress upon the minds of your honourable body, the singular advantages this practice would produce upon the habits and attention of the younger branches of the congregation; besides the necessity of good behaviour, which the solemnity of the service should impose, they would become gradually better acquainted with the nature of our creed, the principal features which distinguish the Jew from every other religious denomination, and the meaning, and the reason, of our various forms and ceremonies. Believing, at the same time, that the above views of what is indispensable to the preservation of our faith, will meet with the approbation of every reflecting and liberal mind—they repeat, that they are actuated by no other motive, than to see our Synagogue in a better, a more wholesome, and a more respectable state of discipline; to see it elicit that regard from Jew and Gentile, which its great character deserves, and should always command; and finally, not to destroy long standing institutions, but to accommodate them to the progress of time, and change of situation and circumstances.

With regard to such parts of the service as it is desired should undergo this change, your memorialists would strenuously recommend that the most solemn portions be retained, and everything superfluous excluded; and that the principal parts, and if possible all that is read in *Hebrew,* should also be read in *English,* (that being the language of the country,) so as to enable every member of the congregation fully to understand each part of the service. In submitting this article of our memorial to the consideration of your honourable body, your memorialists are well aware of the difficulties with which they must contend, before they will be enabled to accomplish this desirable end; but while they would respectfully invite the attention of your honourable body to this part of their memorial, they desire to rest the propriety and expediency of such a measure, solely upon the *reason* by which it may be maintained. Your memorialists would further submit to your honourable body whether, in the history of the civilized world, there can be found a single parallel of a people, addressing the *Creator* in a language not understood *by that people?* It is indeed surprising, that heretofore no innovation has even been *attempted,* although it is readily admitted your honourable body may boast of many very enlightened, liberal and intelligent members.

Your memorialists would next call the particular attention of your

honourable body to the absolute necessity of abridging the service generally. They have reflected seriously upon its present length, and are confident that this is one of the principal causes why so much of it is hastily and improperly hurried over. This must be evident to every reflecting mind, when it is seen, that notwithstanding the evil complained of, the service of the Sabbath, for instance, continues until *twelve* o'clock, although usually commencing at *nine*. It is therefore manifest, that, according to the prayer of your memorialists, should the service be in future conducted with due solemnity, and in a slow, distinct, and impressive tone, its length would certainly occupy the attention of the congregation, until two o'clock, if not later.

The *Offerings* will next command the attention of your honourable body; and upon this part of our memorial, we would respectfully crave the favour of a patient hearing, while we clearly set forth the entire uselessness and impropriety of this custom. In the first place, your memorialists earnestly protest against the unwise and absurd practice of rendering in the Spanish language, any offerings which may be intended to benefit the Synagogue, or which may be otherwise identified with our holy religion. Besides the free scope which the practice of offering in a language understood by few, affords to mischievous and designing men to pollute the holy altars by gratifying their evil intentions—we certainly think it highly inconsistent to select for this very purpose, the language of a people from whom we have suffered, and continue to suffer, so much persecution. But forgetting for a moment this consideration, your memorialists would further suggest to your honourable body, whether the arrangement recently made in the financial transactions of the congregation, would not altogether supercede the necessity of any offerings whatever? This is most seriously and strenuously desired by your memorialists, because they are prepared to show, by an act of your own body, that the practice of offering is not the result of any imperious necessity, but merely intended as an idle and absurd indulgence. By the 11th Article of the Constitution of your honourable body, it is provided, that such offerings as are made by any member of the congregation, shall, at the end of the year, be *deducted out of the amount of his annual subscription, as well as that of his wife, if he be a married man*. According to this part of the Constitution, a revenue is *created independent of the offerings which are subsequently made and deducted out of the amount of subscription at the end of the year*. Your memorialists would, therefore, inquire, wherein exists the necessity, under this arrangement, of any offerings

whatever? How, and in what manner, the support of the congregation *depends* upon them? and, in a word, whether the above article is not a tacit admission by your Constitution, that so much of the offerings as may amount to the annual subscription of a member, was never intended as a means of supporting the congregation, inasmuch, as the whole amount is *already* anticipated long before a single offering is made! In fact, many persons, when their amount of assessment is exhausted in offerings, are induced to go out and remain in the Synagogue yard, to prevent being compelled to offer against their will,—a practice irregular, indecorous, and highly to be censured,—because it sets an ill example to our children, and draws upon us the eyes of strangers.

Your memorialists are aware, it may be said, that some few subscribers offer *more* than the amount of their annual subscription. But to this it may be answered, that it is certainly not difficult for the general body, in their wisdom and discretion, to devise some means equally profitable to the congregation, and at the same time, as well calculated to meet the views of the *liberal*, without resorting to a practice, which only interrupts the worship of God, and is productive of so little good. Your memorialists therefore respectfully suggest, that the addition in numbers to your body, which it is expected will shortly take place, will greatly aid in the funds, and serve as an additional reason why the offerings should be abolished; but as a further inducement for their entire abolishment, your memorialists would respectfully recommend, the propriety and expediency of addressing to the understanding of the people, and more particularly the younger branches of the congregation, appropriate discourses, *in the place and at the very time the offerings are usually made.*

According to the present mode of reading the Parasa,[a] it affords to the hearer neither instruction nor entertainment, unless he be competent to read as well as comprehend the Hebrew language. But if, like all other ministers, our reader would make a chapter or verse the subject of an English discourse once a week, at the expiration of the year the people would, at all events, know something of that religion which at present they so little regard.

It is also worthy of observation, that a number of Israelites, whom it should be the special care of your honourable body to bring back under your immediate protection and influence, are now wandering gradually from the true God, and daily losing those strong ties which bind every pious man to the faith of his fathers! In these individuals, your honourable body have fair subjects for the holy work of reforma-

tion; by moulding your present form of worship to suit their comprehensions, you will instantly receive them among you; they will collect under your especial care and guardianship; they will aid in the pecuniary resources of your holy institutions; and if, from among the whole number now scattered about our city and state, either through irreligion, through disabilities imposed, or any other cause, you are enabled to make but one convert, it will add much to those laudable ends which it should be the principal desire of your honourable body to accomplish. It should also be remembered that while other sects are extending the means of Divine Worship to the remotest quarters of the habitable globe—while they are making the most zealous efforts to bring together the scattered of their flock, offering the most flattering inducements to *all denominations*—we, who may be termed the mere remnant of a great nation, are totally disregarding the fairest opportunities of increasing our own numbers, and at the same time neglecting the brightest prospects of enlarging our resources, and effectually perpetuating our national character.

Your memorialists trust, that they have been perfectly understood by the foregoing observations, that they entirely disclaim any idea of wishing to abolish such ceremonies as are considered land-marks to distinguish the *Jew* from the *Gentile;* they are wholly influenced by a warm zeal to preserve and perpetuate the principles of Judaism in their utmost purity and vigour, and to see the present and the future generations of Israelites enlightened on the subject of their holy religion, so as by understanding, they may learn the nature of its Divine source, and appreciate its holy precepts; that they would not wish to shake the firmness of any man's faith, or take from his devotion towards it; that they will always fervently and zealously support it as the first and most ancient of religions.

The alterations above submitted, being all your memorialists can in reason and moderation require, they would beg leave, in concluding, to bring to the notice of your honourable body, the reformation which has been recently adopted by our brethren in Holland, Germany and Prussia.[4] The following is an extract from a German paper entitled the *"Frankfort Journal."*

"The functions relative to Divine Service, such as the rite of taking the Law out of the Ark, the promulgation of the Law, etc., shall no longer be sold by auction in the Synagogue. The Rabbis, and the Elders of the Synagogue, (the first in their discourses) must endeavor to put an end to the custom of *see-sawing* during the prayers, and to

that of repeating the prayers in too loud a voice; all profane tunes during Divine Service are prohibited. The ceremony of striking the *impious Haman* at the festival of Purim, is most strictly prohibited. Children below the age of five years are not to be taken to the Synagogue. All unsuitable pleasantries, in which the young people sometimes indulge in the Synagogues on the eve of some festivals, or on the festivals themselves, as well as the distribution of sweetmeats by the women to each in the Synagogues, are strictly forbidden. Some of the religious ceremonies must be accompanied by a German discourse [that being the vernacular] on a Hebrew text, in which the meaning of these solemnities shall be *explained, and on the Sabbath a discourse shall be held in German* in every Synagogue after the reading of the prescribed passage of the Law, and a chapter of the Prophets."

Thus, from the above extract, it appears, that no climes, nor even tyranny itself, can forever fetter or control the human mind; and that even amidst the intolerance of Europe, our brethren have anticipated the free citizens of America in the glorious work of reformation; Let us then hasten to the task with harmony and good fellowship. We wish not to *overthrow,* but to *rebuild;* we wish not to *destroy,* but to *reform* and *revise* the evils complained of; we wish not to *abandon* the institutions of Moses, but to *understand and observe them;* in fine, we wish to worship God, not as *slaves of bigotry and priestcraft,* but as the enlightened descendants of that chosen race, whose blessings have been scattered throughout the land of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob.[5]

And your memorialists will ever pray.

[Signed by forty-seven Israelites of the City of Charleston.[6]] 66

GHETTOS ABOLISHED IN ITALY, FRANCE, AND PRUSSIA

1791-1870

Emancipation for the Jew, as we have seen, was slowly taking place throughout Europe. The Jew was finally becoming free of his shackles. This document gives, in part, some of the decrees designed to strike away Jewish disabilities in Western Europe.

6. PROCLAMATION OF JEWISH EMANCIPATION IN FRANCE (SEPTEMBER 28, 1791)

368. Whereas the conditions under which French citizenship is granted are set forth in the Constitution and whereas every person accepting those conditions and obliging himself by oath of citizenship to fulfill such conditions is entitled to the enjoyment of all rights guaranteed in the Constitution, the National Assembly herewith abrogates all restrictive laws concerning the Jews as they appeared in earlier decrees. The Jews by taking the oath of citizenship forego the right to any previously granted privileges or special legislation.

Quoted by JULIUS HOEXTER and MOSES JUNG
Source Book of Jewish History and Literature, p. 227

7. GHETTO ABOLISHED IN ITALY (AUGUST 28, 1797)

369. The Central Government of the Paduan Delta Districts of Rovigo and Adria, having heard the reports of the Department of Justice and the chief of police,

Decrees:

First,—That the Hebrews are at liberty to live in any street they please;

Secondly,—That the barbarous and meaningless name of Ghetto, which designates the street which they have been inhabiting hitherto, shall be substituted by that of Via Libera. . . .

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 28

B. THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

1. JEWISH EMANCIPATION IN PRUSSIA (1812)

370. We, Friedrich Wilhelm, by the Grace of God, King of Prussia, etc., have resolved to grant the adherents of the Jewish faith in our monarchy a new constitution suitable to the general welfare, and declare all laws and regulations concerning Jews [issued] heretofore, which are not confirmed by the present Edict as abolished, and decree as follows:

Sec. 1. Jews and their families domiciled at present in Our States, provided with general privileges, patent letters of naturalization, letters of protection and concessions, are to be considered as natives [Einländer] and as Prussian state citizens.

Sec. 7. Jews considered as natives . . . shall enjoy equal civil rights and liberties with Christians, in so far as this Order does not contain anything to the contrary.

Sec. 8. They may therefore administer academic school teaching and municipal offices for which they qualified themselves.

Sec. 10. They are at liberty to settle in the towns as well as in the open country.

Sec. 11. They may acquire real estate of any kind same as the Christian inhabitants and they may carry on any permitted trade, with the provision that they observe the general legal regulations.

Sec. 20. The civil legal regulations of Jews shall be judged by the same laws which serve as the rule for other Prussian state citizens.

Quoted by RAPHAEL MAHLER
Jewish Emancipation, p. 32-34

6. FINAL EMANCIPATION IN ITALY (OCTOBER 13, 1870): ROYAL DECREE BY VIRTUE OF WHICH IN ROME AND IN THE ROMAN PROVINCES ALL INEQUALITIES SHALL CEASE AMONGST CITIZENS REGARDLESS OF THE RELIGION WHICH THEY PROFESS, CONCERNING THE ENJOYMENT AND EXERCISE OF CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS AND COMPETENCE TO HOLD PUBLIC OFFICES

375.

Vittorio Emanuele II

By the Grace of God and the Will of the Nation King of Italy.

Having considered Article 24 of the Statute, and having heard the Council of Ministers, and on the proposal by the Keeper of Our Seals, Minister Secretary of State for the Affairs of Charity and Justice of Religious.

We have decreed and hereby decree:

Art. 1. In Rome and in the Roman provinces all inequality between citizens whatever religion they may profess shall cease with regard to the enjoyment and the exercise of civil and political rights and to the competence for public offices.

Art. 2. Every law and disposition contrary to the present Decree, which becomes effectual immediately upon its publication, is abrogated.

RAPHAEL MAHLER

Jewish Emancipation, p. 59 6 7

MACAULEY ON THE EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS - 1833

The cause of Jewish emancipation did not lack prominent and gifted non-Jewish advocates. One such giant in England was Thomas A. Macauley (1800-1859). Indeed, his maiden speech in Parliament on April 5, 1830, was in support of a bill for the removal of Jewish disabilities, and he continued his efforts on behalf of equality for English Jews.

FOR THE EMANCIPATION OF THE JEWS

In the infancy of civilization, when our island was as savage as New Guinea, when letters and arts were still unknown to Athens, when scarcely a thatched hut stood on what was afterwards the site of Rome, this contemned people had their fenced cities and cedar palaces, their splendid Temple, their fleets of merchant ships, their schools of sacred learning, their great statesmen and soldiers, their natural philosophers, their historians, and their poets. What nation ever contended more manfully against overwhelming odds for its independence and religion? What nation ever, in its last agonies, gave such signal proofs of what may be accomplished by a brave despair? And if, in the course of many centuries, the oppressed descendants of warriors and sages have degenerated from the qualities of their fathers . . . shall we consider this as a matter of reproach to them? Shall we not rather consider it as a matter of shame and remorse to ourselves? Let us do justice to them. Let us open to them the door of the House of Commons. Let us open to them every career in which ability and energy can be displayed. Till we have done this, let us not presume to say that there is no genius among the countrymen of Isaiah, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees.

Lord Macaulay, 1833. 68

IRISH FAMINE RELIEF - 1847

The Jews have generally been sensitive to the suffering of others. In 1846, the Irish potato crop failed, and thousands died of starvation. Jewish consciences were stirred and Jews played a prominent role in the relief movement.

IRISH FAMINE RELIEF

Address by Rev. J. J. Lyons, at a meeting in the Synagogue of the Congregation Shearith Israel, New York, March 8, 1847 [1]

[When the Irish potato crop failed in 1846 and the British government refused to prevent the absentee landlords in Ireland from exporting grain from that country, the suffering of the Irish population became acute, hundreds of thousands dying of starvation and the diseases born of hunger.[2] Especially in the United States, relief organizations became active. The fact that Jews participated in this relief movement evoked much public attention, including the long front-page account of the meeting from which this address is reprinted.

The first organized appeal for aid had been issued in New York, February 12, 1847, signed by sixty-two leading citizens, including the Jewish banker, August Belmont.[3] Responding promptly, the Trustees of Shearith Israel on February 21, 1847 called this meeting for March 8th.[4] The main address by Rev. Lyons is distinguished for its breadth of view and its explicit rejection of a narrow nationalism. "We are told," he stated, "that we have a large number of our own poor and destitute to take care of, that the charity which we dispense should be bestowed in this quarter, that the peculiar position of

ourselves and our co-religionists demands it at our hand, that justice is a higher virtue than generosity, that self-preservation is a law and principle of our nature." But he replied that there was one "indestructible" and "all-powerful" link between the Irish sufferers and the Jews: "That link, my brethren, is HUMANITY!" Rev. Jacques Judah Lyons (1813–1877), born in Surinam of American parents, had come to the United States in 1837, after serving four years as Hazan of the Congregation Neve Shalom. From 1837 to 1839 he had been minister of the Congregation Beth Shalome, Richmond, Va., and then came to Shearith Israel in New York, serving until his death.]

BRETHREN: I address you on this occasion with feelings of diffidence and anxiety; diffidence caused by the novelty of the undertaking—anxiety by the importance, the interest, the solemnity of the subject which for a few moments I propose to dilate upon. That it is important and interesting is evinced by the unanimous and simultaneous action of the whole country, by the spontaneous assemblages of citizens to consider it, by its engrossing and all absorbing discussion. Its solemnity is graven in the heart of every intelligent and thinking individual. What is it, my brethren, that has thus affected us and others? Wherefore are the prejudices, the divisions, the hostility of all sects forgotten, and wherefore are found on the same platform men of all denominations, earnestly and zealously engaged in co-operating for a common object? Wherefore are the contests, the bickerings, the opinions of parties thrown aside to permit their respective partizans to act in unison for a single purpose? What great, what wonderful event in the progress of the world, has from a dormant state of toleration into recognition and fellowship called that people, chosen as His people by the God on high, but rejected, oppressed and persecuted by their fellow men? No devastating pestilence has invaded our shores; all with us is teeming with life and health. No dreadful blight has consumed our fields: all nature is smiling in beauty and abundance. No intestine commotions have threatened the permanency of our liberties, our rights, our government. Our national enemies have prevailed not against us. The elements themselves restrained and tempered by a merciful God have spared our cities, our villages and our plains, have only been ministers to our comforts, auxliaries to our happiness, our prosperity. Yet sadness and gloom pervade the land. A nation is in distress, a nation is starving. Numbers of our fellow-creatures have perished, *dreadfully, miserably* perished from hunger and starvation. Millions are threatened with the same horrid fate, the same dire calamity. The aged and the young, the strong and the feeble alike are

prostrated. The heart of civilization is touched by the distress and wo of the sufferers. Relief, and if not relief at least alleviation, is the first sentiment to which utterance is given, and in obedience to that sentiment we are, my brethren, assembled this evening. When information was received in our country that great distress existed in unhappy Ireland, that her inhabitants, her peasantry and her laborers were suffering from the failure of the potato crop, that supplies must be drawn from this and other countries, the benefits we were to derive from such a state of affairs was the paramount consideration. That cases of individual suffering would ensue was admitted.—That the energies and capacities of the people would surmount their difficulties was confidently predicted, and it was not till the reality was made evident to us, not until we were absolutely horrified and heart-sickened by the accounts of the distress that measures were taken to prevent if possible the further ravages of the visitation. Our fellow-citizens have come forward with promptitude and generosity; contributions have poured in from all classes, from all sects. Aid and assistance to unhappy Ireland—raiment, food and *life* itself to her destitute people are now invoked at your hands. Each of you, I know, acknowledges the necessity of action, each feels that a state of affairs there exists, which it is the duty of society to change and improve. But while there is no diversity of opinion on these points, there is a great diversity of opinion as to what we should do in the premises. We are told that we have a large number of our own poor and destitute to take care of, that the charity which we dispense should be bestowed in this quarter, that the peculiar position of ourselves and our co-religionists demands it at our hand, that justice is a higher virtue than generosity, that self-preservation is a law and principle of our nature. Examine these objections for yourselves. Reflect upon them seriously and conscientiously; then ask yourselves whether they be forcible and true, or whether they are not in fact excuses which the lips utter, while they are rejected by the heart.—Ask yourselves if the contribution which this day you are requested to make will diminish in the smallest degree the other calls which you admit are imperative and binding; and if the responses be those which I anticipate, our meeting for this purpose will not have been in vain. It is true that there is but *one* connecting link between us and the sufferers; that while most others know only a political and geographical separation from them, we alone realize that formidable and eternal one which the hand of man made not. But thanks to the Lord *that* connecting link is strong

enough, and long enough to withstand all attempts to make the separation complete and irreparable. Prejudice, bigotry, fanaticism with their attendant spirits, ignorance, intolerance, and persecution can not break it. Selfishness, avarice, cruelty in vain assist in the unholy work. Forged as it was, by religion, virtue and charity it is indestructible, it is all-powerful. That link, my brethren, is HUMANITY! Its appeal to the heart surmounts every obstacle. Clime, color, sect, are barriers which impede not its progress thither.—Reason at its approach deserts its strong places, its impregnable fortresses. Pride from its lofty seat and imperious throne leaps down to welcome its presence. It is lighted on its way by the divine spirit within us, and the halo and glory which accompanied it illumines its biding place long, long after its departure. It is this which has brought you here to-night, it is this and this only which will produce any result from this assemblage. Nothing that I can say, nothing that the more eloquent gentlemen who are to follow me can say (and I speak this with a full appreciation of their abilities and eloquence) can add one word which will make its action more prompt, its result more satisfactory. Its promptings enforce their own obedience, its commands require neither interpreter or assistant.

I have taken it for granted that you are all well acquainted with the present state of Ireland; that you are fully aware that the pursuit of its population is agriculture, that its land is chiefly owned by large proprietors, few of whom live on their estates; that it possesses no government of its own, and that its wants, its prosperity, its existence, depend upon the caprice of a minister, or the exigencies of a party; that the failure for two successive years of the staple article of food, and the withdrawal from its shores (even in such times) of its productions for the use of its absent landlords, have all tended to that end. I have also omitted all details of the sufferings of the people, though of thrilling interest, and affecting and persuasive for my purpose. Neither shall I dwell upon the position in which we are placed, as the first Israelite Congregation assembled for this purpose; that the eyes of the community are turned upon us, that their attention is directed to us, ought not, cannot, and will not affect us.[3] The ground on which we stand is holy ground. No evil thoughts, no base passions, no worldly considerations here actuate us. The better principles of our nature *here* exercise their beneficent and ennobling control. Our hearts turned to God and his glory, his goodness, his mercy, direct us to that path which his laws and his commandments teach us to be

the true one. The guideposts to that path are numerous and distinct; and among the first and foremost placed before our eyes do we behold thee, *oh, Charity!* We recognize thy beautiful face, beaming with goodness and cheerfulness, and reflecting the joy and the happiness which thy practise brings with it. We neglect not thy precepts, and fail not at thy bidding. I have endeavored briefly, and I know imperfectly, to express the ideas which have presented themselves to me on this occasion. I have sought to impress them on you, not by texts drawn from our sacred writings; not by arguments based on our creed, our forms, our traditions, or our laws; not by appeals to your sympathies, your passions, or your pride. I have attempted only to express the *one* simple truth, that the sufferings of our fellow-men, wheresoever and howsoever situated, demand from us alleviation, assistance and relief. Grant it in *this* case, for it is a pressing one. Grant it mothers, for mothers once happy and blessed as ye are ask it of you for their own sakes and for the sakes of their suffering babes; they ask it of you by *that* bond of sympathy which nature has created between ye; they ask it of you with streaming eyes and outstretched hands, to save them from disease and starvation. *Grant it wives:* to save a famishing husband, a wife asks it of you, and what stronger claim can she present to you? *Grant it sisters:* in a brother's name, in the name of pure and holy love, is it asked of you, and you will not refuse. *Grant it brothers: grant it men:* in the name of God it is asked of you, and it is, *I know* it is granted.[6]

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JUDAH TOURO'S WILL - 1854

Judah Touro was one of the most famous names in American Jewish History. So famous was he, that in 1943, a Liberty tanker was launched in his name. Also the Touro Synagogue in Newport is a National Religious Shrine. Touro was a great philanthropist to both Jewish and non-Jewish organizations. He gave to all kinds of institutions and friends. He amassed his wealth in New Orleans as an enterprising merchant, ship-owner and real-estate owner. His will catalogues many of the important charitable causes of the time - Jewish and general.

JUDAH TOURO
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
State of Louisiana, City of New Orleans

Be it Known that on this Sixth day of January, in the year of our Lord One Thousand, Eight Hundred and Fifty Four, and of the Independence of the United States of America the Seventy Eighth at a quarter before Ten O'Clock A.M.

Before me, Thomas Layton, a notary Public, in and for the city of New Orleans, aforesaid duly commissioned and sworn, and in Presence of Messieurs, Jonathan Montgomery, Henry Shepherd Jr. and George Washington Lee [4] competent witnesses residing in said city and hereto expressly required

Personally appeared Mr Judah Touro of this City, Merchant, whom, I the said Notary and said witnesses found setting in a room at his residence No 128, Canal Street, Sick of body, but sound in mind, memory and Judgment as did appear to me, the said Notary and to said witnesses. And the said Judah Touro requested me, the notary, to receive his last will or Testament, which he dictated to me, Notary, as follows, to wit & in presence of said witnesses.

1st I declare that I have no forced heirs.

2d I desire that my mortal remains be buried in the Jewish Cemetery in New Port Rhode Island,[5] as soon as practicable after my decease.

3d I nominate and appoint my trusty and Esteemed friends Rezin Davis Shepherd [6] of Virginia, Aaron Keppel Josephs of New Orleans, Gershom Kursheedt of New Orleans, and Pierre Andre Destrac Caze-

nave of New Orleans, my Testamentary Executors and the detainers of my Estate, making, however, the following distinction between my said Executors, to wit: to the said Aaron Keppel Josephs, Gershom Kursheedt and Pierre Andre Destrac Cazenave, I give and bequeath to each one separately the sum of Ten Thousand dollars, which legacies, I intend respectively not only as tokens of remembrance of those esteemed friends, but also as in consideration of all Services they may have hitherto rendered me, and in lieu of the commissions to which they would be entitled hereafter in the capacity of Testamentary Executors as aforesaid. And as regards my other designated Executors, say my dear old and devoted friend the said Rezin Davis Shepherd to whom, under Divine Providence, I was greatly indebted for the preservation of my life, when I was wounded on the 1st of January 1815, I hereby appoint and institute him, the said Rezin Davis Shepherd, after the payment of my particular legacies and the debts of my succession, the Universal Legatee of the rest and residue of my estate, moveable and immoveable.

In case of the death, absence, or inhability [sic] to act of one or more of my said Executors, I hereby empower the remaining Executor or Executors to act in carrying out the provisions of this my last Will; and in the event or default of any one or more of my said Executors before my own demise, then and in that case, it is my intention that the heirs or legal representatives of those who may depart this life before my own death, Shall inherit in their Stead the legacies hereinabove respectively made to them.

4th I desire that all leases of my property and which may be in force at the time of my demise, Shall be faithfully executed until the Same Shall have expired.

5th I desire that all the Estate Real, Personal and mixed, of which I may die possessed, Shall be disposed of in the manner directed by this my last will or Testament

6th I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation the ["]Dispersed of Judah" of the City of New Orleans,[7] all that certain property situated in Bourbon Street immediately adjoining their Synagogue, being the present School house and the residence of the Said Mr Gershom Kursheedt, the same purchased by me from the Bank of Louisiana; and also to the said Hebrew Congregation, the Two adjoining brick Houses purchased from the Heirs of David Urquhart, the revenue of said property to be applied to the founding and support of the Hebrew School connected, with Said congregation, as well to

the defraying of the Salary of their Reader or Minister, Said Property to be conveyed accordingly by my said Executors to said congregation, with all necessary restrictions.

7th I give and bequeath to found the ["]Hebrew Hospital of New Orleans"[8] The entire property purchased for me, at the succession sale of the late C. Paulding upon which property the Building now Known as the "Touro Infirmary" is situated: The said contemplated Hospital to be organized according to law, as a charitable Institution for the relief of the Indigent Sick, by my Executors and such other persons as they may associate with them conformably with the laws of Louisiana.

8th I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Benevolent Association of New Orleans [9] Five Thousand Dollars.

9th I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation "Shangarar Chased" of New Orleans [10] Five Thousand Dollars.

10th I give and bequeath to the Ladies Benevolent Society of New Orleans,[11] the Sum of Five Thousand dollars.

11th I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Foreign Mission Society of New Orleans,[12] Five Thousand Dollars

12th I give and bequeath to the Orphans Home Asylum of New Orleans,[13] the sum of Five Thousand Dollars.

13th I give and bequeath to the Society for the relief of Destitute Orphan Boys in the Fourth District,[14] Five Thousand Dollars.

14th I give and bequeath to the St Anna's Asylum for the relief of destitute females and children,[15] the sum of Five Thousand Dollars.

15th I give and bequeath to the New Orleans Female Orphan Asylum at the corner of Camp & Prytania Streets,[16] Five Thousand Dollars.

16th I give and bequeath to the St Mary's Catholic Boys Asylum [17] of which my old & esteemed friend Mr Anthony Rasch is chairman of its Executive Committee, the sum of Five Thousand Dollars.

17th I give and bequeath to the Milne Asylum of New Orleans,[18] Five Thousand Dollars.

18th I give and bequeath to the Fireman's charitable Association of New Orleans,[19] Four Thousand Dollars.

19th I give and bequeath to the Seamen's Home in the First District of New Orleans [20] Five Thousand Dollars

20th I give and bequeath for the purpose of establishing an Alms House, in the City of New Orleans,[21] and with the view of contribut-

ing as far as possible to the prevention of mendicity in said city, the sum of Eighty Thousand Dollars (say $80,000.); and I desire that The Alms House, thus contemplated, shall be organized according to law; and further it is my desire that after my Executors Shall have legally organized & established said contemplated Alms House and appointed proper persons to administer and controll the direction of its affairs, then such persons legally so appointed and their successors in office, conjointly with the Mayor of the City of New Orleans and his successors in office shall have the perpetual direction and controll thereof

21[21] I give and bequeath to the City of New Port in the State of Rhode Island, the Sum of Ten Thousand Dollars, on condition that the said sum be expended in the purchase and improvement of the property in Said City, Known as the "Old Stone Mill"[22] to be Kept as a public Park or Promenade ground

22[d] I give and bequeath to the Red Wood library of New Port [23] aforesaid, for Books & Repairs Three Thousand Dollars

23. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Oharbay Shalome of Boston Massachusetts [24] Five Thousand dollars.

24. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation of Hartford Connecticut [25] Five Thousand dollars.

25. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation of New Haven Connecticut [26] Five Thousand dollars.

26. I give and bequeath to the North American Relief Society for the Indigent Jews. of Jerusalem Palestine of the City and State of New York [27] (Sir Moses Montefiore of London, their agent) Ten Thousand Dollars, Say ($10,000.)

27. It being my earnest wish to co-operate with the said Sir Moses Montefiore of London, Great Britain, in endevouring [sic] to ameliorate the condition of our unfortunate Jewish brethern [sic] in the Holy Land,[28] and to secure to them the inestimable privilege of worshipping the Almighty according to our Religion, without molestation, I therefore give and bequeath the sum of Fifty Thousand Dollars to be paid by my Executors for said object through the said Sir Moses Montefiore, in such manner as he may advise as best calculated to promote the aforesaid objects, and in case of any legal or other difficulty or impediment in the way of carrying said bequest into effect, according to my intentions, then and in that case, I desire that the said sum of Fifty Thousand dollars be invested by my Executors

in the foundation of a Society in the City of New Orleans Similar in its objects to the North American Relief Society for the Indigent Jews of Jerusalem, Palestine, of the City of New York, to which I have before referred in this my last Will.

28. It is my wish and desire that the Institutions to which I have already alluded in making this Will, as well as those to which in the further course of making this Will, I shall refer, Shall not be disqualified from inheriting my legacies to them respectively made for reason of not being Incorporated & thereby qualified to inherit by law, but on the contrary, I desire that the parties interested in such Institutions and my Executors Shall facilitate their Organization as soon after my decease as possible, & thus render them duly qualified by law to inherit in the premises according to my wishes.

29. I give and bequeath to the Jews Hospital Society of the City and State of New York [29] Twenty Thousand Dollars

30. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Benevolent Society Mashebat Nafesh of New York,[30] Five Thouand dollars.

31. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Benevolent Society Gimelet Chased of New York [31] Five Thousand Dollars.

32. I give and bequeath to the Talmueh [sic] Torah School fund attached to the Hebrew Congregation Sheareth Israel of the City of New York [32] and to said Congregation Thirteen Thousand Dollars.

33. I give and bequeath to the Educational Institute of the Hebrew Congregation Briai Jeshurum [sic] of the City of New York [33] the sum of Three Thousand Dollars.

34. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Shangarai Tefila of New York [34] Three Thousand Dollars.

35. I give and bequeath to the Ladies Benevolent Society of the City of New York,[35] the same of which Mrs Richey Levy was a directress at the time of her death, and of which Mistress I. B. Kursheedt was first Directress in 1850, Three Thousand Dollars.

36. I give and bequeath to the Female Hebrew Benevolent [Society] of Philadelphia [36] (Miss Gratz Secretary) Three Thousand Dollars.

37. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia (Pennsylvania)[37] Twenty Thousand Dollars.

38. I give to the United Hebrew Benevolent Society of Philadelphia [38] aforesaid Three Thousand Dollars.

39. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Ashabat Israel of Fells Point Baltimore,[39] Three Thousand Dollars.

40. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Beth Shalome of Richmond [40] Virginia, Five Thousand dollars.

41. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Shereth Israel of Charleston South Carolina [41] the sum of Five Thousand Dollars.

42. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Shangarai Shamoyen of Mobile Alabama [42] Two Thousand Dollars.

43. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Mikve Israel of Savannah Georgia [43] Five Thousand Dollars.

44. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation of Montgomery Albama [44] Two Thousand dollars say ($2000).

45. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation of Memphis Tennessee [45] Two Thousand dollars.

46. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Adas Israel of Louisville Kentucky [46] Three Thousand Dollars

47. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Briai Israel [sic] of Cincinnati Ohio [47] Three Thousand Dollars.

48. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew School Talmud Jeladin of Cincinnati Ohio [48] Five Thousand Dollars.

49. I give and bequeath to the Jews Hospital of Cincinnati Ohio [49] Five Thousand Dollars.

50. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Tifareth Israel of Cleveland Ohio.[50] Three Thousand Dollars.

51. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation Briai El [sic] of St Louis Missouri [51] Three Thousand dollars.

52. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation of Beth El of Buffalo New York [52] Three Thousand dollars (say Three Thousand Dollars.)

53. I give and bequeath to the Hebrew Congregation of Beth El of Albany New York [53] Three Thousand Dollars.

54. I give and bequeath to the three following Institutions named in the Will of my greatly beloved brother the late Abraham Touro of Boston,[54] the following Sums.

First, To the Asylum for Orphan Boys in Boston Massachusetts, Five Thousand dollars.

Second, To the Female Orphan Asylum of Boston aforesaid, Five Thousand Dollars.

Third, And to the Massachusetts General Hospital Ten Thousand Dollars.

55. I give and bequeath Ten Thousand dollars for the purpose of

paying the salary of a Reader or Minister to officiate at the Jewish Synagogue of New Port Rhode Island[55] and to endow the Ministry of the same as well as to keep in repair and embellish the Jewish Cemetary [sic] in New Port aforesaid: the said amount to be appropriated and paid or invested for that purpose in such manner, as my Executors may determine Concurrently with the Corporation of New Port aforesaid, if necessary; And it is my wish and desire that David Gould and Nathan H. Gould sons of my Esteemed friend the late Isaac Gould Esq of New Port aforesaid, should continue to oversee the Improvements in said Cemetary and direct the same, and as a testimony of my regard and in consideration of Services rendered by their Said Father, I give and bequeath the Sum of Two Thousand Dollars to be equally divided between them, the said David and said Nathan H. Gould.

56. I give and bequeath Five Thousand Dollars to Miss Catherine Hays now of Richmond Virginia,[56] as an expression of the Kind remembrance in which that esteemed friend is held by me.

57. I give and bequeath to the Misses Catherine, Harriet and Julia Myers, the three daughters of Mr Moses. M. Myers of Richmond Virginia[57] the Sum of Seven Thousand Dollars to be equally divided between them.

58. I give and bequeath the Sum of Seven Thousand dollars to the Surviving Children of the late Samuel Myers of Richmond Virginia,[58] to be equally divided between them in token of my remembrance.

59. I give and bequeath to my Friend Mr Supply Clapp Thwing of Boston Massachusetts,[59] the sum of Five Thousand Dollars as a token of my esteem and Kind remembrance.

60. I give and bequeath the sum of Three Thousand Dollars to my respected friend the Revd Isaac Leeser[60] of Philadelphia as a token of my regard

61. I give and bequeath the Sum of Three Thousand Dollars to my friends the Revd Moses N Nathan,[61] now of London and his wife to be equally divided between them.

62. I give and bequeath the Sum of Three Thousand dollars to my friend the Revd Theodore Clapp of New Orleans,[62] in token of my remembrance.

63. To Mistress Ellen Brooks, Wife of Gorham Brooks Esquire of Boston Massachusetts and daughter of my friend & Executor Rezin Davis Shepherd, I give the sum of Five Thousand dollars, the same

to be employed by my Executor in the purchase of a suitable Memorial to be presented to her as an earnest of my very Kind regard

64. I give and bequeath the sum of Twenty Five Hundred dollars to be employed by my executors in the purchase of a suitable Memorial of my esteem to be presented to Mrs M. D. Josephs wife of my friend Aaron K. Josephs Esquire of this City.

65. I give and bequeath the Sum of Twenty Five Hundred dollars to be employed by my Executors in the purchase of a suitable Memorial of my esteem for Mistress Rebecca Kursheedt wife of Mr Benjamin Florance of New Orleans.

66. I revoke all other Wills or Testaments which I may have made previously to these presents.

Thus it was that this Testament or last Will was dictated to me, the notary, by the said Testator in presence of the witnesses hereinabove named and undersigned and I have written the same such as it was dictated to me, by the Testator, in my own proper hand in presence of Said Witnesses; and having read this Testament in a loud and audible voice to the Said Testator, in presence of Said Witnesses, he, the Said Testator, declared in the same presence that he well understood the Same and persisted therein.

All of which was done at one time, without interruption or turning aside to other acts.

Thus Done and passed at the said City of New Orleans at the Said residence of the said Mr Judah Touro, the day, month and year first before written in the presence of Messieurs Jonathan Montgomery, Henry Shepherd Jr and George Washington Lee, all three being the Witnesses as aforesaid, who with the Said Testator, and me, the Said Notary have hereunto Signed their names.

"Signed" J. Touro—J. Montgomery—Henry Shepherd—Geo. W. Lee—Thos Layton, Not: Pub:

I Certify the foregoing to be a true copy of the original act, on file and of Record in my office.

In faith whereof I grant these presents, under my signature, and the impress of my Seal of office, at the City of New Orleans, this Twenty First day of January 1854.

Signed

Thos Layton Not: Pub:

CREMIEUX LETTER CONCERNING RUSSIA - 1870

Adolphe Cremieux, a Jew, was an important figure in the history of France. He was a noted representative of the Parisian bar and a member of the National Assembly of 1848. Among other important offices held, he was the head of the Delegation at Tours. He championed the causes for the Jews of France and was the devoted protector of the Jews wherever they were persecuted. He has been described "as a revolution in History". He championed the causes of the Jews everywhere, particulary in Algeria. Here is a letter written concerning the Jews of Russia.

Paris, 7 February 1870

Dear Sir:

You know the tragic condition of the Israelites in western Russia. For two years they suffered the terrors of a famine. There followed a good harvest; the famine has now ceased, but the misery continues. As we consider it our duty to explore its causes and to find a remedy, we, on behalf of the Russian Israelites, have called together a large convention, consisting of the members of the association in Germany, and of the relief committee. Two of our colleagues thereupon left for Lithuania and Poland, and from the information which they collected it appears that the misert of the Israelites has old and profound causes: the empoverishment of the land since the Polish Insurrection, the prohibition against landholding, which has made it impossible for the Jews to till the soil; the absence of big industry, the decline of commerce, a very lamentable fiscal system. In brief, a whole mass of so many restrictive statutes have nipped all sources of livelihood in their buds.

The Israelites are not even permitted to emancipate themselves from this pitiful situation by emigration. The settlement of the interior of Russia, the emigration, involves the greatest difficulties because of the laws of the land. The stringency of these statutes has been abated somewhat, but they still exist, and have existed long enough to keep a considerable population together in a country without help.

This population is headed for a sure fall, if it is not strongly supported. The only means of rescuing them is for a large number of young men who are fit to work, and who have larned trades, to establish themselves in a country wherein their occupation and industry will find useful employment.

The interior of Russia offers to those who will settle there Good sources of aid. The Israelites find it easy to live and flourish there. A considerable mumber of our coreligionists from Lithuania desire to commit themselves to this course, and it is our duty to support them in this. We shall request the Russian government to repeal the statutes and ordinances which impede their settlement. It is also necessary to furnish the Israelites with the funds necessary for the trip, and to look after their maintenance for several weeks.

A great many others desire to leave Russia: America and Europe attract them mightily by their liberty, and they desire to give free play to their moral and intellectual capacities. But is it nessary to describe what Judaism gains if it cares to develop these Israelities in these civilized and free nations? It is best, therefore, to aid the Jews of Russia to settle in Europe and America. The Central Committee for Aid, which was established by means of our association in Koenigsberg to unite all in providing the aid necessary to this great work, shall direct this project.

That will assist our coreligionists to leave the country, but that is not enough. Left to themselves in the country in

which they arrive, it is impossible for them to find the work necessary for their existence. Your/Their support is correspondingly indispensable to the success of our work. Do we need to burden him, and is he not paid in advance, if he is essential to the welfare of an important part of the great Israelite family? You/They will support us with brotherly love, which will encourage/inspire our brethren throughout the world. It has never failed in this great misery; neither will it fail today. You/They will find the best inspiration in your/their inexhaustible charity, to get the thing doing, and we await your decisions in the hope that [you] are guided by the thought of saving a part, yea all, of a nation.

Providence has placed the welfare of this unhappy people in our and your hands; neither you nor we shall fail in our duty.

In the anticipation/Anticipating of a prompt reply, we have the honor, dear sir and sincere coreligionist, to express our highest regard, and to assure you of our best esteem.

For the Central Committee

The Assistant Secretary.

The President

Ad. Cremieux

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NATIONALISTIC TRENDS - RUSSIFICATION - 1870's

With a ray of hope in the future - with emancipation taking effect slowly in Europe, the Jew became more a part of his society. He was freer then he had been in many years. The next two documents deal with the Jews and the image that they had of themselves as they became part of their surroundings. The problem then, is basically the same problem that we face as Jews today. As we become assimilated, how much of our Jewishness do we lose? As we achieve full acceptance as Jews, will we ultimately cease to exist as Jews?

Russo-Jewish thought, however, did little to check the tide of assimilation that engulfed the Jewish student youth of Russia in the sixties and seventies. Instead of battling this tide, the Russian-Jewish press devoted most of its energies to fighting the opponents of secular education and Russification. As to the futility of attempts made by religious reformers to check the abandonment of Judaism, a modern writer has the following to say:

Lilienblum and Gordon had demanded that certain religious customs should be abolished in conformity with the changed outlook of the younger generation; but actually the younger generation had entirely cast away religion and was given over to frivolity and self-indulgence. Judaism, and with it the Hebrew language and literature, had fallen on evil days; and if this state of things had continued unchanged, the Hebrew literature of the period of *Haskalah* controversy was bound to become extinct.[38]

DISRAELI - SUEZ INCIDENT - 1875

Benjamin Disraeli, the Earl of Beaconsfield, was a character to be sought and studied. At the age of 12, his father had him converted to the Church of England. This made it easier for him to enter politics. He wrote much and was highly respected as a novelist. Probably his best known work was Vivien Grey. He felt himself born to guide human beings. He was cunning as is shown by the Suez incident which follows.

On Monday, November 15th, 1875, Frederick Greenwood, editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, called at the Foreign Office and told Derby that the Khedive was about to sell his shares in the Canal to a French syndicate. Greenwood had heard this from Henry Oppenheim, a financier with interests in Egypt, and he urged the British Government to buy the shares. It is more than probable that Disraeli heard the same thing at Lionel de Rothschild's house the night before Greenwood called. Though Derby was not enthusiastic, Disraeli jumped at the chance. At first it appeared that the Khedive had already consented to sell his shares to the French syndicate; but the British representative in Egypt insisted that the negotiations should be delayed until his Government made an offer. The Khedive agreed, and the matter was at once discussed by the British Cabinet. Disraeli was determined to obtain the support of all his colleagues, and had to overcome the opposition of, among others, the Foreign Secretary and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On November 18th he informed Queen Victoria that the Khedive, who was on the verge of bankruptcy, wanted from three to four millions sterling by the 30th of that month. "Scarcely breathing time!" he added. "But the thing must be done." So anxious was the Khedive to obtain money that, while negotiating with the British Government, he signed an agreement to mortgage his shares with the French syndicate, and de Lesseps did his utmost to get the support of the French Government in raising the necessary sum.

But the French Foreign Minister did not wish to offend the British Government, which had already done his country a good turn at Berlin early that year, and sent an emissary to Derby, who replied that as about four-fifths of the shipping that used the Canal was British, his Government did not wish the Khedive's shares to be owned by another French company. Without the sanction and help of the French Government de Lesseps failed to procure the sum that was needed; and on November 25th, ten days after Disraeli's first move in the complicated business, the contract was signed in Cairo whereby England purchased the Khedive's interest in the Suez Canal.

But now came the question of how to lay hands on £4,000,000 within a few hours. The consent of parliament was necessary, and parliament was not sitting. Disraeli was equal to the emergency. He told his secretary, Corry, to remain just outside the Cabinet room; and when the decision to obtain a loan had been reached, he would put his head out of the door and say one word, "Yes," upon which Corry was to go straight to Rothschild. The head emerged, the word was uttered, and Corry hurried off to New Court, where he told Rothschild that the Prime Minister wanted £4,000,000 the following day. The Baron selected a muscatel grape, ate it, disposed of the skin, and asked: "What is your security?" Corry replied: "The British Government." Rothschild said: "You shall have it." Had Disraeli applied to the Bank of England, there would have been discussions, board meetings, questionings, lack of secrecy, disturbance of the money market, and other nuisances. As it was, after a fortnight of unceasing labour and anxiety, the job was done in a trice, and Disraeli was justified in claiming, "Alone I did it!" All the gamblers, plunderers and financiers in the world had been arrayed against him, he declared, and he had baffled them all.

There was little opposition when parliament met, though it goes without saying that Gladstone was indignant and censorious: the Vicar of Satan on earth had stolen another march on him. England was pleased; France was displeased; the Crown Prince of Germany (afterwards Wilhelm II) said "How jolly!"; Russia said nothing. But the Queen was in ecstasies when she received her Prime Minister's letter: "It is just settled: you have it, Madam."

AUTO-EMANCIPATION - 1882

The Jew could only take so much abuse. After all, he is a human being with pride. Pinsker put into words what many thousands felt. He was of the opinion that Russian Jewry had reached the same crossroads at which the western Jewish communities stood on the eve of Emancipation. He did not want to see Russian Jewry assimilate through intermarriage. He dreamt a dream about a glorious Judaism. His Auto-Emancipation, which contains a new proclamation of faith, was published in September, 1882. It aroused a violent reaction, especially from western Jews whom his ideas had antagonized. But the spirit was indomitable. Pinsker did not stand alone too long.

AUTO-EMANCIPATION:

An Appeal to His People

By a Russian Jew

"If I am not for myself, who will be for me? and if not now, when?"—Hillel.

THE misery caused by bloody deeds of violence has been followed by a moment of repose, and baiter and baited can breathe easier for a time. Meanwhile the Jewish refugees are being "repatriated" with the very money that was collected to assist emigration. The Jews in the West have again learned to endure the cry of "Hep, Hep" as their fathers did in days gone by. The flaming outburst of burning indignation at the disgrace endured has turned into a rain of ashes which is gradually covering the glowing soil. Close your eyes and hide your heads ostrich-fashion as you will; if you do not take advantage of the fleeting moments of repose, and devise remedies more fundamental than those palliatives with which the incompetent have for centuries vainly tried to relieve our unhappy nation, lasting peace is impossible for you.
September, 1882.

I

The eternal problem presented by the Jewish Question stirs men to-day as it did ages ago. It remains unsolved, like the squaring of the circle, but unlike it, it is still a burning question. This is due to the fact that it is not merely a problem of theoretic interest, but one of practical interest, which renews its youth from day to day, as it

were, and presses more and more imperatively for a solution.

The essence of the problem, as we see it, lies in the fact that, in the midst of the nations among whom the Jews reside, they form a distinctive element which cannot be assimilated, which cannot be readily digested by any nation. Hence the problem is to find means of so adjusting the relations of this exclusive element to the whole body of the nations that there shall never be any further basis for the Jewish Question.

We cannot, of course, think of establishing perfect harmony. Such harmony has probably never existed, even among other nations. The millenium in which the "International" will disappear, and the nations will merge into humanity, is still invisible in the distance. Until it is realized, the desires and ideals of the nations must be limited to establishing a tolerable *modus vivendi.*

Long will the world have to await universal peace; but in the interim the relations of the nations to one another may be adjusted fairly well by an explicit mutual understanding, an understanding based upon international law, treaties, and especially upon a certain equality in rank and mutually admitted rights, as well as upon mutual regard.

No such equality in rank appears in the intercourse of the nations with the Jews. In the latter case the basis is lacking for that mutual regard which is generally regulated and secured by international law or by treaties. Only when this basis is established, when the equality of the Jews with the other nations becomes a fact, can the problem presented by the Jewish Question be considered solved. Unfortunately, although such equality existed in reality in days long since forgotten, under present conditions we can hope to see it restored only in so remote a future that the admission of the Jewish people into the ranks of the other

nations seems illusory. They lack most of those attributes which are the hall-mark of a nation. They lack that characteristic national life which is inconceivable without a common language, common customs, and a common land. The Jewish people have no fatherland of their own, though many motherlands; they have no rallying point, no centre of gravity, no government of their own, no accredited representatives. They are everywhere as guests, and are nowhere *at home*. The nations *never* have to deal with a Jewish *nation* but always with mere *Jews*. The Jews are not a nation because they lack a certain distinctive national character, possessed by every other nation, a character which is determined by living together in one country, under one rule. It was clearly impossible for this national character to be developed in the Diaspora; the Jews seem rather to have lost all remembrance of their former home. Thanks to their ready adaptability, they have all the more easily acquired the alien traits of the people among whom their fate has thrown them. Moreover, to please their protectors, not seldom did they divest themselves of their traditional individuality. They acquired, or persuaded themselves that they had acquired certain cosmopolitan tendencies which could appeal to others no more than they could bring satisfaction to the Jews themselves.

In seeking to fuse with other peoples, they deliberately renounced, to a certain extent, their own nationality. Nowhere, however, did they succeed in obtaining from their fellow-citizens recognition as native-born citizens of equal rank.

The strongest fact, however, operating to prevent the Jews from striving after an independent national existence is the fact that they do not feel the need for such an existence. Not only do they feel no need for it, but they go so far as to deny the reasonableness of such a need.

Of course, the establishment of a Jewish refuge cannot come about without the support of the governments. In order to attain the latter and to insure the perpetual existence of a refuge, the creators of our national regeneration will have to proceed with patience and care. What we seek is at bottom neither new nor dangerous to anyone. Instead of the *many refuges* which we have always been accustomed to seek, we would fain have *one single refuge*, the existence of which, however, would have to be politically assured.

Let "Now or never!" be our watchword. Woe to our descendants, woe to the memory of our Jewish contemporaries, if we let this moment pass by!

SUMMARY

The Jews are not a living nation; they are everywhere aliens; therefore they are despised.

The civil and political emancipation of the Jews is not sufficient to raise them in the estimation of the peoples.

The proper, the only remedy would be the creation of a Jewish nationality, of a people living upon its own soil, the auto-emancipation of the Jews; their emancipation as a nation among nations by the acquisition of a home of their own.

We should not persuade ourselves that humanity and enlightenment will ever be radical remedies for the malady of our people.

The lack of national self-respect and self-confidence, of political initiative and of unity, are the enemies of our national renaissance.

In order that we may not be constrained to wander from

one exile to another, we must have an extensive productive place of refuge, a *rendezvous* which is our own.

The present moment is more favourable than any other for the plan unfolded.

The international Jewish question must receive a national solution. Of course, our national regeneration can only proceed slowly. *We* must take the first step. Our *descendants* must follow us in measured and not over-hasty time.

A way must be opened for the national regeneration of the Jews by a congress of Jewish notables.

No sacrifice would be too great in order to reach the goal which will assure our people's future, everywhere endangered.

The financial accomplishment of the undertaking can in the present state of the case encounter no insuperable difficulties.

Help yourselves, and God will help you! 74

NEW COLOSSUS - 1883

Much could be documented from the immigration policies of the United States. Many books on the restrictive policy of the United States have been written already. The material is vast. But for all its restrictions, many thousands of Jews found themselves close to the shores of America. As they approached New York and the land of freedom that they had yearned for, the words on the Statue of Liberty greeted them. The words by Emma Lazurus live on the lips and hearts of all people yearning to be free. In this poem, she shows her love for America and understanding for the oppressed.

The New Colossus

Not like the brazen giant of Greek fame,
With conquering limbs astride from land to land
Here at our sea-washed, sunset gates shall stand
A mighty woman with a torch, whose flame
Is the imprisoned lightening, and her name
Mother of Exiles. From her beacon-handed
Glows world-wide welcome; her mild eyes command

The air-bridged harbor that twin cities frame
"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tost to me,
I lift my lamp beside the golden door!" 75

THE PITTSBURGH PLATFORM - 1885

Kaufmann Kohler, Emil G. Hirsch, Joseph Krauskopf, and David Philipson were among the most prominent leaders of Reform Judaism in America. American Jewry, as a whole, was not yet ready for a Reform, and charges against those who advocated Reform were published and vehement protests lodged all over the East. Kaufmann Kohler reacted to these attacks by calling for an immediate conference of Reform Rabbis. On November 16, 1885, at Pittsburgh, nineteen delegates gathered together to make Reform history by providing Reform with a coherent platform.

PITTSBURG CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER 16–18, 1885.

Present: I Aaron, Ft. Wayne, Ind.; J. Bloch, Youngstown, O.; S. Falk, Buffalo, N. Y.; A. Guttmann, Syracuse, N. Y.; E. G. Hirsch, Chicago; A. Hahn, Cleveland; K. Kohler, New York; J. Krauskopf, Kansas City, Mo.; A. Moses, Louisville; M. Machol, Cleveland; L. Mayer, Pittsburg; L. Naumberg, Pittsburg; D. Philipson, Baltimore; S. Sale, Chicago; S. H. Sonneschein, St. Louis; M. Schlesinger, Albany, N. Y.; M. Sessler, Wheeling, W. Va.; I. Weil, Bradford, Pa.; I. M. Wise, Cincinnati.

The Conference adopted the following Declaration of Principles:

In view of the wide divergence of opinion, of conflicting ideas in Judaism to-day, we, as representatives of Reform Judaism in America, in continuation of the work begun at Philadelphia, in 1869, unite upon the following principles:

First. We recognize in every religion an attempt to grasp the Infinite, and in every mode, source or book of revelation, held sacred in any religious system, the consciousness of the indwelling of God in man. We hold that Judaism presents the highest conception of the God idea as taught in our Holy Scriptures and developed and spiritualized by the Jewish teachers, in accordance with the moral and philosophical progress of their respective ages. We maintain that Judaism preserved and defended, midst continual struggles and trials and under enforced isolation, this God idea as the central religious truth for the human race.

Second. We recognize in the Bible the record of the consecration of the Jewish people to its mission as priest of the one God, and value it as the most potent instrument of religious and moral instruction. We hold that the modern discoveries of scientific researches in the domains of nature and history are not antagonistic to the doctrines of Judaism, the Bible reflecting the primitive

ideas of its own age, and at times clothing its conception of Divine Providence and justice, dealing with man in miraculous narratives.

Third. We recognize in the Mosaic legislation a system of training the Jewish people for its mission during its national life in Palestine, and to-day we accept as binding only the moral laws, and maintain only such ceremonies as elevate and sanctify our lives, but reject all such as are not adapted to the views and habits of modern civilization.

Fourth. We hold that all such Mosaic and rabbinical laws as regulate diet, priestly purity and dress, orignated in ages and under the influence of ideas altogether foreign to our present mental and spiritual state. They fail to impress the modern Jew with a spirit of priestly holiness; their observance in our days is apt rather to obstruct than to further modern spiritual elevation.

Fifth. We recognize, in the modern era of universal culture of heart and intellect, the approaching of the realization of Israel's great Messianic hope for the establishment of the kingdom of truth, justice and peace among all men. We consider ourselves no longer a nation, but a religious community, and, therefore, expect neither a return to Palestine, nor a sacrificial worship under the sons of Aaron, nor the restoration of any of the laws concerning the Jewish state.

Sixth. We recognize in Judaism a progressive religion, ever striving to be in accord with the postulates of reason. We are convinced of the utmost necessity of preserving the historical identity with our great past. Christianity and Islam being daughter religions of Judaism, we appreciate their providential mission to and in the spreading of monotheistic and moral truth. We acknowledge that the spirit of broad humanity of our age is our ally in the fulfillment of our mission, and, therefore, we extend the hand of fellowship to all who operate with us in the establishment of the reign of truth and righteousness among men.

Seventh. We reassert the doctrine of Judaism that the soul of man is immortal, grounding this belief on the divine nature of the human spirit, which forever finds bliss in righteousness and misery in wickedness. We reject, as ideas not rooted in Judaism, the beliefs both in bodily resurrection and in Gehenna and Eden (Hell and Paradise) as abodes for everlasting punishment and reward.

Eighth. In full accordance with the spirit of Mosaic legislation, which strives to regulate the relation between the rich and poor, we deem it our duty to participate in the great task of modern times,

to solve, on the basis of justice and righteousness, the problems presented by the contrasts and evils of the present organization of society.

PROSELYTE QUESTION.

The following resolution was adopted:

Resolved, That inasmuch as the so-called Abrahamitic rite is by many of the most competent rabbis no longer considered as a *conditio sine qua non* of receiving male Gentiles into the fold of Judaism, and inasmuch as a new legislation on this and kindred subjects is one of the most imperative and practical demands of our reform movement, a committee of five, one of them to be the President of the Conference, be intrusted with forming a full report, to be submitted for final action to the next Conference.

SUNDAY SERVICE.

WHEREAS, We recognize the importance of maintaining the historical Sabbath as a bond with our great past and the symbol of the unity of Judaism the world over; and,

WHEREAS, On the other hand, it can not be denied that there is a vast number of workingmen and others who, from some cause or other, are not able to attend services on the sacred day of rest; be it

Resolved, That there is nothing in the spirit of Judaism, or its laws, to prevent the introduction of Sunday services in localities where the necessity for such services appears, or is felt.

MISSION WORK.

In order to accomplish the religious, moral, social and economic elevation of the masses, who now by reason of their cramped social condition fail to be reached by our congregations and to be brought into contact with our better situated brethren, we recommend that in each congregation, or community, a society be organized to take upon itself the mission by personal efforts in the spirit of pure philanthropy to bring these under the influence of moral and religious teaching.

That as a means to accomplish this philanthropic work, it be resolved to recommend the formation of schools for the religious, moral and industrial instruction of the children of our poor.

As a means to spread the knowledge of Judaism, to strengthen its influence and to foster Jewish sentiment, we recommend that steps be taken to publish pamphlets on Jewish history and religious

and every-day life for distribution by such societies, and we appeal to our wealthy co-religionists for the support of this movement.

READING OF PENTATEUCH.

Resolved, That we recommend to each rabbi to read only such sections of the Pentateuch as he thinks proper, however according to the regulations of the Hebrew Calendar.

AMERICAN CONFERENCES.

The American Conferences, except those in Philadelphia and Pittsburg, reported above were not strictly rabbinical, as in the very first laymen were admitted, and the others were meetings of rabbis, called for a specific purpose only, to which also cantors and teachers were admitted.

The first attempt, in the year 1848, to bring together a conference of ministers and other representatives of the congregations proved a failure, notwithstanding the earnest work done by its promoters—Isaac Leeser, of Philadelphia, and Isaac M. Wise, then of Albany, N. Y.

The object of the proposed conference was to establish a union of congregations, with the purpose of establishing public institutions, such as hospitals, orphan asylums, schools and text-books. It proved a failure, and discouraged the leaders and the ardent friends of the project.

From and after August 17, 1855, a call for "the First Conference" apeared in *The Israelite*, signed by Rabbis Cohn, of Albany, N. Y.; Guinzburg and Hochheimer, of Baltimore; Illowy, of St. Louis; Kalisch, of Cleveland; Lilienthal, Wise and Rothenheim, of Cincinnati, and Merzbacher, of New York. The call invited ministers and delegates to meet in Cleveland, October 17, to deliberate on the following points: The articles of union for the American Israel in theory and practice; a plan to organize a regular synod; a plan to establish a Minhag America, ritual and liturgy; a plan to establish scholastic education in the lower and higher branches; to discuss such other propositions as should be brought before the conference.

The Conference convened on the appointed day in Cleveland; organized with Dr. Merzbacher as President; Dr. Cohn, Vice-Presi-

dent, and Dr. Lilienthal, Secretary. Among the delegates there were prominent, Mr. Greenebaum, Sr., of Chicago; Jacob L. Miller, of Cincinnati; Isaac Leeser, of Philadelphia, and Messrs. Levy and Hopferman, of Cleveland.

The two parties, conservative and reform, for a long time could not agree on the articles of union, without which no synod for the whole of the American Israel could be established, and the institutions *in esse* could not be built up. After two days of animate discussion, the Conference agreed upon the following articles of union to govern the forthcoming synod:

The Conference of the rabbis and congregational delegates, assembled in Cleveland, actuated by the earnest desire to preserve the union of Israel and its religion by a mutual understanding and union, and convinced that the organization of a synod is the most effective means to obtain this sacred aim, and whose legality and utility is taught in the Bible, Talmud and history, consider it their duty—

To convene a synod and call upon the American Jewish congregations in an extra circular to send their ministers and delegates to the said synod.

The Conference also feels obliged to give utterance to the following points, on which they unanimously agree to be the leading principles of the future synods:

1. The Bible as delivered to us by our fathers and as now in our possession is of immediate divine origin and the standard of our religion.

2. The Talmud contains the traditional, legal and logical exposition of the biblical laws, which must be expounded and practiced according to the comments of the Talmud.

3 The resolutions of a synod in accordance with the above principles are legally valid.

4. Statutes and ordinances contrary to the laws of the land are invalid.

After this agreement had been arrived at all the committees as provided for in the call were appointed, minor matters were har-

moniously discussed, and the Conference adjourned *sine die*. The committees were instructed to report to the synod next year. However, the synod never met, and so no committees reported.

After the Rabbinical Conference of Philadelphia, a meeting of rabbis was called to revise the Minhag America and to other purpose. Under the presidency of the late Rabbi Dr. Huebsch three meetings took place in 1871, respectively in Cleveland, New York and Cincinnati. The members brought up for discussion so much matter foreign to the main object of the meeting that this remained unfinished, and nothing besides the following remained of all the discussions.

1. The prayer-book published by Dr. Huebsch.

2. The amendments adopted into the second edition of the Minhag America.

3. That instead of the tri-annual cycle of reading the Thorah, a select section of each *Sidrah* as marked in the calendar should be read, as selected by the officiating rabbi.

4. That all the members of this Conference will exercise their influence to establish a union of all American congregations, and through them a rabbinical seat of learning.

A number of annual and semi-annual meetings of the Jewish Ministers' Association of America took place under the presidency of Dr. Gottheil in New York, Philadelphia and Baltimore, the proceedings of which are not collected in any book.

THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA - 1901

Very few encyclopedias in the world are viewed with such respect as is the 12-volume Jewish Encyclopedia. In short, financed and published in America, it is the crème de la crème of German Jewish scholarship. The preface, which its editors supplied, is worthy of special note.

OWING to their long history and their wide dispersion, the Jews have been connected with most of the important movements in the history of the human race. The great monotheistic religions are based upon the Jewish Bible; medieval philosophy and science are inseparably associated with the Jews as intermediators; and in modern times there has been hardly a phase of human thought and activity in which the participation of Jews may not be discerned. While they have thus played a prominent part in the development of human thought and social progress throughout the centuries, there has been no faithful record of their multifarious activity. THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA is intended to supply such a record, utilizing for this purpose all the resources of modern science and scholarship. It endeavors to give, in systematized, comprehensive, and yet succinct form, a full and accurate account of the history and literature, the social and intellectual life, of the Jewish people—of their ethical and religious views, their customs, rites, and traditions in all ages and in all lands. It also offers detailed biographical information concerning representatives of the Jewish race who have achieved distinction in any of the walks of life. It will accordingly cast light upon the successive phases of Judaism, furnish precise information concerning the activities of the Jews in all branches of human endeavor, register their influence upon the manifold development of human intelligence, and describe their mutual relations to surrounding creeds and peoples.

The need of such a work is sufficiently obvious. Jewish history is unique and therefore particularly liable to be misunderstood. The Jews are closely attached to their national traditions, and yet, in their dispersion, are cosmopolitan, both as to their conceptions of world-duty and their participation in the general advancement of mankind. To exhibit both sides of their character has been one of the objects of THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA.

The history of the Jewish people has an absorbing interest for all who are concerned in the development of humanity. Connected in turn with the principal empires of antiquity, and clinging faithfully to their own ideals, the Jews developed a legal system which proved in course of time their bulwark of safety against the destruction, through external forces, of their national life. The Roman code, in its Christian development, assigned an exceptional position to the Jews; and it becomes one of the most interesting problems for the student of European constitutions to reconcile the status thus allotted to the Jew with the constitutional principles of the various Christian states. The struggle of the Jew to emancipate himself from this peculiar position has made him an efficient ally in the heroic endeavors of modern peoples toward the assertion of human rights.

Throughout all the divergences produced by different social environments and intellectual influences, the Jews have in every generation conserved the twofold character referred to above: as representatives of a nation, they have kept alive their Hebrew traditions; and, as cosmopolitans, they have taken part in the social and intellectual life of almost all cultured nations. In the period when Jewish and Hellenic thought came

into mutual contact in Alexandria, they originated new currents of philosophic speculation. They then joined with the Arabs in the molding of the new faith, Islam, and of the entire Arabian-Spanish civilization. In the Europe of the Middle Ages, the process by which the science of Greece reached the schools of Bologna, Paris, and Oxford can be made clear only by taking account of the part played by Jewish translators and teachers. Scholastic philosophy was also influenced by such great medieval Jewish thinkers as Ibn Gabirol and Maimonides, while the epoch-making thought of Spinoza can be understood only by reference to his Jewish predecessors. In modern times the genius of the Jews has asserted its claim to intellectual leadership through men like Mendelssohn, Heine, Lassalle, and Disraeli. The twofold spirit of Judaism is displayed even through the medium of the Yiddish dialect, that modern representative of the Judæo-German of the Middle Ages. Preserved in this dialect, Jewish legends, customs, and superstitions, all of which still retain the traces of their connection with the various lands wherein the Jews have dwelt, serve to elucidate many an obscure feature of general folk-lore and ethnic superstition.

In the development of the Jewish faith and religious literature the same processes of internal growth and of modification through environment have incessantly gone on. The Bible, that perennial source of all great religious movements in western civilization, has been interpreted by the Jews from their own peculiar point of view; but their traditions on the whole represent the spirit of progress rather than the blind worship of the letter. The Biblical characters as they lived in Jewish traditions differed greatly from the presentation in the Scripture record. These traditions are embodied in the Rabbinical literature, with its corresponding Hellenic counterparts, those numerous Apocrypha which form the connecting links between the Old Testament and the New, between the Bible and the Talmud on the one hand and the patristic literature and the Koran on the other. Drawing upon these traditions, the Jews have gradually formulated their interpretation of the Law and an elaborate system of religious belief—in a word, Jewish theology. So, too, the Jewish system of ethics has numerous points of contact with the ethical and philosophical systems of all other peoples.

The Jews have been important factors in commerce through all the ages; the Egypt of the Ptolemies, the Rome of the emperors, the Babylonia of the Sassanid rulers, and the Europe of Charlemagne felt and acknowledged the gain to commerce wrought by their international connections and affiliations. In all the great marts of European commerce they were pioneers of trade until, with the rise of the great merchant-gilds, they were in some degree ousted from this sphere and confined to lower pursuits. It becomes thus a matter of supreme interest to follow the Jews through all their wanderings, to observe how their religious, social, and philanthropic activities were variously developed wherever they dwelt. To give a faithful record of all this abundant and strenuous activity is the proper purpose of a Jewish encyclopedia.

Hitherto the difficulties in the way of such an adequate and impartial presentation have been insuperable. Deep-rooted prejudices have prevented any sympathetic interest in Judaism on the part of Christian theologians, or in Christianity on the part of the rabbis. These theological antipathies have now abated, and both sides are better prepared to receive the truth. It is only within the last half-century, too, that any serious attempts have been made to render accessible the original sources of Jewish history scattered throughout the libraries of Europe. As regards Jewish literature, the works, produced in many ages and languages, exist in so many instances in manuscript-sources not yet investigated, in archives or in *genizot*, that Jewish scholars can hardly be said to command a full knowledge of their own literature. The investigation of the sociological conditions and the anthropology of the Jewish people is even now only in its initial stages.

In all directions, the facts of Jewish theology, history, life, and literature remain in a large measure hidden from the world, even from Jews themselves. With the publication of THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA a serious attempt is made for the first time to systematize and render generally accessible the knowledge thus far obtained.

That this has now become possible is due to a series of labors carried on throughout the whole of the nineteenth century and representing the efforts of three generations of Jewish scholars, mainly in Germany. An attempt was made, indeed, in the sixteenth century by Azariah dei Rossi toward a critical study of Jewish history and theology. But his work remained without influence until the first half of the nineteenth century, when Krochmal, Rapoport, and Zunz devoted their wide erudition and critical ingenuity to the investigation of the Jewish life and thought of the past. Their efforts were emulated by a number of scholars who have elucidated almost all sides of Jewish activity. The researches of I. M. Jost, H. Graetz, and M. Kayserling, and their followers, have laid a firm foundation for the main outlines of Jewish history, as the labors of Z. Frankel, A. Geiger, and J. Derenbourg paved the way for investigation into the various domains of Jewish literature. The painstaking labors of that Nestor of Jewish bibliography, Moritz Steinschneider—still happily with us—have made it possible to ascertain the full range of Jewish literary activity as recorded both in books and in manuscripts. THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA now enters upon the field covered by the labors of these and other scholars, too numerous to mention, many of whom have lent their efforts toward its production and have been seconded by eminent coworkers from the ranks of Christian critics.

With the material now available it is possible to present a tolerably full account of Jews and Judaism. At the same time the world's interest in Jews is perhaps keener than ever before. Recent events, to which more direct reference need not be made, have aroused the world's curiosity as to the history and condition of a people which has been able to accomplish so much under such adverse conditions. THE JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA aims to satisfy this curiosity. Among the Jews themselves there is an increasing interest in these subjects in the present critical period in their development. Old bonds of tradition are being broken, and the attention of the Jewish people is necessarily brought to bear upon their distinctive position in the modern world, which can be understood only in the light of historical research.

The subject-matter of this ENCYCLOPEDIA naturally falls into three main divisions, which have been subdivided into departments, each under the control of an editor directly responsible for the accuracy and thoroughness of the articles embraced in his department. These are: (1) History, Biography, Sociology, and Folk-lore; (2) Literature, with its departments treating of Biblical, Hellenistic, Talmudical, Rabbinical, Medieval, and Neo-Hebraic Literatures, and including Jurisprudence, Philology, and Bibliography; (3) Theology and Philosophy.

JEWS AS PART OF THEIR FATHERLAND - 1915

No Persecution or Oppression Could Estrange Jews From Their Fatherland

This attitude on the part of the Jews to the war is reflected to the Jewish press. The organ of the Russian Jews, *New Voskhod*, wrote in its issue of August 6, 1915, following the declaration of war:

"We were born and grew up in Russia; here rest the remains of our fathers. We, Russian Jews, are tied by unbreakable ties to Russia, and the memory of it is dearly cherished by our brethren, who, by will of fate, have been driven across the ocean. The bearers of the ideals of our fathers, the nucleus of the world's Jewry, we Russian Jews are at the same time inseparably allied with our mother country where we have been living for centuries and from which there is no power that can separate us—neither prosecution nor oppression. In this historical moment, when our fatherland is threatened by foreign invasion, when brute force has armed itself against the great ideals of humanity, the Russian Jewry will manfully step forward to the battlefield and do its sacred duty. . . ."

Attitude of Jews Explained

In its succeeding issue, this journal comes nearer the question:

"To many, the striking contrast between our recent past, which should have determined our present attitude, and the attitude which we see to-day, seems to be unexpected and unreasonable. Notwithstanding all the terrors of yesterday, we Jews to-day treasure the unity and indivisibility of Russia and her position as a great power in the world. . . . Being mainly a people of burgher class, which accomplishes the economically important social function in the state, of binding together and animating all the living cells of the state organism, all of its parts and divisions; a people of merchants, manufacturers, bankers, traveling salesmen, brokers, artisans and laborers—the Jews comprehend more deeply and thoroughly the idea of universal cohesion, of common unity, of the indivisibility of Russia, than those to whom these ideas are only abstract, if sublime, conceptions. We know that those provinces of our Empire that are coveted by the enemies of the Empire, Austria and Germany, will, without question, have lost their social and economic importance, if the predatory plans of the enemy states were to succeed.

THE PEACE CONFERANCE AND THE RIGHTS OF MINORITIES - 1919

The minority groups of the world have always had to fight physically and spiritually for their rights. As the world has progressed and man has become somewhat more sophisticated, the struggle has been transferred to the conferance table. The few documents that follow, in excerpted form, were the outcome of arduous work in behalf of national or ethnic minorities in post-World War I, Central and Eastern Europe.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

The following paragraphs, which are excerpted from various documents emanating from the Peace Conference, deal with the rights of persons "who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion." The vital interest which these excerpts have for the Jews of the world, in general, and for the Jewish populations of the countries concerned, in particular, is patent.

I. The Treaty with Germany

(Signed on June 28, 1919)

Article 86.—The Czecho-Slovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

Article 93.—Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

In the reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the counter-proposals of the German delegates, which was delivered to the latter on June 16, 1919, the following passages appear:

Under Part I, *The League of Nations.*

III. The Allied and Associated Powers are prepared to accord guarantees, under the protection of the League of Nations, for the educational, religious and cultural rights of German minorities in territories transferred from the German Empire to the new states created by the Treaty. They take note of the statement of the German Delegates that Germany is determined to treat foreign minorities within her territory according to the same principles.

Under *Poland, Upper Silesia.*

The restoration of the Polish State is a great historical act which cannot be achieved without breaking many ties and causing temporary difficulty and distress to many individuals. But it has been the special concern of the Allied and Associated Powers to provide for the adequate protection of those Germans who will find themselves transferred to Poland, as well as of all other religious, racial or linguistic minorities. There is in the Treaty a clause by which there will be secured to them the enjoyment of religious liberty and also the right to use their own language and that of having their children educated in their own language. They will not be subjected to persecution similar to that which Poles had to endure from the Prussian State.

II. The Treaty with Poland

(Signed on June 28, 1919)

Chapter I

Article 1.—Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Article 2.—Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

Article 3.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality German, Austrian, Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland, but subject to any provision in the Treaties of Peace with Germany or Austria respectively relating to persons who became resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, except where it is otherwise provided in the Treaty of Peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of

III. The Treaty with Austria

Up to the time of printing, the full text of the proposed Treaty with Austria had not been made public. Following, however, are extracts from the official summary of the draft of that document dealing with the protection of racial, linguistic or religious minorities in Czecho-Slovakia, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State (Jugo-Slavia), Roumania, and Austria:

Czecho-Slovakia agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provision as they may deem necessary to protect racial, religious, or linguistic minorities.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees to a similar Treaty for the protection of minorities.

Roumania agrees to a similar treaty as to the protection of minorities.

In a series of special clauses Austria undertakes to bring her institutions into conformity with the principles of liberty and justice, and acknowledges that the obligations for the protection of minorities are matters of international concern over which the League of Nations has jurisdiction. She assures complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion, together with the right of free exercise of any creed.

All Austrian nationals, without distinction of race, language, or religion, are to be equal before the law. No restrictions are to be imposed on the free use of any language in private or public, and reasonable facilities are to be given Austrian nationals of non-German speech for the use of their language before the Courts. Austrian nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities are to enjoy the same protection as other Austrian nationals, in particular with regard to schools and other educational establishments; and in districts where a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals of other than German speech are resident, facilities are to be given in schools for the instruction of children in their own language, and an equitable share of public funds is to be provided for the purpose. These provisions do not preclude the Austrian Government from making the teaching of German obligatory. They are to be embodied by Austria in her fundamental law as a Bill of Rights, and provisions regarding them are to be under the protection of the League of Nations.

IV. Russia

The following passage is excerpted from the note of the four Powers, Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, addressed to Admiral Alexander Kolchak, head of the All-Russian Government at Omsk, on May 26, 1919:

Thirdly, that they will countenance no attempt to revise the special privilege of any class or order in Russia. The Allied and Associated Powers have noted with satisfaction the solemn declaration made by Admiral Kolchak and his associates that they have no intention of restoring the former land system. They feel that the principles to be followed in the solution of this and other internal questions must be left to the free decision of the Russian Constituent Assembly. But they wish to be assured that those whom they are prepared to assist stand for the civil and religious liberty of all Russian citizens and will make no attempt to reintroduce the régime which the revolution has destroyed.

Following is the part of Admiral Kolchak's reply, received in Paris on June 5, 1919, which refers to this point:

8. Having set ourselves the task of re-establishing order and justice and of insuring individual security to the population, which is tired of trials and exactions, the Government affirms the equality before the law of all citizens without any special privilege. All shall receive, without distinction of origin or of religion, the protection of the State and of the law.

COLUMBUS PLATFORM - 1937

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, accepting the idea of change in the making of a dynamic Judaism, came out with various principles to be used as guidelines. The Columbus Platform was one of the first such declarations.

GUIDING PRINCIPLES OF REFORM JUDAISM

In view of the changes that have taken place in the modern world and the consequent need of stating anew the teachings of Reform Judaism, the Central Conference of American Rabbis makes the following declaration of principles. It presents them not as a fixed creed but as a guide for the progressive elements of Jewry.

1. Judaism and Its Foundations

1. *Nature of Judaism.* Judaism is the historical religious experience of the Jewish people. Though growing out of Jewish life, its message is universal, aiming at the union and perfection of mankind under the sovereignty of God. Reform Judaism recognizes the principle of progressive development in religion and consciously applies this principle to spiritual as well as to cultural and social life.

Judaism welcomes all truth, whether written in the pages of scripture or deciphered from the records of nature. The new discoveries of science, while replacing the older scientific views underlying our sacred literature, do not conflict with the essential spirit of religion as manifested in the consecration of man's will, heart and mind to the service of God and of humanity.

2. *God.* The heart of Judaism and its chief contribution to religion is the doctrine of the One, living God, who rules the world through law and love. In Him all existence has its creative source and mankind its ideal of conduct. Through transcending time and space, He is the indwelling Presence of the world. We worship Him as the Lord of the universe and as our merciful Father.

3. *Man.* Judaism affirms that man is created in the Divine image. His spirit is immortal. He is an active co-worker with God. As a child of God, he is endowed with moral freedom and is charged with the responsibility of overcoming evil and striving after ideal ends.

4. *Torah.* God reveals Himself not only in the majesty, beauty and orderliness of nature, but also in the vision and moral striving of the human spirit. Revelation is a continuous process, confined to no one group and to no one age. Yet the people of Israel, through its prophets and sages, achieved unique insight in the realm of religious truth. The *Torah*, both written and oral, enshrines Israel's ever-growing consciousness of God and of the moral law. It preserves the historical precedents, sanctions and norms of Jewish life, and seeks to mould it in the patterns of goodness and of holiness. Being products of historical processes, certain of its laws have lost their binding force with the passing of the conditions that called them forth. But as a depository of permanent spiritual ideals, the *Torah* remains the dynamic source of the life of Israel. Each age has the obligation to adapt the teachings of the *Torah* to its basic needs in consonance with the genius of Judaism.

5. *Israel.* Judaism is the soul of which Israel is the body. Living in all parts of the world, Israel has been held together by the ties of a common history, and above all, by the heritage of faith. Though we recognize in the group-loyalty of Jews who have become estranged from our religious tradition, a bond which still unites them with us, we maintain that it is by its religion and for its religion that the Jewish people has lived. The non-Jew who accepts our faith is welcomed as a full member of the Jewish community

In all lands where our people live, they assume and seek to share loyally the full duties and responsibilities of citizenship and to create seats of Jewish knowledge and religion. In the rehabilitation of Palestine, the land hallowed by memories and hopes, we behold the promise of renewed life for many of our brethren. We affirm the obligation of all Jewry to aid in its upbuilding as a Jewish homeland by endeavoring to make it not only a haven of refuge for the oppressed but also a center of Jewish culture and spiritual life.

Throughout the ages it has been Israel's mission to witness to the Divine in the face of every form of paganism and materialism. We regard it as our historic task to cooperate with all men in the establishment of the kingdom of God, of universal brotherhood, justice, truth and peace on earth. This is our Messianic goal.

2. Ethics

6. *Ethics and Religion.* In Judaism religion and morality blend into an indissoluble unity. Seeking God means to strive after holiness, righteousness and goodness. The love of God is incomplete without the love of one's fellowmen. Judaism emphasizes the kinship of the human race, the sanctity and worth of human life and personality and the right of the individual to freedom and to the pursuit of his chosen vocation. Justice to all, irrespective of race, sect or class is the inalienable right and the inescapable obligation of all. The state and organized government exist in order to further these ends.

7. *Social Justice.* Judaism seeks the attainment of a just society by the application of its teachings to the economic order, to industry and commerce, and to national and international affairs. It aims at the elimination of man-made misery and suffering, of poverty and degradation, of tyranny and slavery, of social inequality and prejudice, of ill-will and strife. It advocates the promotion of harmonious relations between warring classes on the basis of equity and justice, and the creation of conditions under which human personality may flourish. It pleads for the safeguarding of childhood against exploitation. It champions the cause of all who work and of their right to an adequate standard of living, as prior to the rights of property. Judaism emphasizes the duty of charity, and strives for a social order which will protect men against the material disabilities of old age, sickness and unemployment.

8. *Peace.* Judaism, from the days of the prophets, has proclaimed to mankind the ideal of universal peace. The spiritual and physical disarmament of all nations has been one of its essential teachings. It abhors all violence and relies upon moral education, love and sympathy to secure human progress. It regards justice as the

foundation of the well-being of nations and the condition of enduring peace. It urges organized international action for disarmament, collective security and world peace.

3. Religious Practice

9. *The Religious Life.* Jewish life is marked by consecration to these ideals of Judaism. It calls for faithful participation in the life of the Jewish community as it finds expression in home, synagog and school and in all other agencies that enrich Jewish life and promote its welfare.

The *Home* has been and must continue to be a stronghold of Jewish life, hallowed by the spirit of love and reverence, by moral discipline and religious observance and worship.

The *Synagog* is the oldest and most democratic institution in Jewish life. It is the prime communal agency by which Judaism is fostered and preserved. It links the Jews of each community and unites them with all Israel.

The perpetuation of Judaism as a living force depends upon religious knowledge and upon the *Education* of each new generation in our rich cultural and spiritual heritage.

Prayer is the voice of religion, the language of faith and aspiration. It directs man's heart and mind Godward, voices the needs and hopes of the community, and reaches out after goals which invest life with supreme value. To deepen the spiritual life of our people, we must cultivate the traditional habit of communion with God through prayer in both home and synagog.

Judaism as a way of life requires in addition to its moral and spiritual demands, the preservation of the Sabbath, festivals and Holy Days, the retention and development of such customs, symbols and ceremonies as possess inspirational value, the cultivation of distinctive forms of religious art and music and the use of Hebrew, together with the vernacular, in our worship and instruction.

These timeless aims and ideals of our faith we present anew to a confused and troubled world. We call upon our fellow Jews to rededicate themselves to them, and, in harmony with all men, hopefully and courageously to continue Israel's eternal quest after God and His kingdom.

REFORM DEVELOPMENTS IN EUROPE AND AMERICA

These next few pages are not historical documents in themselves, but they do supply a chronology and give a picture of the times. These charts show and trace the development of Reform from the period of European liberalism up to the development of Reform in America.

REFORM DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN LIBERALISM

Important Historical Events	Happenings in Jewish Life	Developments in European Reform
1776—Signing of the American Declaration of Independence		
		1778—Jewish Free School established in Berlin by Friedländer
	1779—Publication of Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*	
	1781—Dohm's plea for Jewish emancipation issued	
	1782—"Act of Tolerance" issued in Austria	
		1783—Appearance of *The Gatherer*
		Completion of Mendelssohn's translation of the Five Books of Moses into German
1789—Outbreak of the French Revolution		
	1791—Granting of citizenship to French Jewry	
	1796—Granting of citizenship to the Jews of Holland	1796—Introduction of minor reforms in synagogue worship by Amsterdam congregation
1798—Establishment of the Roman and Swiss Republics		
		1801—Founding of the school at Seesen by Jacobson
1804—Napoleon crowned Emperor of France		
1806—Beginning of Napoleon's control of Germany	1806—Meeting of the Assembly of Jewish Notables	
	1807—Meeting of the Great Sanhedrin	
1808—Napoleon issues decree regulating the Jews of France	1808—Granting of citizenship to the Jews of Westphalia	1808—Establishment of a second school at Cassell by Jacobson
		1810—Building of the new synagogue at Seesen with use of an organ. First Confirmation held at Cassell
	1812—Prussian Jewry emancipated	
1815—Defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo		1815—Beginning of Reform services in Berlin

REFORM DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE PERIOD OF EUROPEAN REACTION

Important Historical Events	Happenings in Jewish Life	Developments in European Reform
1815—Defeat of Napoleon at Waterloo	1815—Reintroduction of restrictions against Jews in many sections of Europe	1818—Dedication of the Hamburg Temple 1820—Opening of a branch temple at Leipzig 1823—Government stops Berlin Reform services
1830—Successful revolution in France		1832—Zunz's *The Jewish Sermon* published 1838—Start of Geiger-Tiktin affair (to 1854) 1841—Hamburg prayer book controversy 1842—Dedication of the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Organization of the Frankfort Reform Society (to 1845) 1844—Brunswick Rabbinical Conference 1845—Frankfort Rabbinical Conference
1848—Unsuccessful revolutions in many parts of Europe	1846—Removal of the final restrictions against French Jewry 1859—Jews of northern Italy emancipated 1867—Emancipation of Austrian Jews	1846—Breslau Rabbinical Conference 1869—Leipzig Synod
1870—Franco-Prussian War	1871—Completion of the emancipation of Italian Jews. Removal of last restrictions from English Jewry 1879—Beginning of anti-Semitic political parties 1881—Start of Russian pogroms	1871—Augsburg Synod 1872—Founding of the Liberal Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin
1894—Beginning of the Dreyfus Affair (to 1906)	1896—Judaism recognized as a legal religion in Hungary 1897—Formation of the World Zionist Organization	1899—Formation of the Union of Liberal Rabbis in Germany 1903—Founding of the Union Israélite Libérale in Paris

REFORM DEVELOPMENTS IN AMERICA—TO 1871

Major European Reform Events	Reform Developments in America
1823—The government ends Reform services in Berlin	
	1824—Organization of the Charleston Reform Society
1838—Beginning of the Geiger-Tiktin affair (to 1854)	
1841—Hamburg Temple prayer book controversy	1841—Building of the Charleston temple with an organ
1842—Dedication of the West London Synagogue of British Jews. Organization of the Frankfort Reform Society	1842—Organization of the Har Sinai Reform Society in Baltimore
1844—Brunswick Rabbinical Conference	1844—Arrival of Max Lilienthal in the United States
1845—Frankfort Rabbinical Conference	1845—Formation of the Emanu-El Congregation in New York
1846—Breslau Rabbinical Conference	1846—Holding of the first Confirmation in the United States. Isaac M. Wise comes to America
1848—Beginning of large-scale emigration from Germany as a result of the unsuccessful revolution	
	1850—Formation of a Reform congregation in Albany
	1854—Founding of *The Israelite* by Wise
	1855—Adoption of Reform by 2 Cincinnati congregations completed. Holding of the Cleveland Conference. Opening of Zion College. Arrival of David Einhorn in the United States
	1856—Keneseth Israel Congregation of Philadelphia adopts Reform
	1857—Wise publishes his *Minhag America* prayer book
	1858—Formation of the Chicago Sinai Reform Society
1869—Leipzig Synod	1869—Philadelphia Rabbinical Conference
1871—Augsburg Synod	1871—Cincinnati Rabbinical Conference

AMERICAN REFORM DEVELOPMENTS—FROM 1871

Important Happenings in Jewish Life	Major European Reform Events	Reform Developments in America
	1871—Augsburg Synod 1872—Founding of the Liberal Rabbinical Seminary in Berlin	1871—Cincinnati Rabbinical Conference 1873—Formation of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations 1875—Founding of the Hebrew Union College
1881—Beginning of pogroms against Russian Jews and mass immigration to the United States		1883—First graduation from the Hebrew Union College 1885—Pittsburgh Rabbinical Conference 1889—Formation of the Central Conference of American Rabbis 1892—Publication of the *Union Prayerbook*
1894—Beginning of the Dreyfus Affair (to 1906) 1897—Formation of the World Zionist Organization		
	1899—Formation of the Union of Liberal Rabbis in Germany 1903—Founding of the Union Israélite Liberale in Paris 1909—Organization of the Jewish Religious Union in England	
		1913—Organization of the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods 1914—Publication of the *Union Hymnal* 1916—Publication of the *Rabbi's Manual* 1922—Founding of the Jewish Institute of Religion 1923—Organization of the National Federation of Temple Brotherhoods
	1926—Formation of the World Union for Progressive Judaism 1929—Adoption of a common Reform prayer book in Germany	
1933—Hitler seizes control of Germany and persecution of Jews begins		1937—Adoption of "The Guiding Principles of Reform Judaism" 1939—Organization of the National Federation of Temple Youth
1948—Founding of the State of Israel		1950—Merger of the Hebrew Union College and Jewish Institute of Religion 1951—Dedication of the Union's House of Living Judaism

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE POLICY - 1941

America has taken a long time to emancipate her minorities, but the seeds were planted many years ago. One such seed was planted in dealing with the defense of our country. This document, by Franklin D. Roosevelt, advocates full participation for all in national defense industries regardless of race, color, or creed.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICE ORDER—EXECUTIVE ORDER 8802 (JUNE 25, 1941): REAFFIRMING POLICY OF FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DEFENSE PROGRAM BY ALL PERSONS, REGARDLESS OF RACE, CREED, COLOR OR NATIONAL ORIGIN, AND DIRECTING CERTAIN ACTION IN FURTHERANCE OF SAID POLICY

382. Whereas it is the policy of the United States to encourage full participation in the national defense program by all citizens of the United States, regardless of race, creed, color, or national origin, in the firm belief that the democratic way of life within the Nation can be defended successfully only with the help and support of all groups within its borders; and

Whereas there is evidence that available and needed workers have been barred from employment in industries engaged in defense production solely because of considerations of race, creed, color, or national origin, to the detriment of workers' morale and of national unity;

Now, therefore, by virtue of the authority vested in me by the Constitution and the statutes, and as a prerequisite to the successful conduct of our national defense production effort, I do hereby reaffirm the policy of the United States that there shall be no discrimination in the employment of workers in defense industries or Government because of race, creed, color, or national origin, and I do hereby declare that it is the duty of employers and of labor organizations, in furtherance of said policy and of this order, to provide for the full equitable participation of all workers in defense industries, without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

And it is hereby ordered as follows:

1. All departments and agencies of the Government of the United States concerned with vocational and training programs for defense production shall take special measures appropriate to assure that such programs are administered without discrimination because of race, creed, color, or national origin;

2. All contracting agencies of the Government of the United States shall include in all defense contracts hereafter negotiated by them a provision obligating the contractor not to discriminate against any worker because of race, creed, color or national origin;

3. There is established in the Office of Production Management a Committee on Fair Employment Practice. . , . The Committee shall receive and investigate complaints of discrimination in violation of the provisions of this order and shall take appropriate steps to redress grievances which it finds to be valid. The Committee shall also recommend to the several departments and agencies of the Government of the United States and to the President all measures which may be deemed by it necessary or proper to effectuate the provisions of this order.

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

EXPRESSION OF JEWISH FRIENDSHIP FOR NEGROES - 1942-1943

The Jews of America, at the very hour that their European brethren were being butchered and tortured by the Nazis, saw and felt the pain of another minority group. The Jew, being sensitive to civil rights not only for himself, cried out against attacks on the Negro in America. When Negro riots erupted in Detroit, the Central Conference of American Rabbis immediately appealed to Americans to search their hearts.

4. EXPRESSIONS OF JEWISH FRIENDSHIP FOR NEGRO

578. Outraged by the bloody events which have occurred in the City of Detroit, we, the members of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, in the name of every cherished American tradition and very sacred principle of religion, raise our voice in horrified protest.

In the blood-drenched streets of Detroit and in all other recent manifestations of racial violence in America we see the same cruel hand which slays our American youth on foreign battlefields. In the rioting mobs of Detroit we find evidence of the same creed of barbarism which elsewhere seeks to erase the image of God from the face of the earth.

The spirit of Hitlerism has achieved a triumph on American soil, and in this tragic outbreak has scored a victory against the forces of democracy.

We demand that all those guilty of this horrible crime be brought to justice and that the forces of our government be called upon to ferret out those organized groups or individuals who have been responsible for inciting these race riots.

We urge that a competent public authority investigate the deep-lying social and economic causes of this outbreak, and we call upon men of good will, both white and Negro in every community, to proceed forthwith to uncover these evils and injustices which have been gathering for some time and which have led to these tragic consequences.

Justice to the Negro, who has been the chief victim of these un-American riots, is as indispensable to winning the war against fascism and tyranny as are planes, tanks and guns. Without the protection of the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness to our fellow-citizens of every race, creed and color, our victories on the battlefields will prove to be hollow shells of substance.

In the name of all that is dear to the hearts of all of our people, we call upon all Americans to eschew all racial violence and hate, and to unite in the defense of our common heritage of good will, equality and freedom for all.

RESOLUTIONS ON ANTI-NEGRO RIOTS, ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS MEETING IN NEW YORK CITY, JUNE 23, 1943
Quoted in *New Currents*, July, 1943

579. . . . As we observe the American scene, we witness the universal allegiance and the religious teachings of the brotherhood

of all men. We find, however, that practice does not follow profession and that this belief breaks down, especially with regard to the Negro race. . . . Negroes are victims of harsh discrimination and flagrant injustices, which cry aloud to God and to man for remedy and redress. . . .

We Jews, who ourselves have been victims of injustice, should be especially sensitive to this. If our prayers and repentance, joined with that of Americans of other faiths truly touch us, if our souls will be truly cleansed, we shall proceed in cooperation with men of good will to remove barriers, to eliminate injustices which undermine democracy and weaken faith, to the end that the pleas of millions of useful, decent Americans for justice will be answered, and the will of God more firmly established in the land we love.

STATEMENT BY CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN RABBIS

Jewish Survey, February, 1942 83

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INTRODUCTION: THE RISE OF ZIONISM

One of the central themes of European history in the nineteenth century was the rise of nationalism and the progressive self-liberations which ensued. An idea of being free, once again, in the Jewish homeland began to take root among the Jews. It was not easy to transform an inspiring idea into a viable movement. No responsible Jew wanted to give too much thought to a land parched and arid like Palestine. It was to this end of reviving interest in the Holy Land during the 1880's that small nationalist zealots organized Zionist groups in the Pale. The history of what took place, the ideals, the heartbreaks, the drive of the Jew to move ahead is a stirring account of the pride of the Jewish people. This whole section deals with various documents leading up to and including the establishment of the state of Israel.

M. M. NOAH'S DISCOURSE ON RESTORATION OF THE JEWS - 1844

Long before the first world Zionist congress met, a New York politician and journalist by the name of Noah appealed to the non-Jew to help in the return of the Jews to Palestine. Here are published excerpts from his now famous speech.

ZIONISM: AMERICAN FORERUNNER

Excerpts from Mordecai Manuel Noah's *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews,* New York, October 28 and December 2, 1844 [1]

[The traditional orthodox Jewish religious view of the restoration of the Jews to Palestine with the coming of the Messiah is here, for the first time in American history, given a political interpretation by Noah more than a half century before the first world Zionist congress was held at Basle in 1897. Addressing large audiences, including many clergymen, at the Broadway Tabernacle, Noah called upon the Christians to show less interest in fruitless attempts at the conversion of the Jews and more interest in helping the Jews return to Palestine. "The Jews are in a most favourable position to repossess themselves of the promised land, and organize a free and liberal government," he declared. And where, he asked, "can we commence this great work of regeneration with a better prospect of success than in a free country and a liberal government?" Of special interest is Noah's analysis of the conflicts among the Russian, British, French and Turkish empires from which he expected the Jews to benefit, with the "Christian powers" defeating the Mohammedan and Asian powers. Even then the strategy of "Zionism" was linked to that of imperial rivalry.

Noah (1785–1851) was a colorful and prominent figure as journalist, politician, American consul to Tangiers, sheriff of New York, Grand Sachem of Tammany Hall, popular dramatist, and Jewish congregational leader.[2] His interest in the restoration of the Jews to Palestine goes back at least as far as 1818, when he referred to the matter in an address at the dedication of a synagogue of the Congregation Shearith Israel. From 1820 to 1825, however, he busied himself with a project of providing the Jews of the world with a territorial home on Grand Island, near Buffalo, N. Y. By 1834, however, he was again thinking of Palestine.[3] Similar interest was being exhibited in England, where Christian advocates of the Restoration frankly pointed to political advantages England would gain in the Levant by aiding the project.[4]]

. . . Where, I ask, can we commence this great work of regeneration with a better prospect of success than in a free country and a liberal government? Where can we plead the cause of independence for the children of Israel with greater confidence than in the cradle of American liberty? Where ask for toleration and kindness for the seed of Abraham, if we find it not among the descendants of the Pilgrims? Here we can unfurl the standard, and seventeen millions

of people will say, "God is with you; we are with you: in his name, and in the name of civil and religious liberty, go forth and repossess the land of your fathers. We have advocated the independence of the South American republics, we have given a home to our red brethren beyond the Mississippi, we have combated for the independence of Greece, we have restored the African to his native land.[3] If these nations were entitled to our sympathies, how much more powerful and irrepressible are the claims of that beloved people, before whom the Almighty walked like a cloud by day and a pillar of fire by night; who spoke to them words of comfort and salvation, of promise, of hope, of consolation, and protection; who swore they should be *his* people, and he would be their God; who, for their special protection and final restoration, dispersed them among the nations of the earth, without confounding them with any!"

This, my countrymen, will be your judgment—your opinion—when asked to co-operate in giving freedom to the Jews. I am not required, on this occasion, to go over the history of the chosen people; you know it all; it is all recorded in that good Book which *we* have preserved for your comfort and consolation; that book which our fathers pressed to their hearts in traversing burning sands and the wide waste of waters, which famine, pestilence, and the sword could not wrest from them; which was the last cherished relic at night, and the first precious gift in the morning. You will find their history in the Bible. . . .

. . . On these unfulfilled predictions, my friends, rest the happiness of the human race; and you are heirs to this new covenant, partners in the compact, sharers in the glory. Understand these prophecies distinctly: they relate to the literal, and not to the spiritual restoration of the Jews, as many believe. Some think that these prophecies were fulfilled at the restoration from Babylon; but you will find in the eleventh of Isaiah, beginning at the eleventh verse, these words: "And it shall come to pass in that day, that the Lord shall set his hand *again* the *second* time to recover the remnant of his people, which will be left (not in Babylon, but) from Assyria, and from Egypt, and from Pathros, and from Cush, and from Elam, and from Shina, and from Hamath, and from the islands of the sea"—the whole world.

Above all, you that believe in the predictions of your apostles—you who believe in the second coming of the Son of Man—where is he to come to? By your own showing, to Jerusalem, to Zion, to the beloved city of hope and promise; He is, according to your own evangelists, to your own belief, to come to the Jews, and yet you would convert them *here;* you strive to evangelize them, in the face of all that is sacred in the promises of God and the predictions of his prophets, that they shall occupy their own land *as Jews.* In your zeal you forget the solemn, emphatic, brief declaration of your Redeemer, which you should remember as the shades of darkness draw around you, and the light of morning breaks upon your sight, *"Salvation is of the Jews."*

FIRST CONGRESS ADDRESS - HERZL - 1897

Herzl's famous addresses were not only a presentation of Zionism as a solution to the Jewish problem, but much more. Through them spoke a personality who aroused the Jewish world. The first congress was convened for the explicit problem of lifting the Jewish problem out of the darkness of the ghetto and bringing it into open, international discussions. Delegates assembled to formulate the historic "Basle Program".

FIRST CONGRESS ADDRESS

Delivered at Basle, August 29th, 1897

FELLOW DELEGATES: As one of those who called this Congress into being I have been granted the privilege of welcoming you. This I shall do briefly, for if we wish to serve the cause we should economize the valuable moments of the Congress. There is much to be accomplished within the space of three days. We want to lay the cornerstone of the edifice which is one day to house the Jewish nation. The task is so great that we may treat of it in none but the simplest terms. So far as we can now foresee, a summary of the present status of the Jewish question will be submitted within the coming three days. The tremendous bulk of material on hand is being classified by the chairmen of our committees.

We shall hear reports of the Jewish situation in the various countries. You all know, even if only in a vague way, that with few exceptions the situation is not cheering. Were it otherwise we should probably not have convened. The homogeneity of our destiny has suffered a long interruption, although the scattered fragments of the Jewish people have everywhere undergone similar ills. It is only in our days that the marvels of communication have served to bring about mutual understanding and union between isolated groups. And in these times, so progressive in most respects, we know ourselves to be surrounded by the old, old hatred. Anti-Semitism—you know it, alas, too well!—is the up-to-date designation of the movement. The first impression which it made upon the Jews of today was one of astonishment, which gave way to pain and resentment. Perhaps our enemies are quite unaware how deeply they wounded the sensibilities of just those of us who were possibly not the primary objects of their attack. That very part of Jewry which is modern and cultured, which has outgrown the Ghetto and lost the habit of petty trading, was pierced to the heart. We can assert it calmly, without laying ourselves open to the suspicion of wanting to appeal to the sentimental pity of our opponents. We have faced the situation squarely.

From times immemorial the world has been misinformed about us. The sentiment of solidarity with which we have been reproached so frequently and so acrimoniously was in process of disintegration at the period when we were attacked by anti-Semitism. And anti-Semitism served to strengthen it anew. We returned home, as it were. For Zionism is a home-coming to the Jewish fold even before it becomes a home-coming to the Jewish land. We, the children who have returned, find much to redress under the ancestral roof, for some of our brothers have

sunk deep into misery. We are made welcome in the ancient house, for it is universally known that we are not actuated by an arrogant desire to undermine that which should be revered. This will be clearly demonstrated by the Zionist platform.

Zionism has already brought about something remarkable, heretofore regarded as impossible: a close union between the ultra-modern and the ultra-conservative elements of Jewry. The fact that this has come to pass without undignified concessions on the part of either side, without intellectual sacrifices, is further proof, if such proof be necessary, of the national entity of the Jews. A union of this kind is possible only on a national basis.

Doubtless there will be discussions on the subject of an organization the need for which is recognized by all. Organization is an evidence of the reasonableness of a movement. But there is one point which should be clearly and energetically emphasized in order to further the solution of the Jewish question. We Zionists desire not an international league but international discussion.[1] Needless to say this distinction is of the first importance in our eyes. It is this distinction which justifies the convening of our Congress. There will be no question of intrigues, secret interventions, and devious methods in our ranks, but only of unhampered utterances under the constant and complete supervision of public opinion. One of the first results of our movement, even now to be perceived in its larger outlines, will be the transformation of the Jewish question into a question of Zion.

A popular movement of such vast dimensions will necessarily be attacked from many sides. Therefore the Congress will concern itself with the spiritual means to be employed for reviving and fostering the national consciousness of the Jews. Here, too, we must struggle against misconceptions. We have not the least intention of yielding a jot of the culture we have acquired. On the contrary, we are aiming toward a broader culture, such as an increase of knowledge brings with it. As a matter of fact, the Jews have always been more active mentally than physically.

It was because the practical forerunners of Zionism realized this that they inaugurated agricultural work for the Jews. We shall never be able, nor shall we desire, to speak of these attempts at colonization in Palestine and in Argentine otherwise than with genuine gratitude.[2] But they spoke the first, not the last, word of the Zionist movement. For the Zionist movement must be greater in scope if it is to be at all. A people can be helped only by its own efforts, and if it cannot help itself it is beyond succor. But we Zionists want to rouse the people to self-help. No premature, unwholesome hopes should be awakened in this direction. This is another reason why publicity of procedure, as it is planned by our Congress, is so valuable.

Those who give the matter careful consideration must surely admit that Zionism cannot gain its ends otherwise than through an unreserved understanding with the political units involved. It is generally known that the difficulties of obtaining colonization rights were not created by Zionism in its present form. One wonders what motives actuate the narrators of these fables. The confidence of the government with which we want to negotiate regarding the settlement of Jewish masses on a large scale can be gained by frank language and upright dealing. The advantages which an entire people is able to offer in return for benefits received are so considerable that the negotiations are vested with sufficient importance a priori. It would be an idle beginning to engage in lengthy discussions today regarding the legal form which the agreement will finally assume. But one thing is to be adhered to inviolably: the agreement must be based on rights, and not on toleration. Truly we have had enough experience of toleration and of "protection" which could be revoked at any time.

Consequently the only reasonable course of action which our movement can pursue is to work for publicly legalized guarantees. The results of colonization as it has been carried on hitherto was as satisfactory as its scope permitted. It confirmed the much-disputed fitness of the Jews for agricultural work. It established this proof for all time, as the legal phrase has it. But colonization in its present form is not, and cannot be the solution of the Jewish question. And we must admit unreservedly that it has failed to evoke much sympathy. Why? Because the Jews know how to calculate; in fact, it has been asserted that they calculate too well. Thus if we assume that there are nine million Jews in the world, and that it would be possible to colonize ten thousand Jews in Palestine every year, the Jewish question would require nine hundred years for its solution.[3] This would seem to be impracticable.

On the other hand, you know that to count on ten thousand settlers a year under existing circumstances is nothing short of fantastic. The Turkish government would doubtless unearth the old immigration restrictions immediately, and to that we would have little objection.[4] For if anyone thinks that the Jews can steal into the land of their fathers, he is deceiving either himself or others. Nowhere is the coming of the Jews so promptly noted as in the historic home of the race, for the very reason that it is the historic home. And it would not have been by any means to our interest to go there prematurely. The immigration of Jews signifies an unhoped-for accession of strength for the land which is now so poor; in fact, for the whole Ottoman Empire. Besides his Majesty the Sultan has had excellent experiences with his Jewish subjects, and he has been an indulgent monarch to them

in turn. Thus existing conditions point to a successful issue, provided the whole matter is cleverly and felicitiously treated. The financial help which the Jews can give to Turkey is by no means inconsiderable, and would serve to obviate many an internal ill from which the country is now suffering. If the Near East question is partially solved together with the Jewish question, it will surely be of advantage to all civilized peoples. The advent of Jews would bring about an improvement in the situation of the Christians in the Orient.

But it is not solely from this point of view that Zionism may reckon upon the sympathy of the nations. You know that in some lands the Jewish problem has come to mean calamity for the government. If it sides with the Jews, it is confronted by the ire of the masses; if it sides against the Jews, it may call disagreeable economic consequences down upon its head because of the peculiar influence of the Jews upon the business affairs of the world. Examples of the latter may be met with in Russia. But if the government maintains a neutral attitude, the Jews find themselves unprotected by the established regime and rush into the arms of the revolutionaries. Zionism, or self-help for the Jews, points to a way out of these numerous and extraordinary difficulties. Zionism is simply a peacemaker. And it suffers the usual fate of peacemakers, in being forced to fight more than anyone else. But should the accusation that we are not patriotic figure among the more or less sincere arguments directed against our movement, this equivocal objection carries its own condemnation with it. Nowhere can there be a question of an exodus of all the Jews. Those who are able or who wish to be assimilated will remain behind and be absorbed. When once a satisfactory agreement is concluded with the various political units involved and a systematic Jewish migration begins, it will last only so long in each country as that country desires to be rid of its Jews. How will the current be stopped? Simply by the gradual decrease and the final cessation of anti-Semitism. Thus it is that we understand and anticipate the solution of the Jewish problem.

All this has been said time and time again by my friends and by myself. We shall spare no pains to repeat it again and again until we are understood. On this solemn occasion, when Jews have come together from so many lands at the age-long summons of nationality, let our profession of faith be solemnly repeated. Should we not be stirred by a premonition of great events when we remember that at this moment the hopes of thousands upon thousands of our people depend upon our assemblage? In the coming hour the news of our deliberations and decisions will fly to distant lands, over the seven seas. Therefore enlightenment and comfort should go forth from this Congress. Let everyone find out what Zionism really is, Zionism,

which was rumored to be a sort of thousand years' wonder—that it is a moral, lawful, humanitarian movement, directed toward the long-yearned-for goal of our people. It was possible and permissible to ignore the spoken or written utterances of individuals within our ranks. Not so with the actions of the Congress. Thus the Congress, which is henceforth to be ruler of its discussions, must govern as a wise ruler.

Finally, the Congress will provide for its own continuance, so that we may not disperse once more ineffectual and ephemeral. Through this Congress we are creating an agency for the Jewish people, such as it has not possessed heretofore, an agency of which it has stood in urgent need. Our cause is too great to be left to the ambition or the discretion of individuals. It must be elevated to the realm of the impersonal if it is to succeed. And our Congress shall live forever, not only until the redemption from age-long suffering is effected, but afterwards as well. Today we are here in the hospitable limits of this free city—where shall we be next year?

But wherever we shall be, and however distant the accomplishment of our task, let our Congress be earnest and high-minded, a source of welfare to the unhappy, of defiance to none, of honor to all Jewry. Let it be worthy of our past, the renown of which, though remote, is eternal!

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A. D. GORDON AND IDEALIZATION OF LABOR - early 1900's

The Jews in building up the land held labor in high esteem. Aaron David Gordon (1856-1922) idealized labor and made it a symbol. He was an intellectual who brought to light the culture around him. He played an important role in the establishment of Dagania, the celebrated cooperative settlement. He preached and wrote about the return to the soil and nature. The spiritual intensity of his faith comes through in this following document.

And when, O Man, you will return to Nature, you will open your eyes on that day and you will gaze straight into the eyes of Nature, you will see therein your own image, and you will know that you have returned to yourself. . . .

On that day, O Man, a new spirit will be given you; you will experience a new sensation, a new hunger . . . for work. You will derive pleasure from every task that you undertake, from every deed that you do. . . . You will set your heart to work, to any work, any task amid nature, amid the universal expanse. . . .

Then when you will perform your work, the expanse of the universe will be to you a vast shop, and you and Nature the workers. One heart and one spirit will animate both of you. . . . You will certainly have moments in which seemingly your whole being melts into the infinite. Then you will grow silent. . . . You will sense that which cannot be expressed except by work; you will labor with all your strength, mightily, joyously. And you will hear a tiny voice rise from your task and say: "Work, O Man, each one of you, work."

THE JEWISH PROBLEM AND HOW TO SOLVE IT - BRANDEIS -1915

Brandeis' approach to Zionism was through Americanism. "To be good Americans," he wrote, "we must be better Jews, and to be better Jews we must be Zionists." For 2000 years, the longing for Palestine has ever been with the Jew. With this in mind, he wrote "The Jewish Problem", and the next two documents contain excerpts from his paper.

. There is no inconsistency between loyalty to America and loyalty to Jewry. The Jewish spirit, the product of our religion and experiences, is essentially modern and essentially American. . . . America's fundamental law seeks to make real the brotherhood of man. That brotherhood became the Jewish fundamental law more than 2500 years ago. America's insistent demand in the twentieth century is for social justice. That also has been the Jews' striving for ages. . . . Indeed, loyalty to America demands rather that each American Jew become a Zionist.

But we have also an immediate and more pressing duty in the performance of which Zionism alone seems capable of affording effective aid. We must protect Americans ourselves from demoralization, which has to some extent already set in among American Jews. The cause of this demoralization is clear. It results in large part, from the fact that in our land of liberty all the restraints by which Jews were protected in their ghettos were removed and a new generation left without necessary moral and spiritual support. And is it not equally clear what the only possible remedy is? It is the laborious task of inculcating self-respect—a task which can be accomplished only by restoring the ties of the Jew to the noble past of his race, and by making him realize the possibilities of a no less glorious future. The sole bulwark against demoralization is to develop in each new generation of Jews in America, a sense of "noblesse oblige." That spirit can be developed in those who regard their race as destined to live with a bright future. That spirit can best be developed by actively participating in some way in furthering the ideals of the Jewish renaissance; and this can be done effectively only through furthering the Zionist movement. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

The Jewish Problem: How to Solve It, p. 14, 15 87

THE JEWISH PROBLEM

How to Solve It

THE suffering of the Jews due to injustices continuing throughout nearly twenty centuries is the greatest tragedy in history. Never was the aggregate of such suffering larger than today. Never were the injustices more glaring. Yet the present is pre-eminently a time for hopefulness. The current of world thought is at last preparing the way for our attaining justice. The war is developing opportunities which may make possible the solution of the "Jewish Problem." But to avail of these opportunities we must understand both them and ourselves. We must recognize and accept facts. We must consider our course with statesmanlike calm. We must pursue resolutely the course we shall decide upon, and be ever ready to make the sacrifices which a great cause demands. Thus only can liberty be won.

For us the Jewish Problem means this: How can we secure for Jews, wherever they may live, the same rights and opportunities enjoyed by non-Jews? How can we secure for the world the full contribution which Jews can make, if unhampered by artificial limitations?

The problem has two aspects: that of the individual Jew—and that of Jews collectively. Obviously, no individual should be subjected anywhere, by reason of the fact that he is a Jew, to a denial of any common right or opportunity enjoyed by non-Jews. But Jews collectively should likewise enjoy the same right and opportunity to live and develop as do other groups of people. This right of development on the part of the group is essential to the full enjoyment of rights by the individual. For the individual is dependent for his development (and his happiness) in large part upon the development of the group of which he forms a part. We can scarcely conceive of an individual German or Frenchman living and developing without some relation to the contemporary German or French life and culture. And since death is not a solution of the problem of life, the solution of the Jewish Problem necessarily involves the continued existence of the Jews as Jews.

Councils of Rabbis and others have undertaken at times to prescribe by definition that only those shall be deemed Jews who professedly adhere to the orthodox or reformed faith. But in the connection in which we are considering the term, it is not in the power of any single body of Jews—or indeed of all Jews collectively—to establish the effective definition. The meaning of the word Jewish in the term "Jewish Problem" must be accepted as coextensive with the disabilities which it is our problem to remove. It is the non-Jews who create the disabilities and in so doing give definition to the term Jew. Those disabilities extend substantially to all of Jewish blood. The disabilities do not end with a renunciation of faith, however sincere. They do not end with the elimination, however complete, of external Jewish mannerisms. The disabilities do not end ordinarily until the Jewish blood has been so thoroughly diluted by repeated intermarriages as to result in practically obliterating the Jew.

And we Jews, by our own acts, give a like definition to the term Jew. When men and women of Jewish blood suffer—because of that fact—and even if they suffer from quite different causes—our sympathy and our help goes out to them instinctively in whatever country they may live and without inquiring into the shades of their belief or unbelief. When those of Jewish blood exhibit moral or intellectual superiority, genius or special talent, we feel pride in them, even if they have abjured the faith like Spinoza, Marx, Disraeli, or Heine. Despite the meditations of pundits or the decrees of councils, our own instincts and acts, and those of others, have defined for us the term Jew.

Half a century ago the belief was still general that Jewish disabilities would disappear before growing liberalism. When religious toleration was proclaimed, the solution of the Jewish Problem seemed in sight. When the so-called rights of man became widely recognized, and the equal right of all citizens to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness began to be enacted into positive law, the complete emancipation of the Jew seemed at hand. The concrete gains through liberalism were indeed large. Equality before the law was established throughout the western hemisphere. The Ghetto walls crumbled; the ball and chain of restraint were removed in central and western Europe. Compared with the cruel discrimination to which Jews are now subjected in Russia and Roumania, their advanced condition in other parts of Europe seems almost ideal.

"This moral influence of Zionism is not confined to university students. It is quite as noticeable among the mass of the younger Jews outside, who also find in it a reason to raise their heads, and, taking their stand upon the past, to gaze straightforwardly into the future."

Since the Jewish Problem is single and universal, the Jews of every country should strive for its solution. But the duty resting upon us of America is especially insistent. We number about 3,000,000, which is more than one-fifth of all the Jews in the world—a number larger than that comprised within any other country, except the Russian Empire. We are representative of all the Jews in the world; for we are composed of immigrants, or descendants of immigrants coming from every other country, or district. We include persons from every section of society, and of every shade of religious belief. We are ourselves free from civil or political disabilities, and are relatively prosperous. Our fellow Americans are infused with a high and generous spirit, which insures approval of our struggle to ennoble, liberate, and otherwise improve the condition of an important part of the human

race; and their innate manliness makes them sympathize particularly with our efforts at self help. America's detachment from Old World problems relieves us from suspicions and embarrassments frequently attending the activities of Jews of rival European countries. And a conflict between American interests or ambitions and Jewish aims is not conceivable. Our loyalty to America can never be questioned.

Let us therefore lead—earnestly, courageously, and joyously in the struggle for liberation. Let us all recognize that we Jews are a distinct nationality of which every Jew, whatever his country, his station, or shade of belief is necessarily a member. Let us insist that the struggle for liberty shall not cease until equality of opportunity is accorded to nationalities as to individuals. Let us insist also that full equality of opportunity cannot be obtained by Jews until we, like members of other nationalities, shall have the option of living elsewhere or of returning to the land of our forefathers.

The fulfillment of these aspirations is clearly demanded in the interest of mankind, as well as in justice to the Jews. They cannot fail of attainment if we are united and true to ourselves. But we must be united not only in spirit but in action. To this end we must organize. Organize, in the first place, so that the world may have proof of the extent and the intensity of our desire for liberty. Organize, in the second place, so that our resources may become known and be made available. But in mobilizing our forces it will not be for war. The whole world longs for the solution of the Jewish Problem. We have but to lead the way, and we may be sure of ample co-operation from non-Jews. In order to lead the way, we need, not arms, but men; men with those qualities for which Jews should be peculiarly fitted by reason of their religion and life: men of courage, of high intelligence, of faith and public spirit, of indomitable will and ready self-sacrifice; men who will both think and do, who will devote high abilities to shaping our course, and to overcoming the many obstacles which must from time to time arise. And we need other, many, many other men—officers commissioned and non-commissioned, and common soldiers in the cause of liberty, who will give of their effort and resources, as occasion may demand, in unfailing and ever-strengthening support of the measures which may be adopted. Organization, thorough and complete, can alone develop such leaders and the necessary support.

ORGANIZE, organize, organize until every Jew in America must stand up and be counted—counted with us—or prove himself, willingly or unwillingly, of the few who are against their own people.

A CALL TO THE EDUCATED JEW - BRANDEIS - 1915

The Menorah Journal was established in 1915. It was published in conjunction with the activities of the Menorah Association, which Henry Hurwitz had founded a few years before at Harvard University. It was the outstanding periodical of Jewish literature and art in English. Louis Brandeis made a magnificent appeal to the Jews, and it is here reproduced from the first issue of The Menorah Journal.

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A Call to the Educated Jew

By Louis D. Brandeis

WHILE I was in Cleveland a few weeks ago, a young man who has won distinction on the bench told me this incident from his early life. He was born in a little village of Western Russia where the opportunities for schooling were meagre. When he was thirteen his parents sent him to the nearest city in search of an education. There—in Bialystok—were good secondary schools and good high schools; but the Russian law, which limits the percentage of Jewish pupils in any school, barred his admission. The boy's parents lacked the means to pay for private tuition. He had neither relative nor friend in the city. But soon three men were found who volunteered to give him instruction. None of them was a teacher by profession. One was a newspaper man; another was a chemist; the third, I believe, was a tradesman; all were educated men. And throughout five long years these three men took from their leisure the time necessary to give a stranger an education.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS (born in Louisville, Ky., in 1856), lawyer and publicist, is a distinguished leader in the voluntary profession of "public servant." His extraordinary record of unselfish, genuine achievement in behalf of the public interest—for shorter hours of labor, savings bank insurance, protection against monopoly, against increase in railroad rates, etc.—gives peculiar aptness to the appeal for community service made in this article, which Mr. Brandeis has prepared from a recent Menorah address. From the beginning Mr. Brandeis has taken a keen interest in the Menorah movement as a promotive force for the ideals he has at heart.

The three men of Bialystok realized that education was not a thing of one's own to do with as one pleases—not a personal privilege to be merely enjoyed by the possessor—but a precious treasure transmitted upon a sacred trust to be held, used and enjoyed, and if possible strengthened—then passed on to others upon the same trust. Yet the treasure which these three men held and the boy received in trust was much more than an education. It included that combination of qualities which enabled and impelled these three men to give and the boy to seek and to acquire an education. These qualities embrace: first, *intellectual capacity;* second, *an appreciation of the value of education;* third, *indomitable will;* fourth, *capacity for hard work.* It was these qualities which

enabled the lad not only to acquire but to so utilize an education that, coming to America, ignorant of our language and of our institutions, he attained in comparatively few years the important office he has so honorably filled.

Now whence comes this combination of qualities of mind, body and character? These are qualities with which every one is familiar, singly and in combination; which you find in friends and relatives, and which others doubtless discover in you. They are qualities possessed by most Jews who have attained distinction or other success; and in combination they may properly be called Jewish qualities. For they have not come to us by accident; they were developed by three thousand years of civilization, and nearly two thousand years of persecution; developed through our religion and spiritual life; through our traditions; and through the social and political conditions under which our ancestors lived. They are, in short, the product of Jewish life.

The Fruit of Three Thousand Years of Civilization

OUR intellectual capacity was developed by the almost continuous training of the mind throughout twenty-five centuries. The Torah led the "People of the Book" to intellectual pursuits at times when most of the Ayran peoples were illiterate. And religion imposed the use of the mind upon the Jews, indirectly as well as directly, and demanded of the Jew not merely the love, but the understanding of God. This necessarily involved a study of the Laws. And the conditions under which the Jews were compelled to live during the last two thousand years also promoted study in a people among whom there was already considerable intellectual attainment. Throughout the centuries of persecution practically the only life open to the Jew which could give satisfaction was the intellectual and spiritual life. Other fields of activity and of distinction which divert men from intellectual pursuits were closed to the Jews. Thus they were protected by their privations from the temptations of material things and worldly ambitions. Driven by circumstances to intellectual pursuits, their mental capacity gradually developed. And as men delight in that which they do well, there was an ever widening appreciation of things intellectual.

Is not the Jews' indomitable will—the power which enables them to resist temptation and, fully utilizing their mental capacity, to overcome obstacles—is not that quality also the result of the conditions under which they lived so long? To live a Jew during the centuries of persecution was to lead a constant struggle for existence. That struggle was so severe that only the fittest could survive. Survival was not possible except where there was strong will—a will both to live and to live a Jew. The weaker ones passed either out of Judaism or out of existence.

And finally, the Jewish capacity for hard work is also the product of

Jewish life—a life characterized by temperate, moral living continued throughout the ages, and protected by those marvellous sanitary regulations which were enforced through the religious sanctions. Remember, too, that amidst the hardship to which our ancestors were exposed it was only those with endurance who survived.

So let us not imagine that what we call our achievements are wholly or even largely our own. The phrase "self-made man" is most misleading. We have power to mar; but we alone cannot make. The relatively large success achieved by Jews wherever the door of opportunity is opened to them is due, in the main, to this product of Jewish life—to this treasure which we have acquired by inheritance—and which we are in duty bound to transmit unimpaired, if not augmented, to coming generations.

But our inheritance comprises far more than this combination of qualities making for effectiveness. These are but means by which man may earn a living or achieve other success. Our Jewish trust comprises also that which makes the living worthy and success of value. It brings us that body of moral and intellectual perceptions, the point of view and the ideals, which are expressed in the term Jewish spirit; and therein lies our richest inheritance.

The Kinship of Jewish and American Ideals

IS it not a striking fact that a people coming from Russia, the most autocratic of countries, to America, the most democratic of countries, comes here, not as to a strange land, but as to a home? The ability of the Russian Jew to adjust himself to America's essentially democratic conditions is not to be explained by Jewish adaptability. The explanation lies mainly in the fact that the twentieth century ideals of America have been the ideals of the Jew for more than twenty centuries. We have inherited these ideals of democracy and of social justice as we have the qualities of mind, body and character to which I referred. We have inherited also that fundamental longing for truth on which all science—and so largely the civilization of the twentieth century—rests; although the servility incident to persistent oppression has in some countries obscured its manifestation.

Among the Jews democracy was not an ideal merely. It was a practice—a practice made possible by the existence among them of certain conditions essential to successful democracy, namely:

First: *An all-pervading sense of the duty in the citizen.* Democratic ideals cannot be attained through emphasis merely upon the rights of man. Even a recognition that every right has a correlative duty will not meet the needs of democracy. Duty must be accepted as the dominant conception in life. Such were the conditions in the early days of the colonies and states of New England, when American democracy reached there its fullest

expression; for the Puritans were trained in implicit obedience to stern duty by constant study of the Prophets.

Second: *Relatively high intellectual attainments.* Democratic ideals cannot be attained by the mentally undeveloped. In a government where everyone is part sovereign, everyone should be competent, if not to govern, at least to understand the problems of government; and to this end education is an essential. The early New Englanders appreciated fully that education is an essential of potential equality. The founding of their common school system was coincident with the founding of the colonies; and even the establishment of institutions for higher education did not lag far behind. Harvard College was founded but six years after the first settlement of Boston.

Third: *Submission to leadership as distinguished from authority.* Democratic ideals can be attained only where those who govern exercise their power not by alleged divine right or inheritance, but by force of character and intelligence. Such a condition implies the attainment by citizens generally of relatively high moral and intellectual standards; and such a condition actually existed among the Jews. These men who were habitually denied rights, and whose province it has been for centuries "to suffer and to think," learned not only to sympathize with their fellows (which is the essence of democracy and social justice), but also to accept voluntarily the leadership of those highly endowed morally and intellectually.

Fourth: *A developed community sense.* The sense of duty to which I have referred was particularly effective in promoting democratic ideals among the Jews, because of their deep-seated community feeling. To describe the Jew as an individualist is to state a most misleading half-truth. He has to a rare degree merged his individuality and his interests in the community of which he forms a part. This is evidenced among other things by his attitude toward immortality. Nearly every other people has reconciled this world of suffering with the idea of a beneficent providence by conceiving of immortality for the individual. The individual sufferer bore present ills by regarding this world as merely the preparation for another, in which those living righteously here would find individual reward hereafter. Of all the nations, Israel "takes precedence in suffering"; but, despite our national tragedy, the doctrine of individual immortality found relatively slight lodgment among us. As Ahad Ha-'Am so beautifully said: "Judaism did not turn heavenward and create in Heaven an eternal habitation of souls. It found 'eternal life' on earth, by strengthening the social feeling in the individual; by making him regard himself not as an isolated being with an existence bounded by birth and death, but as part of a larger whole, as a limb of the social body. This conception shifts the center of gravity not from the flesh to the spirit, but from the individual to the community; and concurrently with this shifting, the problem of life becomes a problem not of individual, but of social life. I live for the sake

of the perpetuation and happiness of the community of which I am a member; I die to make room for new individuals, who will mould the community afresh and not allow it to stagnate and remain forever in one position. When the individual thus values the community as his own life, and strives after its happiness as though it were his individual well-being, he finds satisfaction, and no longer feels so keenly the bitterness of his individual existence, because he sees the end for which he lives and suffers." Is not that the very essence of the truly triumphant twentieth-century democracy?

The Two-fold Command of Noblesse Oblige

SUCH is our inheritance; such the estate which we hold in trust. And what are the terms of that trust; what the obligations imposed? The short answer is *noblesse oblige;* and its command is two-fold. It imposes duties upon us in respect to our own conduct as individuals; it imposes no less important duties upon us as part of the Jewish community or race. Self-respect demands that each of us lead individually a life worthy of our great inheritance and of the glorious traditions of the race. But this is demanded also by respect for the rights of others. The Jews have not only been ever known as a "peculiar people"; they were and remain a distinctive and minority people. Now it is one of the necessary incidents of a distinctive and minority people that the act of any one is in some degree attributed to the whole group. A single though inconspicuous instance of dishonorable conduct on the part of a Jew in any trade or profession has far-reaching evil effects extending to the many innocent members of the race. Large as this country is, no Jew can behave badly without injuring each of us in the end. Thus the Rosenthal and the white-slave traffic cases, though local to New York, did incalculable harm to the standing of the Jews throughout the country. The prejudice created may be most unjust, but we may not disregard the fact that such is the result. Since the act of each becomes thus the concern of all, we are perforce our brothers' keepers. Each, as co-trustee for all, must exact even from the lowliest the avoidance of things dishonorable; and we may properly brand the guilty as traitor to the race.

But from the educated Jew far more should be exacted. In view of our inheritance and our present opportunities, self-respect demands that we live not only honorably but worthily; and worthily implies nobly. The educated descendants of a people which in its infancy cast aside the Golden Calf and put its faith in the invisible God cannot worthily in its maturity worship worldly distinction and things material. "Two men he honors and no third," says Carlyle—"the toil-worn craftsman who conquers the earth and him who is seen toiling for the spiritually indispensable."

And yet, though the Jew make his individual life the loftiest, that alone will not fulfill the obligations of his trust. We are bound not only to use

worthily our great inheritance, but to preserve and, if possible, augment it; and then transmit it to coming generations. The fruit of three thousand years of civilization and a hundred generations of suffering may not be sacrificed by us. It will be sacrificed if dissipated. Assimilation is national suicide. And assimilation can be prevented only by preserving national characteristics and life as other peoples, large and small, are preserving and developing their national life. Shall we with our inheritance do less than the Irish, the Servians, or the Bulgars? And must we not, like them, have a land where the Jewish life may be naturally led, the Jewish language spoken, and the Jewish spirit prevail? Surely we must, and that land is our fathers' land: it is Palestine.

A Land Where the Jewish Spirit May Prevail

THE undying longing for Zion is a fact of deepest significance—a manifestation in the struggle for existence. Zionism is, of course, not a movement to remove all the Jews of the world compulsorily to Palestine. In the first place, there are in the world about 14,000,000 Jews, and Palestine would not accommodate more than one-fifth of that number. In the second place, this is not a movement to compel anyone to go to Palestine. It is essentially a movement to give to the Jew more, not less, freedom—a movement to enable the Jews to exercise the same right now exercised by practically every other people in the world—to live at their option either in the land of their fathers or in some other country; a right which members of small nations as well as of large—which Irish, Greek, Bulgarian, Servian or Belgian, as well as German or English—may now exercise.

Furthermore, Zionism is not a movement to wrest from the Turk the sovereignty of Palestine. Zionism seeks merely to establish in Palestine for such Jews as choose to go and remain there, and for their descendants, a legally secured home, where they may live together and lead a Jewish life; where they may expect ultimately to constitute a majority of the population, and may look forward to what we should call home rule.

The establishment of the legally secured Jewish home is no longer a dream. For more than a generation brave pioneers have been building the foundations of our new old home. It remains for us to build the superstructure. The Ghetto walls are now falling, Jewish life cannot be preserved and developed, assimilation cannot be averted, unless there be re-established in the fatherland a center from which the Jewish spirit may radiate and give to the Jews scattered throughout the world that inspiration which springs from the memories of a great past and the hope of a great future. To accomplish this it is not necessary that the Jewish population of Palestine be large as compared with the whole number of Jews in the world. Throughout centuries when the Jewish influence was great, and it was working out its own, and in large part the world's, destiny during the

Persian, the Greek, and the Roman Empires, only a relatively small part of the Jews lived in Palestine; and only a small part of the Jews returned from Babylon when the Temple was rebuilt.

The glorious past can really live only if it becomes the mirror of a glorious future; and to this end the Jewish home in Palestine is essential. We Jews of prosperous America above all need its inspiration. And the Menorah men should be its builders.

David Brandeis

BALFOUR DECLARATION - 1917

Zionist spokesmen, under the leadership of Chaim Weizmann, had tried to influence the British Government in their behalf since the outbreak of World War I. For its own reasons, the British decided to espouse the cause of a Jewish National Home. They, then, issued this declaration on November 2, 1917. It was sent to Lord Lionel Walter Rothchild and signed by the Foreign Minister, Arthur Balfour.

2. THE BALFOUR DECLARATION (1917)

377. *On November 2, 1917, Arthur James (later Lord) Balfour, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in the British War Cabinet, sent the following letter to Lord Lionel Walter Rothschild:*

Foreign Office,
November 2nd, 1917.

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by, the Cabinet.

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,
A. J. BALFOUR

Quoted from the pamphlet, *The Balfour Declaration and American Interest in Palestine*, p. 3 90

BRITISH MANDATE OVER PALESTINE - 1922

The war ended and the delegates of the Allied Powers assembled in Paris to rechart the world's boundaries. Britain gained Palestine easily from France. But the Arabs were not happy. The Jews were finally offered a homeland, but their troubles were only starting. Here follows a whole series of documents dealing specifically with the struggle to establish the State of Israel.

5. BRITISH MANDATE OVER PALESTINE (1922)

380.

JEWISH NATIONAL HOME TO BE ESTABLISHED

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion. (Article 2)

JEWISH AGENCY RECOGNIZED

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with

His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of the Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish National Home. (Article 4)

IMMIGRATION TO BE ENCOURAGED

The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage in cooperation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4 close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes. (Article 6)

ECONOMIC SYSTEM OUTLINED

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safeguard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownership or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration. (Article 11)

Quoted from *The Balfour Declaration and American Interest in Palestine* 91

EXTRACTS OF THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE - 1922

There were special mandates in the Middle East called "A" mandates. The Palestine mandates generally conformed to these. But special articles appeared in this mandate. Transjordan was excluded from the projected national home. The mandate was approved by the Council of the League of Nations on July 24, 1922.

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2nd, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

Whereas recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country. . . .

ARTICLE 2. The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions,

and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

ARTICLE 3. The Mandatory shall, so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

ARTICLE 4. An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country. . . .

ARTICLE 6. The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

ARTICLE 7. The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine. . . .

ARTICLE 15. . . . No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief. . . .

ARTICLE 22. English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

ARTICLE 25. In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions. . . .

JOINT CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

1922

Our government endorsed the policy of a Jewish National Home. This resolution was adopted by the Senate on May 3, 1922, and by the House of Representatives on June 30, 1922. President Harding signed it on September 21, 1922.

Whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

Whereas owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein, the Jewish people are to be enabled to recreate and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers, which will give to the House of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land: therefore be it

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

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OBSERVATIONS OF THE PERMANENT MANDATES - 1939

This commission had the task of examining the Mandatories and of advising the League Council on matters of observance of such mandates. The following are observations made on the White Paper of 1939, which restricted Arab land sales to Jews. It was believed that the British had violated the Mandate. The outbreak of war prevented any action by the Council of the League of Nations. The British government, however, curtailed Jewish immigration and issued the second document on the next pages restricting land sales.

9. From the first, one fact forced itself to the notice of the Commission—namely, that the policy set out in the White Paper was not in accordance with the interpretation which, in agreement with the mandatory Power and the Council, the Commission had always placed upon the Palestine mandate. . . .

11. The Commission did not, however, confine itself to establishing this single fact. It went on to consider whether the Palestine mandate might not perhaps be open to a new interpretation which, while still respecting its main principles, would be sufficiently flexible for the policy of the White Paper not to appear at variance with it. . . .

12. During the examination of this latter question, divergent views were found to exist among the members of the Commission.

14. . . . four of the latter did not feel able to state that the policy of the White Paper was in conformity with the mandate, any contrary conclusion appearing to them to be ruled out by the very terms of the mandate and by the fundamental intentions of its authors

15. The other members, three in number, were unable to share this opinion; they consider that existing circumstances would justify the policy of the White Paper, provided the Council did not oppose it. . . .

. . . 1. These regulations may be cited as the Land Transfers Regulations, 1940, and shall be deemed to have come into force on the eighteenth day of May, 1939.

2. For the purpose of these regulations there shall be two zones in Palestine which shall be demarcated as set out in the Schedule hereto. . . .

3. The transfer of land situated within Zone A, save to a Palestinian Arab, shall be prohibited. . . .

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FIGHTING THE WHITE PAPER - 1940

In November, 1940, an incident occurred that took on great proportions. This was an incident which caused a lasting breach between the British and the Jews of Palestine. Two broken-down ships, the Pacific and the Miles, were intercepted by the British Navy off the coast of Palestine and brought into Haifa. The two carried 1700 refugees. The Palestine authorities would not let them land. The Jewish Agency tried to force their hand by declaring a strike. From this, an open declaration of British policy came forth. The text follows.

His Majesty's Government are not lacking in sympathy for refugees from territories under German control. But they are responsible for the administration of Palestine and are bound to see to it that the laws of the country are not openly flouted.

Moreover they can only regard a revival of illegal Jewish immigration at the present juncture as likely to affect the local situation most adversely, and to prove a serious menace to British interests in the Middle East. They have accordingly decided that the passengers shall not be permitted to land in Palestine but shall be deported to a British colony and shall be detained there for the duration of the war.

Their ultimate disposal will be a matter for consideration at the end of the war, but it is not proposed that they shall remain in the colony to which they are sent or that they should go to Palestine. Similar action will be taken in the case of any further parties who may succeed in reaching Palestine with a view to illegal entry.

BILTMORE CONFERENCE - 1942

In the early 1940's, a great deal of pressure was being put on government agencies and various Jewish groups concerning the establishment of a Jewish State. There were many Zionist Platforms, but the Zionist Conference held at the Biltmore Hotel, May 9-11, 1942, was responsible for much Zionist thought and philosophy to follow.

Pro-Palestine and Zionist Activities

By Isaac Levitats*

Toward the end of the last review period the Zionist Organization adopted a resolution which was destined to dominate almost all Zionist platforms up to the present. An extraordinary Zionist Conference held at the Biltmore Hotel in New York City on May 9–11, 1942, placed on record its demand "that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth." The presence at the conference of Dr. Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency, and of David Ben-Gurion, chairman of the Zionist Executive, lent added weight to this enunciation of principle.

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This so-called Biltmore Program constituted a fundamental departure from traditional Zionist policy. Heretofore official Zionism steadfastly refused to formulate the ultimate aim of the movement preferring instead to concentrate on the practical task of building the Jewish National Home. But the British White Paper of 1939, which interpreted the terms of the Mandate in a way that would freeze "the Jewish community to a permanent minority status," and the war situation, which will eventually bring international factors to bear upon the future fate of Palestine, prompted the Zionist leaders to take a firm, unequivocal stand. This demand for a Jewish Commonwealth was subsequently endorsed by all major Zionist groups (except Hashomer Hatzair) and was particularly reaffirmed at the concurrent conventions of the Zionist Organization of America and Hadassah at a joint session held on October 17. Both organizations consequently repudiated the program of Ihud, the Union Party, for a bi-national state in Palestine. (This party was launched in Palestine by Dr. Judah L. Magnes, president of The Hebrew University, and caused a great deal of discussion in Zionist circles here.)

The Biltmore Program was finally sanctioned also by the Inner Actions Committee of the Zionist Organization in Jerusalem. In the absence of a World Zionist Congress, which met last in 1939 and may not meet again for the duration of the war, this may be regarded as the official Zionist stand on the ultimate aim of the movement.

The fact that such a major event occurred here and not in London or Jerusalem, hitherto the headquarters for Zionist political work, clearly indicates that the United States has become the main center for Zionist political activities. This is the natural result of the latest developments The impotence and gradual destruction of European Jewries, the British Government's negative attitude to Zionism, America's prospective important role in the peace settlement and Dr. Weizmann's lengthy visits here have combined to place this country, the largest center of Jews, in the fore-

ground of events. Diplomatic activity is being conducted in Washington, D. C. In February this work was intensified on the occasion of a visit here by Moshe Shertok, chief of the Political Department of the Jewish Agency in Jerusalem. It culminated in May in the establishment in Washington of an office of the Political Department of the executive of the Jewish Agency, directed by Dr. Nahum Goldmann, in co-operation with Louis Lipsky and Dr. Stephen S. Wise.

Every opportunity was utilized by Zionist groups and sympathizers to voice their demands for a Jewish National Home. The National Conference for Palestine of the United Palestine Appeal, held in Philadelphia on May 1-2, 1943, in which representatives of many Jewish organizations participated, condemned the White Paper of 1939 as illegal, unjust and inhuman, and called upon the Government of the United States to ask Great Britain for assurances "that Jewish immigration into Palestine shall not be abridged nor shall the purchase of land by Jews be restricted." On the occasion of a visit to this country in May by Winston Churchill, Prime Minister of Great Britain, all Zionist groups joined in appealing to him to keep England's promise to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine and to repudiate the White Paper. And the New Zionist Organization of America used one of its full-page newspaper advertisements to say bluntly, on May 18, 1943: "Mr. Churchill, drop the Mandate!"

To increase the effectiveness of its political endeavor the Zionist Organization of America launched an extensive membership campaign. A special feature has been the affiliation of the entire memberships of synagogues with the Zionist Organization; thus far over forty synagogues have joined en masse. A campaign to enlighten the indifferent and to influence public opinion in favor of Zionism was launched in the month of November; it was dedicated to the observance of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and of the twentieth anniversary of the unanimous adoption by the Congress of the United States in 1922 of the joint resolution endorsing the Declaration. The Zionist idea was disseminated through mass meetings, radio broadcasts, pamphlets and articles in the press.

Support for Zionism came from other sources. Early in

December the American Palestine Committee, under the chairmanship of Senator Robert F. Wagner, and with a membership of approximately 1,000 prominent persons throughout the country, including 23 governors, 63 senators and 181 representatives of both parties, sent a petition to President Roosevelt asking that large numbers of the Jewish survivors of the war be enabled "to reconstruct their lives in Palestine where the Jewish people may once more assume a position of dignity and equality among the peoples of the earth." They stressed their support of this country's "declared and traditional policy" favoring the restoration of a Jewish homeland. And on December 14, in New York City, representatives of five hundred Christian leaders, clergymen and laymen of all denominations throughout the country organized a Christian Council on Palestine and adopted a statement of Principles which pointed out that "of all lands available for the mass migration of Jews in the post-war world, Palestine is the most practicable." The Council, meeting at the Hotel Pennsylvania, committed itself to "the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth in Palestine." In June 1943, they adopted a resolution demanding that "an international commission, composed of competent Christian leaders, be sent to Palestine at an early date to study and analyze the problems of Jews and Arabs and return with specific solutions to meet that issue in a spirit of wise and sympathetic statesmanship." The Church Peace Union also urged the opening of Palestine to large-scale immigration now and in the postwar period.

Pro-Zionist resolutions were adopted by 12 state legislatures — Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Maryland, Missouri, New York, Pennsylvania, South Carolina and Texas. Prominent Americans also made favorable statements. Wendell L. Willkie, for example, declared that "the door of Palestine will have to be opened to the homeless Jews of central and eastern Europe who will survive this war." His best-selling book, *One World*, contained favorable references to Zionist activities in Palestine. Former Governor Herbert H. Lehman predicted soon after his appointment as Director of Foreign Relief and Rehabilitation in November that the survival of large numbers of Jews would hinge upon Palestine.

AMERICAN Jews exerted every effort to focus the attention of the Anglo-American Refugee Conference at Bermuda on Palestine as a place of immigration. The Joint Emergency Committee for European Jewish Affairs, representing all the larger Jewish national organizations, submitted on April 14 a Program for the Rescue of Jews from Nazi-Occupied Europe. It asked that "overriding pre-war political considerations, England should be persuaded to open the doors of Palestine for Jewish immigration and the offer of hospitality made by the Jewish Community of Palestine should be accepted." Dr. Weizmann presented a supporting memorandum by the Jewish Agency. These representations, however, were of no avail; on April 23, George Henry Hall of the British delegation announced that "the conference would not alter the British Government's White Paper policy, restricting Jewish immigration into Palestine." The Jewish press voiced its unequivocal disappointment with the Bermuda Conference; Representative Sol Bloom of the American delegation was also severely criticized for his failure to support the program of the Joint Emergency Committee.

Another major Zionist activity was the demand for a Jewish fighting force. Early in July 1942, while the threat of a Nazi invasion of Palestine was still close, the demands in America that the Jews of Palestine be used for its defense were particularly urgent. A group of Zionist leaders cabled Churchill urging the immediate mobilization of "all available Jewish manpower in Palestine," so that if they "go down, they should be enabled to go down fighting." As a partial concession, the British Government announced on August 6 its intention to set up Jewish infantry battalions as part of a Palestinian Regiment and, in recruiting Jews, to discard the principle of parity with the Arabs. The American Emergency Committee for Zionist Affairs, in August, hailed this decision as a marked advance, but expressed the hope that hereafter the Jewish units would get full training and equipment...

C. WEIZMANN CONCERNING THE ARABS - 1942

Chaim Weizmann was most concerned about the status of the Arab and what the Arab stood to gain or lose after World War II. Here, he is straightforward in his thoughts concerning the question that is still the thorn in the side of those who advocate peace negotiations.

Whatever the Arabs gained—and it was a great deal—as a result of the last war; whatever they may gain—and they have already gained something, and will gain more—as a result of this one, they owe, and will owe, entirely to the democracies. It is therefore for the democracies to proclaim the justice of the Jewish claim to their commonwealth in Palestine. There is nothing new in this principle. It was implicit in the Balfour Declaration; it was reaffirmed by the Peel Commission. And we have now acquired the invaluable experience of the last twenty years, which has proved beyond doubt that when the Jew is reunited with the soil of Palestine energies are released in him which have been stored up and suppressed for thousands of years—energies which, given an outlet, can create values which may be of service even to richer and more fortunate countries.

To sum up. The Arabs will greatly profit from a British victory by obtaining independence in Syria and Libya, and as large a measure of national unity as they themselves are capable of achieving. On the other hand, it is essential to obtain such a settlement in Palestine as will help to solve the Jewish problem—one of the most disturbing problems in the world. The Arabs must, therefore, be clearly told that the Jews will be encouraged to settle in Palestine, and will control their own immigration; that here Jews who so desire will be able to achieve their freedom and self-government by establishing a state of their own, and ceasing to be a minority dependent on the will and pleasure of other nations.

In that state there will be complete civil and political equality of rights for all citizens, without distinction of race or religion, and, in addition, the Arabs will enjoy full autonomy in their own internal affairs. But if any Arabs do not wish to remain in a Jewish state, every facility will be given to them to transfer to one of the many and vast Arab countries. Considering the strategic and economic importance of Palestine, the inclusion of the Jewish state within the British Commonwealth of Nations would be to the interest of both. But we should also be ready, if necessary, to consider joining, under proper safeguards, in federation with Arab states.

A Jewish state in Palestine would be more than merely the necessary means of securing further Jewish immigration and development. It is a moral need and postulate, and it would be a very decisive step towards normality and true emancipation. I believe that after the war Jews everywhere can gain in status and security only through the rise of a Jewish state and this would be especially the case if that state is a part of the British Commonwealth.

CHAIM WEIZMANN

Foreign Affairs, January, 1942 97

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES BY NON-ZIONIST RABBIS - 1942

STATEMENT OF PRINCIPLES BY NON-ZIONIST RABBIS

We, Rabbis in American Israel, who believe in the universalism of Judaism's ethical and spiritual values and teachings, express our hearty agreement with the following Statement drawn up by those who convened in Atlantic City, June 1st and 2nd, 1942, for the purpose of giving voice to our convictions and to discuss ways and means of giving greater emphasis in Jewish life and thought to those doctrines and of securing wider recognition and appreciation of them among our neighbors.

The special reason for our gathering is in the growing secularism in American Jewish life, the absorption of large numbers in Jewish nationalistic endeavors and the tendency to reduce the religious basis of Jewish life to a place of secondary importance. A further reason for taking counsel together is in our realization that at this time more than ever all men for their own good and the good of mankind should give every emphasis to those moral and religious values and principles that transcend boundary lines and hold all men in a common bond of human fellowship.

(1) We believe that the present tragic experiences of mankind abundantly demonstrate that no single people or group can hope to live in freedom and security when their neighbors are in the grip of evil forces either as perpetrators or sufferers. We hold therefore, that the solution of the social, economic and political problems of one people are inextricably bound up with those of others. To this general rule the problems of our Jewish people constitute no exception, though unhappily we Jews are often the first victims of the distemper of peoples and suffer most from the maladjustments of society.

(2) We declare our unwavering faith in the humane and righteous principles that underlie the democratic way of life, principles first envisaged by the Prophets of Israel and embodied in our American Bill of Rights. In keeping with these principles we hold that the Jewish people have the same right to live securely anywhere in the world and to enjoy the fruit of their labor in peace as have men of every other faith and historic background. We fervently hope and earnestly trust that in the coming peace programs that right will be fully recognized, unequivocally expressed, and inextricably woven into the texture of the new world order.

(3) Realizing how dear Palestine is to the Jewish soul, and how important Palestinean rehabilitation is towards relieving the pressing problems of our distressed people, we stand ready to render unstinted aid to our bretheren in their economic, cultural and spiritual endeavors in that country. But in the light of our universalistic interpretation of Jewish history and destiny, and also because of our concern for the welfare and status of the Jewish people living in other parts of the world, we are unable to subscribe to or support the political emphasis now paramount in the Zionist program. We cannot but believe that Jewish nationalism tends to confuse our fellowmen about our place and function in society and also diverts our own attention from our historic role to live as a religious community wherever we may dwell. Such a spiritual role is especially voiced by Reform Judaism in its emphasis upon the eternal prophetic principles of life and thought, principles through which alone Judaism and the Jew can hope to endure and bear witness to the universal God.

The maladjustments of society and the consequent sufferings are at bottom due to man's forgetfulness of the elementary decencies and virtues and to the violation of moral and spiritual principles that have universal validity. It is incumbent therefore, upon all of us, Jews and non-Jews alike, to stress to the utmost in thought, word and deed those teachings of our own religion that are all-inclusive, if we would permanently correct the evils that so often bring suffering to mankind.

STATEMENT OF THE AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM - 1943

Believing that no individual Jew or group of Jews can speak for our faith, the American Council for Judaism stuck to this dictum. Perhaps the greatness of our religion is that it has never been monolithic. The American Council for Judaism has varied activities which are definitely within the fold of Judaism. It is up to the student to take a stand vis á vis various organizations within Judaism. The three following documents deal with the purpose and activities of the American Council for Judaism, non-Zionist Rabbis and correspondence. It is interesting to note the principles on the bottom of the letterhead on the last document in this section.

Statement of the American Council for Judaism, Inc.

The American Council for Judaism, Inc. was organized to present the views of Americans of Jewish faith on problems affecting the future of their own lives and the lives of world Jewry in the present hour of world confusion.

The Council reaffirms the historic truth that the Jews of the world share common traditions and ethical concepts which find their derivation in the same religious source. For countless generations, "Hear, O Israel, The Lord our God, the Lord is One," has been the universal cry that has united all Jews in trial and tribulation, in suffering, hunger and want, in despair—and in achievement. It is still the concept which distinguishes Jews as a religious group.

Racist theories and nationalistic philosophies, that have become prevalent in recent years, have caused untold suffering to the world and particularly to Jews. Long ago they became obsolete as realities in Jewish history; they remain only as a reaction to discrimination and persecution. In the former crises of Israel in ancient Palestine, the Prophets placed God and the moral law above land, race, nation, royal prerogatives and political arrangements. Now, as then, we cherish the same religious values which emphasize the dignity of man and the obligation to deal justly with him no matter what his status.

As Americans of Jewish faith we believe implicitly in the fundamentals of democracy, rooted, as they are, in moralities that transcend race and state, and endow the individual with rights for which he is answerable only to God. We are thankful to be citizens of a country and to have shared in the building of a nation conceived in a spirit which knows neither special privilege nor inferior status for any man.

For centuries Jews have considered themselves nationals of those countries in which they have lived. Whenever free to do so, they have assumed, and will again assume, full responsibilities of citizenship in accordance with the ancient Jewish command, "The law of the land is the law." Those countries in which Jews have lived have been their homes; those lands their homelands. In those nations where political action was expressed through minority groups, the Jew, following the law of his land, accepted minority status, thereby frequently gaining an improvement over previous conditions of inferior citizenship. Such East European concepts, however, have resulted in a misunderstanding, shared by Jews and non-Jews, a misunderstanding which we seek to dispel. American Jews hope that in the peace for which all of us pray, the old principle of minority rights will be supplanted by the more modern principle of equality and freedom for the individual. The interest of American Jews in the individual Jew in countries where the minority right principle prevailed is not to be confused with acceptance of this East European political concept.

As a result of the bigotry, sadism, and ambitions for world conquest of the Axis powers, millions of our co-religionists who had homes in and were nationals of other lands have been violently deported and made victims of indescribable barbarism. No other group has been so brutishly attacked and for one reason only—on the false claims that there are racial barriers or nationalistic impulses that separate Jews from other men.

The plight of those Jews together with millions of oppressed fellowmen of all faiths, calls for the profoundest sympathy and the unbounded moral indignation of all free men. The restoration of these broken lives to the status and dignity of men endowed by God with inalienable rights, is one of the primary objectives of the peace to come as expressed in the Atlantic Charter and the Four Freedoms of President Roosevelt. We believe that the Jew will rise or fall with the extension or contraction of the great liberal forces of civilization. By relying upon the broad, religious principles inherent in a democracy and implementing them wherever possible, we join our forces with those of all lovers of freedom; strengthened, in that we do not stand segregated and alone upon exclusive demands.

We ask that the United Nations secure the earliest feasible repatriation or resettlement under the best possible conditions of all peoples uprooted from their homes by the Axis powers, and that even in the face of obvious and discouraging obstacles the United Nations persevere in their efforts to provide immediate sanctuary for refugees of all faiths, political beliefs and national origins. We believe that wherever possible the forced emigres should be repatriated in their original homelands under condi-

tions which will enable them to live as free, upstanding individuals.

For our fellow Jews we ask only this: Equality of rights and obligations with their fellow-nationals. In our endeavors to bring relief to our stricken fellow Jews, and to help rebuild their lives on a more stable basis, we rely wholly upon the principles of freedom, justice and humanity, which are fundamental to both democracy and religion, and which have been declared as the principles which shall prevail in the better world for which the United Nations are fighting. We ally ourselves with those who believe this war will not have been fought in vain, that the mistakes of the last peace will not be duplicated.

Palestine has contributed in a tangible way to the alleviation of the present catastrophe in Jewish life by providing a refuge for a part of Europe's persecuted Jews. We hope it will continue as one of the places for such resettlement, for it has been clearly demonstrated that practical colonizing can be done, schools and universities built, scientific agriculture extended, commerce intensified and culture developed. This is the record of achievement of eager, hardworking settlers who have been aided in their endeavors by Jews all over the world, in every walk of life and thought.

We oppose the effort to establish a National Jewish State in Palestine or anywhere else as a philosophy of defeatism, and one which does not offer a practical solution of the Jewish problem. We dissent from all those related doctrines that stress the racialism, the nationalism and the theoretical homelessness of Jews. We oppose such doctrines as inimical to the welfare of Jews in Palestine, in America, or wherever Jews may dwell. We believe that the intrusion of Jewish national statehood has been a deterrent in Palestine's ability to play an even greater role in offering a haven for the oppressed, and that without the insistence upon such statehood, Palestine would today be harboring more refugees from Nazi terror. The very insistence upon a Jewish Army has led to the raising of barriers against our unfortunate brethren. There never was a need for such an army. There has always been ample opportunity for Jews to fight side by side with those of other faiths in the armies of the United Nations.

Palestine is a part of Israel's religious heritage, as it is a part of the heritage of two other religions of the world. We look forward to the ultimate establishment of a democratic, autonomous government

in Palestine, wherein Jews, Moslems and Christians shall be justly represented; every man enjoying equal rights and sharing equal responsibilities; a democratic government in which our fellow Jews shall be free Palestinians whose religion is Judaism, even as we are Americans whose religion is Judaism.

We invite all Jews to support our interpretation of Jewish life and destiny in keeping with the highest traditions of our faith. We believe these truths provide the basis for every program of a more hopeful future put forth by free men. To proclaim those views at this time, we believe, is to express the abiding faith, shared by a great number of our fellow Jews, that in the fruits of victory of the United Nations all, regardless of faith, will share alike. It is also, we believe, to render a service to the task of clarifying the hopes and the purposes for which this war is being fought by free men everywhere.

PETITION OF THIRTY SEVEN GOVERNORS TO TRUMAN - 1945

STATE OF UTAH
OFFICE OF THE GOVERNOR
SALT LAKE CITY

HERBERT B. MAW
GOVERNOR

June 26, 1945

76-C

8-22-45

Honorable Harry S. Truman
President of the United States
White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. President:

I have the honor to transmit to you herewith a petition initiated by Governors Lehman of New York, Baldwin of Connecticut, Tobin of Massachusetts, Vanderbilt of Rhode Island, and me, which has been signed by 37 State Governors of the United States.

Concerned as it is with the position of the Jewish people in Europe and the future of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, we believe that this petition raises matters of immediate and far-reaching humanitarian and political importance. The considerations which prevented action in regard to these pressing issues while war still raged in Europe, no longer applies. The urgency of the Jewish problem and its solution in Palestine has become such that I venture the earnest hope that it may be thought opportune to give attention to this question in the course of your forthcoming conversations with the Prime Minister of Great Britain and Marshal Stalin.

Together with my fellow Governors, I take this opportunity of wishing you every success in the historic task which confronts you in Berlin, and a happy return to our own country.

May your decision be guided by Providence and founded in wisdom.

Yours sincerely,

Herbert B. Maw

Governor

A Petition to the President of the United States From the Governors of the Several States

Dear Mr. President:

AT this time, when decisions affecting the future peace of the world are being made, we, the undersigned Governors, wish to call your attention to a problem which in the interest of humanity and justice demands an early solution.

The tragic plight of the Jews of Europe who have survived the horrors of the Nazi occupation makes imperative the speedy fulfillment of the underlying intent and purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine. At the end of the last war 51 nations, with the support of the United States, entered into a solemn covenant which was designed to open the gates of Palestine to Jewish immigration and settlement and to pave the way for the establishment of Palestine as a Jewish Commonwealth. Today hundreds of thousands of Jews, to whom for social, economic and psychological reasons continued life in Europe is intolerable, plead for the right to be admitted to the Jewish national home in Palestine and to begin life again among their own people. More than ever it is necessary to open Palestine for unrestricted Jewish immigration and to bring about its transformation into a Jewish Commonwealth, in which the civil, cultural and religious rights of all sections shall be safeguarded, and all of whose inhabitants shall enjoy equality before the law.

The policy embodied in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate for Palestine has had the full support of every American President, Democrat and Republican alike, from Woodrow Wilson to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The American people, through the two major political parties have also recorded their unqualified support for this historic objective, for which, further, within recent months, 33 States of the United States representing 80 percent of the population of our country have, through resolutions adopted by their respective State Legislatures, also expressed themselves in full accord. In his historic message of October 15, 1944, President Roosvelt spoke for the overwhelming majority of the American people when he said: "I am convinced that the American people give their support to this aim" and pledged himself to bring about at the earliest practical moment the realization of the Zionist program.

We believe that the time has come when concrete measures must be taken to open the doors of Palestine to Jewish mass immigration and colonization and to bring about the earliest transformation of that country into a free and democratic Jewish Commonwealth, and we most earnestly urge you to take such action as will contribute to this end. In any steps which, Mr. President, you may take to bring about the realization of this program we desire to assure you that you can rely upon the approbation of the American people and count on our individual support.

With assurance of our high esteem,

Cordially yours,

Governor of the State of

Alabama	Chauncey M. Sparks
Arizona	Sidney P. Osborn
Arkansas	Ben Laney
Connecticut	Raymond E. Baldwin
Delaware	Walter W. Bacon
Florida	Millard Caldwell
Idaho	Charles C. Gossett
Illinois	Dwight H. Green
Iowa	Robert D. Blue
Kansas	Andrew Schoeppel
Kentucky	Simeon S. Willis
Maryland	Herbert R. O'Conor
Massachusetts	Maurice J. Tobin
Michigan	Harry F. Kelly
Minnesota	Edward J. Thye
Missouri	Phil M. Donnelly
Montana	Samuel C. Ford
Nevada	E. P. Carville
New Hampshire	Charles M. Dale
New Jersey	Frank S. Farley (Acting Governor)
New Mexico	John J. Dempsey
New York	Thomas E. Dewey
North Carolina	R. Gregg Cherry
North Dakota	Fred G. Aandahl
Ohio	Frank J. Lausche
Oklahoma	Robert S. Kerr
Oregon	Earl Snell
Pennsylvania	Edward Martin
Rhode Island	J. Howard McGrath
South Carolina	Ransome J. Williams
South Dakota	M. Q. Sharpe
Tennessee	J. Nance McCord
Texas	Coke R. Stevenson
Utah	Herbert B. Maw
Vermont	M. R. Proctor
West Virginia	C. W. Meadows
Wyoming	Lester C. Hunt

CONCURRENT CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTIONS - 1945

After World War II, American sentiment generally favored the establishment of a Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. On November 2, 1945, a majority of the members of the Senate and almost 200 members of the House of Representatives signed a supporting declaration. Many other resolutions and letters followed. Finally, the following resolution was passed by the Senate on December 17, and by the House on December 19, 1945.

CONCURRENT RESOLUTIONS

WHEREAS the Sixty-seventh Congress of the United States on June 30, 1922, unanimously resolved "That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected"; and

WHEREAS the ruthless persecution of the Jewish people in Europe has clearly demonstrated the need for a Jewish homeland as a haven for the large numbers who have become homeless as a result of this persecution; and

WHEREAS these urgent necessities are evidenced by the President's request for the immediate right of entry into Palestine of one hundred thousand additional Jewish refugees; . . . .

THEREFORE BE IT

Resolved by the Senate (the House of Representatives concurring), That the interest shown by the President in the solution of this problem is hereby commended and that the United States shall use its good offices with the mandatory power to the end that Palestine shall be opened for free entry of Jews into that country to the maximum of its agricultural and economic potentialities, and that there shall be full opportunity for colonization and development, so that they may freely proceed with the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home and, in association with all elements of the population, establish Palestine as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights.

HARRISON REPORT - 1945

In June, 1945, Earl Harrison was appointed by President Truman to inquire and report on the condition of the displaced persons in Germany and Austria. He was to give particular attention to the problems and needs of the Jewish refugees and their future destinations. The following excerpts tell of the awful conditions of the Jewish refugees and advocate their settlement in Palestine.

GERMANY AND AUSTRIA: CONDITIONS

(1) Generally speaking, three months after V-E Day, and even longer after the liberation of individual groups, many Jewish displaced persons and other possibly non-repatriables are living under guard behind barbed-wire fences in camps of several descriptions (built by the Germans for slave laborers and Jews), including some of the most notorious of the concentration camps, amid crowded, frequently unsanitary and generally grim conditions, in complete idleness, with no opportunity, except surreptitiously, to communicate with the outside world, waiting, hoping for some word of encouragement and action in their behalf.

(2) While there has been marked improvement in the health of survivors of the Nazi starvation and persecution program, there are many pathetic malnutrition cases both among the hospitalized and in the general population of the camps. The death rate has been high since liberation, as was to be expected. One Army chaplain, a Rabbi, personally attended, since liberation, 23,000 burials (90 per cent Jews) at Berger Belsen alone, one of the largest and most vicious of the concentration camps, where, incidentally, despite persistent reports to the contrary, 14,000 displaced persons are still living, including over 7,000 Jews. . . .

(3) Although some camp commandants have managed, in spite of the many obvious difficulties, to find clothing of one kind or another for their charges, many of the Jewish displaced persons, late in July, had no clothing other than their concentration camp garb—a rather hideous striped pajama effect—while others, to their chagrin, were obliged to wear German SS uniforms. It is questionable which clothing they hate the more. . . .

(5) The most absorbing worry of these Nazi and war victims concerns relatives—wives, husbands, parents, children. Most of them have been separated for three, four or five years and they cannot understand why the liberators should not have undertaken immediately the organized effort to reunite family groups. . . .

II

NEEDS OF THE JEWS

While it is impossible to state accurately the number of Jews now in that part of Germany not under Russian occupation, all indications point to the fact that the number is small, with 100,000 probably the top figure. . . .

The first and plainest need of these people is a recognition of their actual status and by this I mean their status as Jews . . . Refusal to recognize the Jews as such has the effect, in this situation, of closing one's eyes to their former and more barbaric persecution, which has already made them a separate group with greater needs.

Their second great need can be presented only by discussing what I found to be their wishes as to future destinations.

For reasons that are obvious and need not be labored, most Jews want to leave Germany and Austria as soon as possible. . . . They want to be evacuated to Palestine now. . . . Palestine is definitely and preeminently the first choice. . . .

IV

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

. . . Specifically, in the days immediately ahead, the Jews in Germany and Austria should have the first claim upon the conscience of the people of the United States and Great Britain. . . .

In this connection, the issue of Palestine must be faced. . . . To anyone who has visited the concentration camps and who has talked with the despairing survivors, it is nothing short of calamitous to contemplate that the gates of Palestine should be soon closed. . . .

In conclusion, I wish to repeat that the main solution, in many ways the only real solution, of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine. . . .

The civilized world owes it to this handful of survivors to provide them with a home where they can again settle down and begin to live as human beings.

LETTER FROM PRESIDENT TRUMAN TO PRIME MINISTER ATTLEE - 1945

The Harrison Report showed that Americans were in favor of the settlement of Jewish refugees in Palestine. President Truman endorsed this and sent the following letter to Prime Minister Attlee.

My Dear Mr. Prime Minister:

Because of the natural interest of this Government in the present condition and future fate of those displaced persons in Germany who may prove to be stateless or non-repatriable, we recently sent Mr. Earl G. Harrison to inquire into the situation. . . .

Instructions were given to Mr. Harrison to inquire particularly into the problems and needs of the Jewish refugees among the displaced persons. . . .

I have now received his report. In view of our conversations at Potsdam I am sure that you will find certain portions of the report interesting. I am, therefore, sending you a copy.

I should like to call your attention to the conclusions and recommendations appearing on Page 8 and the following pages—especially the references to Palestine. It appears that the available certificates for immigration to Palestine will be exhausted in the near future. It is suggested that the granting of an additional one hundred thousand of such certificates would contribute greatly to a sound solution for the future of Jews still in Germany and Austria, and for other Jewish refugees who do not wish to remain where they are or who for understandable reasons do not desire to return to their countries of origin.

On the basis of this and other information which has come to me I concur in the belief that no other single matter is so important for those who have known the horrors of concentration camps for over a decade as is the future of immigration possibilities into Palestine. The number of such persons who wish immigration to Palestine or who would qualify for admission there is, unfortunately, no longer as large as it was before the Nazis began their extermination program. As I said to you in Potsdam, the American people, as a whole, firmly believe that immigration into Palestine should not be closed and that a reasonable number of Europe's persecuted Jews should, in accordance with their wishes, be permitted to resettle there.

I know you are in agreement on the proposition that future peace in Europe depends in large measure upon our finding sound solutions of problems confronting the displaced and formerly persecuted groups of people. No claim is more meritorious than that of the groups who for so many years have known persecution and enslavement.

The main solution appears to lie in the quick evacuation of as many as possible of the non-repatriable Jews, who wish it, to Palestine. If it is to be effective, such action should not be long delayed.

Very sincerely yours,
HARRY S. TRUMAN

TELEGRAM FROM STEPHEN S. WISE TO TRUMAN - 1946

76-C

December 10, 1946

Respectfully referred to the Department of State for appropriate handling. x 2 o

WILLIAM D. HASSETT
Secretary to the President

wdh-aw

Cable to the President, December 7, 1946 - BASEL

From:
Stephen Wise x
Three Kings Hotel On The Rhyn Rasle, Switzerland x 363 Misc
Re 22nd Zionist Congress (Copy of Cable kept in file)

DEC 8 8

AAC1 196 VIA COMMERCIAL CABLE

BASEL DEC 7 1946
Switzerland

NLT THE PRESIDENT
THE WHITE HOUSE WASHINGTONDC

ON THE EVE OF THE 22ND ZIONIST CONGRESS AND BEFORE ITS SESSIONS OPEN I FEEL PRIVILEGED TO EXTEND TO YOU THE WARMEST GREETINGS OF MANY COLLEAGUES AND MYSELF STOP DELEGATES ARE EXPRESSING DEEPEST CONCERN OVER THE REFUSAL OF THE BRITISH x 45 Misc GOVERNMENT UP TO THIS
TIME TO GRANT THE ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND CERTIFICATES OF ADMISSION TO PALESTINE FOR WHICH YOU HAVE SO EARNESTLY

AND REPEATEDLY PLEADED STOP MAY I RECALL TO YOU YOUR OWN
STATEMENT OF OCTOBER 4TH IN WHICH YOU EXPRESSED THE
ADMINISTRATIONS APPROVAL OF THE JEWISH AGENCY EXECUTIVE
PROPOSAL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF
A VIABLE JEWISH STATE IN PALESTINE AS A JUST SOLUTION OF THE
PALESTINE PROBLEM AS WELL AS THE PROBLEM OF THE HOMELESS JEWS
OF EUROPEAN LANDS STOP SUCH JUST SOLUTION IS OF UTMOST URGENCY
IN VIEW OF DESPERATE SITUATION OF EUROPEAN JEWS STOP YOUR
PERSONAL AND RENEWED INSISTENCE WOULD BE

OF UNMEASURED HELP TO THE JEWISH PEOPLE AND ALLAY THE PRESENT
EXPLICABLY BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT WITH AND RESENTMENT AGAINST
THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT IN OUR OWN COUNTRY AS WELL AS PALESTINE
AND OTHER LANDS STOP HEARTFELT PERSONAL REGARDS
STEPHEN WISE THREE KINGS HOTEL ON-THE-RHYN BASLE

LEWISOHN LETTER CONCERNING MORRISON-GRADY PLAN - 1946

The displaced people problem was enormous. British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin asked President Truman if he were willing to share with Britain the responsibility of revising the Palestine Mandate. Truman agreed and dispatched a state department official, Henry Grady. He went to meet Bevin and with Herbert Morrison, Lord President of the Council, presented a plan for a new "disposition" of Palestine. When it was published, it was clear that Grady had been won over to the British point of view. The Zionists were furious. Bevin was to eventually admit his great failure. In a letter to the noted Christian Zionist, Carl Hermann Voss, Ludwig Lewisohn, a leading American Zionist spokesmen, denounced the Morrison-Grady plan.

OFFICIAL PUBLICATION OF
THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

The New Palestine

The American Zionist Publication Devoted to Jewish Affairs

41 EAST 42ND STREET
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN, *Editor*
57 Montgomery Place
Brooklyn 15, N. Y.

September 22,1946.

Dear Dr.Voss:-

The Morrison-Grady plan was an evil jest. The territory offered was 1500 square miles.I f you take the highest possible populations figures (200 persons per square miles: province of Brabant in Belgium) you have room for 300,000 souls. How about the 100,000 and further immigration with an existent Jewish population in Palestine of at least 650,000? The thing is obviously insane and the "autonomy" offered was a fraud.

The present plan for a proposal of the Jewish Agency is summed up in the formula: Peel territory plus Negev. That would give us Palestine with an Arab enclave in the Eastern-Central region contiguous to Trans-Jordan and to become part of Trans-Jordan. Two corridors are contemplated: One to connect the augmented Trans-Jordan with Jaffa and thus give it (and,indirectly Iraq) a Mediterranean port;a second corridor to connect Jerusalem with Tel-Aviv in order to unify Jewish Palestine. It is believed that this proposal would not be unacceptable to either Trans-Jordan or Iraq. The Jewish territory must have complete self-government,especially in respect of immigration and economic management. We are perfectly willing to have necessary imperial military establishments in our country.

The immediate difficulties to the Agency's going to London with this plan are as follows: British stubborness in not liberating Moshe Shertok and Bernard Joseph from the Latrun camp. A graver difficulty is that at this moment the Yishuv is democratically divided on the plan and is rather ditrustful of Dr. Nahum Goldmann,who is supposed to be (not quite in accordance with fact) the sole originator of the plan. The cables from Jerusalem in the Yiddish Press of this morning confirm this situation ,as it was communicated to me by the Agency last week.

I have made arrangements to keep in closer touch with the Agency than I have hitherto been able to do and I shall be glad to communicate to you from time to time whatever I am told I may communicate.

With kindest personal regards,

Cordially,

Ludwig Lewisohn

UNITED NATIONS RESOLUTION ON PARTITION OF PALESTINE - 1947

The General Assembly of the United Nations provided for the partition of Palestine into an Arab State, a Jewish State and an international enclave of the City of Jerusalem. The Palestinean Arabs and the Arab States rejected these recommendations and used force to prevent implementation. The British refused also to cooperate with the United Nations Palestine Commission. The partition took place through armed conflict.

PLAN OF PARTITION WITH ECONOMIC UNION

Future Constitution and Government of Palestine

1. The Mandate for Palestine shall terminate as soon as possible but in any case not later than August 1, 1948.

2. The armed forces of the Mandatory Power shall be progressively withdrawn from Palestine, the withdrawal to be completed as soon as possible but in any case not later than August 1, 1948. . . .

The Mandatory Power shall use its best endeavors to ensure that an area situated in the territory of the Jewish State, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for a substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than February 1, 1948.

3. Independent Arab and Jewish States and the Special International Regime for the City of Jerusalem, set forth in . . . this Plan, shall come into existence in Palestine two months after the evacuation of the armed forces of the Mandatory Power has been completed but in any case not later than October 1, 1948. . . .

Steps Preparatory to Independence

1. A Commission shall be set up consisting of one representative of each of five Member States. . . .

2. The administration of Palestine shall, as the Mandatory Power withdraws its armed forces, be progressively turned over to the Commission. . . .

3. On its arrival in Palestine the Commission shall proceed to carry out measures for the establishment of the frontiers of the Arab and Jewish States and the City of Jerusalem in accordance with the general lines of the recommendations of the General Assembly on the partition of Palestine. . . .

4. The Commission, after consultation with the democratic parties and other public organizations of the Arab and Jewish States, shall select and establish in each State as rapidly as possible a Provisional Council of Govern-

ment. The activities of both the Arab and Jewish Provisional Councils of Government shall be carried out under the general direction of the Commission. . . .

6. The Provisional Council of Government of each State, acting under the Commission, shall progressively receive from the Commission full responsibility for the administration of that State in the period between the termination of the Mandate and the establishment of the States' independence.

8. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, within the shortest time possible, recruit an armed militia from the residents of that State. . . .

This armed militia in each State shall, for operational purposes, be under the command of Jewish or Arab officers resident in that State, but general political and military control, including the choice of the militia's High Command, shall be exercised by the Commission.

9. The Provisional Council of Government of each State shall, not later than two months after the withdrawal of the armed forces of the Mandatory Power, hold elections to the Constituent Assembly which shall be conducted on democratic lines. . . .

10. The Constituent Assembly of each State shall draft a democratic Constitution for its State and choose a provisional government to succeed the Provisional Council of Government appointed by the Commission. . . .

11. The Commission shall appoint a Preparatory Economic Commission of three members to make whatever arrangements are possible for economic cooperation, with a view to establishing, as soon as practicable, the Economic Union and the Joint Economic Board, as provided in section D below. . . .

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE, HEBREW AND ENGLISH - 1948

The independence of Israel was proclaimed on Sabbath Eve May 14, 1948, in Tel Aviv. All around, people were filled with emotion as history was being made. David Ben Gurion proclaimed the establishment of the State, and the British White Paper was annulled. Also annulled were the laws of restricting Jewish immigration and purchase of land in Palestine.

ישראל
הממשלה הזמנית

עתון רשמי

מס' 1 | תל־אביב, יום שלישי תשיח 14.5.1948 | עמ' 1

הכרזה על הקמת מדינת ישראל

ארץ־ישראל קם העם היהודי, בה נוצרה זהותו הרוחנית, הדתית והמדינית, בה חי חיי קוממיות ממלכתית, בה יצר נכסי תרבות לאומיים וכלל־אנושיים והוריש לעולם כולו את ספר הספרים הנצחי.

לאחר שהוגלה העם מארצו בגלות הוהיון שמר לה אמונים בכל ארבעת פזריו, ולא חדל מתפלה ותקוה לשוב לארצו ולחדש בתוכה את היותו המדינית.

מתוך קשר היסטורי וסביבתי זה החלו היהודים בכל דור לשוב לארצם בעלותם הקיבוצי; ובדורות האחרונים שבו לארצם בהמונים. חלוצים, מעפילים ומגינים הפריחו שממה, החיו שפתם הקנינית, בנו כפרים וערים, והקימו ישוב גדל והולך תושלים על משקו ותרבותו, שחר שלום ומן על עצמו. מבוא גרסת הקדושה וכל רשאי הארץ ונעשה נאמן לקנאות מלכותית.

בשנת תרע"ז (1917) נתנם הקנצלר הבריטי לקל קרייאנו של הבית הזה הזכרת היהודית תיאורית תרגל והבטיח על זכות העם היהודי להקמת לאומית בארצו.

זכות זו הוכרה מחדש בלעוד סדם ב' בנובמבר 1917 הכרזה בכתב מקדם חבר הלאומים. אשר נתן בפרוש תוקף בין־לאומי לקשר ההיסטורי בין העם היהודי לבין ארץ־ישראל ולזכות העם היהודי להקים בתוכו את ביתו הלאומי.

השואה שנתגלתה על עם ישראל בזמן האחרון, בה הטבוח לפגה מליונים יהודים בארופה, הביחה מחדש בקליל את הזכות בפתרון בעית העם היהודי בהיבר המלחמה והעצאת על ידי היחוד המדינה היהודית בארץ־ישראל, אשר תפתח לרחוה את שערי המולדת לכל יהודי ותעניק לעם היהודי בעבר של אומה שוות־זכויות בתוך משפחת העמים.

שארית הפליטה שנצלה מפגיעה הנאצי האיום מאחיהם ויהודי ארצות אחרות לא חדלו להעפיל לארץ־ישראל, על אף כל קשיי, סכנה הגבולות, ולא פסקו לתבע את זכותם לחיי כבוד, חירות וקיבוץ־ישרים במולדת עצמם.

במלחמת העולם השניה תרם הישוב העברי בארץ את מלוא־חלקו למאבק האומות לשחרות חירות השלום ובו בזמן הרשון הנאצי. וכדם היילו ובאמצו המלחמתי קבה לו את הזכות להשות עם העמים מיסדי ברית האומות המאוחדות.

ביום בנובמבר 1947 קיבלה עצרת האומות המאוחדות החלטה המחייבת הקמת מדינה יהודית בארץ־ישראל, העצרת תבקה מאת תושבי ארץ־ישראל לאחוז בעצמם בכל הצעדים הנדרשים מצדם הם לביצוע ההחלטה. הברה זו של האומות המאוחדות בזכות העם היהודי להקים את מדינתו אינה ניתנת להפקעה.

זהו הזכות הטבעית של העם היהודי להיות כבל עם ועם שהר בריאות עצמו במדינתו הריבונית.

לאור נתכנסנו, אנו חברי מועצת העם, נציגי הישוב העברי והתנועה הציונית, ביום סיום המנדט הבריטי על ארץ־ישראל, ובתוקף זכותנו הטבעית והדתית ועל יסוד החלטת עצרת האומות המאוחדות אנו מכריזים בזאת על הקמת מדינה יהודית בארץ־ישראל, הא מדינת ישראל.

אנו קובעים שתחל מרגע סיום המנדט, הלילה, צור ליום שבת ו' אייר תש"ח, 15 במאי 1948, ועד להקמת השלטונות הנבחרים והסדירים של המדינה בהתאם לחוקה שתיקבע על־ידי האסיפה הממונה הנבחרת לא יאחור מן באקר־מכ בנין — תפעל מועצת העם כמועצת מדינה ומנהיר. ומפר הנרגע שלה, מנהלה־הנס, יהווה את הסמכות הזמנית של המדינה היהודית, אשר תיקרא בשם ישראל.

מדינת ישראל תהא פתוחה לעלית יהודים ולקיבוץ גלויות; תשקוד על איחוד ארץ לפזרה כל הרשויות; תהא מסורה על יכולת החירות, הצדק והשלום לזרע הנביאים של נביאי ישראל; תקיים שוויון זכויות חברתי ומדיני גמור לכל תושביה בלי הבדל דת, גזע ומין; תבטיח חופש דת, מצפון, לשון, חינוך ותרבות; תשמור על המקומות הקדושים של כל הדתות; ותהיה נאמנה לקרטונותיה של מגילת האומות המאוחדות.

מדינת ישראל תהא מכונה לפתח פעולה עם המוסדות והנציגים של האומות המאוחדות בהגשמת תחילת הצעות סיום 29 בנובמבר 1947 ותשקל להקמת האחדות הכלכלית של ארץ־ישראל כשלמותה.

אנו קוראים לאומות המאוחדות לתת יד לעם היהודי בבנין מדינתו ולקבל את מדינת ישראל להוך משפחת העמים.

אנו קוראים — גם כתוך התקפת־הדמים המתרכזת עליו זה הרבים — לבני העם הערבי תושבי מדינת ישראל לשבת על הכלום ולהשתל הלקם בבנין המדינה על יסוד אזרחות מלאה ושוה ועל יסוד נציגות מתאימה בכל מוסדותיה הזמניים והקבועים.

אנו מושיטים יד שלום וקבוצות מבה לכל המדינות השכנות ועמיהן וקוראים להם לשיתוף פעולה ועזרה הדדית עם העם העברי העצמאי בארצו. מדינת ישראל מוכנה לתרום חלקה במאמץ משותף לקידמת המזרח התיכון כולו.

אנו קוראים אל העם היהודי בכל התפוצות להתלכד כביב הישוב בעלית ובבנין ולעמוד לימינו במלחמה הגדולה על הגשמת שאיפת הדורות לגאולת ישראל.

מתוך בטחון בצור ישראל הננו חותמים בחתימת ידינו לעדות על הכרזה זו, במושב מועצת המדינה הזמנית, על אדמת המולדת, בעיר תל־אביב, היום הזה, ערב שבת, ז' אייר תש"ח, 14 במאי 1948.

דוד בן־גוריון

דניאל אוסטר. פרדכי בנטוב. יצחק בן־צבי. אליעזר פרלין. פרץ בן נפתלי. חיים חלוץ טולה. מאיר בן־פורת. יצחק גרינבוים. דוד אברהם מרוזובסקי. אליעזר דובקין. מאיר וילנר־שמיר. צח ורדפסיג. מרדכי הרדי. רחל כהן. חיים עלמן כהן. מרדכי נמואלי. חיים יצחק מאיר לוין. מאיר דוד לוינסקין. צבי להיא. נולדת בכרמון. נחום גיל. מאיר נגל. חיים יחזקאל ליב הכהן פיינסון. דוד צבי פנקס. אהרן פיליבוב. משה שלוחי. אליעזר קפלן. אברהם קמלמן. אליעזר רוזנבלום. דוד רזניק. כדל רפאל. מרדכי שפיר. בן־ציון שטרנבוך. מנחם שיפרוט. משה שפירא. משה שרתוק.

THE LAND OF ISRAEL was the birthplace of the Jewish people. Here their spiritual, religious and national identity was formed. Here they achieved independence and created a culture of national and universal significance. Here they wrote and gave the Bible to the world.

Exiled from the Land of Israel the Jewish people remained faithful to it in all the countries of their dispersion, never ceasing to pray and hope for their return and the restoration of their national freedom. Impelled by this historic association, Jews stove throughout the centuries to go back to the land of their fathers and regain their statehood. In recent decades they returned in their masses. They reclaimed the wilderness, revived their language, built cities and villages, and established a vigorous and ever-growing community, with its own economic and cultural life. They sought peace yet were prepared to defend themselves. They brought the blessings of progress to all inhabitants of the country and looked forward to sovereign independence.

In the year 1897 the First Zionist Congress, inspired by Theodor Herzl's vision of the Jewish State, proclaimed the right of the Jewish people to national revival in their own country.

This right was acknowledged by the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917, and re-affirmed by the Mandate of the League of Nations, which gave explicit international recognition to the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and their right to reconstitute their National Home.

The recent holocaust, which engulfed millions of Jews in Europe, proved anew the need to solve the problem of the homelessness and lack of independence of the Jewish people by means of the reestablishment of the Jewish State, which would open the gates to all Jews and endow the Jewish people with equality of status among the family of nations.

The survivors of the disastrous slaughter in Europe, and also Jews from other lands, have not desisted from their efforts to reach Eretz-Yisrael, in face of difficulties, obstacles and perils; and have not ceased to urge their right to a life of dignity, freedom and honest toil in their ancestral land.

In the Second World War the Jewish people in Palestine made their full contribution to the struggle of the freedom-loving nations against the Nazi evil. The sacrifices of their soldiers and their war effort gained them the right to rank with the nations which founded the United Nations.

On November 29, 1947, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted a Resolution requiring the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. The General Assembly called upon the inhabitants of the country to take all the necessary steps on their part to put the plan into effect. This recognition by the United Nations of the right of the Jewish people to establish their independent State is unassailable.

It is the natural right of the Jewish people to lead, as do all other nations, an independent existence in its sovereign State.

ACCORDINGLY WE, the members of the National Council, representing the Jewish people in Palestine and the World Zionist Movement, are met together in solemn assembly today, the day of termination of the British Mandate for Palestine; and by virtue of the natural and historic right of the Jewish people and of the Resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

WE HEREBY PROCLAIM the establishment of the Jewish State in Palestine, to be called Medinath Yisrael (The State of Israel).

WE HEREBY DECLARE that, as from the termination of the Mandate at midnight, the 14th—15th May, 1948, and pending the setting up of the duly elected bodies of the State in accordance with a Constitution, to be drawn up by the Constituent Assembly not later than the 1st October, 1948, the National Council shall act as the Provisional Government of the Jewish State, which shall be known as Israel.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the principles of liberty, justice and peace as conceived by the Prophets of Israel; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of religion, race or sex; will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, education and culture; will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and will loyally uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.

THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be ready to cooperate with the organs and representatives of the United Nations in

the implementation of the Resolution of the Assembly of November 29, 1947, and will take steps to bring about the Economic Union over the whole of Palestine.

We appeal to the United Nations to assist the Jewish people in the building of its State and to admit Israel into the family of nations. In the midst of wanton aggression, we yet call upon the Arab inhabitants of the State of Israel to preserve the ways of peace and play their part in the development of the State, on the basis of full and equal citizenship and due representation in all its bodies and institutions—provisional and permanent.

We extend our hand in peace and neighbourliness to all the neighbouring states and their peoples, and invite them to cooperate with the independent Jewish nation for the common good of all. The State of Israel is prepared to make its contribution to the progress of the Middle East as a whole.

Our call goes out to the Jewish people all over the world to rally to our side in the task of immigration and development and to stand by us in the great struggle for the fulfillment of the dream of generations for the redemption of Israel.

With trust in Almighty God, we set our hand to this Declaration, at this Session of the Provisional State Council, on the soil of the Homeland, in the city of Tel Aviv, on this Sabbath eve, the fifth of Iyar, 5708, the fourteenth day of May, 1948.

Signed:

D. Ben Gurion, Daniel Auster, Mordechai Ben Tov, Itzhak Ben Zvi, Eliahu Berlin, P. Bernstein, Rabbi Zeev Gold, Meir Grabovsky, Y. Greenbaum, Abraham Granovsky, Eliahu Dobkin, Meir Vilner, Zorah Warhaftig, Herzl Vardi, Rachel Cohen, Kalman Kahana, S. Kovashi, Itzhak Meir Levin, M. D. Levinstein, Zvi Luria, Golda Myerson, Nahum Nir-Rafalkes, Zvi Segal, Yehuda Leib Hacohen Fishman, David Zvi Pinhas, Aharon Zisling, Moshe Kolodni, E. Kaplan, A. Katzenelson, Felix Rosenblut, D. Remez, B. Repetur, Mordecai Shattner, Ben Zion Sternberg, Bechor Shitreet, Moshe Shapira, Moshe Shertok.

TRUMAN LETTER TO WEIZMANN - 1948

Harry Truman, a friend of the Jews, was President of the United States when the State of Israel was finally established. It was, in no small measure, through his help that Palestine was partitioned, with part of it becoming the Jewish homeland. The next three documents relfect President Truman's dealings with various people here and abroad.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 29, 1948.

Personal and Confidential

Dear Mr. President:

Today -- the first anniversary of the Partition Resolution -- is a most appropriate time for me to answer your last letter, dated November 5th.

As I read your letter, I was struck by the common experience you and I have recently shared. We had both been abandoned by the so-called realistic experts to our supposedly forlorn lost causes. Yet we both kept pressing for what we were sure was right -- and we were both proven to be right. My feeling of elation on the morning of November 3rd must have approximated your own feelings one year ago today and on May 14th, and on several occasions since then.

However, it does not take long for bitter and resourceful opponents to regroup their forces after they have been shattered. You in Israel have already been confronted with that situation; and I expect to be all too soon. So I understand very well your concern to prevent the undermining of your well-earned victories.

I remember well our conversation about the Negev, to which you referred in your letter. I agree fully with your estimate of the importance of that area to Israel, and I deplore any attempt to take it away from Israel. I had thought that my position would have been clear to all the world, particularly in the light of the specific wording of the Democratic Party Platform. But there were those who did not take this seriously, regarding it as "just another campaign promise" to be forgotten after the election. I believe they have recently realized their error. I have interpreted my re-election as a mandate from the American people to carry out the Democratic Platform -- including, of course, the plank on Israel. I intend to do so.

Since your letter was written, we have announced in the General Assembly our firm intention to oppose any territorial changes in the

November 29th Resolution which are not acceptable to the State of Israel I am confident that the General Assembly will support us in this basic position.

We have already expressed our willingness to help develop the new State through financial and economic measures. As you know, the Export-Import Bank is actively considering a substantial long-term loan to Israel on a project basis. I understand that your Government is now in process of preparing the details of such projects for submission to the Bank. Personally, I would like to go even further, by expanding such financial and economic assistance on a large scale to the entire Middle East, contingent upon effective mutual cooperation.

Thank you so much for your warm congratulations and good wishes on my re-election. I was pleased to learn that the first Israeli elections have been scheduled for January 25th. That enables us to set a definite target date for extending de jure recognition.

In closing, I want to tell you how happy and impressed I have been at the remarkable progress made by the new State of Israel. What you have received at the hands of the world has been far less than was your due. But you have more than made the most of what you have received, and I admire you for it. I trust that the present uncertainty with its terribly burdensome consequences, will soon be eliminated. We will do all we can to help by encouraging direct negotiations between the parties looking toward a prompt peace settlement.

Very sincerely yours,

Harry Truman

The Honorable Chaim Weizmann,
President,
State of Israel,
Rehovoth, Israel.

WEIZMANN ADDRESSES ISRAELI ASSEMBLY - 1949

The great moment had arrived. Filled with emotion and realizing history was about to unfold, President Weizmann arose to address the first Assembly of Israel with these words.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT WEIZMANN TO THE ISRAELI ASSEMBLY

(February 1949)

It is with a feeling of deep reverence and consecration that I rise to open the Constituent Assembly of the State of Israel—the first knesseth Israel [Assembly of Israel] of our time in this eternal city of Jerusalem.

This is a great moment in our history. Let us give thanks and praise to the God of Israel, Who in His mercy granted us the privilege of witnessing the redemption of our people after centuries of affliction and suffering. Today's event issued from the great awakening of national will that aroused our people in the last few generations. The first signs came about seventy years ago.

The best among our people, men whose names were then unknown, arose to lead their generation toward fulfillment of the dream of all generations, toward the return to Zion and the restoration of Jewish nationhood.

Those who strove to realize this dream took two paths. The first was the way of spiritual revival and the return to the well-spring of Jewish tradition, the renewal of the Hebrew language and literature, the gathering of the scattered forces of our people into one bond, the public proclamation of our historic rights and the enlisting of help and support from the rulers of nations.

Two Decisive Gatherings

Two gatherings mark decisive steps on this road—the Katowice conference and the first Zionist Congress. The first conference led to the creation of the World Zionist Organization workshop, where the vision hammered itself into reality, and to the establishment of the Jewish Agency as the Zionist movement's supreme political organ and the instrument of colonization.

Following this path, we secured the Balfour Declaration, the first external recognition of our right to settle as a nation in the land of our fathers.

The second path, that of practical action, of carrying out things, was the path taken by those who could not wait any longer for the nation to gird up its strength in exile and for others to recognize their rights. They thought to force God's hand, as it were; theirs was the daring to go up to the land to try to hasten the redemption of their people by their own handiwork and by the sweat of their brows and by their life's blood.

These were the first pioneers—the Biluim [first Zionist settlers on the land in Palestine]—and all who followed the flag to carve out the road of return and to lay the stone on which the future would be built. In their footsteps came a new generation of immigrants to settle on the land, until the Yishuv [the community of Israel] was created. Those who took the second path also erected an organizational structure, institutions of self-government, local councils in towns and townships and assemblies of the new Jewish community, the Assefath Hanivcharim and the Vaad Leumi, which also has its seat in this building.

It is a good while now since the two paths converged and like two members of one body helped reinforce each other until the great day nine months ago—the fifth of Iyar 5708, 14 May 1948—when we proclaimed independence and the establishment of our state. The union of two friends was now completed.

Then, compassed about as we were with blood, fire and pillars of smoke, with the Arab war waged against us from without and within our own house, with chaos bequeathed us by the mandatory, we were not able to hold elections to lay the permanent foundations of our state. A Provisional Government was set up, comprising a legislature and an executive whose authority was derived from earlier elections. In this Provisional Government two former supreme institutions—the Jewish Agency Executive and the Vaad Leumi—joined together and were fused into one.

Today we stand on the threshold of a new era. We leave the dawn light of the provisional authority and enter the full sunshine of ordinary democratic rule. This Assembly was elected by a body of citizens. In the elections the will of the entire people was fully and freely expressed. From the outset we are building on solid foundations—foundations of freedom, equality, collective responsibility and national self-discipline.

It was no longer an isolated band of pioneers who elected this Assembly, but an independent nation dwelling in its own, free country. This nation is being conceived as a gathering in of the exiles, for there is not a Jewish community throughout the world whose members have not a share in the State of Israel.

Every day, to our hearts' joy, tens of thousands of our brethren from countries near and far are entering the gates of the country, which stand wide open to receive them. It is our whole prayer that this gathering of exiles will increase and embrace an ever larger multitude of our people who will strike roots here and work side by side with us in building the State and making our unproductive places fruitful again. We will make this our goal before all else, to devote to it our best powers of thought and action.

Heavy Is the Responsibility

Heavy indeed is the responsibility laid on us in this Assembly. What we began nine months ago on the same date, we bring to completion tonight—the restoration of the realm of Israel. If we are using state forms molded by the experience of the enlightened nations of the modern world, we know truly that these forms contain the treasured essence of the heritage of Israel.

In the ancient world, this tiny country of ours raised the standard of spiritual revolt against the rights of tyranny and brute force. The law of Israel and the vision of her prophets sounded a new epic of relations between man and man, a new ordering of human society. The authority of the King of Israel was limited by law and tradition. The prophets of Israel did not fear to utter rebuke and reproof to kings and princes, and with inspired words forged weapons to defend the poor and oppressed, strangers and slaves, and the orphan and the widow.

The very principle of the institution of kingship was hateful to the spiritual leaders of the people. "I will not rule over you nor shall my son rule over you. The Lord shall rule over us," declares the judge to the assembled people. The warnings of the prophet against the dangers of tyranny thunder from on high to the ears of people to our last generation.

In Israel this authority of one man was derived from the noble conception that people are naturally free and are freely accepting

the rule that law and just judgment do not need compulsion from above to live as ordered by society. The root of the principle of the constitution of that novel state was the limit set for the authority of the king, and in this sense the ancient Hebrew policy was the mother of constitutional government in the modern age.

And now it has fallen to our generation to cement anew the links of that life of freedom that were snapped by tyranny's force nearly 1,900 years ago. I do not know why it is precisely our generation that has been privileged to bring about what many generations before us longed for in the exiles of darkness. Unless we earned it by all the hardships, weariness, sorrow and tribulation that have been our portion during the past seventy years, when one-third of our nation was annihilated.

We suffered torture and affliction as no other nation in the world and because we are a remnant—and no more than a remnant —double and treble responsibility lies upon us to fill the terrible void in our national life.

It is our people who once gave the whole world the spiritual message fundamental to civilization. The world is watching us now to see which way we choose for ourselves in ordering our lives, and is listening to hear whether a new message will go forth from Zion, and what that message will be. The new message was not born without travail and our creative spirit. The creative force of our nation will soon meet the new, serious challenge. The Assembly is called on to frame the will for the supreme test. Let us strive in search of the basis of human life. Let us build a new bridge between science and the spirit of man.

This day is a great day in our lives. Let us not be over-arrogant if we say that this is a great day in the history of the world. In this hour a message of hope and good cheer goes forth from this place in the sacred city to all oppressed people and to all who are struggling for freedom and equality. From this place we send fraternal blessings to our brethren throughout the world and to all states, great and small, that have recognized Israel. 110

TRIPARTITE DECLARATION - 1950

Even after the partition of Palestine, tension still filled the air. The Arab States still talked of war with Israel. The following declaration warned against attacks upon Jordon as well as attacks upon Israel.

The Governments of the United Kingdom, France and the United States, having had occasion during the recent Foreign Ministers meeting in London to review certain questions affecting the peace and stability of the Arab states and of Israel, and particularly that of the supply of arms and war material to these states, have resolved to make the following statements:

1. The three Governments recognize that the Arab states and Israel all need to maintain a certain level of armed forces for the purposes of assuring their internal security and their legitimate self-defence and to permit them to play their part in the defence of the area as a whole. All applications for arms or war material for these countries will be considered in the light of these principles. In this connection the three Governments wish to recall and reaffirm the terms of the statements made by their representatives on the Security Council on 4th August, 1949, in which they declared their opposition to the development of an arms race between the Arab States and Israel.
2. The three Governments declare that assurances have been received from all the States in question, to which they permit arms to be supplied from their countries, that the purchasing State does not intend to undertake any act of aggression against any other State. Similar assurances will be requested from any other States in the area to which they permit arms to be supplied in the future.
3. The three Governments take this opportunity of declaring their deep interest in and their desire to promote the establishment and maintenance of peace and stability in the area, and their unalterable opposition to the use of force or threat of force between any of the States in that area. The three Governments, should they find that any of these States was preparing to violate frontiers or armistice lines, would, consistently with their obligations as members of the United Nations, immediately take action, both within and outside the United Nations, to prevent such violation.

CORRESPONDENCE - AMERICAN COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM AND UNITY

1965

THE AMERICAN
COUNCIL FOR JUDAISM

201 EAST 57th STREET / NEW YORK, N.Y. 10022 / PLAZA 9-6600

December 29, 1965

Mr. Maurice Schapiro
210 Terry Court
Elizabethtown, Kentucky 42701

Dear Mr. Schapiro:

It was good of you to respond to my recent note and I thank you for sharing your thinking with us. It is most encouraging to learn that you agree with The Council's philosophy, even though you have some strong reservations about the"tactics of some of its members ... ".

I too have reservations about some of the tactics of some of our members. But the same would be true of my attitude towards some Republicans if I were a member of the Republican Party and with some Democrats if I were a member of the Democratic Party. For me principles are of major importance, even though I will readily agree that where principles exist in a vacuum -- where most members of an organization violate or ignore these principles, then the principles themselves become meaningless.

But if I correctly read your letter, your dissatisfaction with Council members seems to focus on the activities of one person. What is most interesting is that during my sixteen years with The Council, the name of a Council member who is or was a Rabbi and "who gave long articles to the Piqua Daily Call" is completely unknown to me. I confess with no pride or satisfaction that the number of Rabbis throughout the country who are Council members is unfortunately small. Thus if the person to whom you point was in fact a Council member, I am sure I would have known. It follows then that you are doing our organization and your own viewpoint (because you agree with our organization's philosophy) an injustice by charging us with the bad tactics of this Piqua personality.

If I were merely trying to win an arguement, I would close my case at this point. But in all fairness to you and to the thinking of The Council, I must take issue with the viewpoint urging Jewish unity. Even in the area of religion, the one element that is common to all Jews (at least for those who hold that we are Jews not by race, not by nationality but by our identification with the religion of Judaism and its spiritual fellowship), there are very serious divisions. Your father was a Reform Rabbi. My uncle is a Chassidic Rabbi. In between these extremes, there are the Conservative Jews. In secular matters, I not only see no need for Jewish unity but can envisage many problems if all Jews were Republicans or Democrats or rich or poor.

Coming closer to home, it seems to me it would be literally catastrophic if all Jews were united in agreement with certain published statements of Dr. Nahum Goldmann, President of the World Zionist Organization who on January 7, 1959 was quoted in the press as follows:

> ..."Dr. Goldmann challenged the Jews of America and of other countries to gather courage and declare openly that they entertain a double loyalty, one to the land in which they live and one to Israel. Jews should not succumb to patriotic talk that they owe allegiance only to the country in which they live... They should live not only as patriots of the countries of their domicile, but also as patriots of Israel."

In spite of what I suspect will be at first a hostile reaction, I ask you to read rather carefully the three statements in the enclosed "Who Speaks For You" leaflet, carrying statements issued in January of this year. Both Mr. Coleman and Mr. Kahn challenge Zionist statements that appeared earlier in the general press. Admittedly these statements indicate a lack of unity. But if The Council failed to voice its objections, then the public at large might have reason to believe that all Jews agree with Dr. Goldmann that freedom represents the greatest threat to the survival of the Jewish people. Admittedly Mr. Kahn takes issue with the Deputy Prime Minister of Israel but no other public statement challenged Mr. Eban's reference "to Jews in the United States and elsewhere as the primary source of Israel's 'unused potential strength'".

Of course The Council on occasion may make a mistake in its formulations, although most frequently these mistakes occur not in The Council's texts but in the way the press edits them. Even so we believe we are performing a service in maintaining and articulating a philosophy with which you agree.

This letter is already overly long and I have probably provided you with enough material without commenting on your final point, on Israel as a place of refuge. Perhaps it is sufficient at this point to indicate that from our viewpoint there is much to be said both pro and con. Hopefully, if I have not already thoroughly alienated you, there will be opportunities to discuss this complicated question.

I was born and raised in New York City. My father was an immigrant from Russia who worked for many years as a letter carrier while he completed his studies in accounting. The Victor Raphael whom you knew in Cincinnati is unknown to me.

With best wishes for a happy New Year.

Sincerely yours,

Victor Raphals

Victor Raphals
National Membership Director

VR/mv

Enc.

FOOTNOTES

84 Morris Schappes, Documentary History of the Jews of the United States, 1654-1875 (New York: Citadel Press, 1950), pp. 247-249.

85 Theodor Herzl, The Congress Addresses of Theodor Herzl, Nellie Strauss, trans. (New York: Federation of American Zionists, 1917), pp. 5-9.

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87 Nathan Zuckerman, The Wine of Violence (New York: Association Press, 1947), pp. 233-234.

88 Louis D. Brandeis, The Curse of Bigness, Osmond Fraenkel, ed. (New York: Viking Press, 1935), pp. 218-219.

89 Ibid., "A Call to the Educated Jew," The Menorah Journal, Vol. I (January, 1915).

90 Zuckerman, p. 188.

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92 Janowsky, pp. 136, 137.

93 Ibid., p. 138.

94 Ibid., pp. 142-143.

95 Christopher Sykes, Crossroads to Israel (Cleveland: World Publishing Company, 1965), p. 223.

96 American Jewish Yearbook (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America and American Jewish Committee, 1943), Vol. XLV, pp. 206-210.

97 Zuckerman, pp. 234-235.

98 Elmer Berger, The Flint Plan: A Program of Action for American Jews, Pamphlet 1 (Flint: Committee on Lay-Rabbinical Cooperation, 1942), pp. 3,4.

99 American Jewish Archives, Folder on Harry S. Truman, Correspondence Concerning Palestine and Israel, (Cincinnati: H.U.C.-J.I.R., 1945-1948).

100 Janowsky, pp. 163-164.

101 American Jewish Archives, Folder on American Council for Judaism (Cincinnati: H.U.C.-J.I.R.)

102 Janowsky, pp. 159-161.

103 Ibid., pp. 161-163.

104 American Jewish Archives.

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107 Jeremiah Ben-Jacob, The Rise of Israel (New York: Groby House, 1949), pp. 186-187.

108 Janowsky, pp. 173-176.

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111 Janowsky, pp. 183-184.

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INTRODUCTION: THE JEW ESTABLISHES HIMSELF

Up to now, we have seen that the Jew has mainly been the object of history. As the Jew became more accepted, he was able to act by and for himself to a much greater degree. This last section deals mainly with the development of organizations and educational institutions which, once established, have had their effect throughout the world. Here we see the Jew acting for himself.

ACCOUNT OF STUDENT LIFE IN A YESHIVA - 1840

The East European Jew spared nothing for the religious education of his children. It was not uncommon for a poor man to sell his candlesticks or his only pillow to pay the melamed. Those desiring to pursue more advanced studies of the Talmud would go to a synagogue or a Yeshivah. In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were quite a few famous Yeshivahs in Eastern Europe. Here is a description of the Yeshivah of L. I. Mandelstam, a noted Bible scholar.

This school which has become famous among Jews, is located in a rather large though old and dilapidated building not far from the synagogue. The building includes a large hall and a room where the students congregate for the entire day, from five in the morning until ten in the evening. Altogether there are about one hundred students, almost all of them striplings. Almost all are very poor and are maintained by contributions collected for this purpose in numerous Jewish settlements. . . . Of these funds each registered student receives seventy-five kopeks a week. With this allowance he has to maintain himself the entire week with the exception of Saturday, since on Sabbaths and holidays students are invited out for meals by the local residents.

Their daily routine is as follows: At five o'clock in the morning the students are already at work preparing for the lecture, after which they hold their morning service and have their breakfast consisting of bread and water. At eleven o'clock begins the instructor's discourse, which lasts around two hours. Then follows lunch, consisting of the so called *krupnik*—grits cooked in water. At three o'clock there is a review of the discourse. At six—*minha* (the afternoon service) followed by a study of *Yoreh Deah*[4] (Teacher of Knowledge). Although the *maarib* service (evening prayer) at eight or nine o'clock officially concludes the day's work, the students usually remain over their books till ten and twelve o'clock. The greater part of the student body sleeps in the school.[5] 113

MENDELE MOKER SEFARIM DESCRIBES ATTITUDES OF HIS GENERATION

1860's

The cultural and moral status of a people can be understood not only from its way of life, but from its standards also. Abramowich (Mendele Moker Sefarim) was a severe critic of Russian Jewish life. He characterizes his generation by the following.

To be considered a nice and respectable householder in the city of K., one needed but to own a house, a cow, and, in addition, to earn some sort of a livelihood. But to enjoy prestige, to be respected and popular, more than wealth was required. At one time in Lithuania—perhaps not so much to-day—*Torah* was held in higher esteen than money. A boor, no matter how rich, was nothing more than a boor. As the popular saying had it: 'Out of a pig's tail one cannot make a fur hat.' Such a one may push himself to the fore and have a say in things, and it was often necessary to look on and be silent. But never would such as he be voluntarily accorded a place of honor or listened to open-mouthed. Oh, no! To be worthy of that, one had to be learned, good, pious and come of a good family. Prestige depended not on the money bags but upon the mind and the heart.[24] 114

A SPIRITUAL CENTER - AHAD HAAM - 1907

Ahad HaAm's writings deal with a great variety of subjects - but they all center around the problems of the Jewish people. He advocates within his essays practical steps which are the logical outcome of his philosophy.

A SPIRITUAL CENTRE

(1907)

It has been observed that if men always remembered the true meaning of every word that they use or hear, disputes would be infinitely rarer. The truth of this remark is known by experience to anybody who happens to have promulgated some idea which the contemporary "reading public" did not like, and to have had his "heresy" exposed by the literary mouthpieces of that public. The hapless creature's first feeling is one of incredulity and astonishment. How, he thinks, is it possible so to pervert things, so completely to confuse ideas and to advance arguments which so fail to touch the point? He puts it down to the malevolence of his opponents, believes that they are purposely twisting his words, and complains bitterly to that same reading public in the name of truth and fairness. But later, when he finds that complaint is unavailing, and that the same thing happens time after time, so that malevolence alone cannot be responsible—then he is driven to the conclusion that there must be some more universal explanation of what he has experienced. The explanation is that the connection between a word and the idea contained in it is not so strong in the human mind as to make it impossible for a man to hear or to utter a word without immediately having a full and exact conception of the associated idea. Hence, when a man hears an opinion which runs counter to his way of thinking, he is apt unconsciously to grasp the novel opinion in an

incorrect form: he will change the meaning of this or that word until it becomes not difficult for him to refute the opinion by unsound arguments, in which again one word or another is used incorrectly. And all this counterfeiting is done by the thinking apparatus automatically, without the knowledge of its owner, by virtue of its inherent tendency to work at any given moment in accordance with the dominant requirements of the subliminal self at that moment.

I doubt whether there is any contemporary Jewish writer who is more familiar with this experience than myself. Were I to count up all the disputes with which, for my sins, our literature has been enriched—most of them simply glaring instances of the phenomenon in question—the account would be long indeed. But I wish here to adduce only one instance of a dispute which began fifteen years ago[1] and has continued to this very day.

Fifteen years ago there appeared for the first time an idea that afterwards occasioned endless expenditure of ink. "In Palestine," I wrote, "we can and should found for ourselves a *spiritual centre of our nationality*." My literary experience was not yet extensive, and I overlooked this important consideration: that in putting before the public an idea which does not accord with the general view, one must not merely put it in a logically clear and definite form, but must also reckon with the psychology of the reader—with that mental apparatus which combines unrelated words and ideas according to the requirements of its owner—and must try one's utmost to avoid any word or expression which might afford an opening for this process of combination.

I confess now that in view of this psychological factor I ought to have felt that the formula "a spiritual centre of our nationality" would afford a good opportunity to those who wished to misunderstand, although from the point of view of logic it is sufficiently clear and is well adapted to the idea which it contains.

"Centre" is, of course, a relative term. Just as "father" is inconceivable without children, so is "centre" inconceivable without "circumference"; and just as a father is a father only in relation to his children, and is merely So-and-so in relation to the rest of mankind, so a centre is a centre only in relation to its own circumference, whereas in relation to all that lies outside the circumference it is merely a point with no special importance. When we use the word "centre," metaphorically, in connection with the phenomena of human society, it necessarily connotes a similar idea: what we mean is that a particular spot or thing exerts influence on a certain social circumference, which is bound up with and dependent on it, and that in relation to this circumference it is a centre. But since social life is a complex of many different departments, there are very few centres which are universal in their function—that is, which influence equally all sides of the life of the circumference. The relation between the centre and the circumference is usually limited to one or more departments of life, outside which they are not interdependent. Thus a given circumference may have many centres, each of which is a centre only for one specific purpose. When, therefore, the word "centre" is used to express a social conception, it is accompanied almost always—except where the context makes it unnecessary—by an epithet which

indicates its character. We speak of a literary centre, an artistic centre, a commercial centre, and so on, meaning thereby that in this or that department of life the centre in question has a circumference which is under its influence and is dependent on it, but that in other departments the one does not exert nor the other receive influence, and the relation of centre and circumference does not exist.

Bearing well in mind this definition, which is familiar enough, and applying it to the phrase quoted above—"in Palestine we can and should found for ourselves a spiritual centre of our nationality"—we shall find that the phrase can only be interpreted as follows:—

"A *centre* of our nationality" implies that there is a national *circumference*, which, like every circumference, is much larger than the centre. That is to say, the speaker sees the majority of his people, in the future as in the past, scattered over all the world, but no longer broken up into a number of disconnected parts, because one part—the one in Palestine—will be a centre for them all, and will unite them all into a single, complete circumference. When all the scattered limbs of the national body feel the beating of the national heart, restored to life in the home of its vitality, they too will once again draw near one to another and welcome the inrush of living blood that will flow from the heart.

"Spiritual" means that this relation of centre and circumference between Palestine and the lands of the Diaspora will be limited of necessity to the spiritual side of life. The influence of the centre will strengthen the national consciousness in the Diaspora, will wipe out the spiritual taint of *galuth*, and will fill our spiritual life with a national content which will be true and natural,

not like the artificial content with which we now fill up the void. But outside the spiritual side of life, in all those economic and political relations which depend first and foremost on the conditions of the immediate environment, and are created by that environment and reflect its character—while it is true that in all those relations the effect of the spiritual changes (such as the strengthening of national unity and increased energy in the struggle for existence) will show itself to some extent, yet essentially and fundamentally these departments of life in the Diaspora will not be bound up with the life of the centre, and the most vivid imagination cannot picture to us how economic and political influence will radiate from Palestine through all the length and breadth of the Diaspora, which is co-extensive with the globe, in such manner and to such degree as would entitle us to say, without inexact use of language, that Palestine is the centre of our people in these departments also.

Now, at the time when I first used the phrase under discussion, I knew beforehand that I should excite the wrath of the *Chovevé Zion* (in those days it was they who held the field). But looking, as I did, solely at the logical side, I was sure that the brunt of their anger would fall on the word "centre"; for the use of that word involved a negation of the idea of a return of the whole people to Palestine, and so clipped the wings of those fantastic hopes which even then, in the days before the first Basle Congress, were proclaimed as heralding the end of the *galuth* and a complete and absolute solution of the Jewish problem in all its aspects. The epithet "spiritual" seemed to me so simple and clear, as a necessary logical consequence of

the assumption involved in the world "centre," that it never remotely entered my mind that here might be the stumbling-block, and that I ought at once to file a declaration to the effect that, although the centre would be spiritual in its influence on the circumference, yet in itself it would be a place like other places, where men were compounded of body and soul, and needed food and clothing, and that for this reason the centre would have to concern itself with material questions and to work out an economic system suited to its requirements, and could not exist without farmers, labourers, craftsmen, and merchants. When a man uses, for example, the expression "literary centre," does it occur to him to explain that he does not mean a place where there is no eating or drinking, no business or handicraft, but simply a number of men sitting and writing books and drinking in the radiance of their own literary talent? Imagine, then, my surprise when I found that my critics paid no attention to the word "centre," but poured out all the vials of their wrath on the epithet "spiritual," as though it contained all that was new and strange in the idea: as who should say, "A *spiritual* and not a *material* centre? Can such a thing be?"

But my amazement soon died away when I remembered the "psychological apparatus." It was bound to fasten on some word or other in order to make my unpopular theory appear absurd; and since the word "centre," if the critics dwelt on it and led the minds of their readers to analyse its meaning, was calculated not to serve that end, but, on the contrary, to make it clear where the absurdity really lay, they found it best to give "spiritual" all the emphasis. "A *spiritual* centre! Now do you understand what these people want? They

care nothing for a material settlement, for colonies, factories, commerce: they want only to settle in Palestine a dozen *batlanim*, whose business shall be spiritual nationality."

Great indeed is the power of psychology. This interpretation spread abroad, was accepted, and remains to this day a matter of course. Even those Zionists who have not got their knowledge of my views from the pamphlet literature which has flooded the world in recent years, but have read them in the original—even they are certain that that is what spiritual Zionism means. It has availed them nothing to read immediately afterwards, in the same article,[1] that the spiritual centre must be "a true miniature of the people of Israel," and that in the centre there will appear once more "the genuine type of a Jew, whether it be a Rabbi or a scholar or a writer, *a farmer or a craftsman or a business man.*" It has availed nothing, because psychological factors dominate not only the person judging, but also his memory.

Three years ago,[2] I remember, after I had published in some journal a protest against the favourable reports about the condition of the Palestinian colonies that were then being spread abroad, for diplomatic purposes, a writer in the camp of the political Zionists became angry with me, and determined to shatter with one blow all my views on Zionism, and so remove a dangerous heresy. This idea he carried out in an elaborate article, which was continued through many numbers of the same journal. The details I have forgotten: they were

but the old arguments dished up in different words. But I still remember one thing, which provoked not only a smile but also reflections such as those which are the subject of the present essay. After proving conclusively that material factors are of great importance, and cannot be lightly brushed aside, our author reaches the conclusion that it is for that reason idle to confine our work solely to the foundation of a spiritual centre for our nationality: we must found in Palestine an *economic and spiritual* centre. It escaped his notice that so soon as he used the word "centre" he became himself a "spiritual Zionist," and in adding the epithet "economic" added exactly nothing. The journal in question appeared in Warsaw, which was also at that time the home of our author; and in order to understand the matter aright he had only to go into the street and ask any intelligent Pole: "What is Warsaw to the Polish people as a whole? Is it a spiritual centre of the nation, or a spiritual and economic centre?" The answer, I think, would have been something like this: "For the Polish people as a whole this city is certainly a spiritual centre of their nationality. Here the national characteristics find their expression in every department of life, here the national language, literature, and art live and develop; and all this, and what goes with it, influences the spirit of the Poles, binds them, wherever they may be, to the centre, and prevents the spark of nationality in the individual from becoming buried and extinguished. But an *economic* centre of the nation? My good sir! How could Warsaw be an economic centre for all the millions of Poles who are scattered over different lands, and whose economic lives depend on entirely different centres, where Polish

economic conditions do not count at all?" I should not have advised our author, after getting an answer of that kind, to ask: "How so? Are there not in Warsaw, besides spiritual things, ever so many factories and shops and other material things, without which it could not develop its spiritual side? And is it not therefore an economic and spiritual centre?" I should not have advised him to ask that question, because I could not guarantee that the intelligent Pole would waste words on such a questioner.

But amongst ourselves "the economic centre" has become a current phrase with many people who on the one hand want to do their duty by the economic side of Zionism (that is *de rigueur* nowadays), and on the other hand cannot achieve the imaginative eagle-flights of "Proletarian Zionism,"[1] which promises to create in Palestine a national economic system so healthy and so vast that it will be able to provide room and work for all those Jews who are being more and more completely elbowed out of the best branches of industry in the lands of their exile (that is, for almost nine-tenths of the people). Zionists like these, in order to get rid of the difficult question as to the possibility of settling the majority of our people in Palestine, even when their new economic system becomes a fact, consent to accept half the loaf, and want to regard Palestine as merely an economic *centre*. But herein they escape one snare to fall into a worse: they have got rid of an external problem, which depends on arguments from experience,

[1][The name given to a Zionist doctrine based on Marxian Socialism, which had a vogue in Russia, especially among the younger generation, at the time when this article was written. The "internal process" (mentioned later) belongs to the terminology of this doctrine.]

and are caught instead in an inner contradiction, which mere logic can expose. With the "Proletarian" formula one can still argue: one can demand, for instance, a somewhat clearer explanation of that "internal process" by which the economic system of Palestine will become able to absorb immigration on a scale unparalleled in history: but at all events there is no self-contradiction. Whereas the conception of "an economic centre of the nation," when applied to a people scattered over the whole world, leaves no room for argument or questioning, because its refutation is in itself.

But psychological combinations of this kind are a good sign. They show—in common with other clear signs—that the "centre" as an idea is making headway and is leading to various deductions which could not have been imagined some years ago. And that is the all-important thing. In time the deduction which is involved in the word "spiritual," when rightly understood, will also be drawn, and it will no longer be possible to suppress it by psychological means. True, all this will not do away with the old nonsense about "spiritual Zionism"; on the contrary—and this is even now unmistakably evident—the more the substance of spiritual Zionism prevails, the more will psychology try to distinguish the victorious tendency from its hated name. But what of that? Let the name be beaten, so but the idea prevail!

ESTABLISHMENT OF HEBREW UNION COLLEGE BY ISAAC M. WISE

1875

Isaac M. Wise, the founder and President of Hebrew Union College, not only writes about Hebrew Union College but also of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, which he founded.

No thunder of cannon, no ringing of bells announced to the world, which cared little enough, the great event when, in October, 1875, the Hebrew Union College opened at Bene Israel Temple in Cincinnati, one story below the surface of the earth. There sat the wise men of Israel, namely, the good old teacher Solomon Eppinger and fourteen noisy boys, most of whom had come only to kill time and at the command of their parents. Four of them wanted to study; ten wanted to make noise.

Since Mr. Eppinger could not manage the class by himself, the exalted president [Rabbi Wise] had to condescend to become a schoolmaster and to share the joys and sorrows of a schoolteacher with good old Eppinger. The class was divided into two sections. The president and the faculty alternately took each group. No one who failed to see the embryonic college can imagine how ridiculous was this little hole-in-the-wall of a school, in its not-too-bright cellar, carrying the pompous name of a college. Fortunately, we did not have to be ashamed in front of visitors, for none came. Also, no book was stolen, since each evening the whole library was locked up in a two-and-one-half-foot box, not because of thieves, but because of mice.

What we lacked most of all was English textbooks [on Judaism], and the students did not understand German [in which language there were many books on Jewish subjects]. No useful Hebrew grammar, no Jewish history, nothing except the English Bible, was available. We had to help ourselves. The grammar was dictated, and Josephus replaced the history. But when we got to the Talmud, we were in a bad way. Things went from bad to worse when we reached Maimonides. Nothing had been prepared in English. We had to create a new English to make these old writings available to our students. Never before had the Talmud been translated into English anywhere

for the students; everywhere the old Polish-German jargon [Yiddish] prevailed. After much hesitation and delay, although overwhelmed by work, I once more had to take up my pen. I long rebelled against it, but it had to be, for no one was interested in us (except for our opponents, who attacked or mocked us), and again I went to work.

I began by translating haggadic [non-legal] portions of the Talmud, and selections from the [Maimonidean] *Sepher Hammada, Moreh Nebuchim,* and other philosophical writings. But since I had to have the translations for the classes, I could make a sufficient supply of duplicate copies only by printing them each week in *The Israelite* (as I did later with the [discussion of the] *Massorah* and the theological lectures as well), so that every student could have a copy at hand. That was a rewarding task for me. First of all, the students rapidly busied themselves with the difficult task of translating these selections into English; secondly, I was criticized mercilessly and learned from this that haste makes waste; and thirdly, the readers of *The Israelite* complained about the unreadable material. This gave me the proud consciousness that my writings were even read, something of which few religious periodicals could then boast. It did not stop me from engaging in this profitable business as long as it was needed.

Meanwhile, I worked on a textbook on history from 536 B.C.E. to 70 C.E., and had it printed at my own expense. The book is entitled *History of the Hebrews' Second Commonwealth.*[30] Actually, it is the second part of my *History of the Israelitish Nation,* which was published in 1854, but I had to change the form, since this book was primarily required as a textbook on history. I made critical use of the investigations of Jost, Graetz, Frankel, Herzfeld, Zunz, Geiger, Rapaport, Loew, Weiss, Bruell, Salvador, Raphael [Raphall], Prideaux, Munk, and others, together with the findings of geographers and numismaticians. To all this I added my own researches, particularly those on the origin of Christianity, and scattered notes in the Talmud. The material was digested in a strictly logical and pragmatic manner, and condensed into short paragraphs to avoid a heavy volume. I succeeded in presenting a history of six centuries clearly and completely in this thin volume, although I devoted much space to literature and culture.

I now had an exhaustive and complete textbook for this important period of history, and that was all that I wanted. It never occurred to me to consider whether or not anyone would read or buy the book. Nevertheless, the critics got hold of it – how, I do not know – and did their best to destroy it, but they did not succeed. One was highly incensed that I translated *pammalya shel maalah* as "the family on high," and called this a profanation of the Holy One. A second one

felt hurt because I depicted Agrippa I as a law-abiding king, and there were dozens of similar trifles. Best of all, however, was the contention of a native-born Jew who did not like my English. I did not laugh, neither was I angry at the reviewers; but I have learned to despise them and, because of their weakness, to pity them, and I did not reply. The book has gone through several editions, and will long remain as a textbook.

Now I had a period of rest and I did not have to write a book. Dr. [Moses] Mielziner had relieved me. At the college I could use my earlier books and take from *The Israelite* what I had put into it for that purpose. I did not want to publish sermons and other lectures, since most of them had already been distributed by the press. Then came the Pentateuch or Hexateuch criticism and it aroused me once again. When the scholars and half-scholars had gone so far as to portray the Books of Moses as a late creation and as a patchwork, stitched together by deceitful priests, and as to deny the existence of Moses, and to explain all biblical history down to David, or even later, as myth, and to declare all of biblical Judaism to be a product of the Babylonians and Aryans [Persians], I was seized with fear for historical Judaism on the one hand, and on the other hand I had to speak against this to the students of the college.

If the Pentateuch was a lie on which all of historical Judaism based itself, then all our great spirits were either deceived deceivers or despicable hypocrites. If this is so, why is there Judaism in the nineteenth century? Why all the sacrifices offered on the altar of our faith, so often with bleeding hearts, not only by our fathers, but also by us? If this is so, whence do I know that there is an only, unique, and eternal God, who is merciful, just, loving, and true? Whence do I know that justice, righteousness, and virtue are what we claim them to be? Whence do I know that there are a moral order of the universe and immortality, when all the world has gone off into materialism, all philosophy into the unconscious and into agnosticism?

Like Koheleth [Ecclesiastes], I was almost forced into despair. I was pushed to the very edge of the abyss of pessimism, of nihilism, from which suicide alone can free one. I had to speak, I had to write again, once again pushed and forced by tormenting circumstances. It took a long time for me to work through the constantly growing critical literature. It took me even longer to oppose the apparatus [of biblical criticism], rich in hypotheses and contradictions, with a system [of my own]. When I had found out how to confront the documentary hypothesis with a priori proofs, I went to my desk and produced the introduction to the Holy Writ under the title *Pronaos to Holy Writ*,[51] which is still [1897] used as a textbook at the Hebrew

Union College. Since I am still in a unique position in relation to this book, I shall have to give more information about it, which shall be done soon.[32]

XII

The year 1889 brought to us American rabbis a new institution: an association of rabbis, exclusively for them and independent of the whole world. The minutes tell us that thirty rabbis, who were present in the city of Detroit as delegates of congregations to the council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, formed the Central Conference of American Rabbis. It is true that I had written, and ordered to be printed, the first draft, but it was presented to the pre-convention group anonymously. Dr. Philipson assumed the chair, Dr. Berkowitz acted as secretary, and the constituent committee appointed by the convention consisted of Drs. Mayer, Mielziner, Sale, Berkowitz, and Aaron. My name was not mentioned at all, and in the first draft the late Dr. S. Adler, of New York, was nominated for the presidency.

I was happy that I was going to escape this time without any further responsibilities. I had passed my seventieth year and had no desire to enter upon new obligations. My colleagues, however, were of a different opinion. Once the conference was organized and proceeded to the election of officers, Dr. S. Adler was elected honorary president, and, against my will, the presidency was placed upon my shoulders. "In spite of his strenuous protests," the minutes read, "the unanimous sentiment was in favor of Dr. Isaac M. Wise, of Cincinnati, as president." I could not escape, although this seemed to be a new burden for me.

I made the job easy for myself: I let the gentlemen of the conference do everything while I learned to be silent in the chair. With the exception of the opening speech I did only one thing, and that was the commission's report on the abolition of circumcision for proselytes, which was approved by the Conference in New York on July 8, 1892. The report took up twenty-six pages in the yearbook, and I had to work it out by myself, since my dear colleagues Moses and Landsberg were in Europe at that time.

But matters soon changed. The Conference decided that this body would have to represent Judaism at the religious congress of the World's Fair in Chicago in 1893. That stirred me greatly and woke me from my lethargy. I well knew that we had enough strength to do justice to the task. But I was not ignorant of the extent to which opinions differed among us. It was to be feared that, instead of

Judaism, we would present a hybrid before the world. That had to be prevented at any price, and it was at least in the main stopped by deciding on a program of what was not to be discussed, and on who was to work on the suggested themes. Since we, that is to say the commission, knew our people well, the apportionment of the themes worked out quite well, as may be seen from the collected addresses in the book, *Judaism at the World's Parliament of Religions.*

With brotherly love the commission overwhelmed me with work. It entrusted me with three subjects: "The Theology of Judaism," "The Ethics of Judaism," and "The Bibliography of the Jewish Periodical Press." The last mentioned, despite the help of Dr. Louis Grossmann, I could not cover completely. For the two other works, which filled twenty-five pages of the above book, I hold myself responsible. The difficulty I had to consider in this work lay not in the material; that was easy and readily at hand, since I had moved in this atmosphere for fifty years, and for the last eighteen I had taught these subjects at the Hebrew Union College.

The difficulty was in the method. How could I present these important teachings truly and intelligibly to a public consisting of the learned representatives of almost all the religions of the world without suppressing what I should and must say, and without giving offense? Furthermore, how could I present all that I had to say to the public in the short time allotted to me? Added to this was my awareness of the great importance of this assignment. For the first time in the history of Israel, I was to glorify and worthily present the God and the teachings of Israel before the adherents of all religions, on an occasion that had never happened before and which was unlikely to recur.

I appeared to myself as the high priest on the Day of Atonement, who fearfully and tremblingly enters the holy of holies. I was afraid to approach the task; with trepidation I wrote every sentence, only to improve and shorten it the moment it was written down. As I, in the silence of the night, alone in my room, reread what I had written the previous night, the painful thought came upon me: "You are not big enough to master this task." It took a long time before my enthusiasm for the high task, and my conviction that I would only have to tell the truth, overcame my fearful timidity and I could approach the task with joy and love.

Thus I did not come to Chicago unprepared. If I did not carry out my assignment completely, it was only because I could do no better. But I do know for certain that I was the only one at the congress who spoke on the theology and the ethics of Judaism as a

system, thus bringing the Jewish teachings to the larger public through the proceedings of the congress. My colleagues accomplished much that was good and beautiful; but it was always separate segments that were treated and presented. No one had gone so far as to submit a complete system of theology and ethics. They all spoke as Jewish scholars; none spoke as a Jewish theologian, not because they could not, but because they would not. The scholar and the apologete were heard in every lecture, but positive Judaism always remained in the background, often almost concealed from the view of the uninitiated.

I was very much satisfied with the achievements of my colleagues, if only because they did not speak of all that which divides us, of that which runs counter to the idea of Judaism as a world religion, or which devaluates other religions or incites to polemics. I cannot, however, say that they were satisfied with my contributions; that I discovered only later. Had I known it right then and there, I would have been even more satisfied with my achievements, for it would have convinced me that I must have said something which the scholarly gentlemen did not know before, and I would have been quite proud of that.

Anyway, except for establishing theology on a philosophical foundation, I did not wish to present anything new in Chicago, and I will report on that matter later.[33] [Wise never completed these memoirs.] 116

UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS - CALL FOR A CONVENTION - 1870's

The next eight documents deal with the establishment of the major organizations, colleges, and seminaries in the United States, France, and Israel. Each organization has had world-wide impact and can be proud of its achievements.

CALL FOR A CONVENTION.

GENTLEMEN:—For centuries have the Israelites been distinguished as a people who love to be enlightened, and therefore spared no means to promote education, and to keep alive the eternal principles of their religion, and which, in return, has promoted their happiness and prosperity in every clime.

"To be enlightened in and to teach the truth are obligations which we owe, not only to ourselves and to our posterity, but to our progenitors who so bravely and zealously defended our sacred cause, and bequeathed to us a legacy which has alike exalted us and elevated mankind.

"To continue these blessings, however, it is essential to preserve the Jewish identity, and to employ the proper agencies by which the future advocates of our religion shall be educated; and to establish a 'Jewish Theological Institute' for that purpose, is conceded to be of the highest importance and necessity.

"The want of such an institution in this country has long been felt; and how we can supply the places of the good men now devoting their time and talents in the interest of our cause when they will be no more, is a question upon which the welfare and permanency of our religion most materially depends.

"Recognizing, therefore, as we have no doubt you do, the necessity of harmonizing upon some action which will supply this great want, in order that some of our youth, conversant with the language of the land, should be educated for the Jewish ministry, and as teachers and expounders of our sacred principles, we, representing all the congregations of this city, have unanimously

"*Resolved*, To issue a call to all the congregations of the West and South for a Congregational Convention to form a 'Union of Congregations,' under whose auspices a 'Jewish Theological Institute' shall be established, and other measures adopted which will advance the prosperity of our religion.

"With this view, we respectfully invite your congregation to be represented in the Congregational Convention, which will convene in this city on the 8th day of July, 1873.

"Each congregation is requested to send two delegates, and one additional delegate for every twenty-five members above twenty-five, and to report at their earliest convenience the names of such delegates to the Secretary, Lipman Levy, 117 West Third Street, Cincinnati, O.

"Trusting that you will accept our invitation, and thus become co-laborers in the good cause, we have the honor to be your obedient servants:

"M. Loth, Henry Mack, A. Aub, B. Bettman, M. J. Mack, Nathaniel Newburg, A. J. Friedlander, Henry Stix, Leopold Wise, B. Simon, Max Thurnauer, Gabriel Netter, L. Holstein, representing Congregation K. K. B'nai Yeshurun.

"Julius Freiberg, L. Krohn, Philip Heidelbach, A. A. Kramer, J. Seasongood, J. Kronacher, L. Levy, M. Hellman, M. Bettman, J. Ezekiel, P. Moses, C. Kahn, jr., representing Congregation K. K. B'nai Israel.

"Joel H. Steinberg, S. Hess, M. Hilb, S. Baur, I. P. Strauss, S. Weil, M. Steinfield, Herm. Lowenstein, W. Lazarus, I. Frankenberg, I. Stickler, Isaac Faller, representing Congregation K. K. Ahabath Achim.

"Rev. Dr. Berg, Louis Harris, M. Hass, Isaac Levy, H. Flohr, B. L. Loventhal, E. Newman, Philip Phillips, N. L. Levinson, A. Davis, Morris Tuch, S. L. Mode, representing Congregation K. K. Adath Israel.

"Henry Adler, Nathan Moses, B. Benjamin, P. Bamberger, A. Straus, M. Bing, jr., L. Meiss, A. Bamberger, Joseph Block, M. Bing, sr., Henry Straus, H. Weineman, representing Congregation K. K. Sherith Israel." 117

ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE - 1870

Blazing new trails...

A century ago, a handful of French Jews founded the Alliance Israelite Universelle – the first organization dedicated to the relief of suffering Jews throughout the world.

There has been hardly one major problem in Jewish life during the last hundred years to whose solution the Alliance has not contributed.

EMIGRATION – The Alliance helped in the first organized efforts to assist the emigration of Jews fleeing the Russian pogroms during the 1880's. This was the beginning of the great migratory movement which eventually transformed American Jewry into the greatest Jewish community in the world.

HUMAN RIGHTS – The representatives of the Alliance to the Berlin Congress of 1867 were the first delegation ever sent to an international conference by a leading organization in order to protect Jewish rights.

EDUCATION – The Alliance was the first to embark, in 1862, on a program to create a network of schools for the Jewish communities of the Near and Middle East and North Africa. These schools have completely revolutionized the lives of millions of Jews.

LAND SETTLEMENT – The Alliance, in 1870, took the first step in Jewish land settlement in Palestine by founding the Agricultural School of Mikveh Israel.

CULTURE - REVIVAL OF HEBREW – It was in the schools of the Alliance that Eliezer ben Yehudah, "the Father of Modern Hebrew," had the first opportunity to teach Hebrew as a living language.

In the early 1880's Ahad Ha'am, the noted Jewish thinker, saw in Brody, Austria the Alliance representative, Charles Netter, help refugees from Russia to continue their journey. He made these notes on the spot:

. . . The city was full of refugees from Russia. Charles Netter and his aides stayed there, directing group after group to America . . . I saw Netter, that worthy man, standing in the station and distributing money to the refugees. His face expressed the kindness and compassion he felt for them . . .

As the train started to move, they called out: "Long live Netter! Long live the Alliance!"

Reshumoth, Tel Aviv, Vol. V

THE EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE ALLIANCE ISRAELITE UNIVERSELLE

By

SAADIAH CHERNIAK (*)

The future Jewish historian will note, as one of the most revolutionary events in our generation, the fact that for the first time since the sixteenth century, Jewry in the old world -- Israel included -- has ceased to be predominantly Ashkenazi. The Sephardi-Oriental communities of the Moslem countries, who until recently were relegated to the shadows of Jewish life, are finally coming forward into the light.

Thus, the activities of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in the educational field, which are concentrated mostly in the areas inhabited by the Sephardim, have acquired an importance which greatly exceeds the limits of these areas.

* * *

When, in 1860, a small group of French Jews founded the Alliance Israélite Universelle (in Hebrew: Hevrath Kol Israel Haverim) they could hardly have foreseen that among its other activities the Alliance would have to create and maintain the largest network of Jewish schools in the Diaspora.

The Alliance was founded in order "to help Jews wherever they suffer as Jews".

At that time Jews were suffering in many parts of the world, not only in Eastern Europe but also in the vast areas of the Moslem world, where many Jews lived -- and many still live -- in indescribable misery amid the squalor of medieval ghettos. When the Alliance sought to alleviate their plight, it soon realized that there was no hope of the slightest improvement until schools were provided for the children.

Education in the Moslem areas was not then the responsibility of the local government. (And in many places conditions have not changed since.) On the other hand, the appallingly poor local Jewish communities were unable to help themselves. The children were thus denied any education and were doomed to a life of ignorance and utter wretchedness.

It may now be difficult to believe, but at that time there was, in the entire Jewish world, only one organization operating on a universal scale -- the Alliance Israélite Universelle. When it was decided that there must be schools, therefore, the Alliance could not help taking upon itself the task of establishing them.

This is how the first Alliance school was opened ninety-five years ago in Tetouan, Morocco. Many more schools were soon opened in various parts of North Africa, in the Balkan countries, and in the Middle East. The whole area -- from the African coast of the Atlantic on the west to the western approaches to India on the east, and from the Black and Caspian Seas on the north to the Sahara Desert and the Persian Gulf on the south -- was dotted with Alliance schools.

(*) Mr. Cherniak is the Executive Director of the American Friends of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.

The Alliance network has undergone many changes since its inception. In some countries -- Turkey, for instance -- the local communities have finally been able to take over the schools. In other countries (Libya, Iraq), Alliance activities have been curtailed because of the shifts in Jewish population. Yet again, in many areas (North Africa, Iran), the Alliance's educational work has had to be extended. Today the Alliance conducts 130 schools with more than 50,000 children attending -- in Israel, Morocco, Tunisia, Tripolitania, Syria, Lebanon, and Iran. In most of these countries, 80 per cent of the Jewish children of school age are enrolled in Alliance schools. Forty-nine per cent of the students are girls; this is particularly significant since previously girls had been denied any education in the Moslem areas.

Most of the schools function at an elementary level. Their curriculum is usually based on that of the French school system, in which the demands made upon the children are certainly no less than in, say, America. The children learn, of course, the language of the country; they are also taught French, which in most of these areas is the link to western civilization. Hebrew and religious education are an important part of the curriculum.

The Alliance maintains a number of secondary schools, too. It also conducts vocational schools where the children are taught industrial trades or trained in agricultural work. The Normal School in Paris prepares teachers of general subjects for all the Alliance schools. A similar school in Morocco trains teachers of Hebrew and Arabic for the entire network.

* * *

In order to understand the magnitude and special character of the educational work of the Alliance, it must be borne in mind that there is a basic difference between the problem of Jewish education as it has arisen in America and Europe, and the problem that has been confronting the Alliance in the Moslem areas of Africa and Asia.

Here and in Europe the problem is how to save Jewish children for Judaism. The Alliance, however, is faced with the additional problem of how to save Jewish children from misery and degradation. The danger which educational organizations are trying to combat here and in Europe, is that the Jewish youngster will graduate from a general high school or college without having acquired any Jewish knowledge and Jewish consciousness. The danger in the Moslem areas is that the Jewish youngster will never attend any school at all.

The result of the Alliance's educational activities is thus, first of all, of a humanitarian nature. Into the pathetically sad lives of the Jewish children in the Moslem countries the Alliance school brings joy and hope. By assuring, through adequate education, a decent productive life for their alumni, the Alliance schools have revolutionized the existence of hundreds of thousands of Jewish families who would otherwise never have risen above the squalid poverty of their surroundings.

It is not accidental that whenever one meets a Jew from one of the Moslem countries who lives under decent conditions, he is invariably an alumnus - or the son of an alumnus -- of an Alliance school.

Very often the Alliance school has to substitute for the family. It is in school that most of the children have their one hot meal a day; and it is the school that cares for their health and teaches them the rudiments of hygiene.

As an illustration of both the living conditions of the local Jewish population and the special tasks of the Alliance, one may cite its special schools in Morocco which were opened for children suffering from trachoma. In these schools the students not only receive the usual education, but, at the same time, are cured of their disease, which, if left unchecked, would result in total blindness.

* * *

The fact that the Alliance schools brighten the lives of countless thousands of children and bring economic and social rehabilitation to many communities does not imply, however, that their achievements are of a purely humanitarian character alone. The task of helping to assure Jewish hemschech (continuity) through education is an integral and very important part of the Alliance program. In all its schools children are daily taught Hebrew, the Bible, and Jewish history. A strong effort is made to acquaint them with all that Jewish genius has created through the centuries.

At the beginning of the activities, the Alliance left to the local communities the task of determining the approach to Jewish subjects in its schools. This was motivated by the desire not to interfere, even in the slightest way, with local views on religious education. Since the communities, however, were generally unable to adapt teaching methods to changing conditions, the Alliance at last took upon itself the entire task of teaching Jewish subjects in its schools. Radical changes have been introduced in this field during the last ten or fifteen years. Much more time is now given to Jewish instruction. The curriculum has been enlarged, and the Hebrew Normal School in Casablanca now provides the entire Alliance school system with efficient and devoted Hebrew teachers.

There is no doubt that a child attending an Alliance school learns a great deal more of Hebrew, the Bible, and other Jewish subjects than does the average Jewish youngster in America or Europe.

One cannot overestimate the importance of the fact that in the large Jewish communities of North Africa and other Moslem areas, 80 per cent of the children receive their education in "all-day" Jewish schools. This is an achievement which is now unique in Jewish life outside Israel. The historical significance of this achievement is underscored by the fact that, as already mentioned, the Jews of the Moslem lands now constitute one of the main reservoirs of Jewish life in the Old World. What will happen to them will certainly make a lasting impression on the whole course of Jewish history, in Israel no less than in the Diaspora.

* * *

Part of the Alliance school network operates in Israel. At the very beginning of modern Jewish settlement in Palestine, and even before, the Alliance pioneered in bringing modern schools to the Yishuv. It is worth mentioning that Eliezer ben-Yehuda, the father of modern Hebrew, began his career as a teacher in an Alliance school.

The famous agricultural school, Mikveh Israel, near Jaffa, was created by the Alliance in 1870, marking the first step in agricultural colonization in Palestine. Mikveh Israel has contributed -- and continues to contribute significantly -- to the agricultural development of the country. About five thousand alumni of Mikveh are among the best farmers and agronomists in Israel.

The first vocational school in Jerusalem was also founded by the Alliance. The school is still a valuable part of the Alliance network in Israel, as is another Jerusalem institution -- a unique venture in the country -- a school for deaf mutes.

The Alliance network in Israel now comprises twelve schools. Three of them are high schools, a recent addition to the Alliance network. Since the percentage of children receiving secondary education in Israel is, unfortunately, low, the Alliance has decided to contribute to the solution of this problem as well.

* * *

Education is only one of the fields in which the Alliance is active, but this is the field in which most spectacular results have been achieved in both alleviating human suffering and giving new vigor to Jewish life.

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JEWISH THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY - 1901

THE IDEA OF THE SEMINARY

"The preservation in America of the knowledge and practice of historical Judaism . . ."

For the founders of The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, this statement of their objectives in the original charter of 1886 reflected both an urgent necessity and a compelling vision. The American Jewish community was already nearly 250 years old. It numbered 300,000 souls and was about to receive the new waves of immigration that marked the turning of the century. Yet it still derived its intellectual nourishment entirely from the European centers of Jewish learning. There were no scholarly centers in the New World to compare with Berlin, Breslau, Vienna, or Vilna. Nor was there in America any institution training rabbis in modern research and critical methods for the leadership of congregations committed to the preservation of traditional Judaism. The founders of the Seminary knew that there must be a native center of modern Jewish learning if Judaism were to survive in America.

The impetus for the new Seminary came from Doctor Sabato Morais, rabbi of Mikveh Israel in Philadelphia, the second oldest Jewish congregation in the country. He won to his cause an influential group of rabbis, scholars, and laymen, prominent among them the youthful Doctor H. Pereira Mendes, rabbi of the nation's oldest congregation, Shearith Israel, in New York. The group incorporated the Jewish Theological Seminary Association in 1886, and in January 1887 the first ten students began preparatory classes in the vestry rooms of Shearith Israel at 5 West 19th Street in New York City. In October the Seminary moved to Cooper Union, where it remained for four years. For another ten years it occupied a brownstone residential building at 736 Lexington Avenue.

Its students in this period were boys in their teens who pursued their collegiate and rabbinical studies simultaneously. A small but devoted faculty, under the presidency of Doctor Morais (1886-1897), struggled with an inadequate library and cramped facilities. Without endowment, the Seminary was supported by contributions from sympathetic individuals and congregations. Despite these difficulties, the Seminary graduated seventeen rabbis during the life of the Jewish Theological Seminary Association.

In 1901 a group of prominent Jewish philanthropists, led by Jacob H. Schiff, Leonard Lewisohn, and Daniel Guggenheim, established a new corporation with a substantial endowment, The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, into which the older Association merged. The reorganized Seminary moved into a new building at 531 West 123rd Street donated by Mr. Schiff. The directors called Doctor Solomon Schechter from Cambridge University in England to be the Seminary's new president.

Renowned as the world's foremost Jewish scholar and the discoverer of the Cairo Genizah, Doctor Schechter envisioned the Seminary as a center of traditional yet scientific Jewish scholarship. In his inaugural address in 1902 he made it clear that the Seminary could not ignore the revolutions in human thought accomplished by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Seminary must employ every tool of research and criticism in its devotion to truth. Yet it would adhere faithfully to Torah. "The religion in which the Jewish ministry should be trained," Doctor Schechter insisted, "must be specifically and purely Jewish, without any alloy or adulteration. Judaism must stand or fall by that which distinguishes it from other religions as well as by that which it has in common with them . . . There is no other Jewish religion but that taught by the Torah and confirmed by history and tradition, and sunk into the conscience of Catholic Israel . . . Any attempt to place the centre of gravity outside the Torah must end in disaster."

President Schechter (1902-1915) brought to the Seminary a distinguished new faculty. As Professor of Talmud he appointed Doctor Louis Ginzberg, who had recently come to America. He brought from Europe Doctor Alexander Marx as Professor of History, Doctor Israel Friedlaender as Professor of Bible, Doctor Joseph Mayer Asher as Professor of Homiletics. The Rabbinical School was tranformed into a graduate school, its curriculum was reorganized and a program of advanced study leading to the doctorate was instituted. In 1909 President Schechter established the Teachers Institute, with Doctor Mordecai M. Kaplan at its head.

Under Doctor Cyrus Adler (1915-1940), who succeeded Doctor Schechter as president, the Seminary maintained the position of scholarly preeminence won for it by President Schechter. A renowned faculty drawn from Europe, Israel, and America, with an unsurpassed library at its disposal, has produced many works of fundamental scholarly importance. Today the Seminary has nearly 700 students in its regular academic departments and a faculty, full and part-time, of close to 75 men and women.

JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE - early 1900's

JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

OF FUNDS FOR JEWISH WAR SUFFERERS

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56 PINE STREET, NEW YORK CITY
TELEPHONE JOHN 2872

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

December 29, 1916.

Felix M. Warburg, Esq., Chairman,
Joint Distribution Committee,
52 William Street,
New York City.

My dear Mr. Warburg:-

I enclose a list, showing the amounts that have been paid, on account of the transportation of the women and children by the "Des Moines". It amounts, together with my own check for $100.00, which I enclose herewith, to $2,887.50. I understand that you desire to transfer this amount to Mr. Lehman.

In order to straighten the whole transaction, I enclose receipt in the same form that we used before, covering the $100.00 paid by Mr. Hyman Cohen, for the transportation of his sister-in-law, Mrs. Yenta Cohen and her two children. This amount was received only recently, after the departure of the "Des Moines" was so long delayed and the State Department has notified me that the names of Mrs. Yenta Cohen and her two children have been added to the list of women, for whom we are endeavoring to arrange transportation. The acceptance of this money, which was the reason of my holding it, is therefore, in order.

Yours very truly,

Albert Lucas

SECRETARY, Joint Distribution Co

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JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE

OF FUNDS FOR JEWISH WAR SUFFERERS

REPRESENTING

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ALBERT LUCAS, SECRETARY
56 PINE STREET, NEW YORK CITY
TELEPHONE JOHN 3872

OFFICE OF THE SECRETARY

October 30th, 1916.

For Felix M. Warburg, Esq.
Chairman, Joint Distribution Committee

NOV 1 1916

Telephone call from Mr. Fulton Brylawski, Washington, D. C.;- Turkish Government has consented to the departure of American citizens, or their wives and children. Whether this includes the wives and children of those who have only declared their intention, is not certain. Urgent cable sent to Ambassador Elkus, demanding release of these women and children. In the meantime, the "Des Moines" is at Alexandria. Application that gold should be put on board and brought to Jaffa to be exchanged for Palestinian wine, refused.

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APPEAL TO AID RUSSIAN JEWISH REFUGEES - 1915

We have seen other appeals made to aid and cry out for the Jews of Czarist Russia. Here is an appeal from London which includes the names of the most influential members of Jewry.

A LONDON APPEAL TO AID THE REFUGEE—JEWS IN RUSSIA

"Fund for the Relief of the Jewish Victims of the War in Russia

LEOPOLD DE ROTHCHILD, Esq., President

Right Hon. LORD SWAYTHLING, Treasurer

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Simeon Lazarus, Esq.
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Lucien Wolf, Esq.

The calamity which has befallen the Russian and Polish Jewish communities is of the most appalling character, and has, indeed, no precedent in the tragical vicissitudes of the Jewish people.

"From end to end of the Pale of Settlement—the centre of gravity of the European Jery—the country has been ravaged with a completeness unparrelleled in the other vast battlefields of the war. The ebb and flow of three invasions have left the whole of Poland and many of the contiguous provinces almost desolate, and the larger part of the population are now fugative—for the most part starving and shelterless—in the provinces to the rear of the battling Russian lines. For months past our well-to-do Russian co-religionists living outside the Pale have grapped courageously and generously with their share of this colsosal problem, but their resources are quite inadequate to meet the daily increasing demands made upon them. It is for this reason that they now ask the Jews of the world to come to their assistance, and we feel confident that their call will find a responsive echo in every Jewish heart.

"It is not possible at this moment to give exact statistics of the Jewish victims for whom help is needed. The expulsions from the war zone, which began last autumn, and which were from the outset attended by terrible hardsips, had by the end of May gradually depopulated all the chief Jewish centres in fourteen Russian and Polish provinces and the larger part of Galicia. The number of Jewish fugitives for whom the Relief Committees of Petrograd, Moscow, Kieff, and Odessa were then making provision was 526,000, and the cost of their maintenance was no less than 3,682,000 roubles per month. Since then the distress has more than doubled, both in intensity and volume. The larger part of the Jews who had remained in Poland have joined their Christian fellow-countrymen in flying before the German occupation, and it is estimated that of the refugees

now wandering helplessly in the provinces east and south-east of Warsaw quite a million and a half are Jews.

"The distress of the Jewish refugees has unhappily been accentuated by the fact that they consist in so large a proportion of the most helpless elements of the community—old men, women, and children. Even in normal times their burdens in this respect are disproportionately heavy, but in the present war the sacrifices imposed upon them have been vastly increased by the patriotic alacrity with which the whole valid Jewish manhood of Poland and Russia has rallied to the colors, supplying large numbers of volunteers in addition to the ordinary contigents of reservists and recruits. Thus the refugees have a double claim upon the sysmpathy and help of their brethren in the allied countries. We owe it as much to their brave sons, brothers, and husbands, who, with such signal honor to the Jewish name, are helping us to fight our battles for national existence, as to their own heartrending need that we should fly promptly and generously to their assistance."*

CHARLES E. SEBAG-MONTEFIORE, Esq.,
OTTO M. SCHIFF, Esq.,
Honorary Secretries.

HEBREW UNIVERSITY - 1925

HISTORY

Premises

The Hebrew University of Jerusalem was officially opened in 1925 on Mount Scopus, one of the hills of Jerusalem, and remained there until 1948 when, during the War of Independence, Mount Scopus became inaccessible.

Deprived of its home, the University functioned in rented premises in various parts of the city, few of them large enough or in other ways suitable for the new purposes they had to serve. The result was considerable overcrowding and discomfort, imposing severe hardships on teachers and students alike.

This situation, happily, is now drawing to a close. At Givat Ram, towards the west of Jerusalem, a new University campus has arisen, intended not to supersede but to complement that on Mount Scopus. Building was begun in 1954, and since then progress has been so rapid that the major portion of the University's work has now been transferred to the new quarters. When finally completed the campus will house all the University's institutions except for the Faculty of Agriculture, which is situated in Rehovot, the branches in Tel Aviv, and the Faculty of Medicine. Premises for the last-named are now under construction at Ein Karem, west of Jerusalem, where an impressive Medical Centre is being built by Hadassah and the Hebrew University.

Academic Development

When the University was cut off from Mount Scopus in 1948, it comprised Faculties of Humanities and Science; a Pre-Faculty of Medicine; a School of Agriculture; a Department of Education; the Jewish National and University Library; and the University Press.

Since then it has established the Hebrew University-Hadassah Medical School (1949) and the Faculty of Law (1949); expanded the School

of Agriculture into a full-fledged Faculty (1952) which, in 1960, amalgamated with the Government's Agricultural Research Station to form the National and University Institute of Agriculture; reorganised the Department of Education as a School under the joint auspices of the University and the Ministry of Education (1952); set up the Faculty of Social Sciences, identical with the Eliezer Kaplan School of Economics and Social Sciences (1953); and inaugurated the Hebrew University-Hadassah School of Dentistry founded by the Alpha Omega Fraternity (1953), the School of Pharmacy (1953), the Graduate Library School (1956), and the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work (1958).

The reason for this expansion can be traced largely to the creation of the State of Israel and the mass immigration which followed this event. A serious dearth of trained personnel became immediately apparent, and the training of physicians and scientists, of lawyers and jurists, of teachers, economists, sociologists, agronomists and civil servants was imperative. The speeding up of scientific research to help in the development of the country was no less important.

In rising to meet these urgent demands the University found it necessary not only to expand its existing Faculties but also to open new ones. It introduced many new subjects of instruction, and broadened considerably the area of its work in both applied and theoretical research.

Branches in Tel Aviv

During this period the University also began to extend its activities beyond Jerusalem, realising the importance of making its facilities available to those living in other parts of the country and unable to come to the capital. Thus when the Paul Baerwald School of Social Work was opened in 1958/59 it already had a branch in Tel Aviv, whilst a year later the Tel Aviv School of Law and Economics became integrated within the University, its Law Faculty becoming a branch of the University's Faculty of Law and its Faculty of Economics and Social Sciences a branch of the University's Faculty of Social Sciences.

UNIVERSITY WITH A THREE-FOLD AIM

The aim of the Hebrew University is, broadly, a three-fold one: to serve Israel, to serve the Jewish people, and to serve humanity by extending knowledge in every field.

appreciation of the Jewish cultural heritage are also stimulated by the published works of the University's scholars, an increasing number of which are now being translated into English so as to reach a wider circle of readers.

Other important links between Israel and the Diaspora are represented by the Jewish National and University Library, the central library of world Jewry; the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, which seeks to study the social, intellectual and spiritual forces that operate among the Jewish communities of the world; and the Ben-Zvi Institute for Research on the Jewish Communities in the Middle East, set up under the auspices of the University, in whose premises it is housed.

Services to Humanity

Although studies at the University are in a large measure devoted to problems of particular importance to Israel, they are not confined exclusively to these and much attention is also given to matters of more general concern. Intensive research is conducted in many of those diseases by which mankind is afflicted today, in a variety of other problems common to numerous countries, and in branches of the natural and physical sciences which are by no means related directly to Israel's development.

The contribution which the University is making towards the extension of human knowledge is widely recognised. Its teachers are frequently invited to participate—and often to head committees—in international conferences, as well as to serve as visiting professors at foreign universities. Several are members of U.N. expert advisory panels, whilst numbers are approached by governments and other organisations abroad, particularly in the developing countries, for advice and guidance in specific matters. At the same time, some of the most distinguished figures in the academic world now come here either to deliver guest lectures, to teach and to carry out research in certain departments, or to attend conferences, organised either by international bodies which have latterly seen fit to select the Hebrew University for the purpose or by the University itself.

In recent years the University has made great efforts to assist the developing countries by admitting their students to its various Faculties. The number of such students is steadily increasing.

ABOUT THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM

THE HEBREW UNIVERSITY OF JERUSALEM is one of the world's important institutions of higher learning. Its scientists are renowned for their research in such fields as atomic and solar energy, for their fight against cancer, leukemia and tropical diseases; for their success in discovering natural resources. Its scholars are internationally honored for their studies of the Dead Sea Scrolls, their discovery of other archeological treasures and for projects of world-wide significance, such as the current preparation of a comprehensive new edition of the Bible, compiled from many ancient sources.

Officially opened in 1925 on Mount Scopus, one of the hills surrounding Jerusalem, the Hebrew University was deprived of its campus during the Arab-Israel war of 1948. Since then, its original home has remained inaccessible.

Nevertheless, the University continued its teaching and research in some 50 makeshift buildings scattered throughout Jerusalem. In 1954, a new central campus was begun—as well as an epoch of unprecedented growth and development that is still under way.

Today, the University has six Faculties: agriculture, medicine (including dentistry and pharmacy), science, social sciences, law, and humanities. There are auxiliary schools of education, social work, business administration and management, the Institute of Jewish Studies, the Institute of Contemporary Jewry, the Institute of Asian and African Studies, and a graduate library school. There are four campuses: the central campus at Givat Ram, the medical campus at Ein Karem, the Faculty of Agriculture at Rehovot, and the Tel Aviv branch of the University.

Currently, the University has an enrollment of 8,000 students. They stem from all parts of Israel and from some 50 countries including newly-independent nations of Africa and Asia.

Students who are privileged to participate in the American Student Program at the Hebrew University will enjoy a unique intellectual and cultural experience of life-long value.

BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY - 1948

(Facsimile of Invitation Sent to Universities, Colleges and Learned Societies)

The Board of Trustees of BRANDEIS UNIVERSITY

to

[*The Name of the Institution*]

GREETING:

Inspired by a love of learning, and by the desire to extend the boundaries of knowledge, we have founded a university to provide for the higher education of youth. The tradition is long established for denominational groups, Protestant and Catholic, to provide the original impetus for the creation of great centers of learning open to all as teachers and as students. The Jewish people, as a people of the Book, are proud to join this illustrious company.

We have met encouragement in our enterprise from men and women in every part of the land who share our resolution to strengthen, however modestly, the fabric of higher education in America. Heartened by such support, we have elected a president and authorized

him to appoint a faculty of scholars and teachers. Thus comes into being a new university, coeducational and nonsectarian, dedicated, in the Psalmist's words, to truth even unto its inward parts.

We have named the university in honor of the late Mr. Justice Louis Dembitz Brandeis, eminent for his contributions to jurisprudence and education and to the welfare of his people. In so honoring him we hope to create an enduring monument to the integrity of his Americanism and to the prophetic quality of his Judaism. Our vision has been charged by the challenge contained in his ideal of a great university.

> *"It must always be rich in goals and ideals, seemingly attainable but beyond immediate reach. . . ."*
>
> *"It must become truly a seat of learning where research is pursued, books written, and the creative instinct is aroused, encouraged, and developed in its faculty and students."*
>
> *"It must ever be mindful that education is a precious treasure transmitted—a sacred trust to be held, used, and enjoyed, and if possible strengthened, then passed on to others upon the same trust."*

In the hope that God Almighty may bless this undertaking, we launch the University, praying that it will join all Universities, Colleges, and Learned Societies,

of the Old World and New, in the sacred tasks of education and in the preservation and extension of a common heritage.

WHEREFORE we request the favor of your participation in the festivities and ceremonies attending the

INAUGURATION of the UNIVERSITY

and

THE INSTALLATION OF THE PRESIDENT

ABRAM LEON SACHAR, Ph.D., D.H.L., L.H.D.,

to be held in Waltham and Boston, Massachusetts, on the seventh and eighth days of October, nineteen hundred and forty-eight. If it be that you will so honor us, we pray that we may in due season be apprized of the name of your Delegate, whom, for your sake and in his own person, we shall gladly welcome to our festival.

GIVEN at Brandeis University, in the City of Waltham and The Commonwealth of Massachusetts, this thirtieth day of July, nineteen hundred and forty-eight.

Henry Alger
President

Norman S. Rabb
Secretary

MAJOR AMERICAN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

The four major Jewish agencies concerned with the problem of protection of Jewish rights are:

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
AMERICA JEWISH CONGRESS
ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI BRITH
JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

The American Jewish Committee is non-Zionist. It is not a mass organization, its membership consisting largely of prominent and wealthy individuals.

The American Jewish Congress is a pro-Zionist group. It is a mass organization and has numerous chapters throughout America. Its membership consists mainly of the middle class. It has been the most frequent sponsor of public mass demonstrations of protest against the Hitler persecution.

The Anti-Defamation League is part of B'nai Brith, the largest Jewish fraternal order in America. Membership is middle class.

The Jewish Labor Committee consists of leaders of labor unions with Jewish membership and of Jewish labor fraternal organizations. Non-Zion.

1. AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

393.

Organized: November, 1906

National Headquarters: 386—4th Ave., New York

Purpose:

To prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews, in any part of the world; to render all lawful assistance and to take appropriate remedial action in the event of threatened or actual invasion or restriction of such rights, or of unfavorable discrimination with respect thereto; to secure for Jews equality of economic, social and educational opportunity; to alleviate the consequences of persecution and to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews, wherever they may occur; and to compass these ends to administer any relief fund which shall come into its possession or may be received by it, in trust or otherwise, for any of the aforesaid objects or for purposes comprehended therein.

Activities:

Functions through following Committees: — Public Relations, Community Service, Library Research and Publications, Legal; also special committees on Labor, Veterans, and Foreign Language Activities; created Research Institute on Peace and Post-war Problems.

Publications:

Commentary
Committee Reporter
American Jewish Year Book

2. AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

394.

Organized: 1917
Reorganized: June, 1938

National Headquarters:
1834 Broadway, New York

Purpose:

a. To secure and maintain equality and opportunity for Jews everywhere, and to safeguard the civil, political, economic and religious rights of Jews everywhere.

b. To develop an articulate, intelligent, widespread, and compelling Jewish opinion touching Jewish interests and problems.

c. To gather and disseminate information concerning such interests and problems and to foster the free and open discussion of them.

d. To procure, extend, and administer prompt and adequate relief for Jews everywhere, in all conditions and emergencies as shall be beyond the scope and means of local agencies.

e. To promote proper cooperation and coordination of all Jewish endeavor conceived in a spirit of self-help, self-expression, and self-determination.

f. To further the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

g. To preserve, maintain, and extend the democratic way of life.

h. To cooperate with other organizations in all efforts for the fulfillment of these purposes.

Activities:

Functions through following departments: Law and Social Action, Community Interrelations, Office of Jewish Information, Community Service, World Jewish Affairs; created Inter-American Jewish Council consisting of representatives from the Jewish communities of the South American Republics; also the Institute of Jewish Affairs, research body engaged in examining facts concerning Jewish life before and during World War II with a view to establishing the basis on which rights may be claimed at the end of the war; is part of the World Jewish Congress.

Publication:

Congress Weekly

3. ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE OF B'NAI BRITH

395.

Organized: 1913 .

National Headquarters:
100 North LaSalle St., Chicago, Ill.
New York Office: 212—5th Ave.

Purpose:

To eliminate defamation of Jews and to counteract un-American and anti-Democratic propaganda; to encourage and to advance good will and proper understanding between American groups, with a broad educational program; and to preserve and translate into greater effectiveness the ideals of American democracy.

Activities:

Functions through following committees: Speakers Bureau, Fact Finding, Research, Foreign Language, Labor Dept., Public Relations; through its Book Placement Department, thousands of pro-democratic books are made available to schools, libraries, colleges, etc.; through its Community Service Department, Jewish communities are advised on many matters relating to the elimination of economic and social discrimination.

Publication:

A. D. L. Bulletin
Washington News Letter

4. JEWISH LABOR COMMITTEE

396.

Organized: 1933

National Headquarters:
175 East Broadway, New York

Purpose:

To fight Fascism and Nazism, to help the opposition movement in all Fascist countries, to aid Jewish labor institutions overseas, and to prevent the spread of Fascist propaganda in America, to aid labor relief, to represent organized Jewish labor in all Jewish problems.

Activities:

Fosters educational program in American labor aimed to activize them against totalitarian ideologies and to promote racial and religious understanding and tolerance; supplies labor organizations and labor papers with feature articles, etc., aiming to combat bigotry and intolerance; helps rescue labor and liberal leaders of all faiths from Gestapo; raises funds for rescue to alleviate the distress of Jewish and other victims of Nazi aggression; created a postwar planning committee to evolve a labor program of Jewish post-war reconstruction.

Publications:

Labor Reports
Unconquered

5. CONFERENCE ON JEWISH RELATIONS, INC.

397.

Organized: May, 1936 National Headquarters:
1841 Broadway, New York, New York

Purpose:

To promote, by means of scientific studies and research a better understanding of the position of the Jews in the modern world.

Activities:

Makes surveys of Jewish Communities; created Jewish occupational council, central clearing house for all Jewish vocational guidance activities; survey of training and residency facilities offered by Jewish hospitals throughout the country; support of a fellowship at Columbia University for the study of interracial attitudes in American colleges; investigations into the possibilities of Jewish settlement in various parts of the world; in collaboration with the Joint Distribution Committee, has established a Commission on European Cultural Reconstruction, whose purpose is to assist in the salvage and recuperation of Jewish cultural treasures, and in the reconstruction of Jewish cultural life and institutions in post-war Europe.

Publication:

Jewish Social Studies

6. AMERICAN JEWISH LABOR COUNCIL

398.

Organized: June, 1946

National Headquarters:
22 East 17th Street,
New York, New York

Purpose:

The purpose of the Council is to deal with Jewish affairs for the trade unions affiliated to it. Activities divide themselves into two main fields: 1. combatting anti-Semitism in the United States; 2. helping in the rehabilitation of Jewish people overseas.

7. JEWISH WAR VETERANS OF THE U. S.

399.

Organized: April, 1896

National Headquarters:
276—5th Ave., New York, New York

Purpose:

To maintain true allegiance to the United States of America.

To uphold the fair name of the Jew, and fight his battles whenever unjustly assailed.

To encourage the doctrine of universal liberty, equal rights, and full justice to all men.

To combat the powers of bigotry and darkness wherever originating, and whatever their target.

To preserve the spirit of comradeship by mutual helpfulness to comrades and their families.

To instill love of Country and Flag.

To preserve the memories and records of patriotic service performed by the men of our faith.

Activities:

Fall into five major categories: War Service; Service to Servicemen; Veterans Rehabilitation; Fight on Anti-Semitism and Un-American Activities; and Americanization program.

Publications:

Jewish Veteran
J. W. V. Reporter

8. NATIONAL COMMUNITY RELATIONS ADVISORY COUNCIL
400.

Organized: March, 1944

National Headquarters:
295 Madison Avenue
New York, New York

Purpose:

The National Community Relations Advisory Council is a coordinating body for the national and local Jewish organizations seeking to combat anti-Semitism and other forms of bigotry. Its major purposes are to effect clearance, coordination, and joint policy formulation among its member organizations. These member organizations include the American Jewish Committee, the American Jewish Congress, the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai Brith, the Jewish Labor Committee, the Jewish War Veterans of the United States, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; together with twenty-three local and regional Jewish community relations councils in all parts of the country.

Activities:

The work of the NCRAC is carried on largely through a number of standing committees, each of which has responsibility for a defined area of concern. Thus, there are committees on Class Approach, Discrimination in Educational Institutions, Intercultural Education, Interfaith Activities, Religious Education, Non-Sectarian Agencies, Legislative Information, Mass Approach, Overt Anti-Semitism, Employment Discrimination, and Scientific Research Projects. There also is a Committee on Community Consultation which coordinates services to communities seeking assistance in the creation of local community relations programs.

Publications:

NCRAC Information Bulletin
Legislative Information Bulletin

MAC IVER REPORT - 1950

A committee was formed by the Executive Committee of the National Community Relations Advisory Council to study the American Jewish Community. Dr. Robert MacIver, a sociologist from Columbia University, was selected to be in charge of this study. His report follows in part with his major recommendations.

Forward to Section I

On January 12, 1950, the Executive Committee of the National Community Relations Advisory Council adopted the following resolution:

> The Committee recommends a cooperative study process of the field of Jewish community relations work, including national and local agencies, community services, and their relationships directly and through the NCRAC. Such a study should be directed towards describing and analyzing the areas of activity of each of the member agencies, the objectives which they seek, the assumptions on which they rest, the methods by which they are conducted and, as far as possible, the results that have been achieved, for the purpose of making evaluative judgments as a guide in program planning. A committee of the NCRAC, augmented by representatives of the Large City Budgeting Conference, should be responsible for planning and supervising the evaluative study process, which should be undertaken by a technical study group consisting of social scientists on the staffs of the NCRAC member agencies, the chairman to be an applied social scientist not connected with any of the NCRAC member agencies but acceptable to all, with such additional staff to be employed as may be necessary, and with NCRAC staff serving as secretariat. The study group should report its findings and recommendations to the supervising committee, which should then transmit these findings and recommendations, along with its own comments, to the NCRAC Executive Committee for consideration and action. The detailed frame of reference, scope, statement of priorities, procedure, and extent of field operation of the study or studies shall be those prescribed by the augmented committee. The number of representatives of the LCBC on the augmented committee, the budget of the survey staff, and the mode of financing shall be agreed upon by the Special Committee on Evaluative Studies and the LCBC.

Pursuant to this resolution, a Special Committee on Evaluative Studies was appointed, as follows:

NCRAC representatives

Community member agencies (sharing 4 votes)
- Harry I. Barron, Cleveland, Chairman
- Mortimer Brenner, Brooklyn
- Sidney Hollander, Baltimore
- Leon Mesirov, Philadelphia
- Sidney Shevitz, Detroit
- Bernard H. Trager, Bridgeport
- Lewis H. Weinstein, Boston

National agency representatives (4 votes)
- John Slawson, American Jewish Committee
- David Petegorsky, American Jewish Congress
- Samuel H. Nerlove, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith (Benjamin R. Epstein, alternate)
- Emanuel Muravchik, Jewish Labor Committee

(Ben Kaufman, Jewish War Veterans, and Rabbi Jay Kaufman, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, also participated with voice but no vote)

Large City Budgeting Conference representatives (sharing 2 votes)

Louis Cohen, Newark
Joseph Gabel, Philadelphia
Samuel A. Goldsmith, Chicago
Ephraim Gomberg, Philadelphia
Arnold Gurin, CJFWF
Harry L. Lurie, CJFWF
Isidore Sobeloff, Detroit
Benjamin Ulin, Boston

This committee, after due deliberation, selected Dr. Robert M. MacIver, Professor Emeritus and former head of the Department of Sociology, Columbia University, to be in charge of the study process. Serving with him on the Technical Study Committee, as qualified social scientists rather than as representatives of their agencies, were Dr. Isidor Chein, Director of Research, Commission on Community Interrelations of the American Jewish Congress, Dr. Samuel H. Flowerman, Director of the Scientific Research Department of the American Jewish Committee, and Dr. Leo Srole, Director of the Department of Scientific Analysis and Evaluation of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith. Dr. Daniel Bell, Social Science Consultant of the Jewish Labor Committee, and Mr. Harry L. Lurie, Executive Director of the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds, also participated in the earlier meetings of the Technical Study Committee, in the course of which the scope of the study was defined.

Professor MacIver herewith submits the report of his study to the NCRAC Special Committee on Evaluative Studies. This document represents the initial step in the accomplishment of the purposes set forth in the resolution of January 12, 1950. The study process will be completed only after the Committee on Evaluative Studies and other NCRAC bodies will have acted upon the questions raised in the authorizing resolution. This Section I. by itself is therefore not to be made available for general distribution and publication at the present time.

Irving Kane, Chairman

N.C.R.A.C.

May, 1951

Acknowledgments

In the preparation of this report the writer called on and received unstintedly the aid of many people. Wherever he went, to national agency offices, to local councils, to agency branches or regional offices, and whomsoever he talked to, whether agency directors or staff members or lay leaders or representatives of outside organizations, he met with ready responsiveness to all his requests for information.

For the use he has made of this information and the conclusions he has drawn from it the writer is solely responsible.

This point he cannot too strongly emphasize, since his views differ at certain points even from those of the people on whom he most relied for guidance. Foremost among these he puts the committee of research experts with whom he met on many occasions to discuss the various topics dealt with in the report. Their generous aid at all times was of the utmost possible assistance, and their comments gave him much needed light, even when he followed his own way thereafter. The members of this committee were Samuel H. Flowerman, of Committee, Lee Srole of ADL, and Isidor Chein of Congress, with the addition of Daniel Bell of JLC when matters relevant to that agency were raised.

The report itself was prepared under the auspices of the NCRAC, and again the writer is happy to express his deep gratitude to its chairman, to its executive director, to its program analyst, and to its other staff members, for the untiring and most able service they put so freely at his disposal.

Finally, the writer was able to draw on the assistance of Professor L. Joseph Stone of Vassar College, Professor Jessie Bernard of Pennsylvania State College, and Professor Bernard Lander of Hunter College. Here his only regret is that these colleagues of his were so occupied with their own main duties that they could spare him only a small portion of their time. The benefit he received from their reports and from their comments and criticisms was even so of great importance. Each of them had a particular contribution to make, for which the writer is sincerely grateful.

R. M. MacIver

PART ONE: THE BACKGROUND OF THE INVESTIGATION

1

Range and Character of the Investigation

This report presents a review, analysis, and evaluation of the comprehensive operation in the promotion of "community relations" carried on by a country-wide network of Jewish organizations. Community relations here refer more specifically to the relations between the Jewish population and the rest of the community, though the expression includes more broadly the area of inter-group relations within which problems of discrimination or prejudice are present. Sometimes in statements made by one or another of the organizations in question the expressions "community relations" and "community participation" are employed to refer to intra-Jewish relations. We are not concerned with community relations in the last-mentioned sense, except to distinguish it from the main subject of our interest.

We shall, however, from time to time speak of the "Jewish community," as a way of denoting the people of Jewish origin in a particular locality or in the United States as a whole. We use this term for lack of any other convenient designation, but it should be clearly understood that there is not and should not be any implication that the Jewish groups constitute communities in the strict sense of the word. The essential problem of community relations is that of securing to the members of all groups full and free participation in the same community, both locally and nationally.

The network of organizations includes six national agencies together with their regional offices and local chapters or lodges as well as a considerable number of local bodies that under the name of Jewish community councils or community relations councils or committees or some equivalent conduct activities of the same type and are in contact in various ways with the national agencies. The whole system has a common forum, as it were, a means of getting together for the formulation of their common interests, for common policy-making, and for reaching agreements on matters of controversy regarding their proper relationships to one another - in the organization known as the National Community Relations Advisory Council.

The six national agencies consist of the American Jewish Committee, Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, American Jewish Congress, Jewish Labor Committee, Jewish War Veterans, and Union of American Hebrew Congregations. They are sometimes called "defense agencies" or "civic protection agencies." These terms, however, properly refer to only a portion of the activities they now conduct, being more appropriate to the earlier phases of agency history, before they became active in the more constructive aspects of community relations.

With one exception the agencies in question do not limit their activities to the field of community relations. Some of them are interested in the status of Jews in Europe and elsewhere, in the rescue and rehabilitation of Jews displaced or otherwise suffering from the effects of the world war and subsequent convulsions in Europe, in international poli-

Conspectus of Major Recommendations

The major recommendations put forward in this report are concerned broadly with two subjects:

I the character and content of national agency programs and program areas;

II the inter-relationships of the various constituent members of the total agency structure.

The second of these subjects may again be divided as follows:

(1) relations of the six national agencies directly with one another;
(2) relations between national agencies, including their regional offices and local branches, and the CRCs;
(3) relations of national and local agencies to and within the NCRAC.

I Our recommendations under this head do not apply so much to specific programs as to a whole field of program-making, one that is of basic importance to the whole "defense" movement. We may say this movement has two primary objectives: one, to combat inter-group discrimination and the other to overcome or mitigate inter-group prejudice. The former is directed to the vindication of civil rights and liberties, the latter to the promotion of constructive community relations while at the same time it seeks to remove the fundamental obstruction to the attainment also of civil rights.

We have pointed out that the second of these two objectives can be effectively pursued only after careful research preparation and with the application of well-thought-out strategy. This is or should be for the agencies the realm of high policy. Much too little attention has been given to these considerations and, so far as programs areas are concerned, there has been no serious interconsultation between them on the subject. In particular, practically no attempt has been made to identify the particular nature and conditions of anti-Jewish prejudice as distinct from other forms of inter-group prejudice and to adapt programs accordingly. We have therefore made the following recommendations:

I (a) That the NCRAC set up a Standing Committee for Over-all Strategy in the Field of Community Relations. The function of this committee should be regarded as primary. To aid it in its task a special temporary committee should be set up to prepare the ground, and this committee should enlist a number of highly qualified non-Jewish members or associates. The Standing Committee should be in constant contact with the inter-agency research committee we are also recommending.
(Pt. II, Section 3; Pt. III, (Section 7)

1 (b) That mass appeal programs, wherever carried on, be at all points subjected to the most thorough scrutiny, and be closely linked to research activities and to the work of the Standing Committee referred to above.
(Pt. II, Sections 2,3; Pt. III, Sections 2,3)

I (c) That group appeal programs should be limited to cooperation with the relevant group organizations, and that any separate programs in this area should be regarded solely as a pump-priming, not a continuous operation. Generally, the Jewish agencies should not, and particularly in this area, give the impression to the outsider that they are carrying on the campaign by themselves. (Part III, Sec. 3)

II Throughout the whole area of inter-agency relationships we are concerned with the lack of team work, the unwillingness or the inability of agencies to pull together for the sake of common objectives.

II(1a) Recommendations to end needless jurisdictional disputes - we characterize the disputes that have arisen between the general agencies and the specialized agencies as needless because, as we seek to show, the specialized agencies either are or can be equipped to carry on the work of their particular areas without separate departments devoted to the same work in the general agencies. Hence we recommend:

II(1a1) That JLC become the exclusive agent in the field of labor;

II(1a2) That Committee and ADL relinquish their veterans departments and appoint a liaison officer to link the work of JWV with that of the other agencies and to enable it the better to use the services of the other agencies;

II(1a3) That UAHC have provisional exclusive charge of the inter-faith area, as that is defined in the text, on the understanding that it will join with the NCRAC in taking steps for the representation in agency inter-religious activities of the other branches of the Jewish faith. (Pt. III, Secs. 4,8)

All these recommendations assume that the programs and policies of the specialized agencies may come up for review in the NCRAC in accordance with NCRAC procedures.

II(1b) Recommendations to end the sheer duplication of services - by sheer duplication we mean the performance separately by two or more agencies of a service that could be provided by one alone without a double staff and without limiting its range or, broadly speaking, its efficacy.

Specifically we recommend:

II(1b1) That a single system of general fact-finding on all matters related to anti-Semitism and other "subversive" activities be set up in place of the two departments conducted respectively by Committee and ADL. (Pt. III, Sec. 6)

II(1b2) That, in all situations where a particular task of expert legal service is called for, one agency alone shall be assigned to perform this task in accordance with some agreed-upon procedure. Such tasks include the drafting of model FEPC bills, the preparing of briefs

amicus, and the providing of service on legal issues to CRCs.
(Pt. III, Sec. 5)

II(1b3) That Committee and ADL specifically apportion between themselves the responsibility for all informational bulletins and other reports - other than reports on their individual operations, house organs, and so forth - concerning all matters of general interest in the community relations field, aside from those matters that fall directly within the areas of the specialized agencies and aside also from matters pertaining to the legal and legislative field, where we advocate that the responsibility be assigned to Congress.
(Pt. III, Sec. 6)

It is understood that the carrying out of all such assignments or allocations shall be subject to review in accordance with NCRAC procedures.

II(1c) Recommendations to end the separate or concurrent approach of different agencies to group-interest organizations. We refer here to the various programs in the group-appeal area. For reasons given in the text of the report we believe that in this area the two agencies concerned, Committee and ADL, should not conduct separate, independent programs. If their activities were limited to initiating and stimulating programs carried on by these outside organizations, as we have advocated, the advantage of a division of labor here would be more obvious. We recommend accordingly:

II(1c1) That the various group appeal programs be specifically allocated between the two agencies concerned, that preferably Committee and ADL should arrange their respective allocations throughout the whole area, each selecting the groups that lie most within the ambit of its interest and its present commitments. (Pt. III, Secs. 3,8)

We regard the above as definitely the most desirable solution but should it prove to be unattainable the minimum need is that in each of the group appeal areas a joint committee of the two agencies be set up to arrive at a common policy and a unified approach.
(Pt. III, Sec. 3)

II(1d) Recommendations to assure interconsultation and some degree of common planning in areas of overlapping activities.

There is much need for constructive interconsultation throughout the whole field of agency program-making. Aside from broad proposals, including that of an NCRAC Standing Committee for Over-all Strategy and other suggestions for strengthening the role in this respect of the NCRAC, we make two specific recommendations, as follows:

II(1d1) That when agreement has been reached, in the NCRAC or otherwise, on common policies concerning any issue the implementation of such agreement be carried through at every level within a process of interconsultation in order to assure mutual understanding and common action. (Pt. III, Secs. 5,8)

The failure of the four Washington, D.C., offices to meet and confer on the policy decisions to which they are all committed is a case in point. Another example occurs when, as sometimes happens, a directive sent out by a national agency to its local units represents an agreement arrived at in the NCRAC, but the local members are not apprized of this fact.

II(1d2) That the research departments of the various agencies set up a functional inter-agency research committee to be devoted to the common research and evaluation problems of the agencies as a whole. (Pt. III, Sec. 7)

II(2) Here the main question is that of divisive interests or loyalties, arising out of an inadequate adaptation of the local functions of certain national agencies to the rise and development of the CRCs. We take throughout the position that the major responsibility of the national agencies in their local activities is to sustain, strengthen, and serve the CRCs. (Pt. IV, Sec. 1)

Hence we recommend as follows:

II(2a) That the national agencies and the NCRAC promote the establishment of autonomous CRCs in localities where they are now lacking. (Pt. IV, Sec. 1)

II(2b) That no national agency set up a regional office in any locality where there is any important local opposition to this action, and that in localities where a regional office and a CRC already coexist the regional office and its national agency should refrain from conducting any local community relations activities except under the auspices of the CRC and with its full assent. (Pt. IV, Sec. 2)

II(2c) That the local professionals of national agencies be given specific training for local community relations work and should be instructed to make the service of the community through the CRC their primary obligation. (Pt. IV, Sec. 2)

A major cause of disturbance and conflict being the drive of national agencies for exclusive credit, so as to impress the local communities and thus be more successful in their campaigns for funds, we have concluded that the only remedy for this state of affairs is a new mode of allocating their respective shares of community funds to the various national agencies. Hence we recommend:

II(2d) That each community allocate an inclusive sum to the community relations work of the national agencies taken as a whole, and that the apportionment of this sum be entrusted to a special committee representative equally of the CRCs, the national agencies, and the Council of Jewish Federations and Welfare Funds. (Pt. IV, Sec. 3)

We present this recommendation as a general formula only, recognizing that a full study of the situation might show the desirability of some modification of it.

II(3) Our final concern is with the place of the NCRAC in the whole

agency system. Up to the present it has been the main, if not the only, unifying force within the system and in the role it has made noteworthy achievements, especially in the unification of policy on the national issues that constantly arise and in the establishment of processes through which such policy is implemented. For reasons outside of its control it has not achieved any similar success in the attainment of a genuine cooperation between the national agencies with respect to the various programs areas to which they devote the major part of their energies. Our previous proposals have been mostly addressed to this need, but these proposals involve throughout the sponsorship and supervision of the NCRAC. To enable it to fill this enlarged role it needs greater authority than it now possesses. To assure this authority two things are needed. First, it must be made less dependent on the will of the national agencies. Since it has no power over them it needs to fulfil its assigned mission, authority to make recommendations concerning them, without being thwarted either by their control over its funds or by their ability to vote down any decision affecting them. Second, its functions must be redefined so that its right to take the initiative on matters that fall within the proper range ot is "aims and objectives" is fully recognized.

Hence we recommend:

II(3a) That the financing of the NCRAC be made by the local communities directly, unless, that is, the recommendation we have made (II 2d, above) concerning the allocation of community funds be carried into effect.

II(3b) That the basis of voting representation adopted for the Plenary Session be effective also in the Executive Committee of the NCRAC.

II(3c) That the NCRAC assume oversight of all agreements, assignments, and allocations established or to be established between the agencies and use its influence in all reasonable ways to assure the fulfilment of these arrangements. (Pt. V)

Here again we state in a simpler and more generalized form certain proposals made in the text. The same applies to the next recommendation.

II(3d) That the NCRAC explicitly possess the initiative to conduct inquiries and make evaluative studies on all matters that fall within the range of its "aims and objectives" as these have been already defined by its Executive Committee and to carry on any operations that it finds desirable for the furtherance of these aims and objectives.

II(3e) That the NCRAC and the CRCs mutually take steps to ensure a more continuous and intimate sustaining relationship between them. (Pt. V)

FOOTNOTES

113 Louis Greenberg, The Jews in Russia (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), pp. 58-59.

114 Ibid., p. 64.

115 Ahad HaAm, Essays on Zionism and Judaism, Leon Simon, trans. (London: George Routledge and Sons, Ltd., 1922), pp. 120-129.

116 Isaac Mayer Wise, The World of My Books, offprint (Cincinnati: American Jewish Archives, 1954), pp. 35-39.

117 American Jewish Archives, Folder on Union of American Hebrew Congregations (Cincinnati: H.U.C.-J.I.R.).

118 American Jewish Archives, Folder on Alliance Israelite Universelle (Cincinnati: H.U.C.-J.I.R.).

119 The Jewish Theological Seminary of America, Register (New York: 1964, 5726-5727).

120 American Jewish Archives.

121 The War and the Jews in Russia (New York: The National Workman's Committee of Jewish Rights, 1914), pp. 124-126.

122 American Student Program (American Friends of Hebrew University), pp. 64-65.

123 Inaugural Festivities Book, Opening Exercises (Waltham: Brandeis University, 1948).

124 Nathan Zuckerman, The Wine of Violence (New York: Association Press, 1947), pp. 201-206.

125 American Jewish Archives, Folder on MacIver Report, (Cincinnati: H.U.C.-J.I.R.).

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