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BACKGROUNDS AND ORIGINS
of the
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

Part I

by

Alvin S. Roth

Submitted in partial
fulfillment of the
requirements for
Ordination.

Hebrew Union College
Cincinnati, Ohio
January, 1953

Referee:
Professor Jacob R. Marcus

Whenever a Jew gets into trouble, cries arise
for Jewish unity. The demand for unity is a function
of crisis.

Horace M. Kallen

PREFACE

Under the pressures of the last several decades many of the barriers that have divided American Jewry have largely been swept aside. In the field of benevolence, the United Jewish Appeal has united most American Jews. But in the field of defense, the story is completely different.

A central representative Jewish organization to deal with matters of philanthropy and defense has been advocated in America since the middle of the nineteenth century. The plea for unity in defense work has not been diminished even today.

The various Jewish defense organizations on the American Jewish scene today have been sired by crisis. The major attempt to unite them have been mid-wived by emergency.

Each organization called into being has represented a distinct group of Jews interested in a specific issue and dedicated to a particular solution of the difficulty dictated by a characteristic point of view. Early organizations founded by individuals able to afford the expense and leisure acted arbitrarily in the name of American Jewry with neither apparent concern for specific permission to do so nor even ex post facto ratification. Unchallenged for many years, they achieved a monopoly in philanthropy and defense which they have guarded zealously. Each organization has ever felt itself threatened by the birth of any new agency and has consistently exerted every effort to suppress would-be challengers.

There is no question that the extensive organization and counter-organization has often reflected the conflict of personalities. Perhaps

the older organizations could have maintained unchallenged supremacy by siphoning off year after year potential leadership material into their own ranks. But the old established organizations had no intention of admitting newcomers into their highest councils.

More important, however, in the rise of the many agencies were the issues which would not have been aired if new organizations had not appeared to air them. Jews have always been sharply divided into class lines, cultural lines, political lines, and even along religious lines. In the matter of philanthropy, there is little occasion for difference of opinion. The hungry must be fed; the naked must be clothed. Jews can agree and unite to relieve suffering. But in the field of defense, difference of opinion based on a thousand varying factors makes cooperation impossible except in time of direst emergency. About the only issue upon which Jews achieve some semblance of unity is opposition to anti-Semitism. But they cannot agree as to the manner in which it should be combatted. They cannot even agree as to what constitutes a specific act of anti-Semitism. They can only agree that they're all against it.

In the myriad of American Jewish organizations, there are a few which are strongly supported and well provided for by those whom they represent. Many of the others have been scraping along for years by dint of frantic appeals and pleas. It would seem that the community, by reason of its withholding support, has given these weaker organizations a vote of no confidence. It could be, of course, that the people are simply unaware of what they really need and that there is no choice but for the leaders of the faltering organizations to plead, argue, cajol, threaten American Jewry to rally support for their failing institutions. Julius Rosenwald would

have said that they should be allowed to pass quietly out of existence. But an organization with nationally elected officers, a professional staff, offices, desks, and typewriters doesn't want to die and certainly would never consent to die gracefully. While the better supported organizations may be characterized by no greater devotion to duty or no greater success in their ventures, it is more likely that they represent a more homogeneous constituency or have developed more efficient techniques for securing financial support.

If there were sufficient funds to support all organizations, the character of the present-day controversy in the field of Jewish defense would be vastly different. The desperate competition for the defense dollar has raised once again the insistence for unity. The weaker organizations applaud a plan to divide the various functions among all extant organizations sensing in such an arrangement not only a guarantee of support from central funds, but also a community designated raison d'etre. The stronger organizations, more confident of continued support, object to the plan which limits their expression to a designated field and assigns to other organizations which are not sympathetic to their point of view, functions which they prefer to retain to themselves.

The weaker agencies, which are now the strongest advocates of unity, point to the tremendous economy of an over-all united operation, to the efficiency of the proposed specialization of function, and as always to the democracy of such organization. The stronger organizations, unable to defend themselves graciously of the charge of thwarting idealized "unity in Israel", say little but categorically reject unity and proceed along their way independently.

In the plethora of articles, editorials, addresses, debates concerning proposed unification, the individual who is not well acquainted with the present-day structuralization of the American Jewish community and its historical development is soon hopelessly lost -- not because the problem is so complex or so involved, but because neither element will make the bold declaration that the crux of the whole issue is simply this: That beyond religious ties, there is at this point almost nothing that the several classes of American Jews have in common strong enough to warrant united action -- not even anti-Semitism.

This study of the backgrounds of the original American Jewish Congress is devoted to a consideration of the consistently thwarted movement toward unity in the American Jewish community. The author is not completely pessimistic, however, with regard to the ultimate union of all American Jews though he is far from convinced that union is desirable.

The bitter contention revolving about Zionism as well as the vast differences in the relative integration and adjustment of the various elements of the Jewish group have largely faded as the divisive factors they once were. American Jews have a great deal more in common today than fifty years ago, but they will be united only by very good economic and political conditions or by very bad conditions. Under the former, Jews will unite when all achieve upper middle class status; under the latter if anti-Semitism becomes official policy and union is thus imposed from without.

- - -

In the Introduction to the study, an attempt is made to consider the major movements and attitudes that made for the American Jewish Congress. Some consideration is given to prominent personalities.

Six chapters of text are devoted to the period considered — July 1914 when World War I began through July 1916 when it became evident that all elements of American Jewry could and would unite in the Congress. It is hoped that the author may soon complete this work up to the year 1922 when the permanent American Jewish Congress was organized.

Each chapter is followed by a supplement containing documentation in support of the text. The documentation consists of news articles, editorials, letters, speeches, etc., chronologically arranged from the press of the period as well as excerpts from official literature published by the organizations involved.

The text preceding the supplementary materials may stand independently. While no device has been used to cross-reference material included, every dated event mentioned in the text, unless a definite reference is cited, will have supporting evidence under that date in the supplement. Much evidence has been included in the supplement to which no direct reference has been made in the text. News items in the supplements, the sources of which are not given are from the World Almanac or are generally recognized as of common knowledge.

Primary sources considered were The American Hebrew, a weekly magazine which was generally recognized as the official organ of the American Jewish Committee, and The Jewish Advocate, a weekly newspaper published in Boston, Massachusetts by Jacob de Haas, Brandeis' Zionist secretary. It is believed that these publications express most clearly the points of view of the two elements of American Jewry most deeply involved in the conflict centering about the American Jewish Congress. Congress information contained in various other periodicals of the Anglo-Jewish press were largely reflections and repetitions of items from the two above mentioned

organs. The Maccabaeen, the official publication of the Federation of American Zionists, has been used liberally, but inasmuch as it was a monthly it does not provide the coverage afforded by The Jewish Advocate. Other publications sympathetic to Zionism and the Congress were consulted frequently, but the items in The Jewish Advocate were usually given first consideration because of the importance of Louis D. Brandeis in the Zionist and Congress movements and the feeling that Jacob de Haas' editorials reflected Brandeis' personal viewpoint. The New York Times' coverage of Congress matters reflects the consideration given to Congress affairs at this time by the general press although American Jewish Committee sympathies are often evident.

Most of the earliest agitation for the Congress was carried on in the Yiddish press. Almost all Jewish Socialists treatment of the Congress movement appeared in Yiddish in The Daily Forward. While the purposes of this study are well illustrated by material which appeared in English, it is readily acknowledged that a consideration of the Yiddish would have afforded a richer and more well-rounded study. The American Jewish Congress as reflected in the Yiddish press would in itself constitute a valuable study.

The unpublished minute books of the American Jewish Committee were consulted at the Committee's New York Library, but inasmuch as their use is restricted, nothing taken therefrom has been incorporated in this work. Minutes of the Federation of American Zionists, the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, and the Jewish Congress Organization Committee are not presently available.

The subject of this study was proposed by Dr. Jacob R. Marcus, Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Jewish History at the Hebrew Union College, who spent many hours with the author discussing the materials contained herein

and recommending source materials and research methods. He kindly placed at my disposal his own personal library and the resources of the American Jewish Archives.

Sincere appreciation is also due Mr. Bernard G. Richards and Mr. Louis Lipsky, stalwarts of the Congress movement, who so kindly gave their time and thought in personal interview to recalling and explaining incidents of the past.

Dr. Joshua Bloch, Chief of the Jewish Division, New York Public Library, graciously placed at the author's disposal not only the entire facilities of his great Library but also his own vast fund of information.

Mr. Herbert Zafren, Executive Director of the Hebrew Union College Library, has been consistently thoughtful, encouraging, and helpful in arranging for the procurement of materials and in suggesting improvements in style and format. .

As I consider how heavily I have leaned upon so many people and how much at variance are my point of view and conclusions with those of the people who have helped me most, I feel obliged to say that I hope they will not interpret my contrariness as ingratitude.

Finally, to all my friends inside and outside of the Hebrew Union College Dormitory, who have borne with me these eighteen months listening without too much complaint to my recounting of Congress insights, and to Mrs. Marian Roman, who so faithfully and painstakingly typed the manuscript, my deep gratitude.

Cincinnati, Ohio
January 30, 1953

Alvin S. Roth

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
List of Illustrations	xi
Introduction	1
I. Early Efforts to Build a United Representative Jewish Body in the United States	1
II. The American Jewish Committee	
A. Founding the Committee	9
B. Attempts of the Committee to Become Representative.	23
III. The American Zionist Movement	
A. The Federation of American Zionists	30
B. Louis D. Brandeis	34
IV. The American Jewish Labor Movement	38
V. The "Rights" Issue	
A. Background of Minority Rights in Europe	47
B. Minority Rights and European Jews	52
VI. The Balkan Wars and the "Congress" Idea	61
VII. In Prospect	66
Chapter I Three Beginnings -- The War, The Zionist Program, War Relief -- July through December 1914	71
Supplement to Chapter I	80
Chapter II Building the Congress Idea -- December 1914 through June 1915	134
Supplement to Chapter II	141
Chapter III The American Jewish Committee's Washington Conference.-- June through October 1915	181
Supplement to Chapter III	196
Chapter IV Delay and Decision -- October 1915 through February 1916	267
Supplement to Chapter IV	274
Chapter V The Philadelphia Preliminary Conference -- February 1916 through March 1916	302
Supplement to Chapter V	311

Chapter VI The Conference of National Jewish Organizations --	
April through July 1916	346
Supplement to Chapter VI	365
Appendices: I "Forerunner of the American Jewish Congress" ..	425
II "Why We Need National Rights" by M. Kaz	428
III Chronology -- July 1914 through July 1916 . . .	433
Notes	438
Bibliography	447

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

The Tail Attempts to Wag the Lion	245
<u>American Hebrew</u> , August 20, 1915, p.365	
Making Public Sentiment	250
<u>American Hebrew</u> , August 27, 1915, p.415	
One in Heart and Purpose	284
<u>American Hebrew</u> , November 19, 1915, p.431	
How Un-Jewish!	290
<u>The Maccabean</u> , January 1916, Cover	
An Appeal for Action, Not Words	401
<u>American Hebrew</u> , July 14, 1916, p.309	

INTRODUCTION

I. EARLY EFFORTS TO BUILD A UNITED REPRESENTATIVE JEWISH BODY IN THE UNITED STATES

Internal enemies and the oppression of Jews abroad stimulated repeated efforts on the part of American Jewry to create a central protective and representative body. However, the highly variegated backgrounds of those elements that constituted American Jewry as well as their varying economic position and their degree of adjustment to the American scene made almost impossible any united front in philanthropy and defense. The proletarian masses in the crowded slums could not share the attitudes of the fortunate bourgeoisie, nor could the religionists act in accord with the assimilationists. The needs and the aims of the Zionists could not be understood by the non-Zionists and the anti-Zionists.

Each group favored its own techniques. The wealthy conservative elements favored the quiet, dignified, behind-the-scenes approach. Middle class organizations sponsored educational and good-will programs. Labor thought primarily in economic terms and understood all conflict only in terms of class warfare.

There was a wealth of precedent in Europe for the organization of Jews into national defense societies. In England, the Board of Deputies of British Jews founded in 1750 worked together with the Anglo-Jewish Association founded in 1871 which interested itself in political and philanthropic matters. In France, the Alliance Israélite Universelle had organized on an international basis in 1860. In Vienna there was the Israelitische Allianz functioning since 1873. Germany's Hilfsverein

der Deutschen Juden was founded in 1901. Perhaps greatest popular acceptance was enjoyed by the Verband der Deutschen Juden founded in 1904 through the efforts of Martin Philippson, rector of the University of Brussels.

It was in the year 1790 that the Jews of America made their first attempt to unite in a cooperative venture. The occasion was fostered by the desire of American Jews to congratulate George Washington upon the successful winning of the War for Independence, the adoption of the Constitution, and upon his election and inauguration to the Presidency. As might have been expected, the effort was not completely successful. The six congregations drafted and sent four addresses and Washington was obliged to prepare four replies.

Attempts at union at the time of the Damascus Affair in 1840 came to naught, but in 1859 the notorious Mortara Affair in Italy resulted in American Jewry's first experiment in national organization for the protection of Jewish civil and religious rights at home and abroad. A call signed by representatives of ten New York synagogues and congregational organizations was "sent to the officers of all Hebrew congregations in the United States together with an address urging cooperation."¹ Twelve other cities responded and at the first session which was held at Cooper Institute in New York, November 27 and 29, 1859, Isaac Leeser stated his views of the purpose of such an organization: to "keep a watchful eye on the occurrences at home and abroad, and see that the rights of Israelites be not encroached on, and call the attention of the proper authorities to the fact, should² any violation occur."

Thus was formed the Board of Delegates of American Israelites

patterned by its founders after the Board of Deputies of British Jews. The Board of Delegates cooperated closely with the British organization, The French Alliance Israélite Universelle, the Dutch Hooft Commissie, and the Austrian Israelitische Allianz of Vienna. Both Isaac Leeser and Isaac M. Wise were active in it from the beginning. It had a multitude of interests -- Jewish education, charity, the gathering of statistics -- but its chief work lay in the defense of the Jew. It fought for the appointment of Jewish chaplains during the Civil War and for the revoking of Grant's infamous Order No. 11. It made representations to the United States Government at Washington in behalf of the civil rights of Jews in cases involving Switzerland, Roumania, and Russia. It was particularly active in eliminating religious tests for the holding of public office in North Carolina, Maryland, and New Hampshire.

In 1878, ten years after the death of its moving spirit, Isaac Leeser, the Board of Delegates of American Israelites under the presidency of M. S. Isaacs gave up its separate existence and, in accordance with an agreement entered into with the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, was established as a standing committee of the Executive Board of the Union and renamed the Board of Delegates for Civil and Religious Rights. For forty-five years afterwards, it functioned in the person of Simon Wolf, a Washington lawyer who represented the Board, the Union, and the B'nai Brith at the Nation's Capitol. In 1925, it was finally dissolved and its work left to the American Jewish Committee and the American Jewish Congress.

The Board of Delegates was the creation of German Jews. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations with which it was fused was predominantly German and Reform. It soon became evident to other elements of American Jewry that an association of Reform congregations could not

represent American Jewry. In February 1891, a convention representing nineteen cities met in Philadelphia and founded The Jewish Alliance of America.

Peter Wiernik who wrote about the Jewish Alliance of America ^{was} sufficiently close to it to be aware of the undercurrent of animosities that prevailed at the time said, "... The entire plan came to nothing. In February 1892, the Jewish Alliance was consolidated with 'The American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of the Russian Refugees,' which was organized in New York apparently for the purpose of heading off the activity of the Alliance. Both organizations were soon forgotten, and the historical value of the Alliance consists chiefly in its having been the first formal manifestation of a desire which was partly satisfied in an entirely different manner fifteen years later by the formation of the American Jewish Committee."³

There were several amazing aspects to this convention and the organization it established. The stimulus for organization came from East European Jews who, only ten years after their first great wave of immigration, were financially capable and eagerly desirous of assuming some of the burden and responsibilities of alleviating the suffering of their fellow Jews both in Europe and in the United States. They had originally intended to form an organization of Jews of East European origin exclusively. German Jews, however, whole-heartedly endorsed their plan and joined them. Sephardic Jews, too, represented by Rabbi Sabato Morais and Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen of Philadelphia and Mr. David Solis-Cohen of Portland, Oregon supported and joined the organization. "A vote of thanks was tendered to Rev. Dr. Sabato Morais ⁴ for the labors he had devoted to the furtherance of the movement."

Some of the German Jews who attended the convention were Simon Muhr, Philadelphia philanthropist; Samuel Dorf and B. H. Hartogenesis of Baltimore, and Simon Wolf. Some of the East Europeans who attended were Russian-born David Blaustein of Boston, Nicholas Aleinikoff of New York, Dr. Charles D. Spivak of Philadelphia; and Polish-born Dr. A. P. Kadison and Leon Zolotkoff of Chicago.

It was proudly announced at the convention that the formation of the organization had the blessings and complete approval of M. S. Isaacs, Jacob H. Schiff, Jacob Voorsanger, Bernard Felsenthal, Mayer Sulzberger and many other notable Jewish leaders of German descent. ⁵

The one hundred and six delegates made up about equally of Germans and East Europeans voted Simon Muhr to the presidency and Simon Wolf as treasurer. Three offices went to Germans and two to East Europeans.

The preamble to the constitution they adopted set forth the aims of the Jewish Alliance of America: "For the purpose of more effectively coping with the grave problems presented by the enforced emigration of Hebrews from proscriptive countries, the delegates and representatives of various Jewish organizations in the United States, in convention assembled, have agreed to form and do hereby organize The Jewish Alliance of America." ⁶ Article I of the constitution states that their plan of action with regard to assisting the immigrant in America included directing him away from urban centers and to farming. ⁷

The new organization was enthusiastically received and thirty-one branches were formed throughout the country. But the Alliance was not destined to survive. The German Jewish blessings were quickly withdrawn. In August of the same year, a group of important German Jews including Simon Muhr, vacationing at Saratoga, must have come to regret

the invasion of the East European element into their domain of philanthropy and defense, for they petitioned the Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund to call a conference of the "Independent Order B'nai Brith, the Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, the Order Keshet Shel Barzel, the Order Sons of Benjamin, The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Jewish Alliance of America, the Associated Charities of the U.S., the Baron de Hirsch Fund, and the United Hebrew Charities of New York City...to unite in a cooperative plan to find homes and employment for Russian Jewish Emigrants... [and] to form an American Relief Committee." ⁸

The Trustees of the Baron de Hirsch Fund of which M. S. Isaacs was president called the conference for September 22, 1891 at the Hebrew Institute Building in New York. Among the fifty-two delegates who attended were Julius Freiberg and Louis Seasongood of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations; Simon Muhr and Simon Wolf representing the Jewish Alliance of America; M. S. Isaacs, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar Straus, and Mayer Sulzberger of the Baron de Hirsch Fund. The East Europeans and the Sephardim were also well represented.

Various speakers of German descent reaffirmed their devotion to the cause of the "down-trodden Russian exiles who have reached our shores". They averred, however, that no single organization could possibly meet the relief needs and that a new national organization would have to be founded. Simon Muhr protested the proposed submersion of his organization. Jacob F. Bamberger of New York revealed the motivation that had occasioned the calling of the conference when he "expressed the hope that whatever name was given to the new Organization, that no part of it would contain the word 'Alliance'." ⁹ Simon Wolf, treasurer of the Jewish Alliance, stated that great credit should be paid those

of East European descent, who had done so much to help the new arrivals, but that the situation demanded that "all the present machinery should be relegated to the past, and the proposed new organization should cover the entire ground."¹⁰

William B. Hackenburg of New York introduced the resolution "that in the event of the Jewish Alliance of America being merged with this organization, that the local branches of the Alliance be recognized as local branches of this National organization...."¹¹

Mr. Leon Zolotkoff of Chicago, a delegate of the Alliance, evidenced the supine submission of the East European Jews to the will of their German coreligionists when he pleaded "that the large volume of work done by the Russian Jews in assisting their countrymen who have recently arrived in this country should be recognized in some suitable manner."¹²

So the Jewish Alliance of America was absorbed into the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of Russian Refugees of which Louis Seasongood of Cincinnati was elected president. The organization printed a few circular letters and then quietly passed out of existence. The American Committee etc. had accomplished its purpose of relief. It had relieved the threat of encroachment by East European Jews upon the private preserve of the German Jews.

In January 1903, David Philipson recounts in his autobiography, he introduced a resolution at the convention of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations in St. Louis to the effect that an American Jewish Congress be founded under its auspices. (See Appendix I.) The Executive Board failed to take action "but the seed fell on fertile ground for it was only a few years thereafter that the American Jewish Committee was

organized, whose purpose was practically what I had urged in... [my]
¹³
 original resolution." Thus Dr. Philipson claimed credit for the
 idea which gave rise to both, the American Jewish Committee and the
 American Jewish Congress.

The turn of the century found but two organizations which
 might have claimed to be national representative groups: The B'nai
 Brith, controlled from Chicago, and the Union of American Hebrew
 Congregations, controlled from Cincinnati. The East where three-fourths
 of the Jewish population of the United States lived within a radius of
 one hundred miles of New York had no such organization. Several pro-
 posals were voiced among which that of Abraham S. Schomer received con-
 siderable circulation. But all came to naught.

Schomer, a Yiddish playwright, the son of the Yiddish play-
 wright, N. M. Schaikewitz, issued a call in September, 1906 for the
 formation of an "International Congress for All-Israel" which he guaran-
 teed would "be recognized by the Jewish people... [and] by the powers
 as the mouthpiece of twelve million Jews, and a new era will dawn in
¹⁴
 Jewish affairs."

Commenting on "existing national Jewish organizations," he
 wrote:

"The numerous existing Jewish organizations, like the Alliance
 Israelite, B'nai Brith, Zionists, Territorialists, etc., etc.,
 are a cause of weakness on the principle of too many cooks spoil
 the broth. They all pull in different directions and neutralize
 one another's efforts. What have the representatives of our
 various national organizations done during and after the Russian
 massacres? Who can show us anything accomplished by the Alliance
 Israelite, the Zionists, the Territorialists, or the others? The
 Order B'nai Brith sent through the American government a petition
 to the Czar which he did not accept.

"Our national associations did not even take the initiative in
 sending money to the distressed, and had it not been for the call

of that true Jew and philanthropist, Jacob Schiff, and the noble diplomat, Oscar S. Strauss, there would scarcely have been collected so large a relief fund. After the Kishineff massacres, it was also a private relief committee that made a collection, while our organized bodies did not move a finger. We, therefore, do not see that our various organizations are of any benefit to us." ¹⁵

Schomer was rewarded for his interest in a national representative ¹⁶ body with an invitation to the conference of February, 1906 which resulted in the establishment of the American Jewish Committee.

II. THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

A. FOUNDING THE COMMITTEE

The wave of pogroms in Czarist Russia early in the twentieth century shocked and aroused the American Jewish community. A thousand Jews had been killed in the massacres in Russia in October and November 1905. Mass meetings were held all over the United States and agencies were organized to collect funds for the thousands of destitute Jews in Russia. Oscar Straus and Jacob H. Schiff organized a committee upon which they served as chairman and treasurer respectively and collected more than a million dollars from Jews and non-Jews. One hundred thousand mourning Jews marched in a parade through the streets of New York on December 4, 1905. At the same time, the refusal of the Russian Government to honor the American passport when exhibited by Jews posed a problem that rankled in Jewish breasts, the solution of which would require concerted effort. More than ever before, American Jewish leaders realized the need for a permanent organization to fight for Jewish rights everywhere and to alleviate the consequences of persecution.

Up to the time of the Kishineff pogrom of 1903, the initiative in most diplomatic and political action on behalf of Jews lay almost

exclusively in the hands of European organizations -- the Alliance Israélite Universelle of France, the Hilfsverein of Germany, and the Board of Deputies of England. American Jewry with its comparatively inactive Board of Delegates and B'nai Brith remained somewhat aloof -- not by reason of lack of interest, but rather because the American Jewish community had not yet come of age. The American Jewish community still considered itself a colony of the Jewish communities of Europe.

From its inception the Alliance attempted to establish a strong foothold in the United States (probably to compete with the B'nai Brith which was organizing branches in Europe) despite the existence of the Board of Delegates which hoped ultimately to speak for the entire American Jewish community.¹⁷ Weak and ineffectual branches were established in San Francisco, Cincinnati, Dayton, Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Pittsburgh. In 1885 the Alliance had six hundred and ninety-six members in the United States. Repeated attempts to organize a strong branch in New York failed. In 1901 Nissim Behar came from Paris to New York to reorganize and consolidate Alliance strength and interest in the United States.

The first meeting of the Alliance in New York called by Behar February 11, 1903 was unsuccessful. The principal speakers, Jacob H. Schiff and Louis Marshall failed to appear. At a second meeting, however, these two together with A. S. Solomons, Rabbi Samuel Schulman, Zvi Hirsch Masliansky, H. Radin and others reorganized the New York branch of the Alliance and Louis Marshall became its president. But the Alliance in the United States was not destined for success.

Behar was a contentious figure and quickly alienated the young Federation of American Zionists. The B'nai Brith itself had dreams of

11

world leadership in Jewish affairs and gave him and the Alliance strong opposition. The Board of Delegates resented his intrusion and refused to cooperate. Although Schiff, Marshall, Isidor Straus and others aided Behar early in his American efforts, their support was soon withdrawn. In the international struggle for economic supremacy, Germany coveted France's strong hold on the Near East in which sphere the German Hilfsverein and the French Alliance were competitive agencies. It is understandable that American Jews of German descent would not long accept French leadership.

At the same time the vast holdings of the Russian Empire were eyed enviously by all commercially ambitious nations. Any incident that might bring discredit upon Russia would certainly be played to the hilt by Russia's competitors. Consequently, the slaughter of forty-seven Jews at Kishineff elicited unprecedented protests from "the entire civilized world". The United States Government looked favorably upon such protests and American Jews contributed unprecedented sums of money for relief. Jacob Schiff hated Czarist Russia as intensely as any exiled revolutionary and he demonstrated the sincerity of his anti-Russian sentiments by placing all the resources of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. at the disposal of the Mikado in the Russo-Japanese War.

Isaac M. Wise had died in 1900. The hegemony of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, such as it had maintained in Jewish affairs, tottered under weak leadership. The B'nai Brith and the Board of Delegates had reacted ineffectually to the Kishineff emergency and had "lost face". It had been left to Nissim Behar, a so-called "foreign agent", to inspire the first effective protests against Russian brutality. But now, Jacob Schiff and his friends saw and seized the opportunity to

dominate the American Jewish scene, even on the levels which until this point had been ruled from Cincinnati and Chicago.

Resolutely they set about to rebuild the entire structure of the American Jewish community. They invited the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College to come to New York City promising buildings and financial assistance. The Union refused, so they established their own Jewish Theological Seminary and later the United Synagogue of America. In the course of years, a whole series of organizations was planned and founded to meet every need of American Jewish life. Over all reigned the American Jewish Committee.

A General Jewish Conference was held in Brussels, January 1906, in an unsuccessful attempt to form an international committee of Jews. A few days later, a conference was held in New York City to consider the possibility of organizing a representative body of Jews in the United States. The same group which in 1891 had founded the paper organization, The American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of Russian Refugees, now established the American Jewish Committee which was destined to hold undisputed sway in America for more than a decade as a protective organization, a relief agency, and a coordinating body.

Composed principally of Jews of German descent, the techniques of the American Jewish Committee depended almost entirely upon the vast personal prestige of well respected key men. It drew its members chiefly from those ranks that could contribute just such personages -- bankers, wealthy business men, high ranking politicians, scholars, and the like. Its point of view was in the main non-Zionist and anti-nationalist. A. L. Sachar has described Cyrus Adler, one of its founders and functionaries, in a manner that also characterizes the American Jewish

Committee, the administration of which Adler long served. He was "...retiring, cautious, conservative, unimpressed by all who believed that public protest or public pressure were effective defense techniques. He preferred personal persuasion, a dignified letter, a solidly documented memorandum, a well-groomed interview."

As Cyrus Adler tells the story, he was responsible for uniting the men who were to found the American Jewish Committee. As early as 1901, he brought together such men as Louis Marshall, Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar Straus, Joseph Jacobs, Solomon Schechter, Adolph Ochs, Louis Loeb, and Cyrus L. Sulzberger who found each others company so congenial they organized an informal club they called the "Wanderers" on the pattern of a similar group in England called the "Maccabeans" which had included such men as Israel Zangwill, Joseph Jacobs, and Israel Abrahams. At one of their meetings, after Oscar Straus, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, and Jacob H. Schiff had singlehandedly completed a drive to raise funds for the relief of the sufferers of the massacre at Kishineff, Schiff himself expressed complete dissatisfaction with the absence of a national representative Jewish organization which might have assumed the responsibility for such a venture. In February 1906, the New York conference was called that resulted in the founding of the American Jewish Committee.

It should be pointed out that those responsible for the founding of the American Jewish Committee had participated earlier in the founding of or at least had sat on the Boards of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the American Committee for Ameliorating the Condition of Russian Refugees, the American Jewish Historical Society, the Industrial Removal Office, the Jewish Agricultural and Industrial Aid Society, the Jewish

Publication Society, the National Conference of Jewish Charities in the United States, the Jewish Theological Seminary, and a host of other organizations.

The "Wanderers" called a conference for February 3 and 4, 1906 in New York to which were invited fifty-eight men from cities all over the United States "to consider the formation of a general Jewish Committee or other representative body of the Jews in the United States." Louis Marshall of New York, a lawyer, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Theological Seminary, acted as temporary chairman. Adolph Kraus of Chicago, lawyer, publisher, public official, President of the B'nai Brith, refused to accept the chairmanship of the conference. Judge Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia, President Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, No. 2, First Judicial District of Pennsylvania, was elected to the position and Professor Joseph Jacobs, Registrar of the Jewish Theological Seminary, Australian-born historian and authority on folk-lore, assumed the duties of secretary. Some of those who took part in this conference and the deliberations that ensued during the course of the following months included in addition to those already named: Judge Samuel Greenbaum of the Supreme Court of the State of New York; Judge Julian W. Mack, Circuit Court, Cook County, Illinois and Professor of Law, University of Chicago; Dr. Max Heller, Rabbi of Temple Sinai, New Orleans; Jacob H. Schiff, head of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York; Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, Rabbi of Sinai Congregation, Chicago; Dr. Cyrus Adler, Semitics scholar, President of the American Jewish Historical Society; Dr. Judah L. Magnes, brother-in-law of Louis Marshall, Rabbi of Temple Israel, Brooklyn and secretary of the Federation of American Zionists; Dr. David Philipson, Rabbi of Congregation Bene Israel, Cincinnati;

Simon Wolf, Washington representative of the Board of Delegates and the B'nai Brith; Cyrus L. Sulzberger of New York, merchant, philanthropist, President of the Jewish Agriculture Industrial Aid Society, Vice-President of the Federation of American Zionists, President of Harlem Democratic Club; Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, Rabbi of K.K. Shearith Israel, New York; Harry Cutler, Russian-born jewelry manufacturer and communal leader of Providence, R.I.; Judge Nathan Bijur of New York, corporation lawyer, founder of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, trustee of the Baron de Hirsch Fund, later Justice of the Supreme Court of New York; Oscar Straus of New York, jurist, diplomat, merchant, and philanthropist; Abraham S. Schomer, Yiddish playwright; Dr. Joseph Stolz, Rabbi of Temple Isaiah, Chicago, and President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, Professor of Ophthalmology, University of Maryland and President of Federation of American Zionists; Nicholas Aleinikoff of New York who had participated in the founding of the Jewish Alliance of America; E. W. Lewin-Epstein, New York, Polish-born American manager of the Rothschild-owned Carmel Wine Company of Palestine; Judge Seligman J. Strauss of the Court of Common Pleas, Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, member of the Executive Committee of the B'nai Brith; Isidore Newman of New Orleans, President of the New Orleans Stock Exchange; Simon W. Rosendale of Albany, corporation lawyer, one-time Attorney General of the State of New York; Max Senior of Cincinnati, building and loan financier, first president of the National Conference of Jewish Charities; Sigmund Sichel of Portland, Oregon, State Senator, Police Commissioner, past grand president of District 4 of the B'nai Brith; Judge M. C. Sloss of San Francisco, associate justice of the Supreme Court of California; Isadore Sobel, attorney, Postmaster of Erie, Pennsylvania, and former vice-president

of the Republicaⁿ League of Pennsylvania; Isaac H. Kempner, banker, Treasurer of the City of Galveston, Texas; Isaac W. Bernheim, distiller, philanthropist, member of the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and the Hebrew Union College; Dr. Jacob Voorsanger, Rabbi of Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco; Milton L. Anfenger of Denver, Colorado, member of Board of Delegates and President of District Grand Lodge No. 2, B'nai Brith; Morris Loeb of New York, Professor of Chemistry, Worcester University, Massachusetts, son of Loeb of Kuhn, Loeb & Co. and brother-in-law of Jacob H. Schiff; Edward Lauterbach of New York, lawyer, former chairman Republican County Committee, Regent of New York University.

Great controversy reigned as to the plan of organization and program. Judge Mack believed that existing organizations were adequate to meet all normal needs and that special committees could always be organized to meet emergency situations. Adolph Kraus supported this view vehemently and warned that whatever transpired, the B'nai Brith would continue to pursue an independent course. Some feared that such an organization would tend to set the Jews off in the minds of the American public as a separate political group. Emil G. Hirsch feared the ultimate extension of the powers of such a congress to the enactment of legislation that would be binding upon the American Jewish community. The repeated use of the word congress in the early discussions proved to be a stumbling block that practically brought the deliberations to an impasse. But the idea of a committee was more appealing and received considerable support.

As to organization, Marshall favored a democratically elected group selected on the basis of Jewish congregations. Oscar Straus suggested

that the basis of the organization be a committee of fifteen chosen by the present conference with powers to increase its numbers to promote Jewish welfare in the United States and abroad. The debate dragged on for months in committee meetings and subsequent sessions of the larger body. It is interesting to note the attitude of Adolph Kraus in this regard, for while he never supported the idea of founding the new organization and was to withdraw later fearful of the independence of his own organization, he nevertheless influenced deeply the entire character of the American Jewish Committee. He is reported to have declared:

I believe this cry that you have got to be elected by the people is humbug. You cannot get them to elect you. It is absolutely impossible in this country to unite Jews on any proposition, and no matter how many of them get together, there will always be thousands who do not take part in it and who will say that you do not represent them. The B'nai Brith, the Zionists and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations will support you as you are. Is it necessary that this Committee represent the riff raff and everybody? If this Committee represents the representative and high class Jew of America, that is enough.²¹

Some years later, the historians of the American Jewish Committee wrote with regard to the plan of organization:

The only suggestion upon which a majority of the conferees agreed was that a small committee be formed of persons who, while representative of American Jewry, need not necessarily be formally accredited representatives of any organization or group, nor in a political sense of the Jews as a whole. It was not claimed by its organizers that the committee had power to bind any constituency. It was thought that the deliberate action of such a body of representative Jews, even if not Jewish representatives, would appeal for support to the great body of Jews. The Committee expected to exercise its influence, not by virtue of power conferred in advance, but by power subsequently obtained, through the support of Jews of this country, who might be in sympathy with the opinions and actions of the committee. The power sought was moral, not political. The allegiance contemplated was to be voluntarily accorded, not legally enjoined.²²

After it was finally decided that a permanent organization was desirable

Chairman Mayer Sulzberger...was empowered to appoint a committee of fifteen with power to increase its number to fifty 'for the purpose of co-operating with the various national Jewish bodies in this country and abroad on questions of national and international moment to the Jewish people.' On November 11, 1906, the first general meeting of the committee of fifty, since called the American Jewish Committee, was held.²³

By the time the First Annual Report was published in 1908, the American Jewish Committee had organized on a national basis "to prevent infringement of the civil and religious rights of Jews, and to alleviate the consequences of persecution."²⁴ Officers had been elected, a constitution adopted, fifty-seven members were listed on its roster, the Committee had established contact with its European counterparts, and was beginning to worry about legislation being introduced into the United States Congress to restrict immigration and had sent \$10,000 to help relieve Jewish suffering in Roumania.

Mayer Sulzberger had been elected President, Julian W. Mack and Isaac H. Kempner, vice-presidents, and Isaac W. Bernheim, treasurer. In addition to the officers, the following members constituted the Executive Committee: Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Isador Sobel, and Jacob H. Schiff who replaced Jacob Voorsanger, deceased. Herbert Friedenwald²⁵ of New York served in the non-elective office of secretary.

The powers of the Executive Committee (nine members elected by the Committee and the four officers) were to be "co-extensive with the powers of the whole committee at all times when the whole committee²⁶ ... [was] not in session." It was left to the discretion of the Executive Committee whether or not it would report its actions to the members of the General Committee.

For the purposes of securing national representation in accordance with the Jewish population, the United States was divided

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into twelve districts (increased in 1909 to thirteen and in 1910 to fourteen) from which a total of sixty members (originally fifty and later increased) were to be selected for five year terms on the General Committee. These members were to have been elected by Advisory Councils of which there was to be one in each district.

The members of the Advisory Councils were to be selected in the following manner: Each member of the General Committee was to nominate to the Executive Committee ten Jewish residents from his own district. Upon confirmation by the Executive Committee, these persons and the members of the General Committee from that district were to constitute the Advisory Council thereof. Advisory Councils of each district were to organize according to the directions of the members of the General Committee of the individual districts. Members of the Advisory Councils were to serve five years. Vacancies in Advisory Councils were to be filled by elections held by the Advisory Councils as were vacancies in the General Committee.

By 1909, when according to plan the Advisory Councils should have number six hundred members, only three hundred and twenty had been selected. Districts III and V had no members whatsoever.

Despite this method of selecting members which Cyrus Adler²⁷ admits resulted in a "self-appointed" Committee, the plan as devised, if permitted to function, would have resulted ultimately in a greater proportion of more democratic representation. Nevertheless, because of difficulty in selecting members for the Advisory Councils, the General Committee continued to fill vacancies by invitation²⁸ and to select members to succeed themselves through the device of a nominating committee appointed by the President, for whose selections the Secretary would

"cast one ballot for all nominees."²⁹ In one instance, A. Leo Weil of Pittsburgh requested that the Advisory Council of his District be permitted to consider the matter of his "election" that they might decide³⁰ as to whether or not he should succeed himself.

By the time it had published its First Annual Report, the American Jewish Committee had weathered amost devastating and frustrating blow to its plan for becoming nationally representative. From its earliest beginning, the Committee had planned to include in its organization the Union of American Hebrew Congregations with its one hundred and eighty-one congregations and the Independent Order of B'nai Brith with its two hundred and ninety-two lodges.³¹ National officers of both organizations had figured prominently in its deliberations from the first conference of February 1906. The First Annual Report briefly relates:

At the invitation of Mr. Adolph Kraus a Committee of three were appointed to confer with similar Committees of the B'nai Brith and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for the purpose of coming to some amicable understanding with regard to the work which each should undertake. A conference was held in New York City on the evening of April 20, 1907, but had no practical result.³²

At a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Constitution Grand Lodge I.O.B.B. held in New York City April 21, 1907, the B'nai Brith's representatives to the joint conference made the following report:

...A joint conference was held on Saturday evening at the Savoy Hotel and that there were present Messrs. Bernard Bettman, Louis J. Goldman and Hon. Simon Wolf on behalf of the Union...; Hon. Julian W. Mack, Mr. Louis Marshall and Dr. J. L. Magnes, representing the American Jewish Committee, and Brothers Adolf Kraus, Lucius L. Solomons and Jacob Furth on behalf of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith....An effort was made to come to an understanding as to what joint or particular work each organization desired to undertake for the Jewish cause; as, however, the representatives of the American Jewish Committee stated that all the questions of the hour which affected Jewish interests throughout

the world were to be embraced within its sphere of effort, thereby including nearly all work which the other two organizations were created to do, and have in a large measure heretofore done, it soon became clear that no plan for joint action, acceptable to all could be agreed upon, and that shortly after midnight the meeting adjourned on the most friendly terms.³³

The American Israelite published in Cincinnati was not so close-mouthed about the conference and its implications:

The I.O.B.B. Executive came to New York prepared to unite with the American Jewish Committee not to be swallowed up by it but to agree upon some program of cooperation. It invited the American Jewish Committee and the Union. With these three bodies working harmoniously, each in its respective field, Mr. Adolph Kraus felt that great good could be accomplished to bring American Jewish affairs out of its present chaotic state.³⁴

According to the article, the representatives of the Union and the B'nai Brith who met in conference prior to meeting with the representatives of the American Jewish Committee had no difficulty in arriving at an understanding. Neither had any intention of surrendering identity or activity and they agreed that their two organizations, at least, would cooperate whenever "emergency demanded."

Inside the larger conference, the Israelite continues, representatives of the American Jewish Committee insisted that

...any and all questions of the hour which affected Jewish interests throughout the world were to be embraced within its sphere of effort, thereby including all the work which the other two organizations were created to do. A deadlock ensued...and the conference dissolved...

It is now expected that most of the members of the American Jewish Committee, who belong to the I.O.B.B., will resign from the former body and that as soon as a new program is formulated, the B'nai Brith will reassert its claim to be the only representative Jewish body in the United States and will work without regard to the activities of the American Jewish Committee...³⁵

At a special meeting of the American Jewish Committee, May 30, 1907 "the resignations of Messrs. Max Senior, Adolph Kraus, Simon Wolf and Milton I. Anfenger were accepted with regret."³⁶

Reporting on their meeting with the committees of the B'nai Brith and the American Jewish Committee, Bernhard Bettman, Louis J. Goldman and Simon Wolf advised the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at Cincinnati, June 2, 1907:

...That on April 20, 1907...we attended a joint conference with the representatives of the American Jewish Committee as arranged by Mr. Adolph Kraus, the President of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith. After a most courteous and friendly interchange of opinions lasting several hours, a final adjournment took place, no understanding with the representatives of the American Jewish Committee having been arrived at.

The reason for this may be summed up as follows:

For more than a generation the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, through the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights, has championed the rights of native as well as alien Jews, of Jews of enlightened America as well as in darkest Russia and eastern Europe, and your Committee, knowing how faithfully, and whenever it was possible successfully, this important work had been performed by this Board, which of late had been enlarged, therefore did not feel itself justified in recommending the surrender of it to others, no matter how worthy and good they may be, but who claim the privilege of 'acting solely upon their own judgment in all cases of emergency, such emergencies likely to arise every day,' and who, by their proposed method of selecting a still larger body (600) would be likely to create friction in what have hitherto been harmonious councils of our people.³⁷

Commenting on the policy of the B'nai Brith in the entire matter of the organization of the American Jewish Committee at the Ninth General Convention of the B'nai Brith in Chicago, April 1910, President Adolf Kraus said:

...It was believed that the clamor for a new organization would cease. It was also believed that the creation of a new body would lead to duplication and therefore to waste of energy; that to unite existing organizations for prompt action on behalf of our persecuted brothers in foreign lands was commendable, but to create a new body 'to promote the welfare of Judaism' and to speak for American Jewry would be not only inexcusable, but dangerous; that in short, American Jews needed no organization to speak for all of them. It was found, however, that the agitation for the creation of a new body did not cease. The question was once more presented to the Executive Committee and by it considered and the following resolution was adopted [June 17, 1906]:³⁸

Be it Resolved, that the Independent Order of B'nai Brith, while rightly maintaining its separate identity in the fulfillment of the tasks it has undertaken, ~~never~~, nevertheless, stands ready to co-operate temporarily in all critical emergencies with other recognized Jewish organizations for the achievement of immediate results in matters affecting the Jewish cause. At the same time, this Executive Committee deems it antagonistic to the principles of the Order and subversive of its mission to enter into any permanent alliance or federation with other institutions limited in their scope and lacking the universality which has ever characterized the B'nai Brith.³⁹

In addition to the resignations of the representatives of the Union and the B'nai Brith, the early years of the American Jewish Committee were marked with the defections of individuals who had figured in the organization from its founding. Sigmund Sichel, Arthur Guiterman, Morris Loeb who had been a member of the Executive Committee, Edward Lanterbach, and Emil G. Hirsch resigned.

B. ATTEMPTS OF THE COMMITTEE TO BECOME REPRESENTATIVE

An editorial which appeared in The Maccabaen of July 1907, the official organ of the Federation of American Zionists, expressed the attitude of at least one segment of American Jewry toward the American Jewish Committee:

...The American Jewish Committee organized with a bold declaration as to its representative character, but when it found out that representative claims meant responsibilities to the people, it shut its doors to the public and decided to become an irresponsible committee doing its 'good' work in its own way. We hold the Committee to its first declaration. In our 'humorous' column we have poked fun at its bureaucratic methods, and insisted upon its living up to the promises it had made when it side-tracked a popular call for a representative body.⁴⁰ We hold that the American Jewish Committee can do something of value for the Jewish people, but that it can do nothing unless it recognizes its responsibilities to the people. Should it persist in delaying the democratization plan, which has been before it during the year, we shall hold that it has forfeited all claim to the confidence of

the Jewish people, and that nationalists owe a duty to their principles to withdraw from it. The Jewish people have had enough of these self-appointed, self-perpetuating institutions organized to do 'good work'. There can be no good work for the Jewish people unless the representatives of the Jewish people do it. Benevolent despotism is out of date. ⁴¹ July 1907? 26

It was vital to the purposes of the American Jewish Committee that it be recognized as representative of American Jewry even though democratic representation of all aspects of the Jewish community in America would not have been instrumental in furthering their ends. They had no interest in inviting all national Jewish organizations to be represented in the Committee, but the two organizations they had counted on heavily refused to affiliate. Their plan for District Advisory Councils, selected originally by the members of the General Committee and approved by the Executive Committee was far from successful. Their next project to secure desirable "grass roots" representation lay in the development of Kehillahs, organized Jewish communities which were to be incorporated as constituencies of the Committee and which would elect delegates to Advisory Councils for the individual cities which would advise the Committee about their local problems and nominate delegates to the Committee. Kehillahs were organized in New York and Philadelphia and planned for other communities throughout the country. ⁴²

Need for coordination of the internal affairs of New York Jewry and particularly the means of providing for the ritual needs of a group whose component elements stemmed from a multitude of variegated backgrounds spelled the earliest stimulus for the organization of a Kehillah in New York City. The immediate impetus to organization has been attributed to the devastating declaration in 1908 by General Bingham, Police Commissioner of New York, that Jews contributed 50 per cent of the criminals of New York City. ⁴³

Recognizing the potential of such organization, New York members of the American Jewish Committee leaped to the helm of the incipient body and with characteristic German thoroughness and their own personal zeal for controlling American Jewish life, united widely divergent segments of New York Jewry into a compact community and brought it within the sphere of the American Jewish Committee. Organizational meetings lasted through 1908, 1909 and finally in April 1910, the Kehillah was formally established under the presidency of Judah L. Magnes.

At the second annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee in November 1908, the Executive Committee had happily reported:

As bearing on effective organization, we are pleased to call attention to an important movement now on foot in the city of New York having as its object the welding of the Jewish community of the city into a compact elective organization, and of making the representatives of this organization the constituency of the American Jewish Committee. Formal conferences have been held between Mr. Marshall and the Secretary, representing the Executive Committee, and Dr. Magnes, Rabbi Jaffe and Messrs. Bublick, Pinski, Semel and Dorf, representing the proposed organization.⁴⁴

The following year, the Executive Committee was still pleased to observe the development of the New York Kehillah:

The formation of the Jewish Community of New York City superseded the Advisory Council for District XII [New York City]. As considerable difficulty had been met with in organizing the advisory councils of the several districts, and as it was considered that New York's experiment might form a model for other communities, the work of perfecting the advisory councils has been suspended until such time as experience may prove whether New York's example will be followed elsewhere or not.⁴⁵

The New York Kehillah elected to its Executive Committee twenty-five members upon whom membership in the General Committee of the American Jewish Committee was conferred. Included were Daniel Guggenheim, Leon Kamaiky, Adolph Lewisohn, J. L. Magnes, Louis Marshall, H. Pereira Mendes, Jacob H. Schiff, and Cyrus L. Sulzberger -- by no

means newcomers to the Committee. New blood was introduced into the Committee in the persons of Joseph Barondess, labor leader; Samuel Dorf, Grand Master of Order Brith Abraham; Rabbi Bernard Drachman, president of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of the United States and Canada; Harry Fischel, treasurer of the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society and later heavy contributor to Yeshiva College; William Fishman; Israel Friedlaender, Professor of Biblical Literature and Exegesis at the Jewish Theological Seminary; Samuel B. Hamburger, general counsel of Independent Order Free Sons of Israel; Rabbi Maurice N. Harris of Temple Israel (Reform), New York; S. Jarmulowsky; Nathan S. Jonas, President of Manufacturers Trust Co.; Rabbi Philip Klein of the First Hungarian Congregation, member of the Executive Committee of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations; Nathan Iampert, millionaire real estate operator, later heavy contributor to Yeshiva College; Rabbi M.Z. Margolies, Orthodox leader and member of the Executive Committee of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations; Dr. Solomon Neumann; Bernard Semel, president of Federation of Gallician and Bucovinian Jews of America, later founder, together with Dr. Magnes, of "Der Tog"; Dr. P.A. Siegelstein, physician, President of American Union of Roumanian Jews; Rabbi Joseph Silverman of Temple Emanu-El, New York.

Under the guidance of Cyrus Adler, the Kehillah of Philadelphia was established June 10, 1911. Adler was its first president, but regarding its activities he makes scanty mention in his autobiography. He explains that he retired "at the time of the war because of the introduction of questions which...[he] did not consider germane to the local Kehillah."⁴⁶ Its arrangements with the American Jewish Committee were similar to those under which the Kehillah of New York functioned. After

1921 it ceased to exist.

The two Kehillahs concerned themselves with religious matters, religious education, Americanization, social welfare, the arbitration of disputes and labor difficulties among Jews. Public officials came to regard them as the official spokesmen of the two communities. The Annual Reports of the American Jewish Committee suggest the planning of a Kehillah in Denver, but nowhere is there any report of its actual existence.

Harry Sackler, historian of the New York Kehillah, attributes its downfall to oligarchic practices on the part of its leaders, opposition from "vested interests", the more pressing problems of the post-war period, and the "pacificistic tendencies of its chairman, and a somewhat erratic leadership."⁴⁷ Thirteen years after its birth, the Kehillah of New York City quietly passed out of existence.

Commenting on the Kehillah, Louis Lipsky wrote:

...The New York Kehillah began under the most auspicious circumstances, but soon the insidious influence of philanthropy found a way to control its actions. There was always a lack of financial support from the democratic masses. The philanthropists had to be called upon. Soon the annual meetings of the Kehillah became farcically inadequate. The delegates did not provide the income; so how could they adopt an effective budget? They could not decide upon policy, for policy depended upon income. As a result, the Kehillah conventions met only to adopt ineffectual resolutions and to make hot speeches, and the Committee on Ways and Means --⁴⁸ which found the means -- decided what the Kehillah should do....

In another attempt to secure the desired type of national representation, the American Jewish Committee, when it incorporated in 1911, amended its By-Laws to read:

The Executive Committee is authorized to invite the National Jewish Fraternal Congress, representing thirteen Jewish fraternal orders, to elect three of its members to be members-at-large in the American Jewish Committee, and the following organizations to elect one representative each to be members-at-large in the American Jewish Committee: The Independent Order B'nai Brith, the Board of Delegates of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Union of American

Hebrew Congregations, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, the National Conference of Jewish Charities, and the Federation of American Zionists.⁴⁹

In 1911 Sigmund Fodor, Samuel Kanrich, and Leon Sanders, representing the National Jewish Fraternal Congress, and S. E. Jaffe representing the Union of Orthodox Rabbis were listed as members-at-large.⁵⁰ They served only one term of one year and it is not indicated whether they were not re-elected by the General Committee or whether their organizations failed to return them to the Committee. Nevertheless, the association of these organizations with the American Jewish Committee ceased after the one year.

In 1912, Lee K. Frankel was elected to membership-at-large representing the National Conference of Jewish Charities which coordinated the activities of one hundred and fifteen societies.⁵¹ However, this accomplishment cannot be considered a gain as regards securing national representation because the Conference was just another creation of the same men who had established the Committee. Nathan Bijur, Jacob H. Hollander, Julian W. Mack, and Julius Rosenwald sat on its Executive Committee.⁵²

In 1913, the By-Laws were amended again to include the United Synagogue of America as one of the organizations entitled to elect a member-at-large to serve for one year.⁵³ But this organization, too, had been created by the founders of the Committee. Solomon Schechter was its president and Cyrus Adler, vice-president.⁵⁴

At the close of the year 1914, the roster of members-at-large,⁵⁵ which class of membership had been reserved for representatives of national Jewish organizations listed nine persons: Nathan Bijur elected by the Executive Committee in 1909 when he ascended to the bench of the

Supreme Court of the State of New York;⁵⁶ Lee K. Frankel representing the National Conference of Jewish Charities; Herbert Friedenwald, retired secretary of the American Jewish Committee who had been rewarded with this appointment in 1913;⁵⁷ Moses R. Walter, elected by the Executive Committee in 1913;⁵⁸ Herman Bernstein, secretary of the American Jewish Committee; Albert D. Lasker;⁵⁹ Oscar Straus elected by the Executive Committee in 1914; and Samuel C. Lamport representing the United Synagogue of America.

The close of the year 1914 which had seen the nations of the world enter the holocaust of World War I and, on the American Jewish scene, heralded the rising crescendo of appeals and demands for a "democratic and representative" American Jewish congress, found the American Jewish Committee in the following circumstances: Louis Marshall was president having succeeded Mayer Sulzberger in November 1912. Julian W. Mack and Jacob H. Hollander were vice-presidents. Isaac W. Bernheim was treasurer. Serving on the Executive Committee were Cyrus Adler, Harry Cutler, Samuel Dorf, J. L. Magnes, Julius Rosenwald, Jacob H. Schiff, Isador Sobel, Oscar Straus, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Mayer Sulzberger,⁶⁰ and A. Leo Weil.

The Jewish population of the United States on July 1, 1914,⁶¹ as estimated by Joseph Jacobs, was 2,933,374. Eighty-one of these Jews sat on the American Jewish Committee's General Committee. Ninety-nine were sustaining members (of which total thirty-one were members of the General and Executive Committee). An additional 1,068 were listed as contributing members.⁶² The members of the American Jewish Committee represented mostly themselves.

The American Jewish Committee had not been accorded the recognition that its founders and leaders may have felt was its due, but its

record of accomplishment was a proud one. It had been instrumental in bringing about the abrogation of the treaty between the United States and Russia because of the latter's objectionable and embarrassing disregard of the rights of American Jews while travelling abroad. Anti-Semitic restrictive legislation affecting immigration introduced in Congress had been successfully stymied. Public discrimination against Jews in New York had been prohibited by law. Attempts to outlaw "shechitah" in various states had been defeated. Money had been raised for the relief of suffering and disaster in San Francisco, Constantinople, Casablanca, Morocco, and the Balkan countries. Guarantees had been secured for the protection of the rights of the Jewish populace of the conquered territories of the Ottoman Empire that passed into the hands of Roumania, Greece, Serbia, and Bulgaria following the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913.

III. THE AMERICAN ZIONIST MOVEMENT

A. THE FEDERATION OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS

The Jew of German descent looked upon himself as a Jew by religion only. Behind him lay the great struggle within the Fatherland to achieve citizenship. Fired by glowing historical accounts of Germany's tortured development, cooled to aspirations for the return to Zion by Reform Judaism which discarded references to the Messiah and to the re-establishment of the Temple, the German responded to no appeal to the Jewish nationalism that seized the imagination of his East European co-religionist. At the dedication of the first Reform synagogue in America, Charleston, South Carolina in 1841, it had been intoned: "This

country is our Palestine, this city our Jerusalem, this house of God, our Temple." This expression characterized the attitude of the German Jew in America where he sought to identify himself with all things American, to immerse himself completely in American life, and gave rise to his stolid conclusion that Judaism is primarily a religion and that nationalism for the Jew must stem from the country of his residence.

But the East European Jew came from lands where he had ever been treated as a separate people. Seldom had he been permitted to feel that he belonged to the country in which he resided. The messianic references in the liturgy and the prayers for the re-establishment of Zion were very close to the hearts of large masses of East European Jews, particularly those who had been members of the "Chovevei Zion", a society founded in Russia by young men who saw in the regaining of Palestine their only glimmer of hope.

Until the period of the first World War, the American Zionist movement was weak. The East European Jew in America was too completely absorbed by the problems of personal adjustment to worry about Palestine. The difficulty of earning a living made almost impossible the devotion of energy to "causes". With few exceptions, German Jews were not interested. East Europeans generally regarded America as the "Land of Promise". Others trusted implicitly in the revolutionary movements of Russia to solve the problems of their dear ones under the Czar, and ultimately of the whole world. Opposition to Zionism included almost the entire Reform and Orthodox rabbinate, the labor element which devoted itself to assimilationist socialism, philanthropists like Jacob Schiff who denounced it as un-American, and intellectuals like Kaufmann Kohler who feared it because he felt it was contrary to Judaism.

Shortly after the First Zionist Congress convened in Basle, Switzerland in August 1897, a meeting of leading American Zionists was called in New York at which the Federation of American Zionists was formed. Among its founders were Bernard Felsenthal, Max Heller, and Gustave Gottheil, all of whom braved the wrath of the Central Conference of American Rabbis which, under the leadership of Isaac M. Wise, was violently anti-Zionist. Together with them at the organizing meeting were Professor Richard Gottheil of the Semitics Department of Columbia University; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Professor Ophthalmology at the University of Maryland; Henrietta Szold, then secretary of the Jewish Publication Society; and several others. Richard Gottheil was elected President and Stephen Wise, Honorary Secretary.

At first the organization was a loose union of groups that endorsed the Basle program. Slowly the Federation grew as it succeeded in attracting support from circles that carried prestige. After 1904, under the leadership of Friedenwald and Louis Lipsky, great strides were taken. Periodicals were established. New Zionist groups were developed.

The Kishineff massacres converted labor leader Joseph Barondess to Zionism. In 1907, Professors Margolis, Malter, and Schloesinger, who had left the faculty of the Hebrew Union College, devoted themselves to Zionist work. Solomon Schechter threw himself wholeheartedly into the movement. Under his influence and later under Israel Friedlaender, the Jewish Theological Seminary became known as a training camp for Zionist leaders. Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, another who had left the Hebrew Union College faculty, was a veritable fire-brand in the early days of the movement. Later, however, he came under the spell of the

more conservative Jewish element and proposed that Zionism abandon its political program. Although he maintained his membership in Zionist organizations, he was conceded by many to be lost to the cause.

It was under the guidance of the towering figure of Louis D. Brandeis that Zionism came of age in America. With the outbreak of war, American Zionists of all complexions united under the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs which was organized under the direction of Schmarya Levin and Louis Lipsky on August 30, 1914. Brandeis was elected chairman. As early as 1914, Brandeis had brought the affairs of the Zionist movement to the direct attention of Woodrow Wilson who in 1916 officially declared himself in accord with its aims. At the time of his appointment to the United States Supreme Court, Brandeis retired from intimate contact with the Zionist movement, but he continued as Honorary Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee.

Judge Julian W. Mack of Chicago, a charter member of the American Jewish Committee, was won to the Zionist cause in the early years of the war.

In 1914, the Federation of American Zionists under the Presidency of Harry Friedenwald boasted 14,000 "shekel-payers", three subsidiary national organizations having 101 branches and two publications⁶³ -- a monthly and a weekly. In 1919, Louis D. Brandeis was Honorary President; Julian W. Mack, President. The name of the organization was changed to the Zionist Organization of America. Membership had swollen to 144,820. Subsidiary organizations numbered eight and their branches, 1163. Publications had increased to three monthlies and two weeklies.⁶⁴

Commenting on American Zionism, Chaim Weizmann paid it the following glowing tribute:

Instead of merely being content -- as it might have been -- with offering material aid, it spoke the language of our national hunger...Nowhere can Zionism have been said to represent so purely a spiritual instinct as it did in America, for the immediate political need which goaded the Jews of many European countries to action was absent in America. The need was not the result either of economic or spiritual pressure; it came from the pure well-spring of an evolved Jewish self-consciousness.⁶⁵

B. LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

The establishment of Zionism as an unquestioned factor in the American Jewish community is indelibly stamped with the character of Louis D. Brandeis. One of the most controversial figures in American history, "the most liked and the most hated man at the Bar in America",⁶⁶ Brandeis brought to the Zionists respectability they had not enjoyed heretofore. He brought to the movement the dignity of an old established American family -- '48'ers, elite German Jewish stock that had been assimilated for generations. He brought the prestige of the great fame he had earned as an advocate and a counselor, a genius for organization, a driving power and devotion that knew its way to securing results in the rough^y and tumble arena of American life. Here was a man who could interpret Zionist ideals and goals in American terms and upon and within the framework of American life. Here was a man who could concretize the philosophy of the Congress movement on a plane far above and beyond mere Zionist aspirations. Of utmost practical importance to the budding movement was the fact that he was a close friend of Woodrow Wilson and high in the councils of the Democratic National Committee.

Brandeis had never belonged to a Jewish congregation, had had no Jewish cultural or nationalist interests, had never attended a religious service or taken part in any religious observance. His parents had evinced no interest in Jewish affairs and other branches of his family had married Gentiles and were not identified as Jews. Brandeis' only relative who was known as a Jew was his uncle, Lewis N. Dembitz, a Louisville attorney who had been prominent in the early affairs of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations and an early supporter of Zionism in America.

Brandeis had been graduated from the Harvard Law School as valedictorian of his class in 1877 having established a record for scholarship that has not yet been equalled. Despite the fact that he had become a millionaire in the practice of corporation law, he had become famous as the "Peoples' Attorney", a fierce opponent of industrial and commercial bigness. He waged unrelenting warfare upon the utilities, the trusts, and the monopolies. He endorsed trade unionism and was mentioned as Socialist candidate for the Presidency in the campaign of 1912.

In tracing Brandeis' development, Zionists like to point to his fondness for his uncle, his admiration for Theodor Herzl, his first close contact with Jews when he served as an arbitrator in the labor strife of 1910, and the great influence exerted upon him by Jacob de Haas. It was in August, 1912, just three months before the elections, that Brandeis first engaged in serious discussion with De Haas about Zionism.

Throughout the election campaign Brandeis stumped for Wilson and served the Democratic National Committee as writer and counselor. In the minds of many, it was a foregone conclusion that Wilson would

appoint Brandeis to his Cabinet. He was mentioned for the portfolios of Attorney-General, Secretary of Commerce and Secretary of Labor. That he was superiorly qualified for any of the appointments was unquestioned. But Brandeis lacked the one important resource without which no one with his enemies could have succeeded in politics. He had no broad-based constituency to rally about him to counteract the protest which was certain to accompany his appointment to any office. Surely Brandeis realized this and his friends, perhaps even Wilson, must have pointed it out to him.

There were stronger movements on the American Jewish scene than Zionism. But the American Jewish Committee was solidly opposed to Louis D. Brandeis. The hierarchies of the fraternal organizations were "closed shops" and it is unlikely that they would have welcomed so controversial a figure into their midst.

But Zionism in America, practically in its infancy, was without leadership. The dream which it offered had the potential of capturing the imaginations of thousands of American Jews who were represented by no national Jewish organization. These were the unnumbered masses of Jews who had arrived within the past generation; who had not found the streets paved with gold; who were worried about recessions and depressions; who heard anti-Semites raving on street corners and in the halls of Congress and were not completely convinced that America was "the land of the free." These were the multitudes struggling for a toe-hold into the middle class, who were being expected to support existing national organizations but who had no voice in any forum. Zionism could meet their needs. And above all, the political atmosphere of the age was favorable to Zionism. The liberalism of the era

which had brought Wilson to the White House considered kindly the aspirations of all little peoples who yearned for freedom and independence. Louis D. Brandeis foresaw the great future of Zionism in America.

It was reported at the Zionist Convention of 1912 that Louis D. Brandeis had formally joined the Federation of American Zionists. Throughout the balance of 1912 and during 1913 he spoke frequently in behalf of the Zionist movement. He became associate executive committee-man of the Federation of American Zionists in 1913. At the Zionist Convention in Cincinnati in 1913, Brandeis declined election as delegate to the eleventh World Congress in Vienna.

As Inauguration Day, March 4, 1913, approached, upon which occasion it was customary that the President announce his appointments to the Cabinet, the opposition to Brandeis, long vicious and bitter, became uproarious and overwhelming. The enthusiasm and devotion of Brandeis' many high-placed friends who supported him faithfully could not compare to the opposition which emanated from the camps of his enemies, Republicans and Democrats alike. Wilson was finally convinced⁶⁷ to pass him over on the grounds of preserving party harmony.

Perhaps some of the most damaging protest arose from Jewish sources. Brandeis' biographer, Alpheus Thomas Mason writes:

...some of Brandeis's most violent detractors were among Jewish representatives of privilege. 'A very concerted effort is being made,' Henry Moskowitz reported to Norman Hapgood, by 'Jewish bankers and Jewish corporate interests' to eliminate him from cabinet consideration on the ground that he is 'not a representative Jew.' Moskowitz diagnosed the objection to his lack of orthodoxy as 'a transparent pretext concealing the non-sectarian fear of all reactionary interests, Jewish and non-Jewish, of Mr. Brandeis.'⁶⁸

The returns on his investment in the Zionist movement had not accrued in sufficient strength to assist Brandeis in March 1913.

But both he and the Zionist movement were slated for greater futures than could have been envisioned at that doleful moment. Their greatest battles lay ahead and each was to render the other invaluable aid.

The personality of Brandeis swept onto the stage of Jewish affairs with a fury. Self-righteous and revolted by the oligarchic manner of the American Jewish Committee, he dedicated himself to the task of sweeping clean the whole establishment of the American Jewish community. As he accepted the chairmanship of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs on August 30, 1914, Brandeis said:

Throughout long years which represent my own life, I have been to a great extent separated from Jews. I am very ignorant in things Jewish. But recent experiences, public and professional, have taught me this: I find Jews possessed of those very qualities which we of the twentieth century seek to develop in our struggle for justice and democracy; a deep moral feeling which makes them capable of noble acts; a deep sense of the brotherhood of man; and 69
a high intelligence, the fruit of three thousand years of civilization.

IV. THE AMERICAN JEWISH LABOR MOVEMENT

Jewish immigration to the United States from Eastern Europe brought to America for the first time a Jewish proletariat the greatest number of which swarmed to the needle trades in the metropolitan areas of New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Baltimore, and Chicago. Clothing manufacture had been the principle industry of many of the largest centers of Jewish population in Eastern Europe and thousands of the immigrants were sufficiently skilled to enter the industry in America. Other thousands quickly learned simple skills which enabled them to operate machines in the factories of the German Jewish clothing manufacturers. Out of cruel exploitation there arose the impetus that gave rise to the

Jewish labor movement, conceived and reared in an atmosphere of misery, hatred, and violence that persisted over a period of twenty-five years or more.

The leadership of the American Jewish labor movement, well grounded in the revolutionary movements of Russia, was predominantly socialistic and anti-religious. Joseph Barondess, Meyer London, Abe Cahan, Morris Hillquit, and Sidney Hillman were among its prime movers.

Joseph Barondess, born in Russia in 1867, came to the United States in 1888. He pioneered in the Jewish labor movement, taking prominent part in the organization of the Cloakmakers Union, the Hebrew Actors Union, the Ladies Garment Union, and the Hebrew American Typographical Union. Originally an anarchist, he was converted to Zionism by the Kishineff massacres in 1903. In 1910 he was appointed a commissioner of the Board of Education in New York City and in the same year became a member of the American Jewish Committee. He was active in later years with the Zionist element in the founding of the American Jewish Congress.

Meyer London, whom Jewish labor sent to the United States Congress as a Socialist Representative, was born in Russia in 1871. He came to the United States in 1891 and entered into the practice of law in 1898. He devoted his legal career to the affairs of the unions of the needle industry. One of the founders of the Workmen's Circle, he was prominent in its activities and in those of the Socialist Party.

Abe Cahan, socialist labor leader and journalist, was born in Russia in 1860. Participation in revolutionary activities necessitated his flight to the United States in 1882 where he supported the rising Jewish labor movement in the columns of various Yiddish newspapers. His

influence became extensive and important after 1902 when he assumed the editorship of the Yiddish socialist daily, The Jewish Daily Forward, the circulation of which he quickly expanded from six thousand to over two hundred thousand. He represented the American Socialist movement at international congresses in 1891 and 1893.

Morris Hillquit, socialist labor leader and labor attorney was born in Latvia in 1870. Arriving in the United States in 1887, he participated in the founding of the United Hebrew Trades in 1888. Together with Eugene V. Debs, he helped organize the American Socialist Party. His legal practice was practically limited to labor defense. His early fame came from his successful fight for New York's first Workmen's Compensation Law in 1909-1910 and his defense of eight union cloak-makers charged with murder in 1915.

Sidney Hillman, first president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America was born in Lithuania in 1887. In 1907 after having served a prison sentence in Siberia for union activity, he came to America. Settling in Chicago, he achieved recognition in the United Garment Workers Union while employed at the factories of Hart, Schaffner and Marx. In 1914, at the age of twenty-eight, he became president of the newly organized Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Intense suffering on the part of the Jewish worker brought consciousness of the need for organization. In the 1880's the eighty-four hour week was not uncommon. Wages in the needle trades averaged about seven dollars a week. Women earned from three to six dollars and often whole families working fifteen hours a day could earn no more than fifteen dollars a week. Unsanitary conditions, crowding, worry, malnutrition harried the lives of the immigrants. Disease and early death raged rampant through the ghetto-like districts.

The first general strike in the needle trades occurred in 1885. The United Hebrew Trades, an association of Jewish trade unions, organized the first successful union in the needle trades in 1888, the first year of its own existence. A year later anarchists in Philadelphia organized the Jewish Federation of Labor. 1890 was a bitter year which saw the founding of Cloakmakers Union in Chicago, Baltimore, Boston, and Philadelphia. The greatest strides, however, were made in New York where the United Hebrew Trades under the direction of Joseph Barondess, through a series of strikes, succeeded in organizing a branch of the Cloakmakers Union and gained unqualified union recognition, the closed shop, higher wages, and the establishment of boards of arbitration.

The United Garment Workers came into existence in 1891 and dominated the men's clothing workers until 1913. 1896 saw the formation in Boston and New York of the United Cloth Hat and Cap Makers which achieved national organization by 1901. The International Ladies Garment Workers Union came into existence in New York in 1900, the same year the Workmen's Circle came upon the scene. The International Fur Workers Union was originally organized as far back as 1882 but struggled unsuccessfully until 1912 when it was finally permanently established.

The Bund, essentially a workingman's organization, known in Eastern Europe as the Allgemeiner Yiddisher Arbeiterbund in Lita, Polen un Rusland (Jewish Social Democratic Party), which had been founded in Vilna in 1897, came to America in 1900 when it established its first branch in New York. Shortly thereafter, branches sprang up in Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, and other cities.

Under the influence of Jewish intellectuals and radicals who sought refuge in the United States following the Russian Revolution in 1905, the Jewish labor movement received added impetus. The rising Zionist

movement in America was augmented with the founding of the Jewish Socialist Labor Party, Poale Zion, organized in 1905 and joined in 1906 by the like-minded though non-Palestine centered Jewish Socialist-Territorialist Labor Party of America.

In the panic of 1907 practically all the gains made by Jewish labor unions in the early period of their development were lost. The United Hebrew Trades which had had seventy-five affiliates in early 1907 lost more than half that number as widespread unemployment dissipated union strength and brought about the dissolution of untold national unions as well as locals by the hundreds. The "Great Revolt" of 1910 reversed the situation.

The long series of strikes of 1910 was characterized by suffering, bitterness, and violence which defied comparison with the struggles of the preceding era. The employers were at this time no longer primarily the German Jewish firms, but a myriad of well organized small shops owned by Russian and Polish Jewish, themselves only a few years from the bench, who had successfully set themselves to the task of eliminating from competition the host of contractors as well as many of the large manufacturers through the means of low overhead which the miserable sweat shop system made possible.

Principally affected by the strikes were the ladies garment industry of New York and the men's garment industry in Chicago. Louis D. Brandeis, Louis Marshall, and Jacob H. Schiff among many other well-meaning individuals tried to arbitrate the strikes which dragged on endlessly, but their efforts were unsuccessful. The strikes, however, were ultimately successful, and a great new union was born out of the struggle. The rank and file of the men's clothing industry represented

by the United Garment Workers had come to realize that their leadership was more concerned with the interests of the comparatively few skilled workers. From the ranks of the old union Sidney Hillman led an industry-wide defection which he united to form the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

The suffering occasioned by long drawn out strikes brought thousands of other Jewish workers to the realization that organization on the basis of crafts and trades and origin (in the *Landsmanschaften*) was not enough. They needed legislation designed to their particular needs. They needed representation in local, state, and national government. Their economic strivings had to be fortified with political organization. The Americanization process and the small portion of hard won economic security encouraged and enabled individuals to look beyond the mere earning of a livelihood. Shorter working hours permitted the individual to devote time and energy to "causes." In 1912 there was founded the Jewish Socialist Federation of America (Socialist Party) and during the next year, the Jewish National Workers Alliance of America. The Socialists predominated in political organization, but there were societies for the anarchist, the syndicalist, the Jewish nationalist, the anti-nationalist as well as hundreds of *Landsmanschaften* concerned with the politics of home-town communities. The Republican and Democratic Parties were for those who had "arrived."

The goals of the early leaders of Jewish labor in the United States were the immediate improvement of economic conditions and the ultimate emancipation of the Jewish workingman. There was no concern for the "Jewishness" of the individual. There was no concern for the development of Jewish community consciousness among the Jewish proletariat. Leadership despaired of any improvement in capitalistic society and was

consistently indifferent if not actually hostile to organization along lines other than economic and political.

Equality before the law in the United States, equality of civil, political, and religious rights relieved the Jewish labor movement in America of the necessity to struggle for "nationality rights" as in Eastern Europe and permitted the concentration of all energies in the "class struggle". Zionism was branded by the anti-national socialists as reactionary, "the bourgeois reaction to anti-Semitism". The immediate concern of American Jewish labor was its own future in America. The situation of their brethren in Europe, they felt, was to be relieved only through revolution.

With the failure of the Revolution of 1905, there came to the United States fugitive revolutionaries and labor leaders from Eastern Europe who, like the established leadership in America, were revolutionary socialists. But many of these newcomers had succumbed to the appeal of a homeland in Palestine. For the first time, a purely Jewish issue invaded the American Jewish labor scene leading to the founding of Poale Zion. The mounting ~~furor~~ of the pogroms in Eastern Europe, the panic of 1907, the bitter strikes of 1910 brought recruits to the new organization. And though its numbers remained small, Poale Zion came to exert a new and powerful influence upon the Jewish workman.

With the coming of war in 1914, the effective propaganda of the Zionist element in the labor movement together with the violent reaction of American Jewish labor to official Russian brutality and in line with world-wide socialist activity which was turning from the old philosophy of internationalism to the problems of nationalism, Jewish labor's leadership was constrained to depart from its established policy and to organize

somewhat along the lines of the American Jewish Committee to engage in endeavors of philanthropy and defense.

Representatives of four Jewish labor organizations attended the meeting called by the American Jewish Committee, October 25, 1914, which resulted in the formation of the American Jewish Relief Committee⁷¹ to the Executive Committee of which Meyer London was appointed.

August of the following year witnessed the establishment of Jewish labor's own People's Relief Committee founded "to reach persons who could afford to give only very small amounts and who were not responsive to appeals of existing agencies."⁷² By July 15, 1917 they had managed to collect over eight hundred thousand dollars in nickels and dimes from the laborers of America's ghettos. Meyer London was chairman of the People's Relief Committee; Sholom Asch, E. Elsberg, and Jacob Panken, vice-chairmen. In November of 1915, they joined forces with the Joint Distribution Committee which had come into existence when the American Jewish Relief Committee had been amalgamated with the Central Committee for Relief of Jews Suffering through the War.

Early in 1915 representatives of the Workmen's Circle, the United Hebrew Trades, the Jewish Socialist Federation of America, and the Forward Association met to discuss plans for a democratic and representative organization of all elements of labor that would participate in a movement for the achievement of equal rights for Jews in all countries where they were deprived of such rights. A call was issued inviting all American Jewish labor and radical organizations to a series of conferences, the first of which was held in New York City April 18, 1915. Two hundred organizations sent delegates who formally founded the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights. The new organization

held its first convention in New York City, September 4,5, and 6, 1915 attended by delegates representing groups with a total membership in excess of 350,000.

Representing laborers and radicals of all political hues, the National Workmen's Committee was to play a powerful and important role in the founding of the American Jewish Congress. Throughout the bitter and extended controversy, they were to side with the arch-conservative American Jewish Committee and to act as negotiators and peace-makers between the Committee and the congress advocates before the agreement was reached which enabled all three groups to unite in the American Jewish Congress Committee. Upon the receipt of the news of the first revolution in Russia, the National Workmen's Committee was to withdraw from the Congress. But in 1918 when the Congress was about to convene, it reconsidered and notified the Congress that it would return.

Morris Hillquit represented the National Workmen's Committee in the Executive of the American Jewish Congress Committee. Frank Rosenblatt, secretary of the Workmen's Circle, served the National Workmen's Committee as treasurer. J. B. Salutsky, treasurer of the Jewish Socialist Federation of America, was secretary.

The Executive Committee included Abraham Baroff, secretary-treasurer of the International Ladies Garment Workers Union; Adolph Held of The Jewish Daily Forward; Moshe Olgin, Bundist organizer; Jacob Panken, labor attorney and socialist leader; Max Fine, secretary of the United Hebrew Trades; Joseph Schlossberg, secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers; and Baruch Vladeck, socialist member of the New York Board of Aldermen.

V. THE "RIGHTS" ISSUE

A. BACKGROUND OF MINORITY RIGHTS IN EUROPE

When the victorious Allies assembled to write the Treaty of Versailles, they were pledged to the principle of national self-determination. To the Peace Conference the long suffering minorities of Europe sent scores of delegations which sought to further their causes in consultation with the diplomats. The Jews went to Paris, too -- World Jewry -- to plead the case of their East European brethren. As Jews and as representatives of Jewish organizations, they had long stood in the foreground in the agitation for the protection of minorities -- all minorities regardless of the feature which distinguished them -- religion, race, nationality, or language. These Jewish representatives did not approach the Conference with one plan or with one point of view. Various elements spoke vaguely of group rights, civil rights, religious rights, political rights. Others stormed about nationality rights and autonomy. Some foresaw no future except in Palestine. But it has been maintained that it was largely to the credit of these Jews, seemingly hopelessly split, and the organizations they represented in America and Europe that the famous Minorities Treaties were written.

Some of the Jewish delegations never managed to grasp an understanding of the basic issues involved in the struggle for "rights" and consistently opposed appeals to the Conference in this regard. But to the European diplomats, the problems of minorities were nothing new. Ever since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, disgruntled minorities with demands ranging from complete independence to limited autonomy in internal affairs had perpetuated a ceaseless, bloody uproar. The French

Revolution had stirred Europeans to fight for "human rights", which had been enshrined in the republican form of government. With the rise of nationalism in the nineteenth century, Europeans were spurred to seek rights based on race and nationality.

The Congress of Vienna which divided Europe anew after the Napoleonic Wars super-imposed over the face of Europe a new political map which paid not the slightest regard to racial or national lines. The victors were intent upon territorial gain. The languages and the cultures and the racial characteristics of the people who came with the land were of no concern. The official view was that these people could be assimilated. Russia seized a lion's share of Poland. Austria-Hungary, carved out of the very heart of Europe, claimed peoples of almost all European origins. Holland/Belgium, of differing religions and languages, were bound together. Mohammedan Turkey came to rule over Greek Orthodox Rumanians, Serbs, Bulgars, and Greeks. Within the course of time, Germany came to rule over territories where the French lived in numerical superiority. France had Italian subjects. In Transylvania there lived Hungarians and Rumanians; in Macedonia, Greeks, Bulgars, and Albanians; Galicia and Russia encircled Poles, Ruthenians, and Ukrainians.

Each European state found itself with internal minority problems and external ones as well. To unify its subjects and to absorb foreign elements living within its political borders, each government sought to impose upon them its official language and culture. The resistance of the minorities to this policy was everywhere bitter, strong, and persistent. Countering official insistence was frequently brutal and vicious. Meanwhile, each government was vitally concerned with the minorities,

similar to the majority people of its own land, living elsewhere. For instance, Slavonic minorities outside of Russia were consistently encouraged in their resistance to assimilation and in their demands for special consideration by their champion, Russia, which shrewdly looked forward to the day when she might annex and encompass all lands wherein Slavs resided. Similarly, German states championed the cause of all German-speaking minorities everywhere.

From every land there arose the cries of the persecuted, pleas for aid, and with the rise of nationalism, demands for special rights and recognition. Many minorities sought outright political independence. Some desired complete autonomy in internal affairs -- the right to speak their own languages, to direct their own educational systems, to worship without molestation, and to live according to their own cultures. Some sought only the merest limited autonomy within the framework of the state. The zealots among them, often abetted from without, were seldom lax to counsel armed and forceful resistance to the assimilationist policies of the dominating governments. The clash of arms and the flow of blood in the endless conflicts occasioned by those ill-drawn boundaries, the struggles for independence and the wars of intervention "for the protection of persecuted minorities" kept the political pot of Europe boiling and overflowing in tumultuous torrents which finally culminated in the clashes which led to World War I.

World War I found restless minorities numbering over 100,000,000 people tearing at the bowels of Eastern and Central Europe. Each minority was being deluged, as the struggle took shape and sides were formed, with propaganda appeals urging it to come to the aid of the "mother country" or the "fatherland". The discontent of minorities proved to be a valuable

consideration in the international struggle for power. At home, however, each government viewed its internal minorities as potential "fifth columns" and treated them accordingly.

President Wilson speaking for the Allied Powers had dedicated the Peace Conference to the task of settling minority problems for all time. The map of Europe was to be redrawn to follow ethnic lines and to restore minorities to their homelands, to their brethren in language, culture, and tradition. For the Jews and others like them who occupied no lands anywhere in sufficient numbers to entitle them to sovereignty or self-determination, the system of minority rights within the reconstituted European states was to be created.

International Jewry had responded without hesitation with funds amounting to millions of dollars to relieve the suffering of the Jews of war-torn Europe. But when it came to making recommendations to the Peace Conference with regard to policies which were to settle East European Jewish problems, there was no possibility of agreement. East European Jews and those American Jews of East European descent were adamant in demanding "nationality rights" for the masses of East European Jewry.

Those of anti-nationalist and socialist bent supported the agitation for "nationality rights" because a long, bitter history had taught them the impracticability of the visionaries' dreams of attaining civil and political equality for Jews from the ruling classes of Eastern Europe. In their eyes, "nationality rights" were desirable for what they regarded as a transition period because they despaired of improvement of the situation within the capitalist framework of the new Europe, and awaited the all-healing, true revolution.

For the Zionist, the granting of "nationality rights" would strengthen Zionism in that the nations of the world would finally and

officially recognize that which Zionists had been endeavoring to establish as a fact -- that the Jews constituted a nation. The Balfour Declaration was to assure them Palestine. With the attainment of political sovereignty in Palestine, Jews of Eastern Europe would cease to be troubled.

The Jewish delegations from Western Europe and those from the United States which were of West European origin saw the salvation of their East European brethren only in the achievement of civic and political equality which they themselves had won. They had made a happy and successful adjustment within the social, cultural, political, and economic spheres of their lands of residence and were in the main opposed to any form of Jewish nationalism. Western Jews found it impossible to understand why East European Jews could be content to accept only "nationality rights" which granted a status which they regarded as an inferior one.

In the United States, compromises had been effected which enabled the Western and Eastern elements to consolidate forces in the American Jewish Congress. In Paris, as a result of compromises similar to the American arrangement, almost all elements of Jewry were able to unite in the Committee of Jewish Delegations. The English and French delegations refused to join, but their promise to take no action in opposition to any program of activity agreed upon by the joint delegations made possible the presentation to the Peace Conference of recommendations representing the apparent attitudes of world-wide Jewry. To understand these conflicts concerning "nationality rights", which in the early years of the war militated against the founding of the American Jewish Congress in the United States and arose again when the East and West met in Paris,

one must understand the early success of the Western elements of Jewry in achieving emancipation and the struggles and failures of the Jews of the East.

B. MINORITY RIGHTS AND EUROPEAN JEWS

The major contrast between Western and Eastern Jews was of late eighteenth and nineteenth century origin. Throughout the Middle Ages, all European Jews were considered aliens in European society without rights or privileges except where special decrees of sovereigns had given them status. Jews were in demand as middle class elements where no middle class existed. They provided dependable sources of income to the kings and dukes and barons who protected them, expelled them, sold and mortgaged revenue from them, treated them as chattels favorably or ruthlessly depending upon the situation and the need. Such was the life of the European Jew of the East and the West well into the eighteenth century. The one special privilege afforded him was autonomy in internal affairs granted because such organization facilitated the collection of revenue due the ruler and centralized the control of Jewish communities in responsible Jewish hands. Jews were thus completely separated from the rest of the populace as a self-governing alien group.

Eighteenth century German states gradually abolished the autonomy of Jewish communal life as the widespread development of trade encouraged the consolidation of dominions and the new efficiency in government showed up the ancient financial arrangements and judicial distinctions as burdensome. The crash of the ghetto walls in France and Germany recruited large elements of Jewry to the task of eliminating

the old autonomous distinctions. Jews who desired to leave the ghettos and to associate freely with non-Jews in business and social life found the bonds of autonomy very real shackles that had to be thrown off if they were to achieve equality with other subjects of the land. Napoleon destroyed all French vestiges of Jewish isolation when he recognized the Jews as citizens. Belgium, Holland, Italy, and other states influenced by the French followed the same course of action. Even Prussia in 1812 extended equality to all residents and eliminated Jewish autonomy. Though the Congress of Vienna re-established medieval statutes in many areas, the set-back was only temporary. By the end of the nineteenth century, all West European Jews were free and equal citizens. Autonomy had ceased to exist. The use of Yiddish and the special Jewish garb were discarded. Emancipated citizens of their lands of residence, they considered themselves a religious community, nothing more.

Eastern Europe where more than eighty per cent of European Jewry dwelt presented a different picture. In Poland autonomy continued until the nineteenth century and within the Ottoman Empire until the early twentieth. Here Jews lived in separate communities. Each community maintained and directed separate educational and cultural institutions. Feudalism persisted longest in these areas. The industrial revolution, capitalism, and agrarian reform with their cataclysmic social effects came late.

Attempts by the various governments to absorb the Jews were resisted furiously. These people clung desperately to their religion, their Yiddish, and their customs. Alexander I revoked the autonomy which the Jews of his vast Empire had long enjoyed except as it affected religious matters. But he substituted no equality of citizenship as had been done

in the West, Nicholas I completed the destruction of autonomy and placed severe restrictions on Jewish domicile, educational and economic opportunities, and political rights.

The Jews of Eastern Europe were not unaware of the great strides their Western coreligionists had made. Up to the latter part of the nineteenth century, after their loss of internal autonomy, their chief desire had been to achieve civic and political equality. Indeed, for a time in Russia under Alexander II, Jewish intellectuals envisaged the dawn of a "Golden Age" within the Empire. Nineteenth century nationalism which had unified Germany and Italy led Hungarians, Poles, Czechs, Croats, Slovenes, Finns, Ruthenians, and all Balkan peoples to demand independence, freedom from foreign domination, the redemption of kindred peoples from alien sovereignty, or at least autonomy in "national" affairs. Jews found themselves profoundly affected by these movements. But these other peoples spoke the same languages, constituted majority populations in large territories, and had had somewhat recent national traditions. Jewish leaders might have encouraged Jews to identify themselves with these various nationalities because they resided within their lands, but both Jew and Gentile would have raised insurmountable objections. Once Jews became aware of the impossibility of their achieving equality and rights with other subjects, they slowly came to agitate for the minority rights that were granted to their neighbors like the Ukrainians, the Serbs, the Ruthenians, or the Bulgars. But Jews spoke no language in common. The masses spoke Yiddish, but intellectuals scorned the use of the tongue and spoke the language of the state while a few began to affect Hebrew. The only land in which some of their visionaries were interested was in far-away Palestine. Where minority

rights were recognized, the language of the majority in any particular area determined which language and which culture would predominate. Nowhere was Yiddish officially recognized as a language or Judaism as a culture. Mob violence, condoned, if not actually organized by the various governments, drove home the bitter lesson that relief lay only in emigration, conversion and assimilation, or death. Several millions fled to other lands. Thousands converted. Hundreds died. Those Jews who remained were unable to agree upon a program of action until the Revolution of 1905 united them upon the platform of "nationality rights".

The great mass of East European Jews were much too harassed to be concerned with politics. The difficulty of earning a living coupled with the heavy hand of the police discouraged interest in problems other than those of immediate concern. But Jewish intellectuals who had some following among the masses earnestly sought to ameliorate the conditions of their people and found themselves divided into several major groups. There were assimilationists, anti-nationalist socialist revolutionaries, middle-class nationalists, and national-socialists.

Those who sought to achieve for the Eastern Jews the equality which West European Jews had won were designated by their opponents as "assimilationists". They desired political and economic freedom as citizens or subjects of the countries in which they lived. They were not concerned with Jewish nationality rights and were interested in Judaism, if at all, only as a religion. For the most part wealthy, cultured, and influential persons, they sought to merge completely with the dominant culture. Being little concerned with specifically Jewish problems, they organized no Jewish societies to promulgate their beliefs. They swore allegiance to the lands in which they resided and followed the cultural

and political patterns subscribed to by the various factions within their respective governments.

Zionism, which must not be confused with the Jewish nationalism which culminated in the demands of the masses of East European Jewry for nationality rights, came into being as a political movement in the second half of the nineteenth century. Largely a middle class movement, it represented a Jewish reaction to the rising tide of nationalism which was sweeping Europe and exerted attraction in direct proportion to the feelings of insecurity suffered by Jews who were rejected as nationalists in the lands of their residence.

Middle class nationalists believed the Jews to be a nation despite the fact of dispersal throughout the world and the lack of a homeland. In their ranks were Diaspora Nationalists and Territorialists. Simon Dubnow and Nathan Birnbaum propounded the theories of the former late in the nineteenth century. They believed that Jews would ever remain a nation despite dispersal and that the occupation of territory was not and need never be essential to their nationhood. National self-consciousness alone would suffice in this regard. The Territorialists held that a homeland and political sovereignty were indispensable to a nation. For them the Diaspora held no promise to the Jews nor could it ever offer a satisfactory solution to Jewish problems. Without a homeland there could be no direction or purpose to Jewish existence. Zionists were territorialists who were convinced that Palestine was the only homeland that Jews could consider.

The Jewish socialists of Eastern Europe of the 1880's and '90's were largely assimilationists. They were not interested in Jewish problems as such but in the problems of the proletariat. Many of them did

not even speak Yiddish. They sought the emancipation of the entire working class. Their efforts to attract Jewish workingmen, however, to proletarian societies were largely unavailing. Most Jewish workingmen could not understand the languages of the Gentiles. Jews had long been separated from the general populace and age-old animosities and suspicions that smouldered within Jew and Gentile alike militated against effective union and cooperation. If Jews were to be attracted to the proletarian movements, those who would organize them must speak their language. The literature which would prepare them for the class struggle must be presented in the idiom they knew. If Jewish workingmen were to be steered away from Zionism, their would-be leaders must concern themselves with the specific Jewish needs and interests which the trying general scene pointed up so strongly. There was no solution but in the organization of a special Jewish working class party. Against their principles and contrary to their early interests, socialist leaders organized the Bund in September 1897. Rapidly it became one of the most powerful elements in East European socialism as branches were established throughout the East. In Russia it became a power in the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party of Lenin, Martove, and Plekhanov. In 1900 a branch was established in New York and later in those other metropolitan areas of the United States where East European Jews had come to settle.

The Bundists were socialists interested in furthering the "class struggle" and in ultimate revolution. They were anti-religious and anti-Zionist, but in the years after their withdrawal from the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, shortly after the turn of the century, they became even more staunchly pro-Yiddish and came to join in the clamor for the granting of Jewish "nationality rights".

The obvious disparity between the goals of the middle class Zionist leaders and the working class people attracted to Zionism gave rise to Poale Zion, the first proletarian Zionist society, which was founded in Minsk in 1900. By 1902 they had seceded from the Russian Zionist organization finding it impossible to unite with the old established labor movement or with the established Zionist party. The identical situation was to arise in the United States a decade later.

The necessity to compete effectively with the Bund and the desire to concretize the aims of Poale Zion in institutions led to the founding of three separate Jewish political parties in Russia -- the Zionist Socialist Labor Party in 1905 and the Jewish Socialist Labor Party and the Jewish Social Democratic Labor Party -- Poale Zion in 1906. All three subscribed to much the same program of nationalism and socialism. They felt that the lack of a homeland hindered the normal development of the Jewish proletariat and raised difficulties that interfered with and made impossible successful waging of class warfare.

The claim of the Jews of Eastern Europe that they constituted a distinct nationality which entitled them to a special national existence in their native lands was due to the peculiar circumstances that colored with a hue of despair their future in Europe. The denial of equal rights and their own consistent rejection of proposals and projects designed to absorb them into the general populace led to the ever-rising clamor for the amelioration of their desperate circumstances through much the same means as had improved the lot of such minority groups as the Ruthenians, Ukrainians, Croats, Hungarians, Czechs, and the host of others to whom nationality rights had been granted. In the '80's and '90's Chaim Zhitlowsky and Simon M. Dubnow gave concrete expression to the ideas which

attempted a synthesis of the goals of nationalism and socialism. Socialist revolutionaries had long sought the emancipation of an amalgamation of all the peoples of Eastern Europe. Those who early stressed national rights desired to preserve the individuality of the Jewish people and sought instead a free and equal union of all peoples of Eastern Europe without permitting the domination and absorption of the Jews and other minorities by the majority nationalities. They desired that Jews be viewed as a nationality among nationalities meriting equally with others broad powers of self-government within the larger state. The socialists together with the emancipated Jews of the West viewed Jews as a religious community, nothing more.

The Zionist movement in Eastern Europe did not take readily to the idea of national rights. They despaired of any successful Jewish life outside of Palestine. Eastern Europe held no future for Jews. Even the emancipated West held no attraction for them, for there they saw cultural and spiritual disintegration. They feared to endanger the campaign for Palestine by diverting energies to the agitation for national rights in the Diaspora. It was not until the Revolution of 1905 and the repressions which followed that the majority of Zionists came to view nationality rights in a more favorable light.

The early leaders of the Bund were avowedly hostile to nationality rights. They would admit to no basic distinctions along lines of religion and national origin. Economic lines spelled for them the only valid distinctions between the classes. Their interests lay with the proletariat regardless of the language, customs, or backgrounds of the individuals concerned. In spite of themselves, however, the very situation that demanded the creation of the specifically Jewish Bund and forced

them to emphasize Yiddish brought them into the camp of "nationality rights". As early as 1899, the Bund was obliged to state its position with regard to Zhitlowsky's declarations. They noted that they had always fought for equal political, economic, and national rights, but they doubted that Yiddish must become a cultural language and that a Jewish literature in Yiddish must evolve and with it specifically Jewish schools, universities, an all-embracing Jewish culture, and the ultimate union of all Jewish workers throughout the world. Civil emancipation was desirable, not national emancipation. The possibility of the conflict between nationalistic demands and the ideals of socialism raised difficulties that appeared insurmountable. Debate on the issue of nationality rights raged within the ranks of the Bund for several years splitting it seriously. The troublesome times immediately preceding and following the 1905 revolution solved the matter for the Bund as it did for the Zionists.

The disheartening failure of the revolution, the dissolution of the Dumas, the repeal of the short-lived decrees granting equal rights, the repressions and the pogroms, the smashing of the Bund, brought home to every Jew in Eastern Europe for the first time an awareness of the struggle for and an interest in the matter of national rights. The agitation that marked the years 1904-1907 spread understanding far and wide. During the period of the disturbances, the Poles and Finns and other submerged peoples had clamored loudly for national rights and had exercised a profound effect upon the Jewish masses. The Bund finally declared officially in favor of nationality rights as did the three proletarian Zionist parties. Middle class groups arose to add their voices to the clamoring demand for civil and political equality and the freedom of national-cultural self-determination, freedom of languages and freedom to establish

and direct schools on a basis of equality with the schools maintained by the government. 1907 marked the high point in the Jewish struggle for recognition throughout Eastern Europe.

But the years following 1907 heard no continuing clamor for rights. Russian autocracy had re-established itself with such vicious brutality that all revolutionaries were driven underground and every whisper of complaint was silenced. Human rights in the lands of the Czar was a dead issue. Fear seized every heart and stayed every hand. Agitation for the recognition of Jewish nationality and the attainment of some form of self-government in national and cultural affairs ceased. Those who fled to America, however, continued the agitation and rallied strong and important aid. (See Appendix II.)

VI. THE BALKAN WARS AND THE "CONGRESS" IDEA

In 1913, the United States Government intervened in the affairs of the newly constituted Balkan States to demand that the rights of Jews resident there be recognized. Though this action, instituted at the instance of the American Jewish Committee, achieved little or nothing for the Jews of Eastern Europe, it gave inestimable impetus to the Congress idea. Congress advocates and supporters were convinced that the technique would again prove successful by reason of the profound moral influence the United States as a neutral might exert in the writing of the peace treaties at the end of World War I. This conviction was strengthened when the United States became a belligerent and all America was assured that American diplomats would dictate the peace rather than merely plead a cause.

The Balkan Wars were a series of conflicts fought in the Balkan Peninsula during 1912 and 1913. In the first of these struggles which ended in December 1912, the Balkan League composed of Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro fought Turkey conquering Macedonia, Albania, and the greater part of Thrace. The Balkan League had been formed to liberate Macedonia from the Ottoman Empire and to drive Turkey out of eastern Europe. The riddance of oppressive Turkish rule was the avowed purpose of the League, but a series of secret military pacts between various of the allies containing provisions as to the ultimate division of Turkish territory indicate that the possibility of territorial gain helped to inspire the struggle.

As early as November 1912, Turkey appealed to the European powers for mediation, but the generally prevailing European view that favored the break-up of the Ottoman Empire resulted in weak response. An armistice arranged in December 1912 brought a temporary halt to hostilities, but negotiations conducted in Berlin during the same month, at which were represented all belligerents except Greece, came to naught. In February 1913, Greece which had not terminated hostilities was rejoined in battle by her allies.

Early in 1913, the seriousness of the European situation, which, it was feared, the struggle in the Balkans might ignite into a general conflagration, prompted the Great Powers to persuade the belligerents to attempt again to mediate their difficulties. Assisted by representatives of Great Britain, France, Russia, Austria-Hungary, Germany, and Italy, they concluded the Treaty of London, May 21, 1913.

The failure of the Treaty of London to specify the exact division of ceded Turkish territory among the Allies resulted in the collapse

of the Balkan League in June 1913. Serbia, Greece, and Montenegro attacked Bulgaria. Rumania suddenly intervened against Bulgaria and shortly thereafter Turkey re-entered the struggle. Bulgaria finally capitulated in July 1913. The Treaty of London was ignored and replaced with a series of treaties including the Treaty of Constantinople, September 2, 1913, and the Treaty of Athens, November 27, 1913.⁷³

The wars in the Balkan Peninsula were of great concern to the American Jewish Committee. Severe hardship had been suffered by Jews in the countries of all belligerents, and the Committee had collected and expended thousands of dollars in their behalf. But the final cessation of hostilities promised persecution and repressions far beyond those endured during the course of the campaigns. With the transfer of territory from the de~~st~~^{fe}ated Ottoman Empire to the Balkan victors, one quarter of a million Jews were to be removed from Turkish sovereignty to that of Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Rumania which before the wars had had no considerable Jewish populations. Greece acquired 85,000 Jews; Bulgaria, 75,000; Serbia, 17,000; and Rumania, 16,000.

Despite many shortcomings, the Turkish Government had treated its Jews with considerable tolerance. But with the transfer of these Jews to the sovereignty of the Balkan countries where the Greek Orthodox Church, notoriously hostile to Jews, reigned supreme, there was good basis for the fear of pogroms, political and religious persecution, economic destruction, and expulsion. Jews would be forced to leave these Balkan countries. America would be one of the few havens open to them. Therein lay the key to a successful plan of action which served as the precedent which encouraged Jews in later years to organize to present recommendations concerning the disposition of the affairs of Jews the world over to the Conference at Versailles. Although the United States took no part in the

negotiations at London terminating the wars of the Balkan League against Turkey, the American Jewish Committee took the view that the United States would be directly involved in that peoples of the countries concerned would by "enforced emigration" come to the United States if guarantees concerning their religious and political freedom were not written into the peace treaty.

On January 14, 1913, Cyrus Adler prepared a letter to President Taft, signed by Louis Marshall, informing him of the situation, recounting instances in which the United States Government had in the past intervened in the affairs of other nations to secure protection and security for Jews. Benjamin Harrison in 1891 had justified the concern of the United States in Russia's treatment of Jews in that the oppression was driving those Jews to seek sanctuary in America. In 1902, despite the fact that the United States had not been a party to the Treaty, Secretary Hay had addressed the signatories of the Treaty of Berlin to the effect that Rumania was not fulfilling her guarantee of equality to the Jews.

The request was made that "the American Embassy at London...be instructed to bring to the attention of the Delegates now assembled in London to arrange terms of peace between the Allied States and the Ottoman Empire, to the British Foreign Office, and to the Ambassadors in London, the satisfaction with which the United States would regard the insertion in any such treaty of peace of a clause which will effectively secure to all people of every race and religion whatsoever, now domiciled in conquered territory, ample protection for their lives, their liberty and their property, equality of citizenship and the right to worship God
74
according to the dictates of their conscience."

Secretary of State Knox replied that the isolationist policy of the United States in regard to the situation in the Balkans precluded the

taking of such action. A personal conference Marshall arranged with President Taft availed nothing.

March 1913 saw a new administration at Washington. Adler and Herbert Friedenwald personally presented the memorandum to President Wilson and discussed the matter with him at considerable length. The President promised his earnest consideration. The United States Government followed exactly the course of action requested by the American Jewish Committee. Not only was the Conference in London notified of the views of the United States, as stated in the Committee's first letter on the subject to Taft, but also each country involved was individually addressed by our diplomatic representatives stationed therein. In their replies, the Balkan countries self-righteously reported that their constitutions guaranteed civil and religious liberty.

More important in the main than the success or failure of the attempt to exert some influence over the Balkan treatment of Jews was the renewal of the precedent of American Jews petitioning with success the United States Government to intervene in the affairs of other governments in behalf of Jews under the sovereignty of the other governments. The matter also served to acquaint the American Jewish community with the sympathetic attitude of President Wilson toward them and their co-religionists everywhere, his understanding of their difficulties, and his willingness to take effective action in their behalf.

The American Jewish Committee reported with justified assurance that it could "rely upon the aid of our government whenever it is practicable...to act."
75

VII. IN PROSPECT

The American Jewish Congress was designed and fashioned as an instrument for propagating Zionist ideology among American Jews. Those who opposed it did so to protect heavy investment in the "status quo" structuralization of American Jewish life. All other issues were secondary. The advocacy of and opposition to the "congress" idea and its final compromised success make for one of the more interesting accounts of Jewish experience in America.

Practically every American Jewish organization took part at one time or another in the struggle that centered about the Congress. The three major participants have already been indicated: (1) The American Jewish Committee organized in 1906, which had come to believe that it possessed the exclusive right to formulate and administer Jewish policy in affairs external to the American Jewish community, acted for a small number of upper middle class Jews of German descent; (2) The Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, organized August 30, 1914, represented the American Zionist movement; (3) The National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, organized April 18, 1915, spoke for American Jewish labor.

The American Jewish Committee was satisfied that its approach to the solution of Jewish difficulties was a superior one and that the international situation as it related to Jews was well under control. It had no interest in bringing others into its councils. By no stretch of the imagination could the American Jewish Committee have been expected to encourage or even to assent to the founding of a competing organization that would enjoy separate identity and permanence even if that new organization were not to propound a philosophy of Jewish life completely

contradictory to the official Committee point of view.

The common interests of the German Jews of the upper middle class and the leadership of Jewish labor in opposing Zionism and the establishment of any permanent organization that might compete with them in the areas they had marked out for themselves, united these widely disparate groups throughout most of the struggle that ensued. Neither was to attach much importance to the early agitation. Labor did not even enter the "congress" arena until more than a year after the opening Zionist declaration. During the earliest phases of the struggle, the Committee was convinced that the appeal of the Zionists lay only in the desire on the part of American Jews to take some concrete action in behalf of suffering European Jewry. It was positive that the Committee's relief endeavors would effectively fill that need and squash "congress" agitation. Throughout the contest, the Committee was to sponsor and lead the heaviest opposition to the Congress, but the existence of several factors to which it gave little or no serious consideration practically made the Congress a foregone conclusion.

The American Jewish Committee did not reckon with the fact that East European Jews in America were coming of age. Many were no longer of the immigrant masses, poverty stricken, unable to speak English, unwise in American ways, fearful of taking part in affairs outside of the ghetto. Many had achieved outstanding success in business, the professions, and in politics and represented wealthy and powerful interests. Many had established contacts with the United States Government as important as those enjoyed by German Jews. As a matter of fact, the Democratic victory in the national elections of 1912 brought the Democratic leaders of the opposition to the American Jewish Committee greater political influence

than that wielded by the predominantly Republican leadership of the Committee. East European Jews were no longer dependent on the "shtadlanim" of the Germans.

The Committee would have gladly considered such influential persons as these eligible for membership on its General Committee or at least in one of its several Advisory Councils. But East European Jewish leaders wanted to direct not only their own religious and social organizations. They aspired also to the highest plane of Jewish communal endeavor -- national and international philanthropy and defense. They were not content to be mere contributors and supporters. They wanted to be leaders as well.

The American Jewish Committee did not reckon with the comfort given to the "enemy" by such of its own members as Julian W. Mack and Judah L. Magnes who belonged to both camps; the outright defection of such men as Harry Friedenwald and Felix Frankfurter; and the "treason" of such member organizations as the Kehillah of New York and the United Synagogue of America which gave unqualified support to the "congress" movement.

The American Jewish Committee did not reckon with the dedicated labors of two particularly able avowed enemies of the Committee -- politically ambitious Louis D. Brandeis, whom the Committee leadership had opposed when Wilson had considered him for a Cabinet appointment, and ambitious Stephen S. Wise, who had become involved in a feud with Louis Marshall over the pulpit of Temple Emanu-El. Both of these men were to render invaluable service to the Zionist movement and to lend their great support and personal prestige to the "congress" movement.

The American Jewish Committee did not reckon with the propaganda

of a desperate British Empire seeking to shatter at any cost opposition to its cause by reason of its alignment with Czarist Russia. Early hints of British consideration of the proposals that were finally embodied in the Balfour Declaration swept Jewish sympathies to the Allied cause and transformed Zionist dreams into impending realities whose fulfillment awaited only Allied victory. Almost overnight, the importance of Zionism as a political factor became so exalted that Jacob Schiff, himself, long Zionism's foremost American antagonist, felt obliged to voice pro-Zionist sentiments.

Both the American Jewish Committee and the leadership of American Jewish labor underestimated the appeal of the Zionist program. The dream of a homeland in Palestine attracted many who feared anti-Semitism. The "nationality rights" issue which was incorporated into the Zionist platform interested socialists. Campaigns of vilification against their opposition -- particularly Jacob Schiff and the American Jewish Committee -- appealed to common prejudices of widely diverse elements of Jewry.

The Zionists had a positive program which could attract Jews who felt insecure. They provided a multitude of lodges, branches, and chapters all over the country where the vast mass of Jews, neglected by existent organizations, were given the opportunity to use their talents and free time in organization and administration. The international character of Zionism gave the lives of these people meaning and importance and led them to feel that their efforts were effective upon the whole structure of world affairs.

The laboring masses were completely enchanted by the appeal. They were promised an active voice in the affairs of the American Jewish community! Revolutionaries, newly arrived from Eastern Europe, voiced

the old familiar socialist sentiments, but coupled them convincingly with nationalist aspirations. Constantly pointing to anti-Semitic excesses in Europe as proof that Jews needed a Palestinian homeland, Zionist orators by implication discouraged hope for the future of Jewry even in America.

With a people who had never known security, what chance had appeals to the ultimate success of the socialist revolution in the indeterminate future against the visionary's dream of sovereignty and independence on one's own land within a few years at most? The leadership of Jewish labor had no choice. Either they would join the Congress movement or they would no longer have a labor movement to lead. They joined, but after a period of wary and watchful waiting, they withdrew at their first opportunity.

Attempts to obliterate the Congress movement were doomed to failure. After the intensive campaigns to discredit if not to discourage it had failed, the realization dawned upon the opposition that the Congress was going to be a reality despite the resistance of working class elements and perhaps because of the opposition of the American Jewish Committee. But the opposition did succeed in compromising the Congress to the point that Brandeis abandoned the movement in disgust.

Laboring tirelessly with complete devotion to their goals, taking advantage of every contradiction that weakened their opposition, making judicious use of every condition favorable to their cause, the Zionists united in the American Jewish Congress elements which had had little or nothing in common before the war. And having united so vast a number of American Jews, they played their orchestrations of Zionism to the assembled audiences and found positive reactions engendered by the despair of the general masses and the intense longing of the individual to engage in some activity in his own behalf.

CHAPTER I

THREE BEGINNINGS - THE WAR, THE ZIONIST PROGRAM, WAR RELIEF

July through December, 1914

The Archduke of Austria, Francis Ferdinand, refusing to submit to simple measures suggested for his personal protection, exposed himself to an assassin's bullet and triggered off the conflict that affected not only international boundaries but also nearly every interest and character of human life. The struggle involved ninety-three percent of the world's population, brought to the front eminent men of all nations, and crumpled more than a score of thrones.

European Jews, living in great concentration as buffer peoples between the belligerents, suffered starvation and decimation as the tide of battle surged and ebbed through their villages. Jewish soldiers in the camps and trenches received word of the destruction of their homes and the slaughter of their families, now at the hands of the enemy, now at the hands of their own forces. The Jew in every land was held suspect by his own government and no sacrifice, no service could bring to an end the vicious use to which his respective sovereign might put the weapon of anti-Semitism.

American Jews recognized immediately their responsibilities toward their suffering European brethren. Organized efforts at relief were not long in getting under way. Intense hatred for Czarist Russia united practically all elements of Jewry behind the Central Powers. German Jews in America despised the Czar for the humiliation his government caused them in that Russia remained the one force on earth that stood between the Jew and complete emancipation. Jews of East European origin were not so far removed that they could forget the disabilities, the indignities, the pogroms.

All Jews saw in the defeat of Russia the collapse of the last stronghold of medievalism.

If it had not been for the Zionists, it is unlikely that any great change would have come about in the structure of the American Jewish community as a result of the war. The American Jewish Committee which recognized the need for financial relief for Jewish suffering before the war was barely a week old would have organized effective relief agencies (which it did) and collected vast sums of money (which it did) and distributed relief widely and wisely (which it did). Problems which arose during and after the war would have been settled according to the point of view of the Committee perhaps often with the concurrence of the B'nai Brith and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. But above all, such problems would have been settled quietly at the highest level and in the highest echelons.

However, a small core of devoted Zionists, in impassioned dedication to the preservation of Zionist gains and the promulgation of the Zionist program, dared to challenge the hitherto uncontested leadership of the old established national Jewish organizations introducing issues and proposals that wracked the American Jewish community for a decade, brought to maturity the East European element of American Jewry, founded a new organization which was to compete for hegemony in the American Jewish scene, and incidentally built for itself a powerful organization which aspired to control, even after the war, world Zionist affairs.

The American Zionist movement, hitherto of small consequence in world Zionist affairs, found itself forced by the war into a position of utmost responsibility. Contact between organizations of other countries was impossible by reason of the war. Zionist funds, deposited in England,

were not available to the Headquarters in Berlin. Institutions established in Palestine, denied support, tottered precariously. The labor of almost twenty years threatened to disappear in a moment.

It is not likely that the European leaders of Zionism sought to raise a new world leadership element. They sought primarily stop-gap measures -- to raise up an organization that would protect the gains they had already made, an organization that could by reason of its residence in a neutral land maintain contact between the various branches in the lands of the belligerents. America was the neutral choice and the American Zionist movement, the Federation of American Zionists, eagerly and enthusiastically accepted the task.

Perhaps the individual most influential in launching the great Zionist campaign in America was Dr. Schmarya Levin, an Austrian subject, member of the Inner Actions Comité of the Zionist organization, who was stranded in the United States at the outbreak of war. He had been travelling about the United States on a speaking tour in the interest of Zionism, in the course of which he had been saying that forty million dollars were needed to reclaim Palestine by irrigation to make it habitable for twenty-five million Jews.⁷⁶ Realizing that the war would interrupt the work of the International Organization in Berlin, he saw the possibility of the neutral American Zionist movement taking over the duties of the Berlin Office and protecting and fostering accomplishments in Palestine until the war would end.

Louis Lipsky describes the desperate situation of world Zionism and the plans of the American Zionists which became the blueprint for eight years of frenzied activity:

With the outbreak of war, it was imperative that Zionist efforts be continued. We could not allow the work in Palestine to suffer, our institutions to collapse. It was decided to call an extraordinary conference of all American Zionists -- including Mizrahi and Poale Zion -- under the signature of Dr. Levin for the Zionist Executive Committee and myself for the American Zionist Federation. A manifesto was drawn up and issued to all our leading workers, and the Conference took place August 30, 1914, at the Hotel Marseilles, New York. It is necessary to point out that steps had not been taken by any organized group at that time to concentrate American Jewish attention upon any of the problems that might arise out of the fact that the bulk of the Jewish population lay within the war zone. Our Hotel Marseilles Conference was the first Jewish response at least to one phase of the situation.

At the meetings held in advance of the Conference, it was decided without a dissenting vote to call upon Louis D. Brandeis to take the chairmanship of the organization we proposed should be formed....⁷⁷

...We had to consider the problem of American Jewish representation. It had been troubling us for many years; but in those days the refusal to abide the rule of self-appointed leaders was a question of taste, so to speak, and only incidentally, a political matter. We were not thinking in terms of practical values. In the event the War came to an end with the Jewish question as one of the items on the agenda, who would speak for American Jewry? Suppose we were unable to rally, in due time, a majority of American Jews under the banner of Zionism; and the bulk of American Jewry remained unorganized, or, if organized, were marshalled against our interests? In a way, the American Jewish Committee claimed the hegemony in American Jewish life. That leadership might be challenged by, say, the Independent Order B'nai Brith or the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. All three bodies could be relied upon not to be friendly to the Zionist programme. We therefore thought it of the utmost importance to bring into existence a new American representative body, all-inclusive, if possible, democratically elected in order to ensure, first -- the creation of an authentic personality to speak for American Jewry; second -- to mould that body into a likeness satisfactory to Zionist hopes; and third -- to have a forum towards which our program might be directed....⁷⁸

American Zionist leadership was well aware that the only possibility that the voice of the frail Zionist movement be heard lay in the establishment of a forum in which all Jewish groups would be afforded democratic representation. The Zionists had neither the prestige nor the means to call such a forum into being, but the American Jewish Committee did. If the Zionists could challenge the position of the American Jewish Committee and force them to call such a representative body into existence,

the Zionist leaders were confident that the appeal of Zionism coupled with the long smouldering resentment of the submerged East European masses in the United States toward the autocratic self-appointed leaders would result in the elevation of the Zionist organization to a position of dominance in American Jewish affairs and win untold dues-payers to Zionist societies.

The extra-ordinary conference called by the Zionists for the 30th of August, 1914 organized a Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs to carry on the international work of the Zionist Central Bureau in Berlin. Louis D. Brandeis was elected chairman. War relief and action on behalf of Jews in the event of peace negotiations were discussed. A resolution inviting the cooperation of all large American Jewish organizations was introduced and referred to the Provisional Executive Committee for action. It was recommended that American Jewry be asked to contribute \$100,000⁰⁰ for the budget of the new organization.

The following day, the Provisional Executive Committee considered the resolution submitted the previous day which recommended inviting all large American Jewish organizations to cooperate with the Zionists. In accordance with the resolution, Brandeis wrote to Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, suggesting cooperation "in calling a conference of representatives of all the important Jewish organizations and groups in the country."

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee had called a special meeting for that same day, August 31, 1914. They considered the problems of relief in Palestine and Europe and appointed a sub-committee to gather information vital to the collection and distribution of relief. They announced their intention to call upon other organizations to cooperate in the formulation and execution of plans for relief.

Brandeis' letter was received, discussed, and answered by Marshall the same day. Marshall replied that a committee consisting of Cyrus Adler, Judah L. Magnes, and himself had been appointed to meet a like committee of the Zionist organization. The Zionists, however, read more into Marshall's reply than was warranted. They published as fact their belief that Marshall had consented to cooperate in calling a nation-wide conference of national organizations such as Brandeis had suggested. Marshall had agreed only to a conference of special committees of three members each appointed by the two organizations.

The Zionists were elated with the success they believed they had achieved and turned to their more pressing problems -- the raising of the \$100,000 fund and the building of the Zionist organization. Relying heavily upon the prestige of Brandeis and the fiery Yiddish oratory of Levin, the Provisional Executive Committee plunged into an intense propaganda campaign. Brandeis and Levin embarked upon an extensive speaking tour of the larger cities while De Haas and others carried the appeal to the smaller towns.

The major concern of the American Jewish Committee was not that the Zionists threatened their control of American Jewish affairs. The Committee was primarily interested in keeping silent this upstart group which, excited by its new-found importance, might issue rash, irresponsible, and embarrassing statements on the war, the position of European Jews, the attitude of American Jews. Being in session the same day as the Provisional Executive Committee and being in a position to answer their letter with a reply which at first rapid reading might appear to be complete agreement constituted a rare feat. Acceptance of the Zionist invitation bound the Zionists to no further action until they had conferred with the Committee. In that crucial period of the early days of the war when no sufficiently

decisive action had occurred anywhere to enable the intelligent man to take a stand, the American Jewish Committee effectively silenced, temporarily at least, a highly vocal, volatile, and disturbing element.

The Jewish press contains no further mention of the two committees appointed to arrange for the cooperation of the American Jewish Committee and the Provisional Executive Committee. Only a pamphlet issued by the Zionists indicates that the committees met but that nothing happened.

The invitation extended to the Provisional Zionist Committee by the American Jewish Committee was accepted. Messrs. Brandeis, Gottheil, and Lipsky met Messrs. Adler, Marshall, and Magnes, and discussed plans for calling a conference of Jewish organizations. A program was submitted by the Zionist organization which did not reach the point of discussion by the conferrees for it was apparent that the proposal made by Mr. Brandeis in his letter of 31 August 1914, did not meet with the approval of the sub-committee of the American Jewish Committee.⁷⁹

Having successfully met and conquered one menace, the American Jewish Committee now turned to another matter in which its hand was being forced. The B'nai Brith had organized a Fund for War Sufferers and organizations of Orthodox Jewry had united to form a Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War. The American Jewish Committee somehow felt that relief was its private preserve by reason of the action taken by its members at the time of Kishineff. Relief was going to occupy the attention of the Committee for a long time. Relief was going to be effectively administered and directed by the Committee. The propaganda for relief would be so overwhelming and so completely enveloping of American Jewish attention that the matter suggested by the Zionists of a national convention of Jews to discuss Jewish policy in the event of negotiations for peace would be forgotten. But the Committee would call a national conference to discuss relief, which would effectively stall the usurpation

of relief and relieve the Zionist appeal of much of its thunder.

Thirty-nine Jewish organizations answered the call of the American Jewish Committee and sent delegates to the relief conference at Temple Emanu-El, October 25, 1914, which founded the American Jewish Relief Committee. The announced purpose of the conference was to unite relief efforts for the Jews of Europe and Palestine affected by the war. Represented were rabbinical associations, Reform and Orthodox, congregational unions of the three divisions of Jewry, socialist and radical workingmen's organizations, Zionist societies, welfare societies, fraternal groups. Conspicuously absent was the B'nai Brith.

Still irked by the manner in which the Committee had forestalled their plan for cooperative action in the calling of a national conference and feeling that the credit for such a conference was rightfully theirs, the Zionists attended the Temple Emanu-El conference determined not only to be heard, but also to garner for themselves an important role in the united relief activities. Championing democratic procedures, the Zionists challenged the right of the American Jewish Committee to exclusive domination of the new organization. By parliamentary tactics the Zionists succeeded in temporarily delaying the Committee steam roller. But when the membership of Executive Committee of the American Jewish Relief Committee was announced a month later, there was no question that the Zionists had won an empty victory. All the officers were members of the American Jewish Committee as were seventeen of the twenty-five appointed to the Executive. Defeated again, the Zionists turned with renewed efforts to the herculean tasks within their own organization.

As the year's end approached, the American Jewish Committee could take great pride in its accomplishments. No particularly untoward incidents

redounding to the discredit of American Jewry, or at least to the discredit of the genteel element of American Jewry had occurred. That the Yiddish press had taken a strong pro-German stand which had met with much unkind criticism in the English press was unfortunate and, in that it was contrary to Wilson's appeal for strict neutrality, in very poor taste.

The Zionists were annoyingly shrill in voicing propaganda for a homeland in Palestine that might become embarrassing as a weapon in the hands of anti-Semites interested in casting doubt on the loyalty of Jews in America. Bothersome in the extreme had been the daring and disrespectful insistence of the Zionists for nationally representative action in the formulation of American Jewish policy. But the decisive action of the Committee in relief matters had effectively stilled the uproar. American Jews were not likely to give the matter much thought. Competition in relief had been almost completely eliminated. The presence of Louis D. Brandeis in the camp of the antagonists of the Committee was not yet troublesome. Known as a stranger to Jewish affairs, he was held by many members of the Committee to be a political opportunist who was likely to tire soon and desist. In the United States Congress the Burnett-Dillingham Immigration Bill posed many difficulties, but President Wilson was pledged to veto it.

Opinion as to the duration of the war varied widely. Most indications pointed to an early cessation of the fighting. Meanwhile, large amounts of money were to be raised for relief. The response of the Jewish community thus far to the appeals for relief funds had been disgracefully inadequate, but this would change for the better as the war went on and the money raising techniques of the agencies improved. With the close of the war, the Jewish problems in Europe would be overwhelming. But the American Jewish Committee, under excellent leadership and with unlimited funds, would meet and solve every difficulty.

The American Jewish Committee had engaged in serious and trying struggles in behalf of Jews in its eight years of existence. But as 1914 came to a close, it had no idea that its greatest struggle lay ahead -- not with enemies of the Jews but with the Jews themselves.

Supplement to Chapter I

June 28, 1914 -- The third attempt to assassinate Archduke Francis Ferdinand this Sunday in Serajevo was successful. After miraculously escaping death twice at the hand of bomb-throwing terrorists, the Archduke and his wife were shot and killed by a young Bosnian student named Prinzip.

July 28, 1914 -- Austria declares war on Serbia.

July 29, 1914 -- Russia orders partial mobilization in her southern provinces. Austria bombards Belgrade. Belgium mobilizes. The German High Sea Fleet is recalled to port. The British Navy concentrates in the North Sea.

July 30, 1914 -- Great Britain notifies Germany she cannot remain neutral if France becomes involved.

July 31, 1914 -- Austria-Hungary orders general mobilization. France declares neutrality. Germany closes frontier to Belgian trains. Germany serves ultimatum on Russia declaring that unless Russia stops mobilization, Germany will mobilize against her.

Excerpt from editorial "WARI",
Jewish Advocate, July 31, 1914, p.8

[American Jews were heartsick over the outbreak of war in Europe.]

...Even in its limited phase the fate of over one-sixth of the whole Jewish race is at least temporarily involved in this struggle, and such is the tragedy of the Jewish lot, that all we can do is to say to both combatants: "A plague on both your houses" for entering upon bloody and unnecessary strife.

News Item, Jewish Advocate, August 7, 1914, p. 1

[Jews in England protested vigorously against Britain's inevitable participation in the war on the side of Russia.]

AGAINST ENGLAND JOINING

The "Jewish Chronicle" Opposes Action That Will Aid Russia

London, July 31.-- The "Jewish Chronicle" publishes strong protest against English participation in a European war. It says:

"Such action would amount to an outrage and crime. Why should England send the flower of her manhood to defend Russian interests?

"Such an unholy and bloody alliance could be recommended only on the ground of what is called the balance of power. In the name of this idol Europe has been dyed in blood time and again without securing that object for long."

August 1, 1914 -- Germany declares war on Russia and France. German forces enter Luxembourg.

August 3, 1914 -- German invasion of Belgium begins.

News Item, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p. 380

MR. SCHIFF SAYS CRISIS ALMOST OVER

Jacob H. Schiff gave out this statement...at his office on William Street: "No individual's opinion is of much value in a time like the present, for which precedent does not exist. Possibly -- to say probably would be hazardous -- financially, the worst may be behind us. With the closing of markets throughout the world and with moratoriums going into effect in important European centres, agreement has practically been reached to stop the machinery for the world's financial intercourse and to await developments before this machinery be once more set into motion.

This leaves it to the individual to deal with his existing affairs and obligations as best he can arrange, and I have little doubt, as far as the United States is concerned, that banks, trust companies and bankers will pursue a liberal, if prudent, attitude toward their dealers to enable them to arrange their affairs."

News Item, American Hebrew, 21 August 1914, p. 430

RUSSIA HALTS OPPRESSION OF JEWS

A telegram from St. Petersburg, dated August 3, sent out by the Reuter agency says: "The Cabinet has decided to allow Jewish families living outside the radius fixed for Jews to remain in the places where they are living, where the heads of these families have been called out on active service in the army."

News Item, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p. 380

BRUSSELS JEWISH CONFERENCE TO APPEAL FOR FUNDS

The Brussels Conference, which was called to discuss Jewish emigration matters, held a sitting...and decided to issue an appeal to all Jews for funds to relieve distress among the Jewish sufferers from war, especially for the thousands of Jewish families who were on their way from Russia to America and are marooned near the Prussian border.

August 4, 1914 -- President Wilson issues his proclamation of neutrality.

News Items, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p. 387

GERMANY PREVENTS DEPARTURE OF AMERICANS

The German government announced...that pending mobilization, no Americans will be permitted to leave that empire at present. The order applies alike to men, women and children.

B'NAI BRITH OFFERS AID

Adolf Kraus, president of the I.O.B.B.,...cabled to the foreign lodges of the Order to extend financial and other aid to all members of the Order who might be prevented from leaving for America because of the war.

478 JEWISH EMIGRANTS HELPLESS IN ROTTERDAM

A cablegram from Rotterdam, Holland, received here...says that 478 Jewish emigrants from Russia on their way to the United States

are marooned there, and have no funds to maintain themselves pending the departure of a steamer for this country. The Rotterdam Jewish community is doing every thing possible for their relief.

August 5, 1914 -- England declares war on Germany.

News Item, Jewish Advocate, August 7, 1914, p.1

DR. SCHMARYA LEVIN IN BOSTON AFTER EVENTFUL TRIP

Was a Passenger on the Returned "Kronprinzessen Cecillia"

Dr. Schmarya Levin, member of the Inner Actions Comite of the Zionist organization who was a passenger on the Kronprinzessen Cecillie came to Boston on Wednesday evening from Bar Harbor. He was met at North Station by the Editor of the Jewish Advocate and escorted to the Parker House.

Dr. Levin was considerably strained by his experiences on the ship which raced through the fog for four days at top speed. He is an Austrian subject, and his daughter is in Palestine, and his wife and other children are in Switzerland. Dr. Levin was visited here by representatives of the Zionist organization. At the time of going to press he had not determined whether to return to Europe or to await the turn of events in one of the New England resorts.

August 6, 1914 -- United States cruiser TENNESSEE leaves New York with \$5,500,000 in gold for the use of stranded Americans in Europe.

August 7, 1914 -- European Jews were deep in the throes of war. English Jewry, it would appear, had experienced a sudden change of heart. Other elements of European Jewry had also caught war fever. The first reports of suffering had begun to come in and American Jews recognized the necessity of considering the inevitable problems of the post-war era.

News Item, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p.380

Europe is in a state of war. Germany and Austria are pitted against France, Russia, England, Serbia, and Belgium. Italy, Switzerland, Romania and Turkey are mobilizing. The long expected European conflagration, which was regarded by sane men and women as the nightmare of sensational publicists, is now a fact, with universal commercial and industrial disturbance, and the horror of unprecedented blood-shed drawing nigh....

News Item, Jewish Advocate, August 7, 1914, p.1

ALL JEWS IN EUROPE AFFECTED BY WAR...

Where Jews Are

The Jewish populations in the countries affected are given as follows:

Austria-Hungary.....	2,258,262
Belgium.....	12,169
France.....	100,000
Germany.....	615,021
Luxemburg.....	1,270
Netherlands.....	106,309
Russian Empire.....	5,215,805
Servia.....	17,000
Switzerland.....	19,023
United Kingdom.....	245,000
Cyprus.....	110
Gibraltar.....	1,300
Malta.....	60
Total.....	8,571,429

There are 169,882 Jews in the English Dominions over the seas.

News Item, Jewish Advocate, August 21, 1914, p.1

THE WAR SPIRIT IN ENGLAND

The London "Jewish Chronicle", in its editorial of August 7th, concludes:

"We Jews, whether England is to us the beloved country of our birth of the equally beloved country of our adoption, will go forward, our one inspiring motive, our affection for England, our one stern resolve that come what may her cause shall prevail. If we cannot do more we cannot do less, for, we repeat, England has been all she could be to Jews, Jews will be all they can to England."

News Items, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p.380

FRENCH JEWS CRY: "ON TO BERLIN"

French Jews gave a demonstration of their patriotism and enthusiasm...by parading through the streets of Paris in large numbers and crying, "On to Berlin." A regiment of French Jews is being organized for immediate dispatch to the frontier.

FIRST AUSTRIAN OFFICER KILLED A JEW

It was reported from Berlin...that the first Austrian officer to fall in the campaign against the Servians was a Jew named Joseph Knerber.

News Item, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p.387

GERMAN JEW OFFERS FIRST SUBSCRIPTION TO WAR FUND

The first voluntary contribution to the German war fund was given by Herr Lipman, a Jew, who sent in 15,000 marks.

News Items, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p.380

POLISH JEWS FLEE TO LITHUANIA

It is reported from Russia that hundreds of Jews from Poland are rushing to Lithuania in order to be some distance from the frontier, which is expected soon to be the centre of the conflict. In many of the synagogues prayers were offered up for the success of the German army.

BUCHAREST JEWS ORGANIZE SELF DEFENSE

It is reported from Bucharest that the Jewish population of that city is organizing a self-defense league to repel attacks by pogromists who are being incited by the government to attack Jews.

News Item, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p.387

AMERICAN JEWS IN EUROPE

Thousands of Americans are marooned in Europe and find difficulties in the way of returning home. The German transportation steamers have been withdrawn from service, and the French line has also discontinued its schedule. The Cunard line is running on a modified schedule, and pending naval operations which will decide who shall be master of the sea, the entire transportation service is practically unable to meet the sudden pressure of returning citizens. Many of those marooned in Europe are meeting with difficulties in cashing money and express orders, with the result that there is danger of privation among those who have little ready cash in their possession. The United States government intends using its own steamers to transport the mails and will provide transports for all citizens who desire to return at once.

A partial list of American Jews held up abroad...follows: ...Prof. Israel Friedlander...Leon Kamaiky, Dr. Maurice H. Harris, Dr. F.de Sola Mendes, Mortimer L. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Judge Newburger,

Judge Julius M. Mayer, Samuel Untermyer...Paul Block and family,
B. Baruch...Mrs. C. E. Adler...Dr. Joseph Jacobs....

Editorial, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p.389

The war has been in progress for about a week, but already, the first interest of financial men is in the profitable loans to be made to the belligerent countries. The financial stringency here is slowly passing, and it is a question of a week or two before the Stock Exchange will be re-opened. If money is to be advanced to the countries at war for the sake of profits, or for any other reason, the men making the loan will be regarded as instigators and abettors of murder, nothing more.

Editorial, American Hebrew, August 7, 1914, p.388

THE JEWISH INTEREST

Aside from the general aspect of the war, which are terrible enough, we as Jews have a special interest, which doubles our responsibility and makes the Jewish situation even more critical.

First of all, the fighting which will occur on the eastern Prussian frontier will affect the thickest of the Jewish population of the world. With Austria, in which Galicia is the eastern border, and Poland which is the western boundary of Russia, as the central points of attack and defense, we may expect, as a result of the devastations, thousands of ruined families. Ruin will come everywhere in the afflicted countries, but upon the Jews especially. If the war lasts three months, the Jews will have to pay a staggering price for being the buffer-people in the fray.

Already, the cries of distress from the border lands have come to us, but even more pitiful than all things else is the situation of the emigrants who had sold all their earthly possessions and left Russia for America. These are now huddled in European ports, unable to secure transportation, and while the armies of Europe are mobilizing, these unfortunate people, caught in the whirl, are citizens of no particular country and entitled to the attention of no one.

What the war will do in changing the map of Europe may interest us some, but what it will do with the destiny of the Jews in Europe no one today can venture to prophesy. But one thing should be continually in the mind of Jewish statesmen pending the outcome of the conflict, and that is, how to prepare to meet the problems of providing for Jews displaced by the war.

August 12, 1914 -- France and England declare war on Austria.

August 13, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate, August 21, 1914, p.7

TO TRANSFER ZIONIST ORGANIZATION TO U.S.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federation of American Zionists was held on Thursday evening, August 13th, in the meeting rooms of the Order Sons of Zion, 142-4 Henry Street, New York. A majority of the members were in attendance, and in addition, Dr. Schmarya Levin, member of the Inner Actions Comite, was present as a special guest.

In view of the outbreak of the European war, which is likely to interrupt the Zionist work at the headquarters of the International Organization in Berlin, plans were considered for enlarging the propaganda in this country and for transferring certain features of Zionist activity to the United States. An important conference of the National Executive Committee, together with other prominent Zionists, will shortly be held in the interest of these plans....

August 14, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate, August 14, 1914, p.1

JEWISH PRESS DEPLORES WAR AS BLOW TO CIVILIZATION.

Yiddish Press Anxious to See Russia Defeated

The New York Yiddish dailies tend to support the German cause in the war not because they are in particular sympathy with Teutonism -- they have been struggling against it in American life -- but because they are bitterly opposed to Russia. In this the desire for Russian defeat they no doubt voice Jewish opinion generally....

News Item, American Hebrew, August 21, 1914, p.430

OSCAR STRAUS HAS LUNCH WITH SIR EDWARD GREY

...According to a report from London, the Hon. Oscar S. Straus had lunch with Sir Edward Grey, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, and spent some time with the Minister discussing the war situation and England's reasons for entering the conflict.

News Item, American Hebrew, August 14, 1914, p.406

MR. SCHIFF TREASURER OF RED CROSS FUND

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff is treasurer of the Red Cross Fund, to which subscriptions for the relief of the wounded and ill of the war in Europe are coming in slowly. Mr. Schiff himself contributed \$5,000 to the fund.

August 15, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew, August 21, 1914, p.430 ✓

LONDON "TIMES" ATTACKS YIDDISH PAPERS

A cablegram from London to the "Jewish Morgen Journal," dated August 15, says that the London "Times" in an editorial denounced the Yiddish daily newspapers of New York for sympathizing with Germany in the present war. The "Times" for some time has been known to be a defender of Russian interests in England. The Yiddish press of New York is friendly to German interests in the war. They are interested in the success of Germany on the theory that Germany's success means the accession by it of Russian territory in which the Jewish population preponderates. They also fear that Russian success means more extreme measures against the Jews.

August 17, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew, August 21, 1914, p.430

CZAR PROMISES JEWS CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS RIGHTS

A special cable to the New York "American," dated Paris, August 17, sent by C. F. Bertelli, is authority for the statement that "a decree granting civil and political rights to all Jews in Russia will be issued by the Czar without delay." Mr. Bertelli adds: "This act, which will be a logical sequence of the reconstruction of Poland, is of great importance to America, and will, it is believed, be immediately followed by a new era of cordial relations between Russia and the United States."

A similar announcement came from Paris via the Exchange Telegraph Company on Tuesday.

On Sunday, via Copenhagen came the following cablegram: "A copy of the "Frankfurter Zeitung" received here says that the Russian emperor has issued a manifesto addressed to 'My beloved Jews,' in Russian and Yiddish, reminding the Jews of the benefits they have received from Russia and from the house of Romanoff in particular, and calling on them to volunteer in the Russian army as Jewish and Russian interests are identical." In return the Jews are promised permission to live in districts hitherto forbidden them. The Frankfurt paper says: 'The Jews are somewhat backward in responding to this invitation.'"

August 18, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate, August 21, 1914, p.1

WAR CHECKS IMMIGRATION

Decrease of More Than Fifty Per Cent Over August of Last Year

Washington, Aug. 18.-- War's effect upon the time of immigration

into the United States is indicated by official figures showing a decrease of more than fifty per cent in the number of aliens coming in during the first half of August, compared with the same days last year. From August 1st to 14th the immigrants numbered 20,986 compared with 56,470 last year.

August 20, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew, August 21, 1914, p.437

OSCAR STRAUS SEES COUNT VON BANKENDORFF

It was reported on Thursday morning [August 20, 1914] that Oscar S. Straus was sent for by the Russian representative in London, Count von Bankendorff, who explained to him the Czar's intention regarding Jewish rights in Russia. After the interview, it was said that a Ukase on the subject would shortly be proclaimed. The theory that France and England, had suggested this line of policy to Russia is generally accepted in London. A cablegram from London also says that Mr. Straus is responsible for the interference of England and France. It is reported that Mr. Straus, acting upon the advice and with the co-operation of Lord Rothschild, met Sir Edward Grey, ...and suggested the sending by England and France of a suggestion, which would lead to satisfying the Jews, and thus, at the same time, relieve both England and France of the adverse popular opinion against the entente with Russia.

August 21, 1914 --

Excerpts from Article, American Hebrew,
August 21, 1914, p.431

THE WAR AS IT AFFECTS ZIONISM

Dr. Schmarya Levin, member of the Inner Actions Comit  , who is now in this country finding it impossible to return to Berlin, the International Zionist headquarters, has written an article which appears in this week's "Yiddish Volk," in which he discusses the war and its affect upon the Zionist organization. It is reported that of the members of the Zionist executive committee, Hantke, Sokolow, Tschenlow, Jacobson, Warburg and Levin, only one has probably been able to maintain his position. Sokolow, Tschenlow are Russian citizens, and probably have been ordered out of Berlin. Hantke is in the "landsturme", and probably has gone out with the German reserves. Levin is in New York, leaving Prof. Warburg as the only officer left in Berlin. In addition, all the secretaries are Germans, and without doubt been called to the colors. The same situation holds good with the organization in Austria and in Russia...

Coming to the Zionist organization, Dr. Levin writes: "But more serious is the situation at the present time with us Zionists. With the help of our Russian, Austrian and German brethren, we have succeeded in building up a strong organization, fused as of one element.

These three countries have been hit hardest by the war. Our young men, and not only our young men, are now on the battlefield. They are paying the tax of the golus for all our people. There is only one exception to the general condition and that is the Jews in America. I think that the destiny which brought them here will aid in illuminating their feelings. They will now appreciate what responsibilities their good fortune has brought to them. As a result of the present war, and the fate of nine million of their brethren, they will look deeper in the great Jewish problem. They will now begin to understand that a people as large as Servia, Bulgaria and Greece together can be helped radically only through a racial revival on their own land. Our American brethren will certainly discharge the debt of the moment as good Jews, but they will not forget, I trust, the problem of our own future.

"And if upon our American brethren in general a responsibility lies for watching and waiting for the right moment to intervene, there also lies an added responsibility upon our American Zionists. It is a three-fold debt. It is their duty to strengthen Zionism in America; to assume a larger place in our organization, and to give added support to the movement during this critical period. Further, they should give more of their attention to the points of contact we have created in our own Mizrach at a time when our army is scattered and thousands of us who should be are not there, but where we are forced to be. Perhaps the most important moment in our history draws nigh. In such a time weakness is a crime. Each must do more than lies within his power."

Editorial, Jewish Advocate, August 21, 1914, p.8

[On August 7, 1914, the American Hebrew had drawn attention to the need for consideration of "the problems of providing for Jews displaced by the war." The Jewish Advocate agrees and gives voice to the first demand that such consideration be the concern of a conference representative of all American Jewish forces.]

IS A JEWISH POLICY POSSIBLE?

With Jews compelled to slaughter each other in battles for ends from which they have nothing to gain, it is no doubt difficult to concentrate attention upon the need for a constructive Jewish policy. Just because such a condition exists the cool headed among the Jewish people should engage in the task of thinking out a policy from which the Jews shall gain.

It is clear that whoever wins the Jews are not likely to profit by the victory unless they take the initiative. A Russian victory would merely send them out of the frying pan into the fire, while if the independence of Poland were re-established, the Jewish position would be worse than it is today. For the Poles are admittedly anti-

Semitic, and would, if anything, become more so after such a triumph. The annexation of the Russo-Polish provinces by Germany, would take the Jews out of the fire, but -- into the frying pan, for we owe modern scientific Jew-baiting to Germany. In the Levant we have seen that the Greek victory has been to the disadvantage of the Salonica Jews, while of the other Jews in the Balkans we cannot claim that any group has gained a distinct advantage from their military patriotism.

The crisis is the result of a war, but because that war is happening the majority of the Jews in Europe cannot even lift a finger towards providing a Jewish policy which shall be presentable when the powers come together to make peace, and reparcel their possessions. The burden therefore falls on the only large group of Jews who are in a neutral position at this time -- American Jewish citizens.

From the American Jewish view the framing of such a policy is most desirable. During the war the Jews in this country are being plainly used, as far as they permit themselves, "to manufacture sympathy" for nations who in normal times award them with "the order of the boot." After the war the Jews of the United States will be asked to bear the burden that will weigh like lead on the shoulders of the Jews everywhere. A large percentage of the Jewish young men will have been killed, and with whatever power rests the victory, the result of changing the map of Europe will result, as far as funds permit, in mass Jewish emigration, for the Jews live in disputed territories, or along frontiers, therefore the changes will affect them intimately. Their communities will be broken, their strong men dead, their families impoverished. Hence the burden will be thrust upon the American Jew. He will be asked to give money, and he will be asked to set himself the task of stretching the immigration laws in order to receive tens of thousands of war victims. This in turn will lead to an upheaval in every American Jewish community, similar to that which was witnessed here in 1881-2, 1891-2 and 1906-7.

Therefore the American Jew has a personal as well as a sentimental reason for seeing to it that when the powers do meet to settle their differences in some European capital, or in Washington -- that the Jews too are heard and receive proper treatment from those who assemble around the peace table. In order to accomplish this the first step is the uniting of the Jews in this country for that purpose. That is not the same thing as uniting them for all purposes, but for one understandable purpose. For that reason a conference of all Jewish forces should be convened. No one man, and no one body can dictate such a policy, nothing permanent can be accomplished by political intrigue, however well meant. The Jewish policy should be every Jew's policy, and to make it so, every type of Jew must be represented in framing it, and in a representative way be responsible for it.

No one organization has the right of way in this matter, but all should participate in such a gathering and therefore we should welcome any national organization which will take the initiative. The American Jewish Committee, the B'nai B'rith, the I.O.B.A., or any of the large fraternal bodies, the National Young Men's Hebrew Association, or the Zionists, the C.C.A.R., the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Orthodox, or the Conservative Union. East or West, we care not to whom the honor belongs, as long as a start is made for a conference of American Jews which shall enable the Jews to obtain justice when the world peace is made.

Never again, at least for many generations, will the same opportunity present itself for turning evil into good. Hence we urge our contemporaries to take up this issue, and we ask rabbis to replace their expected New Year's sermons with plans along this line. To our readers -- who so often show themselves responsive -- we say this: Whatever organization you happen to belong to, and which is in some way affiliated with a larger group of societies, try and get it into line for this, the greatest of all possible Jewish efforts. Write a letter, ask for a meeting, draw up resolutions, take some step which shall wake up the leaders of your movement to the need for timely action in the convening of an American Jewish convention to frame a policy for the International welfare of the Jews.

News Items, American Hebrew,
August 21, 1914, p.430

Jews in England charged with German sympathies

A cablegram to the "Jewish Daily News" from London says that Leopold Greenberg, editor of the "Jewish Chronicle" has issued a letter which has been sent to all English newspapers, appealing to them to make clear to their readers that the Jews in England are not Germans. Mr. Greenberg says: "Instance after instance has come to my knowledge of the ignorant assumption in England that every Jew is necessarily German and therefore an enemy. In Germany, I learn, our Jews are not called German Jews but Russian Jews. The fact is, of course, that Jews by tradition and indeed by absolute Jewish law are bound in loyalty to the country of which they are citizens. The Jew in Germany is no less German than the German; the Jew in England is no less English than the English. In England the Jews are unanimously supporting Britain in war; in France they support France."

Dr. and Mrs. Schechter safe in Hamburg

A cablegram dated Amsterdam, August 14, received in this city on Tuesday, stated that Dr. and Mrs. Solomon Schechter had arrived in Hamburg and were in good health.

Prof. Gottheil in Paris

Prof. Richard Gottheil is now in Paris, according to a cablegram received in Chicago. He spent a week at Havre, waiting for the steamship "France" to leave for New York. The "France" did not sail, and Dr. Gottheil returned to Paris.

August 28, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
August 28, 1914, p.1

Zion Organization may come here

The Federation of American Zionists has received word from

Europe that the headquarter in Berlin has practically suspended operations owing to the conditions of the war that exists in Germany, and that the entire propaganda is paralyzed in Germany, Austria and Russia, including England. The prospect of a cessation of Zionist activity in Europe means that Palestine institutions, in addition to the generally troubled state of affairs, due to the disturbance of credits, the lack of employment, etc., will not receive the normal financial support of the countries enumerated for some time to come.

The American Federation, in cooperation with Dr. Schmarya Levin, member of the Inner Actions Comité, has therefore called an extraordinary conference of representative Zionists to consider the provisional assumption of general Zionist activities by a special American committee; to initiate a wide-spread movement for the support of Palestine institutions in the emergency; and also, what is regarded of the highest importance, the consideration of how to unite Jewish activities in the interests of the Jewish people in the event of peace negotiations being taken up in the near future.

This special conference will be held this Sunday, all day, at the Hotel Marseilles, 103d St. and Broadway. The leading American Zionists will attend. Delegates are expected from New Orleans, Texas, Chicago, Pittsburgh, Boston, Philadelphia, Rochester, Cleveland, Baltimore, and many of the smaller cities.

Editorial, American Hebrew,
August 28, 1914, pp. 460-461

[The American Hebrew viewed the extraordinary conference of the Federation of American Zionists with interest and sympathy. It approved the Zionist concern for Palestinean relief and acknowledged that all Jewry would soon have to consider the maintenance of European Jewish institutions. But it felt that consideration of action in behalf of the Jewish people in the event of the negotiation of peace should not be undertaken "without consulting with the leaders of American Jewry."]

THE CONFERENCE OF AMERICAN ZIONISTS

The first organization to take up what may be called relief work arising out of war conditions is the American Zionist organization. First of all, the European Zionist organization has been, for the time being, put out of commission. The leaders of the organization, with headquarters in Berlin, have been dispersed, for a number of them are Russian citizens and cannot expect to remain in Germany, even if remaining there had any practical value. The conference called for Sunday will endeavor to assume such activities of the

general organization as may be directed from the United States.

Of greater importance to the Jewish world at large are the plans for maintaining such institutions in Palestine as have been acquired by Jews during the past twenty and thirty years. It may be expected that both the Alliance Universelle Israelite and the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, will retrench in their support of Palestine institutions founded by them. It may be altogether impossible for these organizations to continue their operations. Thus, with support for necessary educational and philanthropic work withdrawn from the regular philanthropic sources, and the Zionist organization paralyzed, for the time being, in Russia, Austria, Germany and England, a serious responsibility rests upon American Jews. What the Zionists will have to do, first of all, is to step into the breach made by the enforced withdrawal of their European comrades, and double if not triple their contributions. Upon the rest of Jewry must rest the burden of maintaining such other institutions that have been created by Jewish elements abroad. If it is possible, some joint committee, non-partisan, could be created, which would assume the responsibility for the time being for all Palestinian support. This is a matter which calls for careful organization.

We notice that in the call issued by the Zionist organization for the Sunday meeting a reference is made to the appointment of a committee to take action on behalf of the Jewish people in the event of peace being negotiated. The Zionist leaders ought to consider carefully whether they are serving the best interests of Jewry by prematurely forming their own committee for this purpose, without consulting with the leaders of American Jewry. They should avoid any irretrievable partisan action in so important a matter. Nothing is to be gained by a premature expression of policy, and certainly much damage may be done if one party in Israel undertakes to act for all.

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
August 28, 1914, p.8

[Jacob de Haas basked in the glory of much response to his editorial of August 21, 1914 calling for "an American Jewish convention." He points out with almost prophetic insight the possibility of charity appeals completely obscuring the "American Jewish conference" which tactic the American Jewish Committee was to employ with apparent success for a short time.]

A JEWISH POLICY

A number of readers have been kind enough to visit the Jewish Advocate office for the express purpose of congratulating the Editor

on the editorial in the last issue, which discussed the possibility of relieving the gloom of this terrible war by framing of a Jewish policy. This attention is pleasant, and appreciated, but we seek something more than that. We wish to see a movement started.

The area of the war is likely to widen -- if it has not widened by the time these words are in print. This will reduce the possible number of Jews in a position of neutrality, and increase the number of sufferers. Already the fifteen thousand Jews of Belgium are impoverished, and the Jews from Tilsit down the German border are feeling the effect of the march of the hostile Russians. So we are likely to be asked for financial help in every direction. Before the confusion of charity appeals have their effect the first steps should have been taken for the calling of the American Jewish conference which shall frame up the now most need[ed] Jewish policy.

We appreciate compliments, but we urge action.

Editorial, American Hebrew,
August 28, 1914, p.461

[The American Hebrew indulges in self-righteous wrist slapping.]

The Yiddish newspapers on the East Side are all pro-German. They see in the European war Germany on one side and Russia on the other. Their sympathies are with Germany. Not that they love Caesar less, but Rome more. If Germany succeeds, they expect a large accession to Germany of territory belonging to Russia, which contains large masses of Jews. German rule is preferred to Russian despotism. Looking at the war from the Jewish point of view wholly, they condemn France and England for being Allies of Russia, and they will probably condemn any power that may interfere with German's aggressive policy. Their position is logical and may be appreciated even by one who does not agree with it. But Israel has more to lose through the growth of the spirit of war than any other people. In every violent conflict we lost. It is therefore our best policy to speak without equivocation against war, and in favor of whatever country is most favorable to the cause of peace.

News Items, American Hebrew,
August 28, 1914, p.454

DUMA DEPUTY APPEALS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS

The speech of the Duma Deputy Karensky, in which he appealed to the Russian government now to abolish all racial distinctions in the Empire and to endeavor to establish peace among all racial elements, is widely quoted and applauded by the Russian press. Karensky said that Russia will never be secure against foreign attack while internally all sorts of race and sectional warfare continues.

LONDON "TIMES" PRINTS ATTACKS ON JEWS

It is reported to the Jewish "Daily News" that the London "Times" has published a scurrilous attack upon Jews, written by an anti-Semite, in which the English Jews are charged with being disloyal to their fatherland and unpatriotic. A reply by Chief Rabbi Hertz appeared the following day. Rabbi Hertz said that it was ridiculous to charge the American Jewish papers with influencing public opinion against the Triple Entente.

LARGE ENLISTMENT OF JEWS IN ENGLISH ARMY

A cablegram from London to the Jewish "Morgen Journal" says that the number of Jewish volunteers in the English army is so large that it is proposed to organize a regiment to be composed exclusively of Jews.

August 30, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
September 4, 1914, p.1

AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS TO BE HELD

L.D. Brandeis Accepts Zionist Leadership

Provisional Zionist Committee Organized to Carry on International
Work Disrupted by the War

American Jewish Committee Accepts its Invitation to Co-operate in
Calling Congress

Nathan Straus Gives Zionists \$25,000

An extraordinary conference was held at the Hotel Marseille, New York City, on Sunday, to discuss the taking over of the work of the Zionist Central Bureau, which has been suspended in Berlin as a consequence of the European war. Nearly two hundred delegates from all over the country attended the conference.

The meeting was opened by Mr. Louis Lipsky who introduced Dr. Schmarya Levin of the Inner Actions Comite of the International Zionist Organization. Dr. Levin urged that to meet the present crisis of the Central Organization, a committee must be established in this country which shall take over the work of the Central Bureau and carry it on from here.

He related the conditions that existed prior to the war in Palestine, and the general operations of the movement. After a general discussion of the situation and the best means of coping with it, on the motion of Mr. Jacob de Haas a resolution was adopted in which the condition that has arisen was briefly described and a committee provided for to act in co-operation with, or in substitution for the Actions Comite which had been dis-organized by the war.

A Provisional Administrative Committee numbering eleven members, nine of whom were elected, on the nomination of a committee, of which Mr. de Haas was chairman, as follows: Louis D. Brandeis, chairman; Joseph Barondess of New York, Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, Mr. E. W. Lewin-Epstein of New York, Nathan D. Kaplan of Chicago, Louis Lipsky of New York, Dr. J. L. Magnes of New York, Dr. Stephen S. Wise of New York, and Miss Henrietta Szold; two additional members are to be elected, one each, by the Mizrahi organization and the Poale Zion. The election of Mr. Brandeis as chairman was followed by an ovation.

The necessity for united action on the part of American Jewry in the matter of extending relief to Jewish sufferers from the war and in event of peace negotiations, formed a subject for interesting discussion; this was followed by the recommendation for the adoption of a resolution for inviting the co-operation of all large Jewish-American organizations, and in the discussion which followed, Mr. de Haas, Dr. Syrkin, Mr. Zuckerman, Dr. Kallen and Mr. Richards took especial art, with the result that the resolution was turned over to the Provisional Administrative Committee to be finally acted upon.

Mr. Nathan Straus emphasized the importance of extending immediate relief to Palestinian Jews who may be suffering in consequence of the war.

Dr. Levin urged that American Jewry be called upon for \$100,000 to carry on the organization work and save it from destruction; to his appeal the responses aggregated \$14,000, the most prominent pledges being that of Mr. Nathan Straus \$5,000, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis \$1,000, the Order Sons of Zion \$2,500, the Order Knights of Zion \$2,000, Cleveland Zionists \$500, Pittsburgh Zionists \$500, Boston Zionists \$500.

The closing session of the conference was devoted to a general discussion of the Zionist situation, and brief but most impressive speeches were delivered by Miss Henrietta Szold, Dr. J. L. Magnes, Mr. Jacob de Haas, Dr. Horace M. Kallen and Dr. Syrkin. Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, who was called upon for a closing word, was eloquent in his appeal for the preservation of the Jewish people and the hopes and promises and ideals for which the people stand; he stated that he was brought back to his people in his search for higher social ideals, for in the history of the Jews he found the promise of the highest ideals and civilization.

The meeting closed with the singing of "Hatikvah", after which a conference of the Provisional Administrative Committee was held.

Resolution submitted to Extraordinary
Zionist Conference, August 30, 1914⁸⁰

[Famous as the first official Zionist expression of sentiment for the congress idea, this resolution was submitted by N. Syrkin, B. Zuckerman, B. G. Richards, and others.]

"The Zionist Extraordinary Conference assembled empowers its Provisional Committee to take the initiative, within the shortest time possible, to call a convention of Jewish organizations and Jewish committees for the following purposes:

"1. For the creation of a relief fund to alleviate the sufferings of the Jewish population in war districts and of Jewish refugees.

"2. The maintenance of Jewish institutions in Palestine and the Orient.

"3. The discussion of the entire Jewish situation in regard to the changed condition of the world after the war.

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
September 4, 1914, p.8

New York, Aug. 31. -- The convention of representatives of all American Jewish citizens will be held soon. This follows the initiative of the Provisional Committee on Zionist affairs organized on Sunday of which Louis D. Brandeis is chairman. The committee was in session all day.

It requested the American Jewish Committee then in session to co-operate with the Zionists in having a nation-wide Jewish convention which shall deal with Jewish problems, resulting from the war. The invitation was immediately accepted and committees appointed by both sides to take up the details.

Ambassador Morgenthau cabled for a loan fund of \$50,000 to alleviate the Palestinian war distress. The American Jewish Committee gave \$25,000. Jacob H. Schiff and the Zionists, whose bureau in Palestine will distribute the fund, gave each \$12,500.

This co-operation of the International Zionist body and the American Jewish Committee is regarded here as most significant and a unique result from war conditions and credited to Brandeis' leadership.

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Letter of Louis D. Brandeis to Louis
Marshall, August 31, 1914 81

Mr. Louis Marshall
President, American Jewish Committee

Dear Sir:

The Provisional Committee for International Zionist Affairs was constituted at a conference of representative Zionists in New York City, on Sunday, August 30, 1914. This committee is to act on behalf of the International Zionist Organization pending the reconstruction of that organization, which has been disrupted by the present war. The Committee is endeavoring to maintain and strengthen the Zionist organization and to support such Palestinian Institutions as have heretofore been supported by that organization.

The Committee regards it also as its function to emphasize the importance of Palestine for the Jews of the world in any negotiations that may be entered upon by the Powers before or upon the conclusion of the war.

That any diplomatic negotiations on behalf of the Jews shall have due effect, the Committee believes that action should be taken by a united American Jewry.

To this end, the Committee invites you to co-operate with it in calling a conference of representatives of all the important Jewish organizations and groups in the country.

For the Committee,

Louis D. Brandeis,
Chairman

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Reply of Louis Marshall to 82
Louis D. Brandeis, August 31, 1914

Louis D. Brandeis, Esq.,
Chairman

Dear Sir:

Yours of this date, informing me of the organization of the Provisional Committee for International Zionist Affairs, and of the action taken at a conference of representative Zionists held yesterday, was considered at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee held to-day.

The Committee, recognizing the critical situation of the Jews throughout the world, as well as in Palestine, has taken such action as it has deemed proper in the circumstances to deal with the numerous problems which have arisen and which are to be anticipated. It has today appropriated funds in aid of Bulgarian and Palestinian Jews, to a considerable amount. It has appointed a committee to consider the condition of the Jews throughout the world, in view of the existing war, and to make such recommendations as are demanded by such conditions. This Committee is to co-operate with all organizations which desire to accomplish the same end.

It is also engaged in making a careful study of the diplomatic aspects of the war, and the advisability of having presented to the Powers such consideration as may be deemed desirable.

This Committee welcomes your co-operation, and a special committee consisting of Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. J. L. Magnes and myself, has been appointed to arrange for a conference with a like committee appointed by your body.

Very truly yours,
(Signed) Louis Marshall
President, American Jewish Committee

News Item, American Hebrew,
September 4, 1914, p.478

[The American Hebrew reports the special meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee held on August 31, 1914, coincidentally with the first session of the Provisional Executive Committee. While the Zionists have much to say about the Committee in their report of the days affairs, the American Jewish Committee prefers to ignore, to all practical purposes, the action of the Zionists.]

ACTION OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

A meeting of the executive committee of the American Jewish Committee held on Monday afternoon took up the consideration of Jewish interests arising out of the European war. Communications were received from various parts of the world, and action was taken especially on cablegrams received from Ambassador Morgenthau relative to Palestinian conditions.

The cablegrams received from Mr. Morgenthau, and from other reliable sources, indicated that the Palestinian Jews were confronting a serious crisis in consequence of the discontinuance of contributions from countries which are now at war with each other. It was reported that the destruction of a number of flourishing colonies was threatened, unless financial assistance was at once forthcoming. The sum of \$50,000 was stated to be immediately required to relieve the situation, and that a responsible committee had been formed, of which Dr. Arthur Ruppin, of Jaffa, was the Chairman, for the purpose of administering the funds that might be forwarded, for the establishment of a free loan society and for the support of families which, because of the fact that their bread-winners had been called into the army, were in a destitute condition.

The Committee appropriated the sum of \$25,000 for this purpose, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff adding \$12,500 to this sum, and it being understood that the Zionist organization would undertake to secure the remaining \$12,500 needed to carry on this relief work. The Provisional Committee for International Zionist affairs, of which Louis D. Brandeis is chairman, agreed to contribute the \$12,500 required. It was also decided to appropriate \$2,500 for the benefit of the Jewish orphans at Sofia, Bulgaria, who had lost their parents during the late war.

The Committee then considered the effect of the war upon the Jews of Russia, Germany, Austria, the Balkan States, and other parts of the world, the assistance of whom it was believed would inevitably demand serious consideration from our co-religionists, especially in the United States. In order to cope with the serious problems which in all probability must soon be dealt with, a sub-committee was appointed to gather authentic information with regard to the situation

of the Jews who might be affected by the existing calamity, and to make recommendations as to ways and means by which necessary and adequate assistance might at the proper time be rendered to all sufferers, without discrimination. The Committee proposes to call upon other organizations to co-operate with it to aid in the formulation and carrying out of the plans for the accomplishment of results commensurate with the immensity of the problem.

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September 1, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
September 4, 1914, p.8

New York, Sept. 1. -- The Provisional Committee concluded its session today, its principal work being the outlining of plan of action of the arrangement of a propaganda tour in which Louis D. Brandeis and Dr. S. Levin will join, and the preparation of statements and appeals to the Jews for support. Communication was established with the Zionist organizations in Europe.

Nathan Straus, who attended the session, increased his first donation of \$5,000 to \$25,000. Dr. Richard Gottheil and Dr. Max Heller were co-opted on the committee. The session closed with a very feeling address by Dr. S. Levin on the energy which the committee had thrown into its work, and of thankfulness to Mr. Brandeis for assuming so active a leadership.

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September 4, 1914 --

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
September 4, 1914, p.8

[The Jewish Advocate crowed like a rooster over its successes and advised the Jews of the United States to "clamor to be made part of such a conference and not wait to be invited" because "Jewish policy is not the property of any one body or group."]

GETTING TOGETHER

If it were still the fashion for newspapers to publish pictures of crowing roosters in connection with victorious election returns, The Jewish Advocate might indulge itself this week by splashing rooster pictures all over its pages. For it has been singularly fortunate in that three of the policies on which it has been insisting have been found acceptable, and are already in the first processes of operation.

The most impressive, and the most embracing of the events of the week is that on the invitation of the Provisional Committee for International Zionist Affairs, the executive of the American Jewish Committee will co-operate in the task of convening a general conference of the Jews of the United States at which a Jewish policy will be framed, for presentation at that peace conference of the powers which must come at the conclusion of the war. That the American Jewish Committee has accepted this invitation, is one of the most significant incidents of our times. It has been both undemocratic, and peculiarly secretive in the methods. But it is now plainly yielding to circumstances. We do not for a moment question the motives of the gentlemen who compose the American Jewish Committee, either in this or in the other matters, but in urging the convening of a general conference we took that step because we believe that Jewish policy is not the property of any one body or group, and, moreover, we believe the responsibility for such a policy must be cast upon all the Jewish in the United States. Hence we urge the continuation of the agitation we initiated a few weeks ago. The Jews of the United States should clamor to be made part of such a conference and not wait to be invited. For the final outcome of such a conference will, in no small measure, depend upon the enthusiasm with which it is supported, as well as upon the wisdom with which it is guided.

There is no measure which the Jews here could take that sounds so hopeful to the depressed Jews in the war stricken zones, as the news that all the Jews in the United States were uniting to come to their aid at the hour when aid will be of lasting avail.

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News Items, American Hebrew,
September 4, 1914, p.479

A WEEK OF SLAUGHTER

The Germans during the week have made a ferocious onslaught upon the allied forces on their way to Paris, and have pressed them into a retreat with great slaughter on both sides. The Germans are within fifty miles of Paris. In the East, the Russians have taken, it is reported, Lemberg, and it is claimed that the Germans and Austrians have taken Lodz. All the fighting on the eastern frontier of Germany and in Austria is taking place on what may be termed Jewish soil. The probability is that Turkey will soon attack the allies, directed by German officers. The possibility of the Turks taking Egypt raises grave fears for the Jewish settlement in Palestine. Taking all the facts together, history has not seen such a week of carnage. It is anticipated that a decisive action will occur the coming week in France.

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OSCAR STRAUS TO ARRIVE ON MAURETANIA

The Hon. Oscar S. Straus is expected to arrive on the Mauretania from London. Before sailing, Mr. Straus said: "I believe Russia's promises will be kept by her, but I don't believe after the war there will be a single monarchy left in Europe for this isn't a war of the people, but of the governments." Other sailing on the Mauretania are

Judge David Leventritt, S. R. Guggenheim, Mrs. Otto H. Kahn, Mrs. Benjamin Guggenheim and Ira Bamberger.

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Dr. Harry Friedenwald, of Baltimore, who was in Palestine the early part of the summer, has made his way to London and is expected to return to Baltimore next week.

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Word has been received from Dr. Joseph Jacobs that he leaves London, where he now is, within the coming week, and that he will arrive in New York on September 17.

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Mr. Frank Schechter has received a cable from his parents, Prof. and Mrs. Solomon Schechter, informing him of their safe arrival in London and their intention to sail from England on September 8.

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September 8, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
September 11, 1914, p.509

Count von Bernstoff, Ambassador of Germany to the United States, was the guest of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff at his home in Sea Bright on Tuesday [September 8, 1914].

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September 11, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
September 11, 1914, p.504

MASS MEETINGS TO BE ADDRESSED BY BRANDEIS AND LEVIN

The Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs is arranging a series of meetings for next week to be held in a number of cities.

The first meeting will be held in New York City in the Aeolian Hall, West 43rd street on Sunday evening, September 13. The speakers will be Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, president of the Provisional committee, and Dr. Schmarya Levin, of the Inner Actions Comite. The subject they will discuss is announced as "The Jewish Interest in the European War." On Monday evening a mass-meeting will be held in Philadelphia.

On Tuesday evening, both Dr. Levin and Mr. Brandeis will speak in Baltimore, where a large committee has been formed to make the arrangements, with Dr. Edgar Friedenwald and Israel Brodie at its head.

On Wednesday evening, Dr. Levin and Mr. Brandeis will speak in Pittsburgh, where a similar committee has been formed. On Thursday evening, the same speakers will address a mass-meeting in Rochester, where an unusual effort is being made to fill the large Convention hall. The organizers of the meeting at Rochester include Prof. Meyer Jacobstein, of the University of Rochester, Saul Carson, Dr. William Bernis, Abraham Baylies and others.

At all these meetings, an appeal will be made for the support of Zionist institutions and activities in Palestine. Committee have already been appointed in all the cities mentioned to precede the mass-meetings with energetic efforts to secure contributions to the fund that is being raised.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
September 11, 1914, p.509

[Fearing the possible consequences of "premature or partially thought out ideas" which might issue from the New York mass meeting which Brandeis and Levin were to address on September 13, the American Hebrew warned the Zionists again as it had immediately prior to the extraordinary conference of August 30. Underlying these warnings was the fear that the mass meetings might become a forum for violent attacks upon Russia which might evoke dangerous repercussions from all her allies and render completely impossible any action that the American Jewish Committee might endeavor to undertake in behalf of European Jews at some later date.]

The mass-meeting on Sunday to be addressed by Louis D. Brandeis and Dr. Schmarya Levin is intended, we are informed, to bring before the Jewish public a discussion of the specific Jewish interest in the European war. While it is difficult to define what that interest may be, it is clear that over and above all other local or national interests, there is a paramount Jewish interest in which the Jews of all lands must be concerned. The isolation of any one interest -- such as the Russian -- means the separation of the general Jewish issue into many fragments that cannot rightly be considered or effectively defended. But when the issue of Jewish rights in Russia, in Roumania, in Turkey, or in Greece are regarded as different phases of the same problem, there may be a consistent Jewish policy evolved that may lead to united Jewish action. But in all such discussion, caution is the first word, not because there is anything to conceal, but in order that premature or partially thought out ideas may not be

given circulation to the damage of the cause involved. It is interesting to note that the mass-meeting at Aeolian Hall will witness the first appearance in New York of Mr. Brandeis on a Jewish platform. Mr. Brandeis has devoted his life with zeal and enthusiasm and capacity to the cause of a nobler American citizenship. His entrance into the world of Jewish interests raises an interesting question as to its effect upon the cause he has espoused. It certainly enhances the significance of that meeting.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
September 11, 1914, p.502

THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION IN BERLIN

The last number of "Die Welt," the Zionist organ published at Berlin, received in this office is dated July 31, and was delivered this week. It contains no indications of any disturbance in the Zionist organization. It appears from private letters received here that of the six members of the Inner Actions Comite, three remain in Berlin: Prof. Warburg, Dr. Arthur Hantke, and Nahum Sokolow. But the work of the Zionist bureau is practically at a standstill, with no communication possible with Palestine, with access denied to the funds of the organization in the Jewish Colonial Trust at London, and all operations in the countries at war futile.

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September 13, 1914 --

Excerpt from "Louis D. Brandeis on a
Zionist Platform", American Hebrew,
September 18, 1914, pp. 588,590

[On Sunday evening, September 13, 1914, Louis D. Brandeis delivered his first address on a Jewish platform in New York City.]

The duty of the Jews of America is clear. Their responsibilities are stupendous, their opportunities for helpfulness unparalleled. Upon them devolves the leadership of the Jewish people in this crisis. The hungry must be fed, the naked clothed, the widow and orphan comforted. The position of the Jews of the world must be safeguarded, their human rights protected. Plans for the future, also, must be made. The old reservoirs of Judaism are broken down, and from American Israel must come the life and refreshment that are to preserve the Jewish heritage. Out of the welter and chaos, American Israel must emerge better organized and more clearly conscious of the leadership which the history now being made is conferring upon it.

"In these extraordinary times, extraordinary measures are necessary. Whatever is done must have a united American Israel back of it. In

the face of danger, all Jewish partisan bias, all personal prejudices must be put into the background. We Zionists are anxious and eager to make common cause with our fellow-Jews of all kinds and beliefs. We are anxious to place ourselves at the service of Israel. We are eager to be of help to the whole Jewish people.

"We Zionists are anxious to join with our brethren of the House of Israel in gathering vast relief funds that shall help the needy and distressed of all lands affected either directly or indirectly by this terrible war. We want to aid in preserving Jewish communities and institutions that have for centuries reflected glory upon the Jewish name. In comparison with the funds now required for the succor and rehabilitation of hundreds of thousands of Jews, the large funds raised after the Russian pogroms pale into insignificance. It will be necessary for every Jew to gird his loins for the great struggle that will be upon us, that we may save at least a remnant of our stricken people. We shall all have to make sacrifices greater than we have ever been called upon to make before. We shall have to do more than we can.

"We Zionists are eager, also, together with our brethren of American Israel, to insist upon securing equal civil and political rights for the Jews of all lands. If this unparalleled war is to be fought out to the bitter end, it can have but one justification -- that the old scores, of centuries will finally be settled, that the problems afflicting Europe will find a final solution. Among the problems that have afflicted Europe these many years is the Jewish problem. We want at the end of the war that all civil, political, religious disabilities be removed from the Jews of every land, be it Russia, Galician, Germany, France, England, Palestine, Morocco, Persia or wherever the Jews are suffering from legislative or governmental prejudice. We American Jews are true to the injunction of the President of the United States in maintaining strict neutrality. Neither the appeals of Mr. Zangwill nor the threats of the London Times, nor the vague promises of friends of the Russian Government can make us as Jews in America, favor the one side any more than the promises of Austria to her Polish Jews or the patriotism of the Jews of Germany can incline us to the other side. We are neutral as Americans and as Jews. As Americans, we look to the establishment of lasting peace among the nations. As Jews, we look to the establishment of equal rights for all the Jews of all lands without exception. We shall be satisfied with nothing less.

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September 14, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
September 18, 1914, p.1

BRANDEIS WINS AUDIENCES

...In Philadelphia, where Mr. Brandeis spoke on Monday evening, the mass present was so great, and ovation so sincere and overwhelming, that Mr. Brandeis was moved to tears...

September 16, 1914 --

Excerpt from News Item, Jewish Advocate,
September 18, 1914, p.1

BRANDEIS WINS AUDIENCES

...On Wednesday evening he [Brandeis] spoke with Dr. Levin in Pittsburgh. The meeting was co-operated in by every Jewish organization in the city, and is reported to have been the biggest Jewish demonstration ever seen in that city....

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September 17, 1914 --

Excerpt from News Item, Jewish Advocate,
September 18, 1914, p.1

BRANDEIS WINS AUDIENCES

...The tour [of Brandeis and Levin] was continued on Thursday evening at Rochester, New York. In each city the theme of the addresses was the war and the Jews, and appeal made for funds to aid all Palestinean institutions, which have had all sources of support cut off by the war....

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September 18, 1914 --

Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
September 18, 1914, p.552

[Louis Marshall opens the American Jewish Committee's campaign for relief.]

THE DUTY OF THE HOUR

To the American Hebrew:

There is one respect in which the American Hebrew, and all other Jewish organs of thought, may be useful, and that is to create a public opinion with respect to the necessity of aiding the Jewish victims of the war, financially and industriously. More than one-half of all the Jews of the world are within the war area. Thousands of Jews are in the armies. Hundreds of thousands of families will be even more impoverished than they are today. The problems of Kishineff and Odessa, and of the various pogrom cities, for which contributions were made some years ago, are trifles compared with the needs which must now be met. Then, Germany, France, England,

and Austria gave aid. Now, little, if any, assistance may be expected from those countries. The entire burden will fall on America. The sum that will be required will run into the millions and we must be prepared to help as soon as the smoke of battle clears away sufficiently. Every section of American Jewry, every part of this country, every Jew, should proceed at once to cooperate to this end. A general committee, composed of representatives of various organizations, should be formed. The American Jewish Committee has, as you know, officially expressed its readiness and willingness to engage in such work of cooperation, and is now engaged in gathering data which will make it possible to carry on this work intelligently and without the waste resulting from duplication of effort.

Louis Marshall

News Item, American Hebrew,
September 18, 1914, p.577

MR. BURNETT RENEWS EFFORT FOR IMMIGRATION RESTRICTION

Washington, Sept. 10.--Representative Burnett, Chairman of the House Committee on Immigration is renewing his efforts to procure the passage of the Burnett-Dillingham Immigration bill at this session of Congress. The bill already has passed the House and is in the Senate, where its passage has been delayed by failure of agreement over the "literacy test"....

September 25, 1914 --

News Items, American Hebrew,
September 25, 1914, p.623

OSCAR S. STRAUS' PEACE MOVEMENT CRITICIZED

The London "Daily Mail" and the Paris "Le Journal des Debats" editorially suggest that Oscar S. Straus, who has been, and is advocating peace negotiations, is working for the benefits of Germany. The two newspapers portray Mr. Straus as working hand in hand with the German-American Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff and Dr. Dernburg. The editorials demand no cessation of the war, until German militarism be crushed forever.

--- IMMIGRATION STILL DECREASING

Immigration to this country has almost come to a halt. Ellis Island, which heretofore was a spot full of hustle and bustle, is now nearly as quiet as a country section at night. Since the war, immigration has dwindled considerably. Before the war on the average twenty-five

thousand immigrants passed through Ellis Island. Now only five hundred per week have been examined. This month, the authorities claim the figures will reach a minimum figure.

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September 27, 1914 -- Brandeis Levin, and De Haas address a crowd of more than 5,000 Bostonians and raise \$6,100.⁸³

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September 29, 1914 --

Letter, B'nai Brith News,
October 1914, p.7

[The B'nai Brith opened its campaign for war relief. The fund which it established, known as the "B'nai Brith Fund for War Sufferers", was to "be distributed by the officers of the Grand Lodes of the Order in Europe."⁸⁴]

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF B'NAI B'RITH
Office of Executive Committee

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 29, 1914.

To the Lodges of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith:

We have received urgent appeals for financial assistance from the Grand Lodges of Austria, Germany and the Orient.

The Grand Lodge of Austria sent us a second urgent appeal by wireless which was forwarded for them by the government of Austria to its Ambassador in Washington, and delivered to us by the Austrian Consul General in Chicago. Several thousand members of the Order are in the ranks; hundreds of them have been killed while fighting for their country. The number of victims is growing daily, and so are the number of widows and orphans to whom we are in duty bound to render aid.

The Order therefore appeals to the lodges and their members to open wide their purses and respond with an open hand and a willing heart as far as their means will permit. This is the season of good will and charity within the household of Israel. "Rachmono libo boey." God demands the heart. And we appeal to the Jewish heart now and particularly at this time of the year when it is filled with pity for suffering mankind.

The lodges are requested to raise funds from among their members. Committees specially appointed for this purpose should be large enough to enable them to make a personal and speedy canvas in order to reach

every member, so that all may be placed on the roll of honor with a contribution whether small or large. Lodges as such should also appropriate liberally from their treasuries to the end that by individual and concerted effort the Order may be placed in position to extend a helping hand to those who innocently have become the victims of the ravages of war. We hope that each lodge will be able to raise a sufficiently large sum so that its contribution will represent a donation equivalent to not less than \$10.00 per member.

Remittances should be made to the office of the Executive Committee of the Order, 1228 Tribune Bldg., Chicago, which in due time will publish in the B'nai B'rith News a complete list of all donors and the disposition of the funds contributed to relieve the war sufferers.

Fraternally yours in B.B.L. & H.

ADOLF KRAUS, President

Attest: A. B. SEELENFREUND, Secretary.

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October 4, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 16, 1914, p.1

CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RELIEF OF JEWS SUFFERING THROUGH THE WAR

At a conference held on Sunday, October 4th, a Central Relief Committee was formed to represent New York City, consisting of Leon Kamaiky, chairman; Harry Fischel, treasurer; Albert Lucas, corresponding secretary; Morris Engelman, financial secretary; J. L. Bernstein, recording secretary; G. Eublik, Rev. Dr. Bernard Drachman, Rabbi Ginsburg, Wilkes Barre, Pa.; Rabbi Benjamin B. Guth; Rev. Dr. Moses Hyamson, Rabbi S. H. Jaffe, Rev. Dr. Phillip Klein, Nathan Lamport, E. W. Lewin-Epstein, Rev. M. S. Margolies, Samuel Mason, Rev. Dr. H. Pereira Mendes, Nathan Mintz, Max Myerson, M. H. Phillips, Nathan Roggen, Leon Sanders, E. Sarasohn, Dr. P. A. Siegelstein, P.A. Wiernik and including representatives of the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America, the Mizrachi, Agudas Harbonim, The Central Committee of Palestine Institutions, for the purpose of collecting and properly distributing funds for the relief of our co-religionists in all parts of Europe and Palestine who are suffering in any way through the war.

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October 7, 1914 --

Excerpt from New Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 9, 1914, p.1

BRANDEIS, LEVIN AND DE HAAS ON SPEAKING CAMPAIGN

...On Wednesday evening last, a meeting took place in Cleveland, Ohio. Mr. Brandeis was the chief speaker.

The same evening, in Buffalo, a mass meeting took place in Temple Beth Zion. Dr. Schmarya Levin and Mr. Jacob de Haas were the speakers....

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October 2, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 16, 1914, p.1

[The American Jewish Committee issues its call to a conference to discuss relief. National Jewish Organizations were invited to send three delegates each to the meeting at Temple Emanu-El, October 25, 1914. A week later, the American Hebrew printed the "call" over the signature of Louis Marshall as a letter to the editor. ⁸⁵ The Zionists read "Congress" into the call and the Jewish Advocate published it under the following unwarranted headlines:]

AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE CALLS CONFERENCE

Situation in Europe to be Discussed by National Jewish Organizations
Congress May Be Called

The long expected call for a conference of national Jewish organizations has been issued. The American Jewish Committee, under date of October 9th, makes the following proclamation:

Fellow Jews:

The stupendous conflict which is now raging on the European continent is a calamity, the extent of which transcends imagination. While all mankind is indirectly involved in the consequences, the burden of suffering and of destitution rests with especial weight upon our brethren in Eastern Europe. The embattled armies are spreading havoc and desolation within the Jewish Pale of Settlement in Russia, and the Jews of Galicia and East Prussia dwell in the very heart of the war zone. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are in the contending armies. Fully one-half of all the Jews of the world live in the regions where active hostilities are in progress. The Jews of Palestine, who have largely depended on Europe for assistance, have been literally cut off from their sources of supply; while the Jews of Germany, Belgium, France and England are struggling with burdens of their own.

In this exigency, it is evident that the Jews of America must again come to the rescue. They must assume the duty of giving relief commensurate with the existing needs. They must be

prepared to make sacrifices, and to proceed systematically in collecting and distributing a fund which will, so far as possible, alleviate this extraordinary distress. There is probably no parallel in history to the present status of the Jews. Unity of action is essential to accomplish the best results. There should be no division in counsel or in sentiment. All differences should be laid aside and forgotten. Nothing counts now but harmonious and effective action.

In order to initiate such action, you are invited to send three delegates to a conference, to be held by the various national Jewish organizations, to whom similar invitations are simultaneously extended, at Temple Emanu-El, corner of 43d St. and Fifth Ave., in the City of New York, on Sunday, October 25th, 1914, at three o'clock P.M., to consider the organization of a general committee and the formulation of plans to accomplish the largest measure of relief, and to deal adequately with the various phases of the problems presented.

Kindly inform Mr. Herman Bernstein, 356 Second Ave., New York City, of your acceptance of this invitation, together with the names of your delegates.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE, Louis Marshall, President.

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
October 9, 1914, p.8

[The Provisional Committee takes credit for the calling of the conference and gives some indications of its intentions with regard to the conference on October 25 as it demands democratic and open consideration of the issues. The futility of relief alone is pointed out and not too vague implications are voiced in the urging of "a strong and open policy backed by the Jews of America."]

THE CALL FOR ACTION

We understand that the American Jewish Committee has issued a call for a conference to be held at the end of this month at which representatives of the various national Jewish organizations will be invited to discuss the problems that will arise as the result of the war. The initiative for this conference was taken by the Provisional Zionist Committee, but that is of minor importance. It is desirable that this conference, which will undertake to decide the problem of a general American Jewish convention, and the issues that should be presented to such a convention, shall represent all Jewish bodies that have a claim to national existence,

independent of their regular constituted purposes. No effort at control by any one body without having behind it the public opinion of American Jewry, can long endure.

None of the organizations which will participate in such a conference have a mandate from their constituents to decide on the problems that are thrust uppermost by the war. For that reason all should be regarded as having an equal right to a voice in the deliberations, and for the same reason this conference should not be held in secret. The Jewish people should be given a fair opportunity to judge the merits of the decisions whatever they may be, by publicity of the discussions.

The issues are broad, not narrow; of universal importance and not within the right of decision of a few. The strongest American point made against the warring powers in Europe is that the governments have exercised power by secret methods. Let that sin be avoided by American Jews when they meet to develop the lines on which they will attempt to grapple with the world problem of the Jews.

No doubt the question of raising four or five millions -- big sums are being freely spoken of -- for the relief of the European Jews will come to the front. The money question is important, but all the money will disappear in relief work as quickly as it is raised. It can accomplish the least amount of lasting good. But a strong and open policy backed by the Jews of America may mean life long help to the sorrow-stricken Jews of Europe. Only an open free and frank discussion can accomplish this.

Excerpt from New Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 9, 1914, p.1

BRANDEIS, LEVIN AND DE HAAS ON SPEAKING CAMPAIGN

...A meeting is scheduled in Chicago for tonight and in Detroit, on Wednesday evening, October 14th....

News Item, American Hebrew,
October 9, 1914, p.668

CONGRESSMAN BURNETT AND IMMIGRATION

...Only last week Congressman Burnett, the wet-nurse of the Literacy Test Bill, gave an interview to the Washington correspondent of the Baltimore Sun and said, amongst other things, that we were sure to get a large influx of immigrants from Europe at the termination of the war; that this influx would threaten the integrity of American institutions, and that it should be most carefully sifted, with a view to selecting only the most desirable immigrants, desirable in accordance with the most approved form of restrictive standards. Among such standards the Literacy Test is most valuable, he said, and he would

urge the early reconsideration of the bill providing that any immigrant over fourteen years of age who cannot read or write be excluded from the country....

News Item, American Hebrew,
October 9, 1914, p.669

RUSSIA MUST GIVE RIGHTS

The whole press of England has begun an active agitation for Jewish rights in Russia. Editorial and other articles daily urge the ally of their country to modify its past policy, pointing out that Russia is now the ally of two highly civilized nations, and that its internal affairs must be regulated accordingly.

October 16, 1914 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
October 16, 1914, p.701

The American Jewish Committee has issued a summons for a conference of the various national Jewish organizations to consider what steps American Jews should take in view of the terrible calamity that has befallen the Jews of the European zone of battle. The calamity is of such a nature that the principal nations engaged in the present war are themselves plunged in such misery that it is hopeless to expect that even the Jews of Germany, Russia, France and Austria, not to speak of England and Belgium will be able to care for the destitution caused by the war among their own people. In such a crisis American Jews, the only section of Israel of any considerable size that is not immediately affected by the war, must come to the rescue.

News Items, American Hebrew,
October 16, 1914, p.693

Jews IN THE EUROPEAN WAR

From a study of the mobilization figures in the towns of the various belligerent countries where Jewish population is known, it has been figured that six hundred thousand Jewish soldiers are enrolled in the various battling armies, Russia having 350,000, Austria 160,000, Germany 80,000, France and Belgium 4,000, and England 5,000.

Jews in Germany Gathering Funds

The Jews of Berlin and Cologne are collecting a large fund to support the families of fallen or disabled soldiers, also those who have been ruined by the war.

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Grave Reports from Palestine

The London "Times" has received reports from Jaffa that Jerusalem is being fortified with cannon and garrisons, while around Jaffa strong forts are being built in anticipation of a bombardment. Jerusalem is expecting a battle to take place there shortly. It is now almost completely cut off from the world and its inhabitants are starving.

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Syrians Threaten Jews

The Arabs of Syria, taking advantage of the fact that the Central Government is absorbed by the cares of the national defense, are threatening pogroms against the Jews in Syria, which as one of the Arab newspapers declares, will surpass in horror any that have heretofore been perpetrated.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
October 23, 1914, p.717

A Modern Prophet

Sir Harry Johnston, author and traveler, former governor of British Asiatic and African possessions, predicts in the "Nineteenth Century Magazine" that one of the results of the war will be the restoration of Palestine to the Jews, guaranteed by England, France and Russia. The war, he claims, will not only change the map of Europe, but of Asia.

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October 21, 1914 -- Levin and De Haas addressed Cincinnati mass meeting in the interests of the \$100,000 Zionist Emergency Fund.

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October 25, 1914 --

Excerpt from American Jewish Committee's
Eighth Annual Report, 1915, p.16

[Representatives of the following organizations took part in the formation of the American Jewish Relief Committee at the Temple Emanu-El conference, October 25, 1914:]

Agudas Harabonim
 Arbeiter Ring
 Central Committee of Palestine Institutions
 Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War
 Central Conference of American Rabbis
 Commercial Protective League of New York
 Council of Jewish Communal Institutions
 Council of Jewish Women
 Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis
 Federated Jewish Charities of Boston
 Federation of American Zionists
 Federation of Jewish Organizations, State of New York
 Federation of Oriental Jews
 Federation of Roumanian Jews
 Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society
 Independent Order Brith Abraham
 Independent Order Brith Sholem
 Independent Order Free Sons of Israel
 Independent Order Sons of Israel
 Industrial Removal Office
 Intercollegiate Menorah Association
 Jewish Community of New York
 Jewish Community of Philadelphia
 Jewish National Worker's Alliance
 Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion
 Jewish Socialist - Territorialists Labor Party of America
 Massachusetts Credit Union Association
 Mizrachi
 National Association of Jewish Social Workers
 National Conference of Jewish Charities
 National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods
 Order Brith Abraham
 Order Knights of Zion
 Order Sons of Zion
 Union of American Hebrew Congregations
 Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations of America
 Union of Orthodox Rabbis of America
 United Garment Workers of America
 United Synagogue of America

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
 October 30, 1914, p.1

[The Zionists describe what took place at the relief conference:]

NATIONAL RELIEF COMMITTEE TO BE REPRESENTATIVE BODY

New York Convention to Deal with War Problems Decides in Favor of
 National Organizations

Appeal Issued for Jews in War Zone

A National Committee, for the raising of funds for the relief of
 Jews in the war zone, was brought into existence on Sunday at a

convention held in New York City, in the vestry of Temple Emanu-El, but that committee will limit itself strictly to the task of raising funds throughout the United States and arranging for their distribution in Europe.

The conference was called to order shortly after three o'clock by Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, explaining that the conference had been called according to the purposes outlined in the call recently published in The Jewish Advocate. On a roll call of the conferees being asked for, it was ascertained that the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the B'nai B'rith and the fraternal orders which have their headquarters in Chicago, were not represented.

Pactically all Eastern organizations were represented. The New Englanders present were: Louis D. Brandeis, Jacob de Haas, Max Mitchell, Julius Meyer, George Orlov, Mr. and Mrs. Nathan Pinansky, A. C. Ratchesky, H. Selig of Boston, and Hon. Harry Cutler of Providence, R.I.

On the motion of Max Mitchell of Boston, Mr. Marshall was elected permanent chairman of the conference, and Cyrus L. Sulzberger, secretary.

Dr. Cyrus Adler opened the discussion on organization by moving that a committee of fifteen be appointed by the chair to carry out the purpose of the convention.

To this Dr. Judah L. Magnes offered opposition, urging that the committee be composed of from fifty to one hundred individuals, who should be elected on a democratic basis. This led to a protracted discussion, on the organization of the committee.

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Rabbi Jacob Cohen, Rabbi M. Harris and Rabbi S. Schulman, supported a proposal whereby the chairman was to appoint a committee of five, which should select an executive committee of twenty-five, which should in turn elect a general committee of one hundred. The opposition in which Dr. Magnes, Rabbi S. S. Wise, Jacob de Haas and Harry Cutler joined, supported a resolution submitted by Prof. Richard Gottheil, which demanded that on a general committee of one hundred all the national organizations be entitled to select their own representatives, and the general committee should elect its executive.

The discussion was not carried on with parliamentary precision, at one time, while a vote was being taken, the chairman allowed a renewal of the debate on the initiative of Mr. Schiff.

Dr. Gottheil's motion prevailed by a large majority, as far as the rights of the national organizations was concerned.

The next step was the formation of the executive. Another attempt was made to have a committee of five appoint an executive of twenty-five, but the democratic principle prevailed again, and the chairman was confined to the appointment of a committee of five which should appoint the members at large on the committee of one hundred.

Mr. de Haas then proposed that steps should be taken to make arrangements whereby relatives should be enabled to remit monies to their families in the war zone. He outlined a plan, urging that a good deal of the thirteen million dollars which are annually remitted by Jews in America to their families in Europe was available if proper organization were effected. Self-help would yield more than any form of charity and be sooner available. This proposition was supported by Rabbi S. S. Wise and Louis D. Brandeis, and was included in the appeal which follows:

A further attempt was made to reverse the conference on the organization resolutions, but it failed and was eventually abandoned.

Subsequently the chair appointed Hon. Oscar Straus, Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Julian Mack, Harry Fisher and Meyer London....

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News Item, American Hebrew,
October 30, 1914, p.16

[The American Hebrew had this to report about the conference:]

FORTY NATIONAL JEWISH BODIES ORGANIZE FOR RELIEF OF WAR SUFFERERS

Representatives of various Jewish organizations answered the call of the American Jewish Committee for a conference to secure adequate relief for Jewish sufferers in the war-zone. The meeting was a thoroughly representative one, and included many delegates from out-of-town communal bodies, despite the short period which had elapsed since the urgent appeal for the meeting was sent out by Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee.

A committee of five was appointed by Chairman Marhsll to handle the various matters that may arise in connection with the work of the organization; and the committee is to select a further committee of one hundred representing every section of the country and various institutions, which will, in turn, appoint twenty-five of its members to have charge of the collection and distribution of the funds gathered. The committee of five consists of Oscar S. Straus, Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Julian W. Mack, Harry Fischel and Meyer London. Felix M. Warburg was chosen Treasurer of the committee.

The meeting adopted the following appeal to the public:

"The unparalleled misfortune which has overwhelmed the world has fallen with crushing weight upon our brethren. One half of all Jewry dwells in the very heart of the conflict. Hundreds of thousands of Jews are fighting in the ranks of the contending armies. Fire and sword are devastating the homes of millions of them. Their slender possessions are vanishing. Universal destitution, famine, and disease confront them, and new griefs assail those who so often in the past have drained the cup of sorrow. It is therefore the imperative duty of those whom God has spared from such affliction to extend the helping hand to those of the House of Israel who have been so sorely visited, to staunch their wounds, to alleviate their distress, to supply them with the means of rehabilitation, to solace them with the sympathetic touch of brotherhood, and to deal adequately with the various phases of the problems that may arise.

"Representatives of the leading national Jewish organizations and of the important Jewish communities of America have formed a general committee for the relief of the Jews of the several European nations and of Palestine who now or may hereafter require aid in direct or indirect consequences of the war. All Jews of every shade of thought, irrespective of the land of their birth, are solemnly admonished to contribute with the utmost generosity to the fund which must be gathered to meet this superlative need. The committee recognizes the economic distress which now bears heavily on all. That only emphasizes the obligation of making sacrifices and ennobles every gift the more.

"The fund collected is to be administered through such agencies, as shall, in the judgment of the committee, best accomplish an effective and equitable distribution among those individuals and institutions whom it is sought to help, without waste or unjust discrimination. So far as it shall prove practical the committee also proposes to receive and transmit funds from private individuals to their relatives abroad.

"Felix M. Warburg had been designated as Treasurer of the fund. Contributions should be sent to him, care of Kuhn, Loeb & Co., New York."

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
October 30, 1914, p.8

[It was in the editorial comment of their respective organs that the parties to the conflict revealed the bitterness that had marked the meeting at Temple Emanu-El. The Jewish Advocate crowed again about championing democratic rights.]

A FAMOUS VICTORY

The conference held in New York City on Sunday last, was in all probability the most interesting and important meeting that has been held by Jews in this country. The gathering was convened by the American Jewish Committee for the purpose of organizing a national committee which should raise and distribute the funds needed to relieve the Jews in the war zone. The need for general and concerted action after the Kishineff riots led to the creation of the American Jewish Committee, an organization which has not yet overcome the opposition of those who believe that American Jewish movement should be democratic in character and method.

It was hoped that this call for alms, on a scale never before conceived by our community, would lead to an appreciation of the need for democratic attitudes and the utilization of imagination in public affairs. The call for the conference was broad enough. All the national organizations were invited to be present but when their delegates put in an appearance it was immediately evident that they had been summoned merely to consent to the organization of one of those self-accumulating committees which have always perpetuated oligarchic methods. No one present at the convention questioned the ability of wealthy men to give and distribute money, but there was manifested a distinct objection to methods which are not consonant with free institutions in a free country. So there followed at this conference a struggle over the question whether leadership should be coupled with definite responsibility, or whether it should be conferred on those anxious to have it, but altogether unwilling to be responsible to ascertainable constituencies. This condition prevailed in the past, and because of it was never possible to review such blunders as were involved in creating power for the German Hilfs Verein

at the expense of American donors to charity, a blunder that has reflected itself in the Jewish struggles of the last few years.

Apparently there is something ungracious in not permitting a very wealthy group to control this large charity effort, but then a great deal of the money has to be given by the not wealthy, and moreover the possession of this large fund confers a power that may be of vast importance to the Jews in this crisis. What this implies is plainly seen from the fact that when the forces of democracy achieved their victory, those favoring autocracy immediately demanded that the function of the new body shall be limited to raising and spending money. This distrust of the Jewish masses -- who have the first right to declare what shall be the policy devised to rescue their brothers and sisters when the war is over, -- so so parent that there is no need to emphasize it.

That this narrowing principle was found acceptable shows that the democratic victory was not carried beyond the point of a demonstration of the power of the masses in Jewish life. Had the delegates been anxious to prove their strength they would have resisted this narrow policy, and have forced a broader policy on the conventions. But they could only have accomplished this at the price of unity, and this they would not do. The majority were far more tactful towards the minority, than the minority were towards the majority. The so-called extremists were the more careful and considerate elements in the conference. They knew their power and conserved it. All they wanted to do was to impress the presumed leaders of the community with the truth that the only acceptable leadership is a properly constituted organization. Money, of course, talks. But in these days even money must learn to talk the language of popular control, and administration, or lose the power to direct affairs. This, what in the much used military parlance of the day amounts to a reconnaissance in force, was accomplished on Sunday. From now on we surmise American Jewish life will be directed less after the manner of some all potent trust, and more after the fashion of a properly constituted parliament. Five years hence, we believe, even those defeated will agree that it was a famous victory.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
October 30, 1914, p.14

[The American Jewish Committee could not understand what possible connection there might be between democratic procedures and the collection of funds for relief and was quite bitter about the unnecessary delay and discomfort they were suffering.]

DEMOCRATIC AND OTHER WAYS

It is most remarkable that the conference held last Sunday for the purpose of devising ways and means of raising money for the aid of the Jewish sufferers by the war should have permitted itself to degenerate

into a debating society upon the value of democracy. After many long speeches upon the value of democratic methods of procedure, it was resolved that a committee of five should be appointed which in turn should select a committee of one hundred, which in turn should select an executive committee of twenty-five, provided, however, that of the committee of one hundred the organizations represented at the conference should each from their headquarters designate one member. Translated into intelligible language, this means that the committee of five must enter into correspondence with some fifty or more organizations scattered throughout the country, learn from them the names of the persons whom they designate, and thereafter complete the committee by the addition of such further names as they may see fit. When the committee shall have been thus completed a meeting is to be called, at some place to be determined upon, for the purpose of selecting an executive committee of twenty-five, those who are unable to attend the meeting being privileged to vote for the executive committee by mail. It is quite possible that the executive committee upon whom will rest the burden of finding means to raise the money may be selected by this method within the next thirty days, although it is not likely.

What possible advantage can there possibly be in this cumbersome method of procedure? The theory of a democratically constituted committee ought to have absolutely no bearing upon the matter of the prompt collection of money. So long as the committee is composed of persons of standing and good character, and is representative of the various elements of the community, considered geographically and otherwise, it ought to be a matter of absolute indifference as to whether the original appointment was made in one way or another. The principles of democracy are dear to every American citizen, but political principles have no relationship to the gathering of funds for the relief of distress. As was said by Mr. Schiff, time is the essence of the matter, but the conference acted as though it were dealing with the possible needs of posterity instead of the immediate necessities of the moment.

In the meantime it will not be unprofitable to reflect upon the meaning of a delay in the raising of funds. Those of the advocates of democracy present at the conference who fast on Yom Kippur know what it means to go for twenty-four hours without food. A week of Yom Kippurs would by most of them be regarded as a considerable hardship. A month of Yom Kippurs means death. There are today in the war zone tens of thousands -- it is no exaggeration to say hundreds of thousands, -- without food, without shelter, without immediate prospect of food or shelter, and with a very immediate prospect of Winter.

It must be a great comfort to the conference to know that it is proceeding by democratic methods. It is to be hoped that the survivors of those who are starving will also find comfort in the same reflection.

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Excerpt from the Jewish Congress
Organization Committee's To the Jews
of America, N.Y., August 1915, p.7

[Jacob de Hass might have crowed about another victory, but when the Zionists decided to take the whole issue to the American Jewish community about a year later, they proudly pointed to the selflessness which had characterized their action at the Temple Emanu-El meeting by reason of their deference to the great need and distress of Jewry.]

The American Jewish Committee called a conference of Jewish organization which was held at Temple Emanu-El on October 25, 1914. Before this meeting was held, however, the I.O.B.B. had set the machinery of its organization in motion for the collection of relief funds; the Central Relief Committee had also been formed; and the Provisional Zionist Committee had engaged in a large campaign for funds for Palestine.

The result of the Temple Emanu-El meeting was the formation of the American Jewish Relief Committee. The name given to the Committee indicates that the American Jewish Committee aimed to identify, as far as possible, the work of this Committee with its own activities, and this impression was strengthened by the election to the principle offices of officers of the American Jewish Committee.

At the Temple Emanu-El meeting, the discussion centered about relief work, and no action whatsoever was considered bearing upon the holding of a Congress.

The American Jewish Committee, in the letter of Mr. Marshall quoted above, intimated that it had appointed a committee to consider the condition of the Jews throughout the world in view of the existing war. He also intimated that the Committee was engaged in making a careful study of the diplomatic aspects of the diplomatic aspects of the war and the advisability of having presented to the powers such considerations as may be deemed advisable.

No official statement has been made as to the report of the committee mentioned, the intimation that the American Jewish Committee was studying the diplomatic aspects of the war and the possibility of having presented to the powers such considerations as may be deemed advisable indicates that at the time it had no intention of sharing responsibility for any action with any other Jewish organization.

Recognizing the importance of unified action in the collection of funds for the relief of the distress of Jews, which every month seemed more and more appalling, the Congress advocates waived for the time being the question of calling of a Congress, and in common with other organizations devoted themselves to the task of collecting relief funds.

News Item, American Hebrew,
October 30, 1914, p.5

APPEAL FOR EQUAL RIGHTS FOR RUSSIAN JEWS

The former premier of Italy, Signor Luigi Luzatto, has published an article in which he demands equal rights for the Jews of Russia. The French socialist leader, Paul Herve, in praising the French Jews for their patriotism, also hopes for the emancipation of the Russian Jews.

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 30, 1914, p.1

BRANDEIS SPEAKS AT FREE SYNAGOGUE

"In the campaign to raise \$100,000 for the relief of Zionist colonies and other Jewish institutions in Palestine affected by the war, Louis D. Brandeis...addressed the Free Synagogue in Carnegie Hall, New York City, on "Why I am a Zionist."....

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October 28, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 30, 1914, p.1

ZIONIST ACTIONS COMITE IN SESSION

A meeting of the Zionist Greater Actions Comite was held in Stockholm, Sweden, this week. The session opened on Wednesday.

The purpose of the gathering was to regulate Zionist affairs and to take action that would legalize the creation of the Provisional Committee established in New York under the leadership of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis.

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October 29, 1914 -- Turkey declares war on Russia.

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November 1914 -- On behalf of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, Jacob de Haas toured the following cities:

Johnstown, Pa., Ann Arbor, Mich., Battle Creek, Mich., Grand Rapids, Mich., Kalamazoo, Mich., South Bend, Ind., Michigan City, Ind., Gary, Ind., Green Bay and Superior, Wisc., Duluth and Minneapolis, Minn., Grand Falls and Fargo, N.D., Louisville, Ky.

November 5, 1914 -- England declares war on Turkey.

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November 6, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
November 6, 1914, p. 1

NEW YORK CENTRAL RELIEF COMMITTEE TO CONTINUE

The Central Committee for the Relief of Jews suffering through the war, which was organized recently in New York and which was represented at the meeting held at Temple Emanuel on October 25th, has decided to maintain its autonomy and will make an effort to collect as large a fund as possible. Although it was reported that the committee had joined with the general organization, it feels now that its representation on the committee of 100, to be appointed as a result of the conference, will not be large enough to enable it to exercise any authority. This Central Committee may be said to represent the Orthodox Jews of New York City. It has issued an urgent appeal, signed by forty-five representative men, asking for funds.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
November 6, 1914, p. 11

A RIVAL RELIEF COMMITTEE

With the faculty for disunion and disorganization for which some of the Jews of New York have made themselves notorious, a committee styling itself the Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War, with Leon Kamaiky as chairman, and a number of more or less well known rabbis and laymen associated with him, has issued an appeal for funds for the purpose indicated in its title. In a postscript to its call it says: "It is the intention of this committee to co-operate with the Committee of One Hundred as soon as it is formed." But its delegates to the conference recently held at Temple Emanu-El submitted a report to the Central Committee which was adopted unanimously at a meeting of the committee held on October 29th, in which not alone is an attempt made to discredit the Committee of One Hundred on the score of its non-representative character, but the statement is distinctly made that the so-called Central Committee will continue its autonomous existence, that the Committee of One Hundred is requested to confer with it before any relief funds are sent away, and that whenever it is able to endorse the plans of the Committee of One Hundred it will do so.

It is evident that this wholly self-constituted committee proposes to set up rival machinery to that of the representative organization contemplated by the Temple Emanu-El conference, and it necessarily follows that the expenses incidental to the collection and transmission of funds will be needlessly increased.

It is at all times ungracious to discredit good works. Are they, however, good works, when they result in bringing chaos out of order? The duplication of effort is always wasteful and the deliberate attempt on the part of these persons, even granting it to be a well meaning attempt, to do in an inefficient manner what a competent committee representative of all sections of the Jewish community will do in an efficient manner,

cannot be regarded as otherwise than reprehensible.

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News Items, American Hebrew,
November 6, 1914, p.34

GERMANS CRY "REMEMBER KISHINEFF!"

The German newspapers in Russian Poland have followed the example of the Austrian army and have scattered "proclamation" among the Jews to whom they appeal to avenge the blood of their brethren slaughtered at Kishineff and help Germany to overpower the barbaric Russians.

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GERMAN JEWS SUBSCRIBE TO WAR FUND

The "Deutsche Israelitische Gemeindebund" has, out of its endowment fund subscribed to the latest war loan, the sum of 250,000 Marks, and the Berlin Jewish community, out of its endowment fund, the sum of 2,000,000 Marks.

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November 8, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
November 13, 1914, p.58

The eighth annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee was held at the Hotel Astor on Sunday, November 8. Louis Marshall, the president, was in the chair...The Committee discussed the situation of the Jews in the war zone and the means for coming to their assistance. Mr. Marshall, in behalf of the executive committee, announced that it had been decided to appropriate one hundred thousand dollars from the Emergency Trust Fund to be turned over to the American Jewish Relief Committee, which had been organized under the auspices of the American Jewish Committee...

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
November 13, 1914, p.65

The annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee this year was of even greater importance than usual owing to the highly complicated Jewish problems aroused by the present war. So far as these affect American, or indeed so far as they affect European Jewry, they have to be first and foremost considered by the American Jewish Committee,

which is the natural body to treat them, though of course it prefers to act in conjunction with similar organizations both in this country and elsewhere. Its annual report indicates wide activity in various directions; wherever a Jew is oppressed, or the Jewish name is slurred, the American Jewish Committee is to the fore.

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November 10, 1914 -- The Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering through the War acknowledges the receipt of contributions amounting to \$16,441.78.⁸⁷

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November 13, 1914 --

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
November 13, 1914, p.8

[By this time it was obvious to the Zionists that the American Jewish Committee had not the slightest intention of convening a congress or even a conference to discuss in a democratic forum with all who might be interested Jewish policy in national and international affairs. Completely absorbed in the all-consuming task of building their own organization and helpless to take any concrete action toward attaining national Jewish unity, the Zionists continued to belittle the relief policies of the American Jewish Relief Committee and to cite their own goal -- "that Palestine shall become the homeland of the Jewish people!" -- as the panacea guaranteed to solve the Jewish problem for all time and for all Jews everywhere.]

THE POLICY FOUND

At the beginning of this calamitous war The Jewish Advocate urged the union of the Jews of the United States for the purpose of discovering a useful policy for the benefit of the Jewish people. The American Jewish Committee called a conference but it avoided even the discussion of a possible policy. Its leaders still understand life -- for others -- only in terms of philanthropy. But charity has failed in the face of

this enormous calamity. It has taken the millions of the Rockefeller Foundation, to aid the Belgians who have the support of the French and English Governments. And even at that the Belgians will not be taken out of beggary until their land is restored to them. No nation can be rescued by financial benevolence.

The Jews in Eastern Europe number as many as the Belgians, and paradoxical though it may seem, owing less they are losing still more as the war forces them into the refugees class. And instead of the affluent Rockefeller Foundation we have the present temporary bankrupt Jewish Colonization Association. Five or more millions will be raised as charity and as quickly spent; there will not be a cent for reconstruction. Without a policy, without a plan reaching into the vitals of the life problem the effect of this war will beggar Jewry for one hundred years. For that is the price the minority must pay if they are to sustain the majority through a whole generation of reorganization. Those who decline to think in the terms of the problem as a whole fail to see this and in proportion to that lack of comprehension Jewry will pay the grievous penalty.

Those who view the situation as a complete but wretched picture realize that the Jews stand in need of a dual policy -- one to cover the immediate present, another to grapple with the future. One is being formulated, the other, found itself. The policy of immediate relief can only be one -- to obtain the consent of all belligerent governments to a commission of American Jewish citizens who shall bear into the war zones the cash support which American citizens are willing to provide for their families in Europe. A test made in the case of Palestine showed that in one week as much money was received for personal family support as had been collected in two months for purely charitable purposes in Palestine. And at that barely anyone knew that communication could be effected with Palestine.

That form of aid, of course, is substantial and it naturally relieves more than the recipient. Pressure must therefore be exerted until this "self-help" means of relieving the European situation is effected. The charity millions will still be needed for those without relatives here, or for those whose relatives are not able to give substantial aid -- but the direct and personal aid is the most important of all forms of aid that can be devised.

The permanent policy has, we believe, discovered itself. The one phenomena of the war is that the powers are seriously courting the Jews. It is not only a case of "Coddin's the friend, not Short" on both sides, but the remarkable European alliances hold out excellent promise for the Jews. It may displease some of the theorists, though we doubt whether any group of Jews will venture to be "agin' the government", but it now seems fairly certain that whichever side wins, the victor designs that Palestine shall become the homeland of the Jewish people!

The age long dream shines through a mist of blood. But it is less dream than ever before in Jewish history. Germany has sought to gain Jewish sympathy by officially pressing upon the Turks the desirability of protecting the Jews in Palestine even though they be citizens or subjects of the enemy. Whether the Turks will live up to this policy is a moot question, but the policy indicates the attitude of Germany towards the Jewish problem. It has separated alien Jews from their

conations in order to make its attitude appear substantial. On the other hand, the English daily press, with unison of opinion that seems inspired, met the first gun-shot in the Levant by announcing the desirability of giving Palestine to the Jews after the Turks have been dispossessed. In the Orient this English policy has even, in a measure, been anticipated so natural does it seem that the Jews should gain from the war, after Turkey entered into the carnage.

The English Alliance with Russia, which at the outset seemed such a bitter pill to all lovers of freedom, now promises to make this British policy concerning Palestine more practical. Whilst the position of France in the Entente means that the French clerical influence, which has been maintained in Palestine though abolished in Frances, will be permitted to wane. Six months ago this utterance would have been regarded as a very wild speculation. Today, after fifteen weeks of the great war, it is accepted as the working hypothesis of those who are preparing to recolor the map of the world. Strange are the workings of fate -- and not the least strange that a considerable number of Jews do not see what is transparently clear to the statesmen of our times. "The stars in their courses are working for Israel".

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News Item, American Hebrew

SELL STAMPS TO AID JEWS IN WAR ZONE

The Central Committee for the Relief of Jews in Europe is issuing self-taxation stamps to storekeepers and others who sell them to their customers and use them on their business letters. The distribution of these stamps, it is announced, will be nationwide, and it is expected that a large sum for the relief of the sufferers will be obtained.

It was said by a representative of the committee that in New York 40,000 kosher chickens were killed each week, and the plan calls for the purchase of a one-cent stamp with every chicken. The children who attend the Talmud Torah Sabbath schools will be asked to contribute to the fund by the purchase of a stamp each week.

H. Fischel, the treasurer of the fund, reported that the committee had received \$16,441 and that additional subscriptions were coming in at the rate of about \$1,000 a day.

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November 15, 1914-- Mass meeting held in Chelsea, Massachusetts, at which

Levin and Brandeis spoke in the interests of the \$100,000 emergency fund.

88

\$1150 was collected.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
November 20, 1914, p.30

URGE IMMEDIATE RELIEF FOR WAR SUFFERERS

Representatives of Jewish organizations who gathered on November 15th in the Hebrew Technical School for Girls were urged by Jacob H. Schiff and Louis Marshall to bring a halt on mere discussion of ways and means to gather funds for those suffering in the war zone, to collect with all speed such funds to meet the pressing needs of the tens of thousands who are facing death from starvation in Europe.

When various plans had been debated for some time for securing funds, Mr. Marshall said:

"All this is a great mistake. We are not here to discuss ways and means. The important thing is to get the largest sum possible. These plans to tax lodges and individuals are simply cheapening for the movement in the eyes of the country. Here we are trying to see how cheaply we can get off instead of finding out how much each of us can give. It is true that there has not been sufficient enthusiasm shown in this campaign. It is true that these are hard times here, but what is the suffering here in comparison to the suffering of our brothers in Russia, Galicia and Palestine?

Mr. Schiff spoke in the same vein. "It is now three weeks since we met to form a committee for relief," he pointed out, "and we are still not ready to give relief. In that time our brothers have perished in other countries. We ought to be ashamed of ourselves. Here we are, thousands of miles away, and able to give aid, and yet we sit here discussing how to do it, while thousands of men and women and children are actually without bread at this moment.

"Let us remember the Jewish heart which was quick to answer our appeal at the time of the Kishineff massacre. It will do so now in the face of a far more terrible crisis. Don't levy any taxes. Make everybody give something. Make them wear a button, too, so that those who don't give are marked people -- and marked people they should be.

"We must do something more than we have done, something more than we are doing here. If not, we do not deserve any longer the respect either of our neighbors who are not Jews or of ourselves."

As a result of the discussion, the meeting decided that Rabbi J.I. Magnes who presided should name the committee of five to confer with the Central Relief Committee to look after the collection of funds in New York. The Central Committee will meet next Sunday morning at the Hotel Astor (Nov. 22) and name an executive committee of twenty-five. Collections taken up in synagogue during the recent holidays, it was said, had already netted the committee \$16,000.

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November 22, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
November 27, 1914, p.116

JEWISH REPRESENTATION IN PEACE SETTLEMENT DEMANDED 89

At a meeting on November 22 at Rabbi Jacob Joseph's School, No. 165

Henry St., it was urged by a number of speakers that Jewish representation at the Congress which will be called at the end of the war is necessary in view of the Jewish problems presented by the sections involved in the war. In order to arrive at ways for securing such a hearing, a Committee was appointed consisting of James Creelman, Dr. Isaac Hourwich, Judge Jacob Strahl, Dr. Bernard Drachman, Dr. Joseph Krinsky, and Abram Goldberg.

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November 23, 1914 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
November 27, 1914, p.1

ROSENWALD AND SINAI TEMPLE DONATE LARGE SUMS

Louis D. Brandeis Pleads for Relief of Jewish People Rendered Homeless

Chicago, Ill., Nov. 23. -- Julius Rosenwald yesterday pledged \$12,000 in addition to a \$1,000 donation for each month that the European war continues toward the Zionist Emergency Fund in the interest of which Mr. Louis D. Brandeis and Dr. S. Levin are visiting Chicago and Milwaukee.

Mr. Rosenwald's gift followed a plea made by Mr. Brandeis at Sinai Temple (Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch's Congregation) for funds for the relief of Jewish people rendered homeless and destitute by the war.

The cash contribution of the members of Sinai Temple Congregation was \$3,155, and the total received from Chicagoans outside of Mr. Rosenwald's gift was announced at \$12,000.

At the meeting at Sinai Temple in the morning and at Douglas Park auditorium in the evening Mr. Brandeis based his plea for funds upon the need of re-establishing the Jewish nation.

Mr. Brandeis and Dr. Levin spoke at a number of gatherings in the city on Saturday and Sunday and had appointments for today. At each one of the public gatherings money was collected. Independent of Mr. Rosenwald's contribution Chicago will collect about \$20,000. At the Temple service Rabbi Emil G. Hirsch, who urged the people to give, blessed Mr. Brandeis for his effort for the Jewish people.

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November 24, 1914 --

[The delays which the Zionists had occasioned through their parliamentary victory at the Temple Emanu-El meeting on October 25, 1914 included holding up the appointment of the executive committee of the American Jewish Relief Committee for almost a month. When the membership of the executive committee was finally announced on November 24, there was no

question that the Zionist victory had been an empty one. The president, secretary, and treasurer were members of the American Jewish Committee as were seventeen of the twenty-five individuals appointed to the Executive.]

News Item, American Hebrew,
November 27, 1914, p.109

AMERICAN JEWISH RELIEF FUND APPOINTS EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The twenty-five members of the executive committee of the American Jewish Relief Fund Committee were appointed at the meeting of the general committee, held Tuesday evening, November 24, at the United Hebrew Charities Building, 356 Second Avenue. Louis Marshall has been elected permanent chairman of the committee, with Cyrus L. Sulzberger as secretary and Felix M. Warburg as treasurer. The members of the executive committee include Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia; Isaac Adler, Rochester; Mrs. Sidney C. Borg, Louis D. Brandeis, Boston; Caesar Cone, Greensboro, N.C.; Samuel Dorf, Harry Fischel, J. Walter Freiberg, Cincinnati; Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Baltimore; Rabbi Moses J. Gries, Cleveland; Alfred G. Becker, Chicago; E. W. Lewin-Kopstein, Mayer London, Judge Julian W. Mack, Chicago; Dr. J.L. Magnes, Rabbi M. Z. Margolies, Louis E. Kirstein, Boston; Leon Sanders, Col. Moses Schoenberg, St. Louis; Jacob H. Schiff, Oscar S. Straus, Col. I. N. Ullman, New Haven, Conn.; Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia; A. Leo Weill, Pittsburgh, and Harris Weinstock, San Francisco.

The members discussed general matters at the meeting. The next meeting of the committee will be held Sunday morning, November 29, at 356 Second Avenue.

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November 27, 1914 --

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
November 27, 1914, p.8

[The Jewish Advocate was unhappy about the dominant position occupied by certain New York Jews and De Haas gives vent to personal spleen:]

NEW YORK'S FAILURE

One of these mornings a number of Jews representing various national organizations will invade New York City and redeem it from its low position in Jewry. It is the largest Jewish community in the world and the most colossal failure that could be imagined or invented.

New York seems to be poor in everything but members and the peculiar pressure that a few very wealthy men are trying to exert upon it. New York is poorer in spirit and attitude than the Jews of Squeedunk, and we venture to say that after concluding that Boston is not in our judgment in the high place it should occupy, on the ladders of Jewish life. We are not at all surprised that Mr. Jacob H. Schiff is impatient at the failure of New York "to produce" for the Relief Fund or that he is annoyed at the poor methods it proposes to adopt in order to raise funds.

But this failure is characteristic of New York Jewish life. It has evolved no Jew who can think in the terms of the magnitude of its population; it has no communal pride, no collective spirit; no allegiance to self. New York talks still in the language that the Chicagoans employed ten years ago -- the language of big figures, and admiration for sheer bulk.

"Do you know," says the typical New Yorker, "that we have over a million Jews in New York City," Let the rest of the country join in a mortification of the numerical pride of New York, until New York shall have raised at least one million dollars for the Relief Fund.

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November 30, 1914 -- The American Jewish Relief Committee acknowledges total contributions received as of November 30, 1914 to be \$176,771.90.

This amount includes \$130,000 contributed by the American Jewish Committee and two gifts of \$12,500 each given by Jacob H. Schiff and Nathan Straus especially earmarked for Palestine.

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December 4, 1914 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
December 4, 1914, p.153

ANNOUNCEMENT BY CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR THE RELIEF OF JEWS

At a conference held at the United Hebrew Charities Building Wednesday, November 25, between representatives of the American Jewish Relief Committee and the Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War, appointed by their respective executives for the purpose of such conference and with full power, the following resolutions were adopted:

That the Central Committee is affiliated with the American Jewish Committee as follows:

The Central Committee shall receive all collections from Orthodox Congregations.

It shall issue and sell self-taxation stamps.

It shall have three representatives delegated by its own executive on the Distribution Committee of the A.J.R.C.

The decision of that Committee as to the distribution of relief shall be final and binding upon the Central Relief Committee and its treasurer shall pay over to the treasurer of the A.J.R.C. the funds in his hands as directed by the Distribution Committee.

Cyrus Sulzberger (chairman), J. L. Magnes, Leon Sanders, Samuel Dorf -- For the American Jewish Relief Committee.

Albert Lucas (chairman), Rabbi I. Rosenberg, Peter Wiernik, Louis I. Kapit -- For the Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War.

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December 14, 1914 -- The two major relief committees, now combined into the American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War reported combined contributions in the amount of \$204,896.00 as of December 14, 1914.⁹¹

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December 20, 1914 -- Schmarya Levin spoke this morning at Malden, Mass., on behalf of the Zionist Fund. This afternoon he and Brandeis addressed a mass meeting at East Boston. This evening they spoke at Springfield, Mass. A total of \$2500 was raised.⁹²

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December 21, 1914 -- The American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War reported total receipts as of December 21, 1914 in the amount of \$237,881.93.⁹³

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CHAPTER II

BUILDING THE CONGRESS IDEA

December 1914 through June 1915

The Zionists having sustained a crushing defeat at the hands of the American Jewish Committee withdrew to soothe their wounds and to consolidate their position. Sensing the impossibility of their forcing the hand of the Committee but far from abandoning the congress idea or their resolve to force the Committee to call a congress, they decided upon a new tack. The Provisional Executive Committee would remain aloof from congress agitation. The demand for a nationally representative democratic Jewish body would come from the American Jewish people. To this end there was developed one of the most successful press campaigns ever conducted. Beginning in the Yiddish press but rapidly extending to every organ of Jewish interest, the agitation so completely saturated the atmosphere with "congress" concern that no American Jew or Jewish group could avoid it. The popular uproar for a congress became deafening.

The Jewish Daily News, the Wahrheit, and the Jewish Leader strongly supported the congress. The socialist Vorwärts avoided mention of the subject. Even Rabbi Jonah B. Wise, editor of the American Israelite in Cincinnati pleaded for Jewish unity that public opinion might be prepared for Jewish rights.

Poale Zion (2500 members), meeting in convention in Rochester, December 25, 1914, adopted a resolution urging the calling of an American Jewish Congress to work for the emancipation of East European Jews.

District I of the Grand Lodge of B'nai Brith, convening in Worcester, Massachusetts, February 8, 1915 decided to recommend to the

convention of the Constitutional Grand Lodge scheduled for San Francisco in May that it should take the initiative in calling "a congress of representatives of national and international Jewish organizations of the world to consider the well-being of the Jew in connection with the peace negotiations which will follow the close of the European war..."

Appeals for relief continued unabating. The Committee, the B'nai Brith, the Zionists -- everyone joined in the appeal for funds for European relief. But the campaigns were not meeting with success and many stern words were uttered concerning the failure of the community to recognize its responsibilities and the senseless duplication of agencies to raise funds.

Meanwhile, the Zionists embarked on their "behind-the-scenes" approach to the congress. Perhaps the most clever strategem employed by them was their striking from within the camp of the American Jewish Committee itself through the Kehillah of New York City. Telegraphing the blow that was to come, a group of delegates to the Kehillah called an unofficial meeting February 21, 1915 and adopted a report which urged the American Jewish Committee to form a united Jewish committee to represent "a united American Jewry that shall endeavor to give answers to the questions now confronting the Jewish people."

As organizations and elements extraneous to Zionist societies became interested in the congress idea, several attempts were made to unite the forces favoring a congress movement. The union which was affected was not under Zionist aegis. ⁹⁴ Gedalia Bublick, editor of the Jewish Daily News, and Max ^GHirsdansky, a New York City public school principal, founded and led the Jewish Congress Organization Committee which Zionists were at first reluctant to join. Louis Lipsky describes this

original Jewish Congress Organization Committee:

On the East Side of New York, in cloudy, stuffy rooms, tortured by wordy, reiterated debates, with all factions represented in proportions wildly unreal, aprovisional committee met week after week to talk about an American Jewish Congress. The idea was to talk it into existence. They knew what kind of a Congress it was to be. It was to be a permanent body, based on democratic elections, free and untrammelled. And so they discussed these matters.

A remnant of Zionists was involved in this pot-pourri of debate and publicity. There were a few representatives of the fraternal orders. The Poale Zion were loud and persistent members. The Jewish nationalists came in, those who still hankered after a territory but could not decide which it should be. Pinchas Rutenberg, fresh in the councils of his people, returning to the fold after a long absence, emitted dogmatic ultimata at the meetings. (He was angling for the anti-Zionist socialists, leaders of labor, was always on the verge of delivering them, but something always happened to miscarry the delivery.) It was a committee without prestige, or funds, or ability. Naturally we hesitated about going into it.⁹⁵

The American Jewish Committee was not insensitive to the swelling popular demand for a congress. On March 26, 1915 the American Hebrew announced that Louis Marshall was "planning to call a conference of representatives of all Jewish national organizations of this country to appoint a delegation to a world peace conference to be held after the war."

Jewish labor entered the congress picture on April 18, 1915. Earlier in the year representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish Socialist Federation, and the Forward Association had formed the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, the purpose of which was to call "upon all labor and radical organizations to join in a movement for the achievement of equal rights for the Jews in all countries where they were deprived of such rights."⁹⁶ In order to establish themselves as a democratic and representative organization and to secure mass support, the National Workmen's Committee scheduled conferences in the various Jewish communities throughout the United States. The first of these was held in New York, April 18, 1915 at the Forward Building.

More than two hundred delegates representing one hundred and

seventy-seven Jewish labor and socialist societies with a membership of over 300,000 heard Congressman Meyer London and Dr. Max Goldfarb of the Jewish Socialist Federation speak of plans to agitate for the rights of Russian Jews and for Jewish representation at the peace congresses which were to make the cessation of hostilities.

Congress proponents and antagonists met in a test of strength at the sixth annual convention of the New York Kehillah, April 24 and 25, 1915. The Zionists were now stronger and more courteous than they had been at the Temple Emanu-El relief conference, October 25, 1915. It was well known that they intended to introduce a congress resolution and that the American Jewish Committee would oppose it with vigor. Interest was so great that the convention, planned for the auditorium of the Hebrew Technical School for Girls, had to be moved to the Madison Square Garden Concert Hall.

The announced program was practically forgotten as the opposing forces clashed over the congress issue. Louis Marshall, expressed the views of the Committee regarding the agitation for a congress:

The American Jewish Committee has been unable to appreciate that any good can be wrought by the holding of a Congress, but, on the contrary, can only behold the possibility of infinite mischief. It is certain to result in misunderstanding. Its pronouncements cannot be the result of that careful study and deliberation which, more than at any other time in our history, is required. The ebullitions of passion, the expressions of emotion, the theories of the propagandist and the dreams of the visionary will lead either to misconstruction, to ridicule or to antagonism, in those quarters where, above all things, it is necessary to look for sympathy, and to appeal for reason and to considerations of expediency.

Marshall tried to calm the excited atmosphere by reporting that the Committee had decided to call a conference of leading national Jewish organizations for May 2, 1915 (the following Sunday) to consider the Jewish situation.

The Zionists, recognizing that the purpose of Marshall's "conference" was to head off congress consideration, found it unsatisfactory. Desperate now because of the widespread belief that the war was soon to end, they insisted that as one of the constituent organizations of the American Jewish Committee, the Kehillah had the right to demand that the Committee together with such other national organizations as might be interested "issue a call for a Jewish Congress to consider the Jewish question and to devise ways and means how to place the same on the agenda of the peace conference" and introduced a resolution to that effect.

Had the resolution come to a vote, it would have carried. But the Zionists felt that they needed the good-will of the Committee and throughout the debate which ensued showed great deference both to the Committee and to its spokesmen. To permit the Committee to save face in light of their outspoken opposition to a congress, the Zionists confident of victory, willingly agreed to a compromise suggested by Joseph Baroness that all action on the congress proposal be deferred for one month to "give the members a chance to study the matter further and also see what action will result from the Conference of next Sunday."

The American Jewish Committee was undoubtedly grateful for the respite. Faced with insubordination on the part of the only important group that afforded them a semblance of representation, Committee spokesmen had begun to speak vaguely of a "conference". It had become apparent to all that the Committee, needing the Kehillah, was willing to pay dearly to keep it. The Zionists had determined to make them pay in terms of a congress. At any rate the Committee seemed to agree that the international Jewish situation merited wider consideration than the Committee alone could accord it and the Zionists' sensed their first true victory. Their

next step was to force the Committee to arrange for consideration of the type the Zionists favored -- a Congress! May 23, 1915 was the date set for the next session of the Kehillah Convention. No further mention is recorded of the Committee's conference planned for May 2, 1915.

The Lusitania was sunk on May 7, 1915. It was, perhaps, wishful thinking that prompted Americans to state that the war was likely to come to an end shortly.

To strengthen the hand of its allies in the Kehillah, the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs passed a resolution at its meeting on May 9, 1915 officially favoring a Congress of American Jews to consider Jewish problems.

As May 23 drew near, representatives of the American Jewish Committee conferred with representatives of the elements within the Kehillah that favored a congress and managed to affect a compromise. A resolution embodying that compromise was presented to the Kehillah Convention by Isaac A. Hourwich and seconded by Jacob H. Schiff.

The resolution requested that the American Jewish Committee summon a special meeting of its members to consider the calling of a conference of the character favored by the Kehillah Convention. The compromise lay in the concession of congress advocates to forego the use of the word "congress" and to permit the substitution of the word "conference" instead. The plans of the Zionists for the "congress" were ignored in that the sole purpose of the conference was acknowledged to be the consideration of "the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands." The Committee conceded that the societies to be represented should send delegates chosen by their respective memberships for this particular function rather than be represented by officers or appointees as the Committee had planned at a meeting of its Executive

Committee, March 7, 1915.⁹⁷

The compromise resolution was adopted, but certain congress elements, resenting the compromise and yet eager to protect their success as represented by the resolution, demanded the passage of another resolution binding Kehillah delegates to the American Jewish Committee (these included Schiff, Marshall, Sulzberger, and others known to be opposed to the congress idea) to vote in favor of the Kehillah's plan when the Committee would meet to consider the matter or to resign as Kehillah delegates. The compromise almost collapsed under the impact of this "binding" resolution as the Convention divided once again along lines of the original issue. The resolution was passed by a standing vote and then defeated by a roll call.

Ill feeling marked the close of the Kehillah Convention. On April 25 the Zionists had been elated with victory. On May 23 they were not so sure that a congress was in the making. The compromise had watered down their congress. And the resolution was still nothing but a request that the American Jewish Committee consider calling such a conference. The Committee was free to accept or reject the suggestion. And there was little doubt as to Committee sentiment. Only one path lay before congress advocates -- the continuance of the campaign to muster all possible support in favor of a congress and the maintenance of unceasing congress uproar.

Teams of Zionist orators began making the rounds of annual conventions of the Jewish fraternal organizations and eliciting resolutions favorable to a congress. Between the adjourned session of the New York Kehillah (May 23) and the special meeting of the American Jewish Committee (June 20) the following organizations declared in favor of a congress:

Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, 8000 members, May 23
 Independent Order Sons of Israel, 4000 members, May 25
 Independent Order Brith Shalom, 50,000 members, May 30
 Federation of Galician and Bukowinian Jews, 30,000 members,
 May 31
 Federation of Russian-Polish Hebrews of America, 30,000 members,
 May 31
 Independent Order Brith Abraham, 200,000 members, June 7 ⁹⁸

The American Jewish Committee called a special meeting of its
 General Committee for June 20, 1915 to consider the Kehillah resolution.
 Meanwhile, in Philadelphia on June 17, a well ordered and well disciplined
 Kehillah under the efficient direction of Cyrus Adler, passed a resolution
 requesting the American Jewish Committee to make up its own mind as to
 the advisability of calling a conference. Should it decide that a con-
 ference be desirable, it recommended that the conference should be limited
 to no more than 150 delegates and should be held in Washington, D.C. about
 October 24 to discuss only "the Jewish question as it affects Jews in
 belligerent lands."

The Philadelphia Kehillah was of equal rank with the New York
 Kehillah and the Committee found itself confronted with two resolutions
 of equal weight. There was little doubt as to which resolution would be
 favored.

Supplement to Chapter II

December 24, 1914 --

Excerpt from Editorial, American Israelite,
 December 24, 1914, p.4

PEACE AND THE JEW

The possibility of peace in Europe is always at hand. The death
 of either the Kaiser, or the Czar, not ill now but of apoplectic
 tendency, or anyone of many things beside victory or defeat, might

provide a loophole for pour parlars. When peace does come, the Jews must be ready to press their claims...Whoever wins, we must have prepared a public opinion for Jewish rights, else we have utterly failed to see the opportunity or have been signally sluggish in action, where we were most active in opinion. Brethren, let us unite!

JONAH B. WISE

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Excerpt from Oscar Janowsky, *The Jews and Minority Rights*, New York, 1933, p.165

The American Poale-Zionists met in convention at Rochester December 24-30, 1914 and resolved that through united action only would Jewish interests be effectively safeguarded at the forthcoming peace conference. They therefore urged the calling of an American Jewish congress to further the civil and national emancipation of the east-European Jews. The resolution declared that "the national rights of the Jews in the community, school, language, county and city governments, as well as the right of self-government in all national affairs, must be internationally guaranteed" particularly in the case of an autonomous Poland.

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January 1915 --

Excerpt from Editorial, *Jewish Herald*,
quoted by *B'nai Brith News*, January 1915, p.16

A REGRETTABLE CONFUSION

An unseemly and most unfortunate competition has arisen in connection with the collection of funds in America for the relief of the Jewish victims of the foreign war. In a cause so sacred there ought to have been complete union of forces. One movement led by the American Jewish Committee is flooding the country with appeals. Another appeal has gone forth to the members of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith from its headquarters in Chicago. The result is bound to be confusion and injury. We do not care to locate and blame for this situation. It would help nothing and might cause recrimination, apathy and further loss to the common cause...

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January 2, 1915 -- The United States Senate passed the Immigration Bill providing a literacy test for immigrants by a vote of 50 to 7.

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January 8, 1915 -- American Jewish Relief Committee for Sufferers from the War announces the receipt up to January 8, 1915 of \$311,165.59. ⁹⁹

January 13, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
January 15, 1915, p.293

PLEAD FOR SUPPORT OF WAR SUFFERERS

Three speakers -- Louis Marshall, Congressman-elect Meyer London and Rabbi H. G. Ehelow at a meeting of the American Jewish Relief Committee, held Wednesday evening [January 13, 1914] at Temple Emanu-El, deplored the poor response made by American Jewry to the call for aid from their destitute co-religionists in the war zone. ...To aid 6,000,000 Jews, who are suffering, homeless and without food, American Jewry has contributed only \$300,000, \$200,000 of which, Mr. Marshall said, had already been used up on the other side...

"It is discouraging," said Mr. Marshall, "To those who have devoted so much time and energy to this work that there has been so small a response from Jews in New York..."

Mr. London said that this was the worst period in Jewish history, and that the saving of millions of Jewish people depended on the generosity of the more fortunate Jews of the United States.

Dr. Ehelow emphasized what Mr. Marshall had said, and added that never before were the Jews if this country confronted with so great a duty, and never had faced so great a Jewish world crisis...

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January 22, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
January 22, 1915, p.324

The Jews of America cannot be proud of the showing they are making with regard to the relief fund being collected by them to relieve the terrible distress of our brethren in the war zone. Little more than \$300,000 has been collected or, in other words, about a dime per head of the Jewish population of this country...

There are, of course, explanations, though not excuses, for this seeming apathy on the part of our great community, in face of this terrible calamity. The war, while not of course America to anything like the extent it has Europe, has still produced an amount of distress and unemployment which has not been known in this country, certainly since 1907, and probably equal to the calamitous conditions of 1893. Many think that it is their first duty to relieve distress at home before alleviating it abroad. Then there are a large number of general funds to which Jews of means feel it their duty to contribute, especially to that devoted to the relief of the heroic Belgians. Above all, the effect of the war, which have produced so much distress and unemployment here, have also not left untouched the resources of the well-to-do and benevolent who find themselves compelled to restrict the amounts devoted to philanthropic objects just at the time when more is required for them...

...There is only one way for us to redeem our reputation, that is to regard the sum already collected as a mere installment, and for each of us to continue giving so long as the poignant cry for help reaches us from our brethren in Europe.

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Excerpt from article, American Hebrew,
January 22, 1915, p.319f.

[Abraham Schomer, long an advocate of an international Jewish organization, did not appear to be very happy about the prospects of the founding of a new organization.]

JEWISH NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND THE JEWISH PEOPLE

Abraham S. Schomer

Whenever the Jewish Question comes to the fore -- and this usually happens when a calamity overtakes a section of the Jews anywhere in consequence of their being Jews, -- Jewish national organizations are formed in various parts of the world for the protection of the Jewish people and ministering to its needs.

A search into Jewish history since the destruction of the Jewish State shows, that up to our day, nine hundred and eighty-four large Jewish national organizations were formed for the above mentioned purpose. The number of similar smaller organizations is almost countless...

An examination of the numerous Jewish national organizations, past and present, their activities, and earnest, but ineffectual efforts to help their afflicted people, lead to the following unmistakable inferences:

First - That the Jews are endlessly in affliction in consequence of their being Jews.

Second - That the Jews stand in constant need of protection.

Third - That the Jews stand in constant need of representation.

Fourth - That none of the Jewish organizations, nor any Federation of them, is either capable, or powerful enough to protect the Jews and successfully cope with the bewildering Jewish Question; and

Fifth - That similar Jewish organizations or Federations of them, which may be founded in the future, are likewise doomed to failure and disappointment...

The present European war has again urged the old Jewish question to the front. Will our leading Jews answer it aright this time or will they found one more Jewish organization?

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January 28, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
February 5, 1915, p.371

PRESIDENT VETOES IMMIGRATION BILL AS UN-AMERICAN

President Wilson on January 28th vetoed the Burnett Immigration Bill because of its literacy test and other features which closed the nation as an asylum to those who would seek America as a refuge from oppression. This was strongly indicated in his vigorous message to Congress when he returned the bill with his veto, and in which he said:

"The right of political asylum has brought to this country many a man of noble character and elevated purpose who was marked as an outlaw in his own less fortunate land and who has yet become an ornament to our citizenship and to our public councils....

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Translation of Article, Jewish
Daily News, January 28, 1915,
quoted by B'nai Brith News,
February 1915, p.9

B'NAI BRITH GATHERS \$91,000 FOR JEWISH WAR SUFFERERS

The Money Has Been Sent to Austria, Germany, Russia, Denmark, Servia and Palestine - Collections Still Going On.

The Independent Order B'nai Brith which has its headquarters in Chicago has done important work for the war sufferers. Up to this time the B'nai Brith has collected \$91,000 and the collections are still going on. The funds have been sent to the different countries now engaged in war, and were distributed to the Jews who are mostly in need of help...

70,000 Marks to Germany
110,000 Kronon to Austria
2,000 Kronon to Denmark
10,000 Francs to Servia
20,000 Roubles to Russia
2,000 Dollars to London
50,000 Francs to Palestine...

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February 6, 1915 -- The British liner, Lusitania, entered Liverpool flying the American flag as protection against German attack by submarine.

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February 8, 1915 --

Excerpt from News Item, American Hebrew,
February 12, 1915, pp. 396-397

DISTRICT I, GRAND LODGE B'NAI B'RITH IN ANNUAL CONVENTION AT
WORCESTER, MASS.

District 1 of the Grand Lodge of B'nai B'rith at the...convention in Worcester, Mass., on Sunday (February 8, 1915)...[adopted a resolution favoring] a congress of representatives of national and international Jewish organizations of the world to consider the well-being of the Jew in connection with the peace negotiations which will follow the close of the European war...

The initiative in the organization of such a congress will be recommended to the constitutional grand lodge convention, which will meet in San Francisco in May, by delegates representing District 1 Grand Lodge....

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February 19, 1915 -- The American Jewish Committee which had been experiencing great difficulty in engaging a ship to carry relief supplies to Palestine announced today that Secretary of the Navy Daniels had offered space for 900 tons of supplies aboard the collier "Vulcan" which was to proceed to Palestine to coal the U.S. Cruiser "Tennessee."
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February 21, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
February 26, 1915, p. 446

[The American Hebrew made no editorial comment whatsoever on the following item:]

KEHILLAH URGES UNITED ACTION TO SOLVE JEWISH PROBLEMS

A meeting of delegates representing the New York Jewish Community (Kehillah) was held last Sunday afternoon at the Educational Alliance, and the meeting urged the American Jewish Committee to form a united Jewish committee which will represent a "united American Jewry that shall endeavor to give answers to the questions now confronting the Jewish people." American Jewry, the Kehillah demanded, should take the leadership in solving the Jewish problems created by the war.

The members unanimously adopted the following report signed by a committee consisting of Mrs. Alice D. Menken, Dr. S. Neumann and Joshua Spraygen:

"This is the greatest crisis that has overtaken the Jews in centuries. In this crisis the leadership of the Jewish people depends upon the Jews of America. We number three millions in this country. We are in a free, neutral land, and our Jewish conscience should be awake to its duties.

"Are the American Jews fulfilling their obligations as leaders in the present crisis? Judging from the small amounts of money which the various relief funds have thus far been able to raise, it would seem that something is wrong with us. Either calamity is so great that the Jews of this country cannot picture it to themselves or the Jews of this country are so engrossed in their daily affairs that they have no time or energy for leadership.

"But it is not of relief that we speak now. We do not live by bread alone. Even the starving and the wounded and the maimed need moral and political leadership. Are the American Jews alive to the new meaning of the Jewish problems? Are they trying to help solve the Jewish question now that all the world is being changed through war? Have the Jews of this country worked out any program in case action on behalf of the Jewish people is necessary now or tomorrow or at a peace conference or at any other time? Are the American Jews endeavoring to unite their forces in order that a united Jewish front may be presented when needed?

"Every thoughtful Jew must have given time and attention to the great Jewish problem now confronting us. But it is too much to expect that the average Jew should deal with these problems authoritatively and energetically.

"As far as we are able to determine but little unity of purpose or of action has as yet been made manifest. The various organizations seem to be going their own way, each one of them with its own plans, each one looking at these problems from the narrow point of view of its own membership. We believe that the time has come when the Jews of the country demand authoritative leadership, a leadership that will, by reason of the tolerance it shows, of the information it has, and of its representative character, exercises a decisive influence upon the Jews of the country in meeting the Jewish problem.

"The American Jewish Committee, which was organized after the Kishineff massacres 'to afford relief from calamities affecting Jews, wherever they may occur,' should now give evidence of its leadership. We call upon the American Jewish Committee to invite to a conference the representatives of all the Jewish national organizations of the country for the purpose of considering the necessity of forming a united committee that shall represent a united American Jewry, and that shall endeavor to give answers to the questions now confronting the Jewish people.

"We wish to be of help to the American Jewish Committee in this crisis. We recognize its yeoman service in matters affecting Jewish immigration. It acted as leader in the Russian passport question. It is the trustee of the Pogrom Fund. It called together the organizations making up the American Jewish Relief Committee. Its activity has been comprehensive and effective. It is composed of many of the best men of the country, and it has a democratic constituency in a number of Kehillahs throughout the country.

"We are aware that the problems of the present crisis cannot be solved in mass meetings, and require deep and serious consideration.

And we have no doubt that the leaders of the American Jewish Committee have given these problems deep and serious consideration. But the crisis is so grave, the problem so complicated, the dangers so fearful, the possibilities so inspiring, that no group of men, however authoritative their information, or however powerful their position undertake (TYPE BLURRED)...without having behind them the voice of the people. It is necessary for a united committee to be called into being, in order to secure unity of action and purpose among the leaders of large organizations, and in order to secure a united America behind such plans and activities that may, after united counsel, be worked out.

"In New York City, in Philadelphia, in Denver, in Minneapolis, in Rochester and in other places where there are Kehillahs as constituents of the American Jewish Committee, we feel it the duty of the Various Jewish organizations to make their voices heard. The Kehillah of New York send twenty-five members to the American Jewish Committee out of a total American Jewish Committee membership of 88. We feel that we express the sentiments of the organizations of the Kehillah and of other Jewish organizations in advocating the formation of a united committee to lead the Jews in the present crisis. It will not do for individuals, however wise or energetic they may be, to stand up and propose the formation of new national organizations. We need now, if possible, to act through a union of our constituted organizations, thereby saving our energies and avoiding friction.

"We call for unity. We call for constructive statementship. We call for the putting aside of local ambitions. We call for an expression of the will of the people in orderly authoritative ways. It will be a sin against our history if we cannot act united as Jews. The moment is heavy with possibilities. May this generation of American Jews prove equal to the task!"

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February 26, 1915 - -

News Item, American Hebrew,
February 26, 1915, p.451

Jacob H. Schiff, speaking at a luncheon of the New York Peace Society last week, said that he believed the war would last until the fall, but that the relative positions of the belligerents would not be changed by that time, the deadlock having to give way to financial exhaustion of the nations involved.

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
February 26, 1915, p.8

WHITHER

Impressed with the idea that the war will suddenly come to an end, Jews are again beginning to think over the problems they will have to face

when the day of strife is over. And the war has given sharp angles to three phases of the old problem. There is need for securing equal civic and political rights for Jews where at present withheld, there is the problem of safeguarding the rights of the Jews who belonged to the "transferred" territories, and there is the problem of the Jewish status in Palestine which has shown itself to be of striking importance throughout the present struggle. Incidental to these larger and political phases is the actual care of the tens of thousands of Jews who are without a country at the present time. Judging by the totals so far raised for the relief funds few people realize the situation in which several millions of Jews find themselves -- absolutely homeless refugees who cannot wander because they are within one or the other zone of war.

These are conditions and not theories. Hence, if the Jews fail to attempt to cope with them, the natural evils incidental to the accumulated misery of millions of people will fling themselves unpleasantly upon the Jews, and four and even five generations hence all Jewish life will still be as it is now, entirely absorbed by the war. The way out is not as simple as it seemed a few weeks ago. It was then felt that a world congress would follow the end of the world and that the Jews would have to discover a means of obtaining a hearing from the representatives of the powers. Now it is felt that the war has assumed so much more of a desperate phase that the victors will dictate the terms of peace without the intervention of any third party. It is, therefore, the supreme business of Jews to prepare in their own interests for either alternative. And while we make the suggestion let us say frankly that we have no faith in so-called diplomacy operated through the backstairs of government bureaus. Such methods are already being pursued in England, Germany, and to some extent in this country. We object to it, not only as a method that has notoriously failed in the past, but because there is practically no warrant for the exercise of it. It is not within the right or privilege of any coterie to say this is what the Jews need or wish. Excepting the Zionists no Jewish organization throughout the world -- much less individuals -- has ever taken a specific stand on the general Jewish problems, and the Zionists are obviously holding their hands because they are not certain that they have a warrant to deal with the specific problems that are the product of this world war. The Jewish future must not be battered by half a dozen men who, whatever their standing in their particular spheres, or in particular organizations, are without authority for this important and stupendous undertaking. With all due deference we apply this doctrine to the amiable leaders of the Anglo-Jewish community who are endeavoring to envelop very little activity in a great deal of mystery.

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February 27, 1915 -- The William P. Frye, an American sailing vessel from Seattle to Queenstown, was sunk by Prinz Ritel Frederick, a German converted cruiser.

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March 1, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
March 5, 1915, p.477

Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Mme. Rosika Schwimmer, and Samuel Compers were among those who addressed the Peace Rally Meeting of the Emergency Peace Federation on Monday in Chicago.

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March 5, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
March 5, 1915, p.476

The result of the work of the American Jewish Relief Committee has been a great disappointment to all who hoped that American Israel in this supreme crisis of Jewish history would prove worthy of its distinguished position by sacrifices equal to the occasion. While this is true of the general collection, there are happy exceptions, which show that the altruistic spirit in Judaism still animates many of its members. For example, it is rare to find in such lists so large a sum as \$10,000 credited to an "anonymous" donor. At the other end of the scale some young children of the Hebrew Free School of Brownsville sent in twenty-five dollars "from the pennies which our parents usually give us to spend." In the heavenly account book, the individual items of the last sum may bulk as large as the anonymous donor's munificent gift.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
March 5, 1915, p.472

[Professor Miliukoff, a Russian liberal, had long advocated rights for the Jews of Russia and was destined to play an important role in the emancipation of Russia's Jews.]

Professor Miliukoff has expressed the hope that after the war Russia will adopt a progressive policy, and that the Jews in Poland will receive their rights despite the local anti-Semitic movement.

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March 12, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
March 12, 1915, p.500

The U.S.S. "Vulcan" carrying food supplies for Palestine is now scheduled to sail tomorrow, having been delayed by necessary repairs. As a consequence of this delay she will not arrive at Jaffa until after Passover and the thousands of pounds of Matzoth which were to have been taken for the Passover festival were left behind and the valuable space filled instead with flour and rice. The vessel will carry about \$100,000 worth of food and medicines. To superintend the distribution, Louis H. Levin, Secretary of the National Conference of Jewish Charities, accompanied by Lewin-Epstein Jr., will go with the vessel both having volunteered their services. The community is indebted to these gentlemen for their self-sacrifice.

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March 15, 1915 -- Contributions to the American Jewish Relief Committee amounted to \$573,267.86.¹⁰¹

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March 26, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
March 26, 1915, p.585

Louis Marshall, chairman of the American Jewish Relief Committee is planning to call a conference of representatives of all Jewish national organizations of this country to appoint a delegation to a world peace conference to be held after the war.

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April 2, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
April 2, 1915, p.645

Jacob H. Schiff declared to a group of newspaper men in Pasadena, Calif., that the European war would end before the fall. He does not believe that the belligerents could afford another winter campaign.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
April 2, 1915, p.639

ANNUAL MEETING OF KEHILLAH

The sixth annual meeting of the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of this city will take place Saturday evening, April 24th, at 8:30 and Sunday

morning, April 25th, at 10, in the auditorium of the Hebrew Technical School for Girls, Fifteenth Street and Second Avenue. Five Hundred Jewish organizations will send delegates to the convention. The following tentative program is announced: "The Jewish Problem of New York City" by Dr. J. L. Magnes, chairman of the executive committee; and reports on the American Jewish Committee by Louis Marshall; on the Bureau of Education by Prof. Israel Friedlander; on the Bureau of Industry by B. Semel and on the Bureau of Philanthropy by Cyrus L. Sulzberger. Plans will also be presented by Dr. S. Benderly for the establishment of a school for Jewish communal work.

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April 16, 1915 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
April 16, 1915, p.8

SOUTH AFRICAN ATTITUDE ON WORLD CRISIS

The Provisional Zionist Committee, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, Chairman, has received from the South African Zionist Federation the following resolution, with the request that they be made public:

"The executive Council of the South African Zionist Federation, representing over one hundred affiliated societies, is of the opinion that a unique opportunity for furthering Jewish rights will arise during the Peace Negotiations at the termination of hostilities, and that strenuous efforts should be made to assert these rights.

"That it is imperative that Jewish action be taken for formulating demands for the recognition of civil, political, and religious equality for Jews in those countries where disabilities exist.

"That united action should be taken in order to obtain a legally secured and publicly recognized home for the Jewish people in Palestine.

"That all Zionist Federations shall be urged to cooperate with other Jewish bodies in forming one Central Body to work for the aforementioned objects, and that endeavors shall be made to secure adequate representation for the Zionist Organization on this body."

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April 18, 1915 --

News Item, New York Times,
April 19, 1915, p.3:4

SEEK EQUALITY FOR JEWS

Campaign Begun for Representation at Peace Congress After War

The National Workmen's Committee for Jewish Rights in belligerent countries held yesterday at the Forward Building, 175 East Broadway, the first of a series of conventions to be held throughout the world

to agitate for equal rights for Jews, especially in Russia. Over 200 delegates, representing 177 Jewish labor organizations, with a membership of over 300,000 attended.

Chairman A. I. Shiplikoff said a demand would be made for Jewish representation at the Peace Congress when the European war is ended.

"This will be a universal equal rights movement of the Jewish masses throughout the world," he added, "and the leaders of the movement expect that in view of the general unanimity of the demand for equal rights on the part of the Jews of the world, the Jews will be placed on a basis with all other citizens."

Congressman Meyer London expressed the hope that the American people would lend an ear to the cause of the persecuted Jews throughout the world. He stated that he expected that the Socialist Parties of Europe would adopt the demands of the Jewish Congress and place them on their program.

Dr. Max Goldfarb of the Jewish Socialist Federation, in announcing the program of the Jewish propagandists said:

"First there will be a campaign of information among the American people concerning the conditions of the Jews. This campaign will be carried on by means of literature, demonstrations, and petitions to Congress and to authoritative bodies in Europe which are likely to have influence in the final peace congress to be held at the end of the war."

The committee which met yesterday consists of the representatives of the United Hebrew Trades, with 250,000 members; the Workmen's Circle, with 50,000 members; the Jewish Socialist Federation, and the Jewish bodies.

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April 23, 1915 --

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
April 23, 1915, p.8

THE RECORD

"...The total amount raised in the United States for the war sufferers is, judged by the reports of the various collecting committees, very small, compared to what has been collected in England and Germany for like purposes, and under greater strain. This comparative failure to raise a large sum has created much perplexity and no little discussion. The failure permits, however, of very simple and very correct diagnosis. New York, and in New York less than half a dozen men, has assumed philanthropic leadership of the Jews in America. They set the pace. This time, because they were disgruntled with a demand for democratic administration, they set the pace badly. For millionaires facing a great issue, they gave small sums, much smaller sums than they give in normal times for ordinary causes. No one has attempted to go them one better. Their gifts did not even capture the imagination of New York, and New York stands at the bottom of the list of donating cities, when one takes into consideration its wealth and the number of its population. Boston set its own pace and therefore Boston succeeded better..."

Editorial, American Hebrew,
April 23, 1915, p.718

THE KEHILLAH AND A CONGRESS

There is considerable ferment and unrest in connection with the meeting of the Kehillah tomorrow and Sunday. This has no relationship to the things which are the business of the Kehillah and which it has done admirably. According to its constitution, it is charged with matters pertaining locally to the community of the City of New York. All things which bear upon the Jewish question in relation to the State or internationally are relegated to the American Jewish Committee.

Yet it is precisely on one of these questions that the ferment to which we have referred is taking place. It is urged that there should be a Jewish Congress for the purpose of expressing the wishes of the Jewish people when terms of peace are made among the warring nations of Europe. That, under the constitution of the Kehillah, it is barred from action on any such subject, will probably weight little with the advocates of the plan. They agree with the late Tim Campbell that "the Constitution among friends" doesn't count, and an animated discussion of the subject may be looked for precisely as though it were in order. Just what is hoped to accomplish thereby is hard to understand.

A congress of representative men empowered to enact legislation is the most useful democratic instrument that has been devised. A congress of experts, even though it lack power to enforce its views, is valuable because it is informative on the subject under discussion. A congress which is neither representative nor expert, which lacks power to enforce its findings and special knowledge to give them value can be useful in no way and harmful in many ways. It would be nothing else than a mob, more or less (probably less) under parliamentary rules giving a forum where every hot-headed orator may relieve his feelings and discharge his superfluous emotions. That it can do more than this is the wildest dream. Mob diplomacy has not been much in vogue since the days of the French Revolution and is apt to be no more useful now than it was in those days.

The orderly method of procedure will be found productive of the best results. There are a few men among the Jews, men of the type of Oscar S. Straus here and Lucien Wolf in England, who know the Jewish problem and have struggled with it. Men of this type can speak with a louder voice than the combined orators of a thousand of the mob. At a time like this there must, above all else, be sanity. If the people do not trust the American Jewish Committee let them select other leaders. The Motto should be "Select leaders whom you trust and then trust them."

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April 25, 1915 --

Excerpt from Speech by Louis Marshall,
American Hebrew, April 30, 1915, pp.731-732

[In his report to the Kehillah on the work of the American Jewish Committee, Louis Marshall explained the attitude of the

Committee on the matter of the congress agitation:]

WAR AND THE JEWISH QUESTION

...The American Jewish Committee has, for these, among other potent reasons, adopted the policy of maintaining an absolute and unequivocal attitude of neutrality, thus enabling it, on the proper occasion, to be heard as a neutral, and as the representative of neutrals, in support of such representations as it may be deemed advisable to make, in the appropriate quarters and at the proper time, in behalf of the civil, political and religious rights of the Jews residing in lands where a fuller and more complete enjoyment of the rights of citizenship is desirable.

There have been those who have undertaken to criticize the American Jewish Committee, for exercising this attitude of neutrality, for its failure to embark on a campaign of publicity which would involve an attack upon one or more of the belligerent governments, for adopting a policy of watchful waiting, and for confining its activities to the effort to alleviate distress of the Jews, wherever they stand in need and regardless of the lands of their nativity, There have been those who have advocated the holding of a Jewish Congress, for the purpose of taking action for the defense of the Jewish people and their emancipation. The motives which have prompted these criticisms and suggestions, are doubtless admirable and highminded. They are attempts to give voice to aspirations which are shared by all good men.

It requires no congress to tell the world, that it is the ardent wish, not only of every Jew, but of every American that there be no subject people; that equal rights and equal liberties should be possessed by all men, regardless of race or creed; that all distinctions should be set at naught, and that the conferring of perfect equality before the law would redound, not only to the welfare of those who are now laboring under restriction, but of the governments which have created artificial distinctions. These thoughts are not new. They have been made the subject of song and story, of prayer and eloquence, for many decades. These principles are thoroughly understood. This blessed land is an illustration of the fact, that those who, in the land of their birth, were rejected as a stone by the builders, have here, in a sense, become the cornerstone.

The American Jewish Committee has been unable to appreciate that any good can be wrought by the holding of a congress, but, on the contrary, can only behold the possibility of the accomplishment of infinite mischief. It is certain to result in misunderstanding. Its pronouncements cannot be the result of that careful study and deliberation which, more than at any other time in our history, is required. The ebullitions of passion, the expressions of emotion, the theories of the propagandist, and the dreams of the visionary, will lead, either to misconstruction, to ridicule, or to antagonism, in those quarters where, above all things, it is necessary to look for sympathy, and to appeal to reason and to considerations of expediency.

After all, though the several hundred delegates who might be assembled in this room as a congress, may consider themselves for the moment extremely important, in the cold gray dawn of the morning after, their action is sure to be negligible, and will have no more

effect, except for evil, upon the concert of the European Powers, than a pebble cast into the Atlantic Ocean would have on the European coast-line.

The American Jewish Committee, though strongly opposed to the holding of a congress, recognizes the fact that all American Jews, of every shade of thought, are interested in the realization of the hope that, after all this suffering, a new light may dawn upon their brethren in exile, that all artificial barriers that have been erected against them may be voluntarily leveled that the sun of liberty may at length shine upon them, and that they may be enabled to repay a hundred fold, in spiritual and material blessings for the human rights vouchsafed to them. It has therefore decided to call a conference, at an early day, of the leading Jewish national organizations, for the purpose of securing an interchange of views as to the proper policy to pursue and the methods to be adopted for the furtherance of the welfare of those in whom we are so much concerned. Among these organizations are included the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, Independent Order of B'rith Abraham, Union of American Hebrew Congregations, United Hebrew Synagogue, Central Conference of Rabbis, Zionist Federation, Poale-Zion, Jewish Socialist Federation. The Mizrahi, Workmen's Circle, National Workers Alliance, United Hebrew Trades, Federation of Jewish Farmers, The Galician Federation, The Roumanian Federation, The Russian-Polish Federation, Federation of Oriental Jews, Order of the Sons of Zion, Western Star Order, Order of B'rith Shalom, and the Council of Jewish Communal Institutions.

Although I have more especially referred to the problems relating to the Jews of Eastern Europe, the American Jewish Committee recognizes that the Jews of Palestine and their future, are likewise of the utmost importance, and that due consideration must be given to those who desire the opportunity of dwelling in the Holy Land, and of contributing to its development and the creation of a centre for Jewish thought and activity. Rest assured that the nature, extent and importance of the problems are thoroughly appreciated. Though there have been no loud-sounding pronouncements, though no promises or assurances have been given or can be made with respect to them, they are nevertheless uppermost in the minds and hearts of the Committee.

If, in the past, the American Jewish Committee has been deemed worthy of confidence, if its sincerity of purpose has been evidenced by its action, that should be a sufficient earnest of its right to the continued confidence of its constituency. The Committee does not now seek, and has never sought, power or authority. It has proceeded according to its own conceptions of duty and obligation. It has had no purpose to subserve, but that of furthering the welfare of the Jews, as such. It has had no ambitions to promote. Its members have sought no personal honors or emoluments. They have striven to subordinate their individuality to the cause which they represent. If any other body of individuals believes that it can be more useful, that it is better entitled to be trusted, the road stands open. The American Jewish Committee has never pretended to the possession of a monopoly. Whatever betide, it will continue to act in accordance with its lights and to do its duty and meet its responsibilities as it understands them.

News Item, American Hebrew,
April 30, 1915, pp.737-738

THE KEHILLAH CONVENTION

Action on American Jewish Congress Deferred One Month --

Important Resolutions Passed

Earnestness of purpose, deep feeling and high courage marked the proceedings of the sixth annual convention of the Kehillah (The Jewish Community) in the Madison Square Garden Concert Hall Saturday night, and particularly Sunday evening, when more than 530 delegates and as many guests witnessed one of the most important discussions in the history of American Jewry. For five hours prominent speakers debated the question of a proposed American Jewish Congress to take measures in behalf of Jews suffering in Europe, and it was only after a hard battle on the part of the more conservative forces that a compromise was effected, and the final decision deferred for a month.

Congress Question a Feature

The congress question had been mooted in the individual organizations composing the Kehillah for many days preceding the convention, and it was a known fact that the discussion of the subject would be the leading feature of the proceedings. The matter was brought to a formal issue before the convention late Saturday night by the report of Louis Marshall, chairman of the American Jewish Committee, who declared that the calling of such a congress would lead to aggravating the condition of oppressed Jews in Europe without producing benefits of any kind. He stated that the American Jewish Committee had called a conference of prominent organizations for Sunday, May 2nd, with a view to obtaining from them suggestions for relief measures, and urged that calm and judicious action characterize the convention's treatment of the congress proposal.

A committee of nine, headed by Prof. L. A. Hourwich, which had been deliberating on Mr. Marshall's report all day Sunday, came to no unanimous decision, and decided to place a majority and minority report before the convention. The majority favored a congress.

Delegates Display Impatience

Meantime, in the convention hall impatience was displayed by many of the delegates favoring a congress. They clamored for immediate action on the proposals, and Dr. J. L. Magnes, chairman of the convention, was pressed at times to exercise rigid though always dignified, discipline. Particularly was this the case with several delegates sitting in the front rows, who were bent on expressing their views, in and out of order, on and off the floor.

The majority of the delegates, however, realized the seriousness of the occasion and displayed a spirit of tolerance and fair play toward both sides.

A spirit of democracy prevailed, and, though there were wide differences of opinion as to what seemed best, the divergence of view and action involved had the same motive -- a just solution of the problem.

Prof. Hourwich Reads Report

It was 4:30 P.M. when Prof. Hourwich stepped upon the platform to read the majority report, which was in the form of a resolution recommending that "the report of the American Jewish Committee be approved, except that this Committee recommends the holding of an American Jewish Congress." This Congress was to be subsequent and supplementary to the Conference called by the American Jewish Committee for this Sunday. A tentative plan for the organization of such a Congress was appended and a Committee of fifteen suggested, to devise a plan of representation. The Majority Report was signed by M. L. Brown, J. Carlinger, Leo Lerner, H. Masliansky, Louis Robison and Solomon Suffrin. Prof. Hourwich, the chairman, did not vote.

Louis S. Posner then read the Minority Report approving the report of the American Jewish Committee and "in particular its action in calling a conference of Jewish national organizations to secure an interchange of views as to the proper policy to pursue and the methods to be adopted for the furtherance of the welfare of the Jew in Europe; and until such conference be held the matter of considering the convening of a Congress be deferred. This report was signed by Henry M. Goldfogle, Samuel I. Hyman and Mr. Posner. In presenting the report Mr. Posner gave reasons why the minority is against a Congress. After two thousand years of suffering and waiting, he said, the time has now come when the Jews may realize their dream of a Zion. They now have an opportunity to regain Palestine, he declared. But if at this time they take a false step they may blast the Jewish hope of obtaining the Holy Land. A Congress, he pointed out, would be a false step that would do great injury to the Jewish people everywhere.

Motion to Table Minority Report

Dr. Magnes, following parliamentary procedure, placed the Minority Report before the Convention for discussion. At this juncture in the proceedings Mr. Suffrin made a motion to table the Minority Report, his evident purpose being to compel discussion on the Majority Report, and thus undermine the position of those who opposed the idea of a Congress. Ex-Congressman Goldfogle set the Convention right on this parliamentary point by declaring that the tabling of the Minority Report would carry with it the tabling of the Majority Report. The motion was withdrawn and the whole question of a Congress was then taken up for discussion by the delegates.

The leading speakers were: For the calling of a congress: Prof. Hourwich, Joseph Baroness, Dr. Magnes, Solomon Suffrin, M. Regalsky, Louis Miller, B. Zuckerman. Against -- Louis Marshall, Cyrus L.

Sulzberger, Henry Goldfogle, Leon Sanders, Judge Otto A. Rosalsky and Mr. Posner.

Says We Have Nothing to Lose

Prof. Hourwich was the first speaker. He declared that it was time to set aside the Jew's traditional policy of meekness in matters of grave concern to them. The situation called for action, he asserted, and a congress would arouse the public opinion of the American people and lead to effective measures on their part in behalf of justice to the Jew everywhere.

"We have nothing to lose," the speaker urged. "What are we afraid of? Will one more rabbi be hung without trial or a few more women violated? These acts against Jews are brigandage. Why have we not a right to cry and weep against the outrages perpetrated against our brothers and sisters on the other side? It is a question of maintaining the dignity and rights of the Jewish race."

Congress Idea Impractical

Mr. Sulzberger pointed out the fallacy of having a congress that could do nothing practical. He explained what is meant by a congress and said that it must be a body with legislative power or one of experts in a particular field or profession. "The mass of the people are not experts," he declared.

"It is not a question of atrocities, massacres," he continued, "but a question of an effective way of preventing these things. It is only in Prof. Hourwich's country that nothing has been accomplished. The Jews in Germany, in France, in England, in the United States, have their rights and are free.

"Get the opinion of the representative people of the land, who have studied this question at first hand, and see whether it is wise or unwise to follow such a policy. It is a serious step you are proposing, and it should be thought over very carefully and with its practical results in view.

"The abrogation of the treaty with Russia could never have been accomplished by congresses and mass meetings.

"If you want to tie the hands and seal the lips of the men who have done your work, day in and day out, without publicity, go ahead and do it."

Must Express Will of the People

Mr. Zuckerman remarked that the desire of those favoring a congress is to give the American Jewish Committee more than it now has, to enlarge its powers that it may speak in behalf of all the Jewish people in America. The committee must and shall know the desires of the people. Only a congress, at which the entire Jewish people will be represented, can give the committee a proper conception of the wishes of the Jews in America. He made a plea for the national rights of the Jewish race and said that the question had been discussed most seriously ever since the outbreak of the present war.

Judge Sanders declared that there was no one at the convention authorized to speak for the people affected and urged the delegates to wait until they could hear directly from Russian and other Jews as to their needs and desires.

"Whatever action is taken," he added, "must not be the result of oratory. We must decide after cool deliberation. A mistake made at this time may not only be serious for us to-day, but may most seriously affect the future generations. What do the Jews in Russia say about it? If a congress is going to accomplish the alleviation of their condition, by all means have it. But make haste slowly. We have suffered long enough and must not permit our zeal to get the better of our judgment."

Mr. Rogalsky, who has been in this country but a short time, assured the convention that the Jews in Europe were looking forward to such a congress as a means of opening the eyes of the world to their sufferings and persecution. Ex-Assemblyman Suffrin remarked that Jews should dispense with modern diplomatic secrecy, as this was the sort of diplomacy that brought about the great European calamity.

Mr. Goldfogle Urges Caution

Mr. Goldfogle then took the platform. He said in part:

"I think I understand the popular feeling of this body. I yield to no man in the desire to see the amelioration of our people. But we must be very cautious at this grave moment. The roads of Europe are running red with blood. The nations will not listen to reason and logic. One nation has her hands upon the throat of another. This is no time for action on the part of our people.

"I want to see a rectification of the great evils of which we protest. A congress at the present time would do serious injury to the Jews of Europe. I plead for a people oppressed, and urge upon you not to bring greater evil upon them by incautious action. Take no steps to-day that may bring about a condition of irreparable harm to our people abroad.

Miller Argues for a Zion

Louis Miller was the next speaker. He said that he would have taken the side of the minority if the question were only of a Congress that was to make a protest or demand rights. But the proposed Congress should do more, -- it should demand Zion for the Jewish people. He declared that if the Kehillah does not take advantage of this great opportunity to lead in the expression of the desires and ideals of the Jewish people, some other organization may undertake the task. He argued that the Jewish people were a nation and should have a say in their own government.

Judge Rosalsky declared that the Jews could not afford to jump headlong into what might become a serious breach of diplomatic relations. He paid a tribute to the high character of Mr. Marshall's services to American Jewry and suggested that even if a Congress were called, Mr. Marshall would no doubt have been chosen to be the spokesman of his people. He therefore urged the delegates to leave

the matter in the hands of the American Jewish Committee, of which Mr. Marshall is chairman.

Barondess Recalls Demonstrations

In favoring the Majority Report Mr. Barondess urged the assembly to believe that while the convening of such a Congress should be brought about judiciously, there was no doubt in his mind that it was absolutely essential. He recalled the demonstrations on the part of the Jews in New York at the time of the pogroms of 1905, particularly the historic "Mourning Parade," in which almost half a million Jews took part. He said that the demonstration was deeply impressive and had its beneficent effect upon the people of America in awakening them to a realization of the terrible persecutions of that year.

The last speaker was Mr. Marshall. He struck into the very heart of the question and gave a masterful analysis of the technical and practical aspects of the entire problem. It was a cool, logical interpretation of the actual significance of the resolution and the appalling lack of wisdom that would be evidenced by the calling of a Congress.

"This is an important moment," Mr. Marshall began, as the delegates settled down to earnest attention. "I sympathize with our people, whose fate is dear to us, and for whom we are all bleeding. I have never felt more strongly, more deeply, upon any question. There is a solemn duty which rests upon us. I implore you not to permit mere sympathies, mere sentiment, to deaden your judgment and make a mistake that might be irretrievable. Consider the welfare and future happiness of millions of our people.

"We have before us a question that couldnot be decided at this moment even if all the Jews in America, even if all the Jews in the world, were here. All we can do is to hope, wish, pray. Can we command the nations of the earth to do anything for us? Even if all the Jews in the world came together what could they demand?

Who Will Present the Demands?

"People who demand must have some sanction for their demands. We have no army, no country, no nation. It is future to proceed upon any such theory. Who will present the demands? The American people are sympathetic, but do not believe that in these days there is any possibility of action in our behalf. Don't idealize too much. Consider the practical view. You must have something tangible to work upon, not mere theories. Let us be reasonable men, let us keep our feet upon the earth and stop our beautiful, but reckless dreaming.

"A Congress may lead to bad blood. You must have the facts if you are to protest against atrocities in other countries. What evidence have we that these atrocities have been committed? The reports that we have received are not proper grounds on which to base the action that we propose, and rhetoric cannot be used as proof in international affairs. The peace congress that will follow the present

war will have absolutely nothing to do with the Jewish question."

Calls Jewish Conference

Mr. Marshall pointed out that the Kehillah is only one part of the American Jewish Committee, having a representation of 25 in a body of 75 members, and that the matter of a Congress could only be brought before the Committee as a recommendation. He said that the American Jewish Committee had undertaken to deal with the question in its own way, and that a conference of important organizations will be held this Sunday, to consider the entire situation. He concluded:

"I have no fear for anyone but God above and indiscreet men below. If you insist and persist in calling a Congress, I'll have none of it."

Dr. Magnes closed the debate by giving his views in favor of a Congress. He said:

"As the people have faith in the American Jewish Committee so the Committee should have some faith in the people. We can do more than pray; we can free ourselves. This is a time when we must know and speak the truth, whatever and wherever it may be, or whomever it may affect. We desire that our voices be heard in protest of outrages against the Jews in other countries."

While Dr. Magnes was speaking a compromise was being effected between the opposing forces through the mediation of Mr. Berondess. The result was a motion to defer action on the Congress question for one month, at which time the delegates will again convene and take up this and other matters that were necessarily crowded out for lack of time. This would give the members a chance to study the matter further and also see what action will result from the Conference of next Sunday. The Convention then adjourned.

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News Item, New York Times,
April 26, 1915, p.9:5

DEFERS CONGRESS OF JEWS

Convention of Kehillah Does Not Find Time Opportune

After a long debate the convention of the Kehillah, or Jewish Community, at the Concert Hall at Madison Square Garden, voted late last night to postpone for onemonth further consideration of the proposal to call a congress of Jews in this country to take measures in behalf of Jews suffering in the war zone.

The resolution to call the congress was opposed by Louis Marshall, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Judge Otto A. Rosalsky, and a number of other prominent men who urged that, if such a convention were called, it would be difficult for those who took part in it to preserve the appearance of neutrality, and that it might lead to aggravating the condition of oppressed Jews in Europe without producing benefit of any kind.

On the other side were many speakers talking both in English and Yiddish who urged that the time was opportune for American Jews to exert their influence. Dr. J. L. Magnes, Chairman of the Executive Board of the Kehillah, said that the Jews of this country want their voices heard in protest against outrages against the Jews in other countries, but he suggested that the Kehillah should adjourn for a month, in which opinion could crystalize definitely for or against the proposal.

Referring to statements of crimes against Jews in Russia during the war, Mr. Marshall said:

"What evidence have we that these atrocities have been committed? You are assuming something of which you have no proof. The reports that we have received are not proper grounds on which to base the action that we propose and rhetoric cannot be used as proof in international affairs."

The following were elected members of the Executive Committee until 1918: S. I. Hyman, Adolph Lewisohn, J. L. Magnes, H. P. Mendes, F. M. Warburg, Oscar S. Straus, Herbert H. Lehman, Julius Goldman, I. M. Stettenheim, J. J. Dukas, Mrs. William Einstein, Abraham Erlanger, Jacob Kahn, William Lieberman, H. Maslinsky, Jacob Massel, Victor Schwartz, J. M. Wachman, Isaac Allen, and Henry M. Goldfogle.

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
April 30, 1915, p.8

KEHILLAH AND CONGRESS

There is an old story of the man who watched a dog chasing his tail, and then wondered what the dog would do with it if he caught his caudal appendage. New York has a Kehillah, which should be an organization primarily of the religious institutions in a city, for the co-ordination of work within that community. The New York community has never been equal to the operation of the Kehillah and so the organization was made an appendage to the American Jewish Committee which in this way was at once able to declare that it had a constituency and, on the other hand, was able to put the Kehillah in leading strings. Last Sunday the Kehillah held its annual gathering and some attempt was made to cut away from the super-authority of the American Jewish Committee. The Kehillah proposed to tackle the question of a Jewish Congress. Now that was a convention of its constitution because the Kehillah has relegated all non-New York matters to the American Jewish Committee. But the constitution was ignored for the time being. A discussion was allowed and in the end the American Jewish leaders showed their power and squashed the attempt to influence them through a Kehillah resolution. Under no circumstances would the tail be allowed to wag the dog.

If the Kehillah wished to be free it must try again and that in a direct line of procedure for emancipation from the thrall of the American Jewish Committee. And the argument by which the congress resolution was squelched was a good one for those concerned -- that

a congress might lead to breaches of neutrality which would be harmful to the Jew it was sought to aid by means of such a gathering. Those who spoke thus knew what they were saying. They have already committed some breaches and have done some harm to the Jewish masses -- wittingly or unwittingly does not matter -- who are paying the price for these indiscretions.

Admitting the logic of the argument presented to the Kehillah convention we still feel that a Jewish congress is desirable. The congress should be prepared for in every detail, but it should not be held until the moment an armistice or a truce is declared. Then the danger of breaches of neutrality ceases. The congress is a first-class necessity to deal with actual not theoretical propositions. It requires no congress to decide that all Jews favor equality for the Jews everywhere. That can be taken for granted. It requires no congress to decide that the Zionists would like a free hand in Palestine. That is what they exist for. A congress is needed, however, to appoint the men who shall convey the message of Jewish needs with the world map as changed by the war in front of that congress. The congress is needed to avoid just that "back stairs" influence which the "American Hebrew" lauds in the person of Lucien Wolf of London. Says the "American Hebrew" as the mouthpiece of the American Jewish Committee: "If the people do not trust the American Jewish Committee let them select other leaders. The motto should be 'select leaders whom you trust and then trust them.'"

A congress would select leaders the American Jewish Committee is self-created and self-perpetuating. It has never trusted the people. All its sessions are held in secret. But even then we set a limit to the slogan. The trust in leaders is limited to a belief that they will try to carry out a definite programme. This horrible war would never have taken place if "secret" diplomacy and "secret" despatches were not a tradition of European life. And we do not hesitate to add that the Jewish lot would not be what it is if the assumed and secretive influence of individual Jews was not taken for granted by those who deal in the mysteries of "high diplomacy." Of this hugger-muggery the Jews must rid themselves. Their salvation depends on frankness and the creation of responsible leaders. This cannot exist without real constituencies.

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Article, Jewish Advocate, quoted from Jewish Weekly
May 7, 1915, p.6

KEHILLAH CONVENTION IMPRESSIONS

by A. H. Fromenson

The magnanimity of the delegates in agreeing to defer the final and decisive vote on the question of calling a Jewish Congress until the American Jewish Committee has had the opportunity to take or reject the initiative in this popular movement, is the outstanding feature of what the chairman of the Kehillah convention so correctly described, late last Sunday night, when he adjourned the session, as

the greatest and possibly the most historic Jewish gathering ever held in America.

The pro-congress faction had the votes; they had won the debate notwithstanding Mr. Louis Marshall's brave and brilliant opposition, notwithstanding the unfortunate opening argument. There was nothing to prevent a vote and a schism; yet, in spite of a demagogic appeal to make it "now or never," the radicals, the Zionists, the Poale Zionists, the Socialists, the Socialist territorialists -- all, who are regarded as the hot spurs, the revolutionaries of Jewish life in America, accepted the Barondess compromise.

They lost nothing by this magnanimous act, magnanimous in that they had the power to force the issue, and were fully conscious of their power, yet refrained from using it. Their act was a tribute to their own excellent political sagacity, as it was a tribute to their own excellent political sagacity, as it was a tribute to their splendid antagonist and to the fine tact of Dr. Magnes, Barondess, too, is entitled to praise for his resourcefulness, for seeing a way to prevent a calamity and acting upon it, without fear of the consequences. It was a delicate position. The rejection of his suggestion would have very nearly discredited him. He realized it, but ran the risk.

...

The issue is now squarely up to the American Jewish Committee -- not the congress so much, because notwithstanding the delay, it is a settled matter. The congress will be called. But the issue of unity in American Israel -- the welding together of all the vital elements, all the elements that need to be reckoned with, is a great opportunity, and its missing would be one of the saddest pages in Jewish history. We have hope that the opportunity will not be missed. The "mob" to use the inept term of Mr. Cyrus L. Sulzberger, vindicated itself; it proved that at the big moment, when everything trembles in the balance, and a chance wind may tilt it the wrong way, the people hold the balance true; they act with that political sagacity that is fatuously believed to be the sole property of the council chamber. It vindicated Dr. Magnes' eloquent plea that the leaders have faith in the people, even to that extent that the people should have faith in their leaders.

Surely, the lesson of the closing hours of the convention cannot be lost on the great mind of Mr. Marshall. He must have realized, then, the fallacy of his argument's major premise. He must have realized that the people can be trusted that a congress would create its own checks and restraints, would not get out of bounds. The fine tact of the debaters, the deserved tributes they paid to Mr. Marshall for his Jewish loyalty, the utter lack of acrimony, the acknowledgment of the value of the American Jewish Committee -- these things were stronger refutations of Mr. Marshall's arguments than the arguments made against his attitude even as the ovation given him when he took the floor to fight against the congress, the death-like silence that prevailed when he spoke, and even the applause that came from his opponents when he made the one telling point of his argument, all of these things, when considered in the "cold gray dawn of the morning after," do we feel, convince him that they were

right and he wrong. This, though we grant that in a political sense the congress may be unable to accomplish the desired purpose; even though we reckon with the full force of his statement of the utter disregard by Roumania of the mandate of the Berlin Conference, that it accord the Jews equal rights.

* * *

Mr. Marshall proved himself a man of heroic stature, by the brave way in which he threw the gauntlet down, by the even braver way he maintained his position; but he rose greatly when he, too, accepted the Baroness compromise, and we expect that he will reach the pinnacle of true greatness by yielding finally. For it is not the question of what the congress can accomplish at a peace conference, but a question of democratizing American Jewry; it is a question of giving to our acknowledged leaders, men like Marshall and Brandeis and Magnes, the sanction of their leadership that can come only from the organization of American Jewry into a coherent whole working toward one end. It is this that the feeling, the thinking, the Jewishly zealous masses ardently desire.

It will not do -- it cannot do to say, as Mr. Marshall, in effect, said: "if you do not like the way the American Jewish Committee works, the way is open for you to do things in your own way, but we will not do it your way." That way lies "stadlonoth." It means the degradation of Jewish self-respect if the Jews should be willing to demand no reckoning, if they should be willing exercise no control, and to accept, with humble gratitude, whatever boom may be attained. To demand this of them, is to demand their abasement at the throne of a despot. This is the great point -- that way. Mr. Marshall's way, lies despotism.

Time was when all American Jewry was under the thrall of the philanthropist. That time was happily passed. The check-book terror was ended by the splendid revolt that created the Self-Defense fund; that spurned bread and milk and bandages and demanded firearms to prevent the recurrence of pogroms. Mr. Marshall is not, we hope, inclined to impose a new despotism upon a people which demands but one thing -- that he shall be a democratic leader. To put it on no higher plane than political expediency, opportunism even, Mr. Marshall should put himself at the head of the impending congress. He must do so, for the very fear that he has of the conduct and consequences of such a gathering.

He must realize that by persisting in his course, he may precipitate the very dangers he would avoid. The making of rash utterances, of absurd pronouncements, of impossible demands. With Mr. Marshall at the head of a Jewish congress -- with a Mayor Sulzberger, a Kraus, a Magnes, a Brandeis -- on the tribune, American Jewry could go into session confidently, while all the world would look on and applaud. Without these men? Dare then Mr. Marshall permit, nay, create this situation? For, as surely as the American Jewish Committee refuses to call the congress, and as surely as the congress will be called, nevertheless, this situation will be created.

By deferring final action the delegates have put it squarely up to the American Jewish Committee. Will it rise to the occasion, will it take its rightful place in Jewish life, the place offered it?

Or, will it insist upon its own sweet will?

If, as Dr. Magnes declared, Mr. Marshall is a democrat of democrats -- he came to the initial meeting of the American Jewish Committee with a carefully worked out plan of democratic representation, the present situation is his great opportunity to do now what could not be done then.

* * *

The Kehillah comes out of this, the sixth convention, triumphant. It has proved its strength, it has proved its stability. It has proved, too, that when there is a vital issue to unite them, the Jews are one people. That is why they were all there -- lodge brother, trades-unionist, employer, assimilationist, Zionist, Socialist, reformed, orthodox, politician, sociologist, philanthropist, rabbi, and each one listened attentively, courteously and voted sympathetically on questions not concerning his class; but to paraphrase the chairman: We Jews are becoming accustomed to think of Jewish affairs in large terms. Jewish affairs are beginning not to be made synonymous with the pettiness of institutional, or congregational, or lodge, or class politics. All elements are slowly beginning to work in the Kehillah for nothing short of an adequate, noble, beneficent solution of the Jewish problem in New York City.

And for this, all New York's Jewry, yes, all America's Jewry, may be grateful to the chairman of the Kehillah. Because of his dogged determination, because of his great integrity of purpose, because of his own lofty character, he has been able to pay little heed to the envy, the malice, the hate even, of the small minds that have been vainly trying to drag him down or at least to bend him and the Kehillah to their purposes. With a high ideal and a high idealism, with a clear idea of what the Kehillah should be ever in his mind he has gone on and on "from strength to strength" rising himself, and raising the Kehillah with him as he rose, until it and he have reached the point where the unification of the diverse elements is at hand. It is a great achievement this -- but no greater than the man, the greatly beloved man who has wrought it all. -- "The Jewish Weekly."

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April 28, 1915 -- American oil tank steamer, Cushing, was damaged by German aeroplane's bomb in the North Sea.

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May 1, 1915 -- American oil tank steamer, Gulflight, was sunk off Sicily Islands by German submarine.

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May 7, 1915 -- Transatlantic liner, Lusitania, was sunk by German submarine off southern coast of Ireland; 1,150 lost (including 100 Americans); 767 saved.

May 2, 1915 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
May 14, 1915, p.1

ZIONIST DECLARE IN FAVOR OF CONGRESS

At a meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, held on May 9th, the following resolution was adopted:

"That in the opinion of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, it is desirable that at the proper time, a Congress of American Jews, convening on a democratic basis, should be held, for the consideration of the problems of the Jewish people."

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May 11, 1915 --

Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
May 14, 1915, p.39

THE KEHILLAH AND A CONGRESS

To the American Hebrew:

Will you permit one of the "mob" to comment upon your editorials of April 23 and 30, on the Kehillah Convention, and the question of holding a Jewish Congress in this country? Though you speak of it as if it were a matter which has only now been broached, the holding of a large conference or congress of representatives from the leading organizations of this country for the purpose of both dealing with the crisis created by war, and instituting a permanent and representative body of all Jews in this country, has now been advocated for many months. It has also been discussed at various important occasions in former years. In passing, I might observe that one of the strangest characteristics of Jewish life in New York is that questions which agitate the multitudes of our people are passed over in complete silence in certain other quarters. That this silence is often intentionally maintained is as certain as that it nearly always fails of its object.

Your arguments against the holding of a congress are almost the same as those which were used years ago against the formation of the American Jewish Committee and with which you yourself had to contend with at the time. These objections against the convening of a large Jewish assembly, have been ably and fully refuted by the various speakers, who, according to the reports which I have read, spoke so logically and so fervently, at the remarkable closing session of the Kehillah Convention. Almost all of these speakers, though recognizing the valuable work which the American Jewish Committee has accomplished pointed out that the time had come for the creation of a more comprehensive body, for a union of all the Jews, and for action along

democratic and public lines. I am here particularly concerned with your editorial endeavor to exclude the discussion of the congress question from the Kehillah Convention on the ground that "under the constitution of the Kehillah it is barred from action on any such subject." It was pleasant to greet in your article the old favorite joke about the Constitution among friends, but it probably would have been in better keeping with the tragic seriousness of the hour to have said that no hasty agreement entered into by two organizations which are still in the making should prevent the Jews of New York from discussing openly and earnestly the most momentous issue which has confronted us, in hundreds of years. Dr. Magnes, the Chairman of the Kehillah, has in every one of his addresses, before its conventions, rightly emphasized the point that the organization was still in the process of formation, that it was gradually finding its bearings and defining its scope. Yet you would have the constitution of an organization which is yet in the making and to which large numbers of societies do not yet adhere restrict the discussion and action of a whole community of our people in a great crisis. At the same time no one ever defended or even thought of the poor and innocent constitution of the Kehillah when at different occasions it was not only violated, but entirely ignored. But Dr. Magnes took the larger view of the situation and of the Kehillah's functions in his opening address.

In your editorial of April 30th you say that the Kehillah has "wisely decided to defer action upon the subject of a proposed Jewish Congress." Most of the accounts in the Yiddish newspapers differ from yours to the extent of saying that instead of there being any definite decision only a compromise was reached or a sort of truce patched up, and the most discerning Yiddish writers are, by the way, thoroughly dissatisfied with the understanding reached and with the work of the chief mediator in bringing it about.

Always a believer in the Kehillah idea, I am glad that it has risen to the great occasion at this convention. In making it the forum of expression or as you would call it, the means for the "effusion of considerable oratory and the expenditure of much fervor and rhetoric," the organization has been stirred in the direction of much-wanted democracy. The demands of the "mob" have further been met by the decision to hold more frequent meetings of the delegates and the increase of membership of the executive committee, and as the result the organization emerges strong and more influential out of the present convention.

BERNARD G. RICHARDS.

New York, May 11.

May 13, 1915 -- The United States government protests against Germany's submarine policy and the sinking of the Lusitania.

May 14, 1915 --

Excerpt from Editorial, American Hebrew,
May 14, 1915, p.36

A TIME TO BE CALM

The sinking of the Lusitania has cast a gloom over the whole community. Horror mixed with execration fills those who sympathize with the allies and horror and regret those who are pro-German in their sympathies. Whether defended as a necessary act of war or condemned as outlawry, no American regards it as otherwise than a demonstration of the terrors that war can bring to non-combatants innocent of any thought of human destruction....

...It is in times when we must reflect upon what is possibly before us. Because the lives of one hundred Americans have been lost, shall a hundred thousand be sacrificed? Will the sorrow in a hundred American homes be lessened if every American home become a house of mourning? We have but to look at Europe to see the obvious cost of war in broken homes, in ruined lands, in killed and maimed, in the destruction of the flower of the human race. And the less obvious cost is no less real -- the substitution for generations, of race hatred for brotherly love, the burdens of taxation which for a century will be carried chiefly by the poor, the subordination of the social instinct for the protection of the weak to the brute instinct of the supremacy of the strong.

All these terrors lie before us as they lay before Europe and each of them should be carefully weighted before a word is spoken or an act done which may lead to regrettable results. In our form of government only Congress has the power to declare war. Were it now in session, which fortunately it is not, who knows to what lengths Chauvinistic oratory might not lead us. The President at Washington is setting us all an example of wisdom, calmness, and deliberation. It is the patriotic duty of every citizen to emulate the example.

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May 23, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
May 28, 1915, pp. 80-81

KEHILLAH VOTES FOR CONFERENCE

Representatives on American Jewish Committee

Instructed to Carry Out Its Mandate

At an all day's session in the Madison Square Garden Concert Hall, marked by heated debate that often took on a personal character the special Convention of the Kehillah (The Jewish Community) to consider the "Congress" question, placed itself on record as favoring

a National Conference to consider the Jewish question as it affects the Jews in belligerent lands, passed a resolution recommending to the American Jewish Committee that it hold a Conference of the character favored by the Convention," and then instructed its representatives on the American Jewish Committee to vote for such a Conference when the matter is taken up by that body.

It was a stormy meeting from beginning to end. Feeling ran high. Particularly was this evident in the speeches of the members of the "left" wing, who sat well in front, on the right side of the hall. At one time Dr. J. L. Magnes, Chairman of the Convention, reminded a vehement speaker that this was America and that meetings were conducted in Parliamentary form here.

After the meeting Dr. Magnes gave out the following statement:

"From knowledge of the sentiment of a number of the Community representatives in the American Jewish Committee, it is not to be expected that they will regard themselves as bound by the Convention resolution, but that they will determine the question of a Conference of representative Jews in accordance with the situation at the time of the special meeting of the American Jewish Committee to be called to consider the plight of the Jews in belligerent lands."

He declared that now that the Community had favored the idea of a Conference, it was his opinion that the Community should no longer attempt to prescribe to the American Jewish Committee its course in national and international affairs, and that the Community should give greater attention to local matters.

As soon as the Convention was convened Dr. Magnes asked the delegates to rise while he read a resolution which was unanimously adopted, expressing to the President and his advisors the confidence and support of the Jewish Community and praying "that in these trying times they may be guided aright to preserve the peace and honor of our beloved country."

Dr. I. A. Hourwich, Chairman of the Convention Committee to consider the question of calling a Conference, then stepped upon the platform to present the results of the deliberations of his Committee. He said that during the past four weeks his committee had held a number of sessions with a sub-committee of the American Jewish Committee, and that on the eve of the Convention a compromise had been affected that met with the full approval of both committees.

He offered a resolution, which he said embodied the spirit of the compromise. It recommended "that the American Jewish Committee hold a special meeting of its members with all convenient despatch to consider the advisability of calling a Conference of the character favored by the Convention."

In answer to various questions from the floor Dr. Hourwich explained that this resolution contained all that was in the majority resolution of a month ago, but that the word congress had been changed to conference, among others, for technical reasons, in order that non-Jewish circles may not be misled in the aim and scope of such a gathering of representative Jews of this country. The main point, after all, he said, was not the form, but the spirit of the resolution, and on that all sides seem to be at one.

The resolution was seconded by Jacob H. Schiff, who said:

"I am pleased that you have reached such a desirable agreement. I believe that every Jew will be pleased that you are in accord on this grave question. We all have in mind but one aim, -- to aid our brethren in the war-stricken zone. That can be accomplished only if there is unity in our ranks. We may differ individually on this or on that question, but we must stand as one in our efforts to aid our people in the war-ridden countries. I approve the resolution."

The few, but earnest and sincere, words by Mr. Schiff made a deep impression upon the delegates and when Dr. Magnes put the question whether the Convention was ready for a vote on the resolution there were many cries of "yes." A motion on the previous question was then passed by 82 against 66 votes.

No sooner was this motion disposed of than a delegate sprang up and asked why the majority resolution of a month ago was not submitted for consideration of the convention, and demanded that the resolution be voted upon, also.

Prof. Hourwich explained that the present resolution was practically the same but that it was framed in other words in order to satisfy all the delegates and the American Jewish Committee. Mr. Marshall added that in the phrase "in belligerent lands" is included Roumania, though that country is not involved in the war.

B. Zuckerman protested against the resolution on the grounds that it differed materially from the original majority resolution which demanded that the American Jewish Committee call a Congress, while the present resolution recommends that the American Jewish Committee call a special meeting to consider the advisability of calling a conference. He said that it was proposed a month ago that a committee of fifteen be appointed from the Kehillah to carry out the decision for a Congress, if the matter were not decided favorably by the A.J.C. and a democratic basis for such a congress was suggested while these matters are altogether ignored by the present resolution.

Judge Levy approved of the resolution, declaring that there was no other way out of the difficulty and the present resolution is clearer and better worded than the original majority resolution. Dr. Girsdansky said that if the American Jewish Committee declined to call a congress there was nothing to compel it to action.

"The Kehillah can only concern itself with local questions," asserted Prof. Hourwich. "The convention can only recommend to the American Jewish Committee, of which it is a constituent members, to hold a Conference, but can not direct it to do so. It is the earnest spirit of the resolution that counts, and not the mere wording. And now that Mr. Schiff is in favor of a conference it is certain that a conference will be called."

Dr. Magnes then put the resolution to a vote and it was carried by a large majority.

The members of the "left" wing then got busy. They were dissatisfied with the wording of the resolution and endeavored to put more action into it. Mr. Zuckerman offered a resolution, which was seconded by Dr. Samuel Joseph, to the effect that the Kehillah representatives on the American Jewish Committee be bound by the action of the Convention and instructed to vote in favor of a Conference when the American Jewish Committee takes up the matter.

Mr. Schiff remarked that he was not personally opposed to this resolution but that he felt that the resolution was evidence of distrust and lack of faith in the representatives to the American Jewish Committee and such a sentiment, he felt, was unfair to them. He assured the convention that the adopted conference resolution will be carried out faithfully, that the Kehillah representatives will carry out the wishes of the convention in regard to a conference. It is understood that they will vote in accordance with the resolution, he said, but to instruct them, is to insult them. He asked therefore that the resolution be withdrawn.

Louis Marshall protested against any attempt to limit action on what was to him a matter of conscience. He said plainly that he would not carry out any instructions of the Convention if such instructions bound him to act against his conscience. He pointed to his membership in the Constitutional Convention at Albany, and said that while he takes the dictates of his party into consideration, in the final analysis it was his conscience which dictated his actions.

Joseph Baroness approved Mr. Marshall's demand not to be bound by the resolution. He said this was no time for division. We must be united in our action. Dr. Girdansky spoke to the effect that the convention had decided on a Conference and had the right to instruct its delegates to carry out its will. Dr. Hourwich held that an imperative mandate is not a new proceeding and that it is a common thing to instruct delegates how to vote.

Declaring that the resolution gave the convention the only means to express its will in regard to a Jewish Congress, Bernard G. Richards made the statement that as the American Jewish Committee can not be commanded to call a Conference, it is the next best thing to instruct the Kehillah delegates to act in accordance with the mandate of the convention. The accusation of lack of faith and trust, he said, should be applied to the other side, which is against a congress, particularly, because "it fears that the immigrant Jews will not know how to conduct themselves at such a congress." "The rich Jews should not complain of lack of trust in them," he continued; "the truth is that the rich Jews do not trust the poor people. They do not want to understand the East Side Jews. They give them hospitals, orphan asylums, everything for their physical welfare, but not patience or understanding."

After other speeches pro and con the resolution was put to a vote and the "imperative mandate" was carried by a vote of 118 against 87.

This did not dispose of the entire question, however. Dr. Magnes declared that he wanted to be clear on the meaning of the resolution. Did the delegates desire that the Kehillah representatives, who could not follow the imperative mandate, resign? He suggested that under certain circumstances it might be difficult for them to follow explicit instructions of the character adopted by the resolution.

Several resolutions were then brought forth by delegates but the one that was finally adopted for discussion read:

RESOLVED, that it is not the intent of the resolution passed to force any member of the American Jewish Committee in special meeting assembled, to vote against his conscience.

Cyrus L. Sulzberger was the first speaker for the resolution. He said:

"We are in a critical condition of affairs so far as the complications that now obtain in Europe. I pray God that we be not involved in this cataclysm. Suppose, that between this time and that when the American Jewish Committee calls a conference our American national position is altered. Suppose that should occur, do you still want to bind the hands of your representatives on the the American Jewish Committee as though the situation had not been altered? One's conscience binds him to carry out the spirit of the resolution, provided no terrible condition arises.

"As the situation stands to-day I shall vote for this Conference. I can conceive of a situation arising, however, under which I would rather cut off my hand rather than vote for a Conference. If you have any respect for the honor of the men who represent you, do not instruct them imperatively. The high character of such men as Mr. Schiff and Mr. Marshall are the best evidence that the desire of the Convention will be carried out. Do not bind the hands of those whom you have entrusted with representation on the American Jewish Committee."

Prof. Hourwich held that there was implied in the resolution the thought that if special circumstances demanded, the delegates were not to vote for a Conference. He expressed the hope that the American Jewish Committee would aid in carrying out the desire of the convention for a Conference. Judge Levy expressed the same thought but added that those members who found affirmative voting against their conscience can do nothing but resign as representatives.

Mr. Baroness declared that Messrs. Schiff, Marshall and others were most needed in the council of Jews at these trying times and that if they resigned because they could not carry out the wishes of the Convention the burden would be upon their heads and not upon those who are most anxious to have them stay.

Miss Sadie American, the only woman speaker at the convention, made a plea against the binding resolution and brought out the distinction between judgment and conscience. She said that a man can entertain a certain judgment upon a matter but it may not be against his conscience to vote for a measure. But if it is a matter of conscience, however, it would be against his honor for him to vote according to instructions. She pleaded for faith in the members of the American Jewish Committee. Let us leave it to those who have never yet betrayed their trust, she urged.

Mr. Richards spoke for the imperative mandate. He said it would be cowardly to recede from the position the convention had taken to date. It was a great step forward, he urged, and would prove to the world that the Convention has the strength of its convictions.

Judge Levy made an impassioned appeal to "all who were not subsidized" to vote down the resolution as he claimed it nullified the previous action of the convention. "We have taken years to get to the place where we passed the resolution, and now you are called upon to undo in as many seconds what it has taken years to accomplish," he said. "Jewish organizations," he added, "often got nowhere because the voice of the people was not the voice of God."

"Demagogy has been allowed to intrude into this discussion its own vanities and ambitions," A. H. Fromenson asserted. "New York Jews are not in the majority in America. It is the American Jew who

must be won. Mr. Marshall represents the longer residents of this country, the thousands, the hundreds of thousands, without whose aid such a congress as we want to call would be merely a Zionist movement."

Dr. Magnes made the closing address in the discussion. He referred to the epithets, charges and personal remarks which had been made during the heated discussion and to the appeal to passion in regard to those who had riches and those who had not. Continuing he said:

"These can be forgiven because of the heat of the moment and the deep feeling by which we are animated. The question we have to consider is not, Shall we or shall we not have a conference? That has already been done. The question is whether the members of the American Jewish Committee at a special meeting are to vote in favor of a conference.

"The resolution is an appeal for a minimum program for the convention so that Jews whether they favor this or that can come together and are not bound before they come. If the American Jewish Committee does not approve of such a conference, that is another bridge to cross, but let us cross that bridge when we come to it.

"There should be a United American Israel under authoritative leadership. The resolution is an interpretation, not a reconsideration, of the adopted resolution. Let us not deal in terms of abstraction. We can only accomplish things when we are practical in our action. And, then, we must progress step by step.

"I am heart and soul for a congress. But you cannot command the delegates from the Jewish community to vote for it. As Mr. Schiff has said, it is an insult to the delegates to attempt to bind their consciences. I could appeal to your passion and prejudice; instead I appeal to your reason."

A standing vote was then taken on the resolution. The secretary's count was 102 against 91, and the resolution was declared passed, by Dr. Magnes. After a number of the delegates had left the hall, the opposition called for a roll call and on that measure fell through by a vote of 82 against 93.

"I hope you Democrats are satisfied with this sort of a victory," said Dr. Magnes, before adjourning the convention. "I hope those who directed the vote know how to bear its responsibility. I feel a great deal of my usefulness is at an end. I want to work with you in the rank and file and no longer as a leader."

"Don't worry," interrupted Judge Levy.

"If I may be personal, Judge Levy," the Chairman retorted, "I do worry when men like you, who have not been in Jewish life, come to this meeting and attempt to direct Jewish actions."

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News Item, New York Times,
May 24, 1915, p.6:2

KEHILLAH IN UPROAR FAVORS CONVENTION

Community Votes for a General Jewish Conference on the Needy in the War Zone

Clash Over Instructions

Delegates Who Also Belong to the Jewish Committee Held Bound by Local Body's Action

The local Kehillah, or Jewish Community, meeting in the Concert Hall of Madison Square Garden yesterday endorsed the idea of holding a conference of delegates from Jewish organizations throughout the country to consider the plight of European Jews and to determine what could be done for the amelioration of their condition after the war. This action was embodied in a resolution passed at the morning session of the special convention.

Stormy discussion, with exchanges of personalities, occurred in an afternoon debate over whether the Kehillah representatives in the American Jewish Committee were to be bound by the resolution or were to have the right to vote as they pleased when the Committee took up the question of calling the general conference.

One of those who thought the Kehillah representatives in the American Jewish Committee should not be bound by the convention was Louis Marshall, who besides being a member of the American Committee is one of the Executive Committee of the Kehillah. He was quoted a month ago as being opposed to a conference at this time because its effect might be detrimental to a settlement of the problems of the Jews in the belligerent lands. Mr. Marshall protested against an

attempt to limit action on what was to every delegate a matter of convenience. He left the hall, and later it was reported to the meeting that he had said he would resign from the Kehillah. If such was his intention, Mr. Marshall did not express it to the members, and at night he refused even to discuss the affair.

President Wilson Indorsed

The session opened with the presentation of Dr. J. L. Magnes, Chairman, of a resolution in which the Jewish Community of New York City, as a body of American citizens, expressed its confidence in and offered its support to President Wilson and his advisors. It was adopted unanimously.

Dr. I. A. Hourwich, Chairman of the Convention Committee to consider the question of calling a conference of representative Jews, offered the resolution about which the storm raged all afternoon. The resolution was seconded by Jacob H. Schiff, and was adopted after some discussion. It reads as follows:

Whereas, This Convention of the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City favors the idea of holding a conference of delegates from Jewish societies throughout the country, chosen by their membership for the sole purpose of considering the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands, and in view of the fact that the American Jewish Committee has heretofore decided to hold a conference to which the heads of the leading Jewish organizations of the country are to be invited for the purpose of considering the same subject; be it

RESOLVED, That the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City, as a constituent part of the American Jewish Committee, recommends to the latter that it hold a special meeting of its members with all convenient dispatch to consider the advisability of calling a conference of the character favored by this convention in lieu of the conference which the American Jewish Committee has heretofore planned.

Following the disposal of this question, the storm arose over this resolution offered by Dr. Magnes:

RESOLVED, It is not the intent of the resolution passed to force any member of the American Jewish Committee in special meeting assembled to vote against his conscience.

Dr. Magnes led the fight for the adoption of this resolution and Judge Aaron J. Levy led the forces which wished the Kehillah delegates to be bound by the action of the convention. At times feelings ran high and personalities were indulged in. In the debate vague references were made to convention delegates as having been subsidized and still vaguer remarks about wealthy Jews having a baneful influence.

"Fools" and "silly" were some of the epithets used and at times several persons were on the floor at once talking and Dr. Magnes had to rap for order. Once he reminded a vehement speaker that this was America and things were conducted in parliamentary form here. At another time he insisted on speakers not indulging in personal remarks. Feeling ran so high between opposing factions that three times in the afternoon the Chairman ordered from the hall every person not a delegate to the convention and had the doors closed before order was restored.

Hints at Subsidizing

In an impassioned address, Judge Levy called all who were not subsidized not to nullify what had been done.

"We have taken years to get to the place where we passed the resolution, and now you are called upon to undo in as many seconds what it has taken years to accomplish," he said. "We must fight together in this great battle for principle, even if a thousand Kehillahs go to smash."

The speaker declared that Jewish organizations often got nowhere because the voice of the people was not the voice of God. He wanted, he said, to protest against rich delegates attempting to run the convention.

"Demagogy has been allowed to intrude into this discussion its own vanities and ambitions," A. H. Fromenson asserted, but he was only well underway when Dr. Hourwich said that the speaker had no right to inject personalities. It was ruled by the Chairman that the speaker could continue, for if Dr. Hourwich's side could indulge in personalities, the opposition could do the same. As Mr. Fromenson continued, some one shouted that Mr. Marshall was a despot. The Chair rapped for order, and the speaker reminded the convention that Mr. Marshall represented the older Jews in this country, without whom there would be no congress like the one it was proposed to call, but simply a Zionist conference.

Many persons struggled for recognition and several spoke briefly, but as each sat down half a dozen others clamored for a hearing. There were charges that an attempt was being made to throttle information about the condition of Jews abroad and the progress of the war.

Dr. Magnes in a pacificatory speech referred to the epithets and charges which had been heard and to the appeal to passion in regard to those who had riches and those who had not.

"These can be forgiven," he said, "Because of the heat of the moment and the deep feeling by which we are animated. The question we have to consider is not, Shall we or shall we not have a conference? That has already been done. The question is whether the members of the American Jewish Committee at a special meeting are to vote in favor of a conference.

"The resolution is an appeal for a minimum program for the convention so that Jews whether they favor this or that can come together and are not bound before they come. If the American Jewish Committee does not approve of such a conference, that is another bridge to cross, but let us cross the bridge when we come to it."

The resolution declaring it was not the intent of the Kehillah to influence any member of the committee to vote against his conscience was put, and on a standing vote it was adopted by 102 to 91. The opposition then called for a roll call, and on that the resolution was lost by eleven votes.

Dr. Magnes Reproachful

"I hope you Democrats are satisfied with this sort of victory," said Dr. Magnes. "I hope those who directed the vote know how to bear its responsibility. I feel a great deal of my usefulness is at an end. I want to work with you in the rank and file and no longer as a leader."

"Don't worry," interrupted Judge Levy.

"If I may be personal, Judge Levy," the Chairman retorted, "I do worry when men like you, who have not been in Jewish life, come to this meeting and attempt to direct Jewish actions."

Dr. Magnes denied after the meeting that he intended to give up his office in the Kehillah. In a statement he said:

"From a knowledge of the sentiment of a number of the community representatives in the American Jewish Committee it is not to be expected that they will regard themselves as bound by the convention resolution, and that they will determine the question of a conference of representative Jews in accordance with the situation at the time of the special meeting of the American Jewish Committee to be called to consider the plight of the Jews in belligerent lands."

Dr. J. L. Magnes declared that now that the community had favored the idea of a conference, it was his opinion that the community should no longer attempt to prescribe to the American Jewish Committee its course in national and international affairs, and that the community should give greater attention to local matters.

Editorial, American Hebrew,
May 28, 1915, p.88

THE KEHILLAH

The vexed subject of a Jewish Congress has at last been dealt with in a manner to satisfy practically everybody. All possibility of political connotation has been removed and the American Jewish Committee is requested to call a conference of all Jewish organizations to consider the status of the Jews in belligerent lands. The whole American Jewish Committee is to take up the matter and if it determines to call the conference, as it no doubt will, the conferees are to be selected by the membership of the several organizations. This plan is the result of a series of meeting between representatives of the American Jewish Committee and advocates of the Congress and meets with the approval of practically all concerned.

Whether the conference when called will have any beneficial results, is hard to say. The day of peace seems distant and the method of its accomplishment cannot be foretold. The object to be gained, however, is so great, that if a dignified and representative conference presents its views it may well be that they will be heard and considered at the proper time. The world's turmoil at present will call for so much re-adjustment that who can say but that the discriminating laws against the Jews may be wiped out.

It is a pity that when agreement was reached on the major question, the Kehillah should have indulged in so much rancor over a trifle. Instructed or uninstructed, its views to the American Jewish Committee, they would undoubtedly have done so and it was an unworthy reflection upon them to pass the resolution making such action imperative. The delegates to the Kehillah should realize that when responsible men enter into an agreement they consider it binding.

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May 24, 1915 -- Italy declared that a state of war existed with Austria-Hungary.

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June 4, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
June 4, 1915, p.117

Jacob H. Schiff, Isaac N. Seligman, Oscar S. Straus, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Victor Rosewater, of Omaha, Neb., and Dr. Emil G. Hirsch, of Chicago, Ill., are among those who compose the National Provisional Committee, headed by ex-President William H. Taft, which is planning the establishment of a league of Peace.

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June 11, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
June 11, 1915, p.111

The orators at the convention of the Independent Order of Brith Abraham at Atlantic City [June 7] were not in accord as to the solutions they offered for the present troubles in Europe, so far as they affect Jews. Mr. Brandeis, with the zeal of a neophyte, urged the claims of Zionism to solve the difficulties of the situation. Other speakers urged the convention of a congress to demand equal recognition of Jews when the final settlement of peace arrives. It is obvious that any peace congress could not deal with two entirely different appeals from Jews, one a political one urging their claims in a particular territory, and the other a humanitarian one arguing for equitable treatment in the lands where they are already settled; to bring both projects before a European congress would wreck both attempts. If Jewish claims are to be brought forward at the end of the war, the first thing to do is to settle which of these two is to be preferred.

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June 15, 1915 -- Receipts of the American Jewish Relief Committee as
102
of June 15, 1915 totalled \$806,127.81.

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June 17, 1915 --

Item, Events in 5676--United States,
American Jewish Year Book, 1916-1917, p.88

Philadelphia Jewish Community (Kehillah) adopts resolution leaving the American Jewish Committee to decide as to the advisability of calling a general Jewish conference and the manner of constituting such a conference of not more than one hundred and fifty delegates at Washington, D.C. about October 24 for sole purpose of considering the Jewish question as it affects Jews in belligerent lands.

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CHAPTER III

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE'S WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

June through October 1915

Louis Marshall presided at the June 20, 1915 special meeting of the American Jewish Committee which met at the Hotel Astor, New York City. Only thirty-four members attended the all-day session. Representatives of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee requested permission to speak for the congress idea but were denied admission.

Considering the resolutions of the Kehillahs of Philadelphia and New York regarding the convening of a congress of American Jews, the Committee adopted a series of resolutions deciding to call "a conference of delegates from Jewish national societies throughout the country at Washington, D.C., about November 1st, for the sole purpose of considering the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands." The number of delegates was not to exceed 150. Delegates were to be chosen by the various national organizations as they deemed advisable, but it was recommended that the constituencies of the organizations be permitted to express their preferences.

A special committee, consisting solely of members of the American Jewish Committee, was appointed to designate organizations to be invited to participate in the conference and to allot delegates among the organizations selected. The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee was empowered to defer the convening of the conference in the event such action might be advisable. A resolution was accepted which gave the President of the American Jewish Committee complete power to defer the conference indefinitely but was not made known to the general

public until the following year:

That the President of the Committee be authorized and instructed to learn from representative leaders of our co-religionists in belligerent and neutral lands how best the Jews of this country at this time and pending war may promote the best interests of their brethren in belligerent lands, and aid in securing for them equal rights; that until this information is obtained a Conference shall not be held.¹⁰³

The Committee, having called the Conference only to still the Zionist "manufactured" uproar, thus found itself committed to an arrangement for which it had no real enthusiasm. Realizing that the success of the Committee-controlled Conference would be directly proportional to Zionist participation, the Committee decided to gauge Zionist intentions by issuing its first invitation to the Federation of American Zionists which was soon to meet in annual convention. On June 24, 1915 it addressed Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the Federation, inviting that organization to designate seven delegates to attend the Conference.

The Conference planned by the American Jewish Committee was not acceptable to the congress proponents.

The resolution of the American Jewish Committee adopted on June 20th was not deemed satisfactory by the advocates of the Congress. Instead of sharing the responsibility with other national organizations, the resolution of June 20th was so framed as to enable the American Jewish Committee to exercise absolute control over the limited Conference it proposed calling. The committee of arrangements was a committee of its own members. The method of representation was of its own devising. The program was deliberately framed so as to exclude from consideration questions that might arise tending to perfect a permanent representative organization of the Jews of America.¹⁰⁴

105

The Eighteenth Annual Zionist Convention which met in Boston, June 26 through July 1, 1915, practically ignored the invitation referring it to the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs with the recommendation that the Provisional Executive Committee "take steps to call a Congress."¹⁰⁶

Louis Lipsky and other Zionist leaders had apparently decided to end the fruitless struggle with the unwilling American Jewish Committee and to initiate action through Zionist and other organizations friendly to the congress idea to convene an American Jewish Congress. At a meeting of the constituent organizations of the Provisional Executive Committee at the Zionist convention, June 27, Lipsky introduced a resolution to the effect that the Provisional Executive Committee "invite the cooperation of other national Jewish organizations in the United States to issue a joint call for an American Jewish Congress which shall consider the proper steps to be taken to obtain full civil status for the Jews in all lands, and the further development of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine."

Dr. Judah L. Magnes and Judge Julian W. Mack, hoping for agreement that would enable the entire American Jewish community to sponsor a congress or conference, led the opposition to the resolution. But when Louis Brandeis was called upon to express his opinion, he spoke in favor of a congress convened on the initiative of the Provisional Executive Committee, his first public utterance in this matter. Immediately thereafter, the resolution "was adopted by an overwhelming majority."

The congress idea had gathered great momentum and widespread support. Brandeis probably felt for the first time that American Zionism could carry out the congress idea both administratively and financially, if they were forced to do so, without American Jewish Committee aid. Undoubtedly he was pleased to be rid of the not too subtle but very shrewd sabotage of the American Jewish Committee. Thus the Zionists abandoned for the time being the American Jewish Committee and struck out independently to achieve their own original congress plan. Perhaps

Perhaps some Zionist leaders countenanced this tactic as a bluff that might have brought the Committee closer to their point of view. Brandeis acknowledged that neither the Committee nor the Zionists separately could successfully hold a fully representative conference or congress. He continued eager for Jewish unity.

Brandeis having declared for a congress, the entire congress movement commanded deeper respect from the American Jewish Committee. The Committee expressed disappointment in the defection of the Zionists and pleaded that "it would have been a pity if the Jews of America had failed to show some signs of a united front at this most critical moment." There followed endless months of frenzied attempts to achieve "unity in American Israel."

Dr. Magnes, Judge Mack, and Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen instituted the first attempt to repair the breach. All three were members of both the American Jewish Committee and the Zionist organization. Arrangements were made for a conference between Brandeis and Cyrus Adler that an effort be made to compose the differences between the Committee and the advocates of a congress. Brandeis consented to the meeting after consultation with the officers of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee. Due to the pressure of personal affairs, Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, had been unable for a number of months to attend to Committee matters. The unyielding obstinacy of Cyrus Adler, who as Chairman of the Executive Committee acted in his stead, rendered agreement impossible.

Brandeis and Adler met July 12, 1915 at the Hotel Astor. Felix Frankfurter, a member of both groups, was in attendance to draw up the minutes of the conference. Adler desired to discuss the implementation

of the Committee's June 20 decisions regarding the conference of representatives of national Jewish organizations. Brandeis chose to consider rather the basis of the inception of such a congress and the manner of determining representation implying objection to the Committee's arbitrary decisions covering invitation of organizations, allocation of delegates, subjects of discussion, date, etc. Throughout the discussion Adler made constant reference to "conference". Brandeis referred only to the "congress".

Brandeis suggested a preliminary meeting of delegates to reconsider the matters already decided by the Committee. Adler suggested a pre-preliminary conference to decide the matter of representation at the preliminary conference which would consider the question of policy of the ultimate conference.

The discussion ended with the agreement to meet again following the consideration of the interview by the executive committees which each represented. It was understood that the American Jewish Committee would withhold the issuance of further invitations to its Conference until negotiations with the Jewish Congress Organization Committee had been concluded.

The following day, July 13, 1915, the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee

...decided that in view of the fact that the resolutions adopted by the General Committee at its meeting on June 20, 1915, directed the Executive Committee to call a Conference for the discussion of a specific question and limited the number of delegates, the Executive Committee was not authorized to change the plan, purpose and scope of this Conference, and could not acquiesce in the suggestion made at the conference between Dr. Adler and Mr. Brandeis that the discussion regarding the plan, purpose and scope of such a Conference should be reopened....¹⁰⁷

This decision was communicated to Brandeis July 21, 1915.

Brandeis was advised that the only modification the Committee was willing to make was that the call to the conference be signed by other organizations than by the Committee alone. It was pointed out that if Brandeis' group could reach agreement with the American Jewish Committee's Committee on Arrangements, there would be no need for a preliminary conference. Adler declared, however, that the Executive Committee was powerless to alter the decisions of the June 20 meeting of the General Committee.¹⁰⁸

Meanwhile, Louis Lipsky, Chairman of the Federation of American Zionists, addressed a circular letter dated July 22, 1915 to all Zionists urging public demonstrations in support of the stand the Provisional Executive Committee in the negotiations with the American Jewish Committee. This letter constituted an invitation to a congress only slightly less definite than the Conference proposed by the American Jewish Committee.

In his reply dated July 28 to Adler's letter of July 21, 1915, Brandeis scored the American Jewish Committee for rejecting the idea of a democratic congress. He characterized the Conference as undemocratic, not cooperative, impaired by limitation of scope, and of disproportionate representation. He suggested that Adler reconvene the General Committee to reconsider the June 20 resolutions.

Under the date of July 28, 1915, Adler wrote to Brandeis raising serious objection to Lipsky's letter which aimed at influencing the negotiators.

Replying to Brandeis' communication of July 28, 1915, Adler on August 3 rejected Brandeis' suggestion of reconvening the Committee to reconsider the Conference resolution of June 20. He defended the right of the Committee to call the Conference and denied every charge made by Brandeis. The Conference was to be limited in number of delegates for the

purposes of efficiency. It was to meet in closed sessions because of the possible danger of ill-guarded speech. By reason of Brandeis' unwillingness to confer further unless the General Committee were to have been reconvened and since Adler had no intention of calling such a meeting, Adler notified Brandeis that the American Jewish Committee had proceeded to put into action the decisions of June 20. Invitations had been mailed to all organizations concerned. Adler reminded Brandeis that on June 24 the Zionists had been invited to the Conference and he urged their acceptance of the invitation.

On August 10, 1915 Brandeis wrote to Adler explaining Louis Lipsky's circular letter of July 22. Lipsky had taken this action, unknown to Brandeis, to counteract Adler's own propaganda in behalf of the Conference. Brandeis characterized Adler's refusal to call a meeting of the General Committee as evidence of the "absolutistic spirit" of the American Jewish Committee. He condemned the proposed secret sessions of the Conference as dangerous because of the suspicion that secrecy would breed and renewed his request for a meeting of the entire American Jewish Committee to which his arguments in favor of a democratic congress might be presented.

Adler making no further reply, the negotiations were broken off, the issue apparently hopelessly deadlocked. The complete Adler-Brandeis correspondence was published August 13, 1915 and given widespread circulation.¹⁰⁹ The Zionist resumed their agitation in favor of a congress.

The Federation of Roumanian Jews (20,000 members) at its eighth annual convention, June 26 and 27, had adopted a resolution favoring a Jewish congress. The Progressive Order of the West (17,000 members)

endorsed the congress idea June 21, 1915 as did the Independent Western Star Order (20,000 members).¹¹⁰ On July 11 the Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America at annual convention endorsed a Jewish congress.¹¹¹ Two days later in Charlevoix, Michigan, Rabbi Moses Gries, President of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, told that body that "the multitude of committees and leaders...must unite to create one committee, which shall be permanent -- and thoroughly representative -- and duly authorized, with the right and the power to speak and to act on behalf of all the Jews of America."

At meetings of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, July 21 and 27, 1915, under Dublick, chairman, and Girsdansky, secretary, it was decided to plan for a mass meeting in New York in August and to establish a Congress Bureau to enlarge the propaganda for a congress. As of July 27, fifteen organizations had affiliated with the Congress Organization Committee. Reports were received that large numbers of Jewish organizations in Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Pittsburgh, and Philadelphia were active in the congress interest.¹¹²

Poale-Zion was busy agitating for the congress among Jewish workmen. The National Socialist Congress Agitations Committee had been organized to counteract the propaganda of the socialist and anti-nationalist National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights. On August 5, 1915, the Agitations Committee packed Cooper Union with a mass meeting in the interest of a congress. Zhitlowsky, Syrkin, Zuckerman, Hourwich, and Rutenberg addressed the gathering. During the same month they began to publish Der Yiddisher Kongres, a Yiddish weekly devoted to the struggle for "national" rights.

Since the defeat of the Zionist forces at the Temple Emanu-El

relief conference, Zionist organizations had had no official connection with the congress movement. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee, reputedly organized by Joseph Barondess and led by non-Zionists, constituted a thinly veiled disguise behind and through which the Zionists were satisfied to operate. When congress agitation achieved the success of highest level American Jewish Committee consideration and a spokesman was needed to represent congress opinion in conference with Cyrus Adler, neither Bublick nor Girsdansky were considered equal to the situation. Brandeis represented the congress in conference and in correspondence. When negotiations with the Committee collapsed, the disguise was finally discarded.

At a special meeting of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee August 16, 1915 at which Bublick presided, complete reorganization was accomplished. Brandeis was elected president; Leon Sanders, Joseph Barondess, and Joseph Bluestone, vice-presidents; Girsdansky and B. G. Richards, secretaries. Bublick was given no office in the new organization.¹¹³ Louis Lipsky describes the reorganization casting doubt on the complete authenticity of the news items which report the August 16 meeting. He probably means Bublick when he speaks of the physical resistance offered by Girsdansky:

We considered the feasibility of establishing a new Congress Committee, scrapping the old; but finally a few daring spirits committed themselves to the original committee and took an active part in its proceedings. We dragged it away from the East Side, and moved its offices to Madison Square in the Metropolitan Tower -- the Zionist Offices were in the opposite building. I mean dragged it literally, for the removal was achieved in spite of the physical resistance of its Chairman, Dr. Girsdansky, and its other officers, who charged us with desiring to get rid of the Jewish masses by moving away from them (their habitat being, according to them, inevitably and for ever the East Side), and of making the Congress auxiliary to the Zionist Organization. The removal was made possible by an anonymous friend who provided us with a small fund, which was

placed in the hands of Bernard G. Richards, whom we elected as secretary of the Committee.¹¹⁴

The Y.M.H.A. Convention at Wilkes-Barre, Pa., August 22 and 23, 1915 declared in favor of a Jewish congress on democratic lines. Eighteen Pittsburgh Jewish organizations adopted resolutions in support of a congress.¹¹⁵ On August 19, 1915 the Congress Organization Committee held a mass meeting at Cooper Union at which resolutions were adopted demanding a democratically convened and constituted congress "to consider the Jewish problem in all its phases." The following day, August 20, 1915, representatives of non-New York organizations met in New York City and planned the organization of central committees in cities throughout the country for the furtherance of the proposed congress. By October 1, it was reported that local organization was in progress in twenty-nine cities.¹¹⁶

A Lawyers' Jewish Congress Committee meeting in Chicago August 31, 1915 called for "an American-Jewish congress to be convened on a representative plan."¹¹⁷ September 2, 1915, Horace Kallen addressed a mass meeting at Temple Emanu-El, San Francisco, to enlist support for a congress.¹¹⁸

On September 12, 1915 delegates of some sixty Baltimore Jewish organizations organized a central committee pledged to a democratic congress. Eighteen Jewish organizations of Omaha and Lincoln, Nebraska sent delegates to a local conference that unanimously favored "the holding of a Jewish Congress on a democratic basis to deal with the whole of the Jewish problem."¹¹⁹ On September 27, 1915 Brandeis addressed a mass meeting in Baltimore delivering his famous address "Jewish Unity and the Congress". He pleaded for united action and scorned the American Jewish Committee's forthcoming Conference.

While the Zionists agitated for a congress, the American Jewish Committee busied itself with preparations for its Washington Conference.

The committee of seven which had been appointed to oversee arrangements

...met, and taking as a basis the national organization⁵ which were listed in the American Jewish Yearbook, selected all the national organizations in that volume, except junior and auxiliary societies, or such as were by the terms of their charter limited in their operations to a single state. Taking into consideration the diversified interests of the Jews of America, the number of members in each organization, and the geographical distribution of the Jewish population in the United States, it apportioned...¹²⁰

one hundred and twenty-one delegates among forty-three organizations.¹²¹

Later these numbers were increased by nine delegates and two organizations.¹²²

The B'nai Brith which had remained aloof from the congress-conference controversy finally decided to enter the lists, not as a proponent and not as an antagonist but as a peace-maker. Meeting in Atlantic City, August 3, 1915, the Executive Committee of the I.O.B.B. declared itself in favor of a Jewish congress but opposed to "any step of the proposed congress that might make it appear that Jews have lost sight of the fact that they are first of all American citizens."

The next morning, August 4, President Kraus submitted to the B'nai Brith executive session the correspondence received from the Zionists and from the American Jewish Committee relative to a congress and to the Conference. After considerable discussion it was decided that the correspondence "be referred to the President of the Order with a view of making an effort to secure a union of forces between the two conflicting calls..."

On the date of the collapse of the Adler-Brandeis negotiations, August 10, 1915, President Adolf Kraus advised the Jewish Congress Organization Committee and the American Jewish Committee of the interest and intentions of the B'nai Brith. Intimating that he favored the Committee's Conference, he suggested that the B'nai Brith was eager to sponsor a

conference of presidents of a limited number of national Jewish organizations to be selected by Marshall and Brandeis. He would represent the B'nai Brith in this democratic and representative attempt to dispel the unfortunate dissension.

Bublick and Girsdansky replied for the Jewish Congress Organization Committee under the date August 18, 1915 (apparently unauthorized since their group had been reorganized two days earlier). They assured Kraus that they were sympathetic to his plan. The B'nai Brith was to address only one further communication to Bublick and Girsdansky.

On August 25, 1915 Brandeis replied to Kraus for the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs. Suspicious of Kraus' motives, Brandeis accepted the invitation to be represented at the B'nai Brith conference but noted that his organization would not be bound by any "prevailing opinion", that he understood that the purpose of the conference was to be limited solely to the exchange of opinion. He requested that the conference be held as soon as possible.

The following day, August 26, 1915, Kraus addressed a plan of representation to both groups, the American Jewish Committee and congress advocates as represented by the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, which called for the presence of the proposed conference of presidents of an equal number (seven) of organizations from each of the two camps plus the B'nai Brith. He also suggested that other organizations join the B'nai Brith in signing the call to the conference.

Cyrus Adler notified Kraus on August 29, 1915 that the American Jewish Committee would accept the invitation as soon as the attendance of congress advocates was assured.

Brandeis was still suspicious of collusion between the B'nai

Brith and the American Jewish Committee and wary of the dominant position the B'nai Brith wanted to reserve to itself in that it would hold the fifteenth vote and could thus break all ties and determine all policy. Replying on September 14, 1915 to Kraus, Brandeis refused to co-sponsor the conference, indicated that his organization desired no part in determining representation since no decisions were to be made at the conference and no action was to be taken, and reiterated that he accepted the invitation only with the understanding that no specific policy or prevailing opinion was to be binding upon any who took part.

It was announced on September 24, 1915 that the B'nai Brith conference of national organizations "to discuss the situation arising out of the war" would be held at the Hotel Astor, New York City on Sunday, October 3.¹²³

While Adolf Kraus was arranging for his Conference of Presidents, the Zionists were busy wrecking the American Jewish Committee's plans for its Washington Conference by withholding support. On every hand the Committee was hearing its Conference condemned by organizations it had invited to attend. All the well known objections were raised again and again -- the arbitrary allocation of delegates, the limitation of subjects of discussion, etc. Repeatedly the Committee was assured that all resistance would subside in exchange for a representative congress, popularly elected and organized on a democratic basis which would discuss "the whole Jewish problem in all its phases."

The Independent Order Brith Sholom set the pattern by declining the Committee's invitation on August 16, 1915 by reason of the resolution in favor of a congress adopted by the Order at its annual convention the

previous June 7. On August 18, 1915 the executive board of the Independent Western Star Order meeting in Chicago declared in favor of a congress and informed the American Jewish Committee that if the Committee would join the Congregation Organization Committee in sponsoring a congress the Order would gladly cooperate. However, unexpected aid and comfort was to come to the American Jewish Committee from the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights which held its first national convention in New York City September 4, 5, and 6, 1915.

Some three hundred delegates from all parts of the United States represented an estimated half million Jewish workmen at the September 1915 convention of the National Workmen's Committee. In April 1915 this group had included only socialists, but now it represented workmen of all radical wings -- socialists, trade unionists, anti-nationalists, and even Zionists. Among the organizations represented were the United Hebrew Trades, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, the Workmen's Circle, the Jewish Federation of the Socialist Party of the United States, the Jewish Socialist Territorialist Labor Party, the Labor Zionists, the Central Alliance of the Jewish Bund, the Jewish National Worker's Alliance, and numerous local Jewish labor organizations. ¹²⁴

The purpose of the organization was to unite all efforts for the achievement of full rights for Jews everywhere.

The most important decision of the Convention...was expressed in the resolution which directed the Executive Committee to participate in the organization of an American Jewish Congress, provided, however, that such a Congress should not function as a permanent Jewish body, and that it be organized on a thoroughly democratic basis.¹²⁵

The workmen's convention selected a special Committee of Seven to confer with similar committees of the American Jewish Committee and the Congress Organization Committee with a view to uniting the two factions.

To the special committee were also assigned the tasks of informing public opinion of the disabilities suffered by Jews; of appealing to the United States Government to intervene at the Peace Conference in behalf of the Jews of Europe; of addressing similar appeals to all organized bodies concerned with international relations -- particularly the International Congress of Socialists. Arrangements were made for immediate consultations with the American Jewish Committee and the Congress Organization Committee.

The B'nai Brith Conference of Presidents met October 3, 1915, deliberated for nine hours, and accomplished absolutely nothing. Twenty-two organizations were represented by twenty-two presidents. The sessions were secret. Newspapermen were not admitted.

Speaking of the Conference on the following day, President Kraus said: "At the Conference Meeting held yesterday by the different factions, not as much was accomplished as was expected, but we made a good start. I hope that after the next meeting there will be no lions, but all will be gentle lambs."¹²⁶

The Conference of Presidents was not to reconvene. The next pronouncement of the B'nai Brith regarding the congress was issued in January 1916 -- the B'nai Brith decided to take no part in any congress.

By October 10, 1915, the deadline set by the American Jewish Committee for the selection of delegates to its Conference, sixteen organizations within the orbit of the American Jewish Committee had accepted invitations and a grand total of only seventeen delegates had been designated. Five invited groups had declined outright. Nine had replied with indefinite answers or had demanded agreement with the Congress

Organization Committee. Twelve organizations made no response whatsoever. ¹²⁷

On October 10, 1915, the American Jewish Committee abandoned its Washington Conference.

Supplement to Chapter III

June 18, 1915 --

Excerpt from Speech, Jewish Advocate,
June 18, 1915, pp.1,2,8

[Speaking to the Eastern Reform Rabbis' Council, Brandeis discusses the solution of Jewish problems. Zionism, of course, is the solution. Without mentioning the Congress, he concludes:]

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS TELLS JEWS HOW TO SOLVE THEIR PROBLEM

"Let us therefore lead -- earnestly, courageously and joyously in the struggle for liberation. Let us 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 the 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 unflinching 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, wittingly or unwittingly, of the few who are against their own people."

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
June 18, 1915, p.8

IT SETTLES ITSELF

This Sunday the American Jewish Committee will attempt to come to some decision on the question of a Jewish congress. The Committee is at this juncture in a most unhappy position. If it agrees to the convening of a Jewish congress it will be said to have yielded to the pressure of the New York Kehillah proletariat. If it decides that it will not aid in convening a congress it will have irritated beyond redemption the organized element whose affiliation had afforded the American Jewish Committee its one claim to being something more than a self-elected body. Procrastination thus has cost the American Jewish Committee whatever prestige might have come to it had it boldly seized upon the principle involved in the convening of a congress and having decided that it was desirable to have joined those who merely question the date on which it should be convened.

For a Jewish congress will be held. Such a gathering is not a response to the recognition that governments can be influenced by mass meetings. To that kind of sneer there might well be framed a very contemptuous retort. The congress is needed for the self-righting of the authority in Jewry. A congress for the creation of a permanent American Jewish organization would be a premature effort and would be somewhat of an artificial by-product of the war. The congress will however, come because sufficient Jews of intelligence and understanding realize that secret diplomacy is as dangerous to the Jewish people as it has proved to be evil for the peace of the world. That the convening of a congress will produce its own storm and stress is not to be ignored, but all such burdens must be borne by the Jews in America with the same patience that all nationalities bear their loads in Europe at this time.

The congress will come into existence because the newer forces in Jewish life in this country and they have come to stay have aroused the Jewish democracy to a sense of its responsibility and authority. Jewish life produces its own form of taxation and the mass come to understanding will demand for itself representation in the council which shall decide the levies to be made.

No congress will discover in its multitude of its orators no new wisdom at most it will acquire a slogan, but it will clarify the position of the Jews on the problems that are now unfolding themselves as the natural sequences of this most unnatural war. The offhand answer to the known difficulties of the Jewish position are not as remedial or practical, or even as acceptable as they seem to be. The gentlemen who pooh pooh a Jewish congress assert that it is clear that the Jews in Eastern Europe need and prefer equality before the law. On the other hand, the advanced radicals among the Jews in darkest Russia the type that is not even suspected a sentimental Jewish nationalism claim that from their own position it would be more polite to set aside the immediate need of equality in Europe and attain for the Jews some measure of self-government in Palestine. These radicals do not want Palestine, they have no Zionist fervor. It is merely a question of logic with them and the belief that a Judaized Palestine could do more for them in Russia than a score of agreements in their favor signed, sealed and delivered by the Russian Government but unguarded by a vigorous Palestinian Jewry. This startling statement is warranted by reports that come from Russia. It is by no means the last word and there are Zionists who reasons in a direct opposite line as to what should be cause and what effect. We state these opposite extremes because they instance most clearly how unwarranted any small group of men would be acting on their own initiative to serve as spokesmen of the Jewish people.

The congress will come. We shall see abundant proof of that during the Zionist convention to be held in this city. And those who are part of a great democracy should welcome the new and earnest tone which because of the congress need has entered such bodies as the Order B'rith Sholem and the Independent Order B'rith Abraham. Out of the struggling mass so grouped will come recognition of the need for a viewpoint which is no easy task to attain the view of the Jew independent of his political affiliation. That is why a Jewish congress to be effective must be nationalistic and democratic. The Jews must concern themselves with the Jewish problem and discover solvents for Jewish exile, not as suits the particular whim or need of given groups of Jews in given countries, but as the victims need, and the great mass can bear the solution. And in this respect we commend our readers to read the brilliant address by Mr. Brandeis which occupies a considerable portion in this issue of the Jewish Advocate. As the "Jewish Exponent" put it: "He has very clearly come to stay," and Boston's Mayor has put his seal upon the sterling character of his American patriotism by inviting Mr. Brandeis to be the first Jew to be the July Fourth orator in Faneuil Hall. Jewry must for its own salvation face its own problem.

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June 20, 1915 --

News Item, New York Times,
June 21, 1915, p.16:1

DECIDE TO CONVOKE A JEWISH CONGRESS

American Committee Will Call a National Conference to be Held in Washington

Limited to 150 Delegates

Meeting Is To Discuss War Relief and Immigration -- Zionist Movement May Be Barred

The American Jewish Committee yesterday decided to convoke a general congress of American Jews to consider methods of assisting their compatriots in the war zones. The committee's action was taken in response to agitation which has been going on in this country since the beginning of the war and the receipt of the first news of atrocities committed against Jews in the warring countries.

Louis Marshall, President of the American Committee, presided at the all-day special meeting in the Astor Hotel, at which the decision was made, and at the conclusion of the meeting, it was announced the conference would be called together in Washington, D.C. on November 1, or as near that date as practicable.

After long discussion of the details of the calling of the general conference, it was decided that the number of delegates to the general meeting in Washington should not exceed 150, and that the delegates should be representatives of national Jewish societies from all parts of the country. It was decided also that the sole purpose of the conference should be to consider the problems raised by the treatment accorded Jews in belligerent countries. Through this decision discussion of domestic or other problems was eliminated.

The American Committee recommended to the individual societies which will send delegates that their representatives be selected by the members of the societies themselves instead of by appointment, and that delegates be chosen not later than October 10. A special committee of seven members of the American Committee will be appointed to designate the organizations to be invited to send delegates and to work out a basis of representation.

The many questions growing out of the situation created by the war and to come before the conference in Washington are of great significance to the Jewish people. Among those which it is expected will come up for consideration is immigration of Jews from Russia and other countries to America. It is believed this will be one of the big problems immediately after the war. Another question has to do with the relief problem in devastated Poland and elsewhere. The task of presenting the case of the European Jewish colonies in event of a peace conference at the conclusion of the war is another important problem that probably will be considered in the hope of helping to adjust the situation abroad which has so often resulted in oppressive measures aimed at the Jews in certain countries.

A vital question which, however, may be barred from discussion at the conference by the decision to discuss only "the Jewish question as it affects the Jews in belligerent lands, is the Palestine situation. Opinion among Jews is divided as to the advisability of attempting to establish a Jewish nation with headquarters in Palestine, a plan popularly known as the Zionist movement. Those who hold that the Jews are now a nation though without a country, generally favor the movement, while those who hold that they are bound together by faith alone generally oppose it. Among the outspoken opponents is

Jacob H. Schiff of this city, who was present at yesterday's meeting of the American Committee. Some of those at the meeting expected that the Zionist movement would be discussed in Washington....

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
June 25, 1915, p.1

FAVOR SMALL CONGRESS

American Jewish Committee Agrees to Conference of 150

To Meet in November

A special meeting of the American Jewish Committee was held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on Sunday. The meeting was called in response to a resolution adopted by the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City, at an adjourned session of the annual convention of its delegates, "that the Jewish Community of New York City, as a constituent part of the American Jewish Committee, recommend to the latter that it hold a special meeting of its members with all convenient dispatch, to consider the advisability of calling a conference of the character favored by this convention, in lieu of the conference, which the American Jewish Committee has heretofore planned."

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News Item, American Hebrew,
June 25, 1915, p.186

WILL HOLD NATIONAL CONFERENCE

American Jewish Committee Decides on 150 Delegates to Meet in Washington in November

The American Jewish Committee held a special meeting at the Hotel Astor Sunday (June 20) and adopted resolutions calling for a conference of delegates from Jewish national societies throughout the country, at Washington, D.C., about November 1st, for the sole purpose of considering the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands. The delegates are not to exceed 150 in number and a special committee of seven members has been appointed to designate the organizations to be invited to participate in the conference.

The special meeting was called in response to a resolution adopted by the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City, at an adjourned session of the annual convention of its delegates, "that the Jewish community of New York City, as a constituent part of the American Jewish Committee, recommends to the latter that it hold a

special meeting of its members with all convenient dispatch, to consider the advisability of calling a conference of the character favored by this convention, in lieu of the conference, which the American Jewish Committee has heretofore planned."

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee had decided at a meeting held on March 7th that a conference be held of representatives of national organizations, but provided that such representatives shall be the president and one other member of each of said organizations. The Kehillah, however, favored the idea of holding "a conference of delegates from Jewish societies throughout the country, chosen by their membership."

The chairman of the meeting Sunday was Louis Marshall. The entire subject of a conference was thoroughly discussed. The resolutions adopted are as follows:

"RESOLVED, That a conference be held of delegates from Jewish national societies throughout the country, for the sole purpose of considering the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in beligerent lands;

"That the number of delegates to this conference shall not exceed one hundred and fifty;

"That each organization shall choose its delegates in such manner as it may deem advisable, but it is recommended that in the selection of delegates, the members of the organizations of their governing bodies be enabled to express their preferences for delegates;

"That a special committee of seven be appointed to designate the organization to be invited to participate in the conference, and to work out a basis of representation for the various organizations to be invited;

"That the conference shall take place at Washington, D.C., as near as possible to November 1, 1915, and that the several organizations which are to participate be requested to select their delegates not later than October 10, 1915;

"That the Executive Committee be empowered to defer the convening of the conference if circumstances shall arise to render such action advisable."

The following committee was appointed to designate the organizations to be invited to participate in the conference, and to work out a basis for their representation: Dr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman; Col. Harry Cutler, Samuel Dorf, Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. J. L. Hagnes, Bernard Semel and Col. Isaac M. Ullman.

A resolution was also adopted providing that a committee be appointed for the purpose of working out an equitable basis of representation in the American Jewish Committee, with due regard to the fact that the American Jewish Committee is an organization of national scope, and that the Executive Committee of the New York Kehillah now consists of thirty-six instead of twenty-five members.

The following persons were present: Dr. Cyrus Adler, Philadelphia; Fulton Brylawski, Washington; Col. Harry Cutler, Providence; Simon Fleischmann, Buffalo; Joseph Goetz, Newark; Abram J. Katz, Rochester; Louis E. Levy, and Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Philadelphia; Col. Isaac M. Ullman, New Haven; Charles Van Leer, Seaford, Del.; W.B. Woolner, Peoria, and Isaac Allen, Louis Borgenicht, Herman Bernstein, Judge Nathan Bijur, Samuel Dorf, Abraham Erlanger, Harry Fischel, William Fischman, Dr. Israel Friedlaender, Samuel I. Hyman, Rabbi Jacob Kohn,

Herbert H. Lehman, William Lieberman, Dr. J. L. Magnes, Louis Marshall, Jacob Massel, Leon Sanders, Jacob H. Schiff, Victor Schwartz, I.M. Stettenheim, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Israel Unterberg and J.M. Wachman, New York City.

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June 24, 1915 --

Excerpt from Ninth Annual Report of
American Jewish Committee, 1916, pp. 30-31

June 24, 1915

Dear Sir:

I have the honor to enclose herewith the text of the resolutions adopted by the American Jewish Committee at a special meeting held on Sunday, June 20, with a view to convening a Conference of representatives of national Jewish organizations, to consider the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands. I beg to request that you lay these resolutions before the Convention of your body, and ask it to elect or appoint seven delegates to this Conference.

Trusting that your organization will see its way to accept this invitation, I am,

Very truly yours,
(Signed) CYRUS ADLER
Chairman, Executive Committee.

Louis Lipsky, Esq.,
Chairman, Executive Committee
Federation of American Zionists,
Boston, Mass.

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June 25, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
June 25, 1915, p.190

The action of the American Jewish Committee in calling a conference of representatives of national organizations is what was to have been expected in view of the practically unanimous request of the New York Kehillah. The committee did wisely in limiting the number of the conference not to exceed one hundred and fifty, since the smaller the body, the more representative its character is likely to be and the more effective its work -- if the work can have any effectiveness, about which we still have doubts.

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
June 25, 1915, p.8

[Jacob de Haas explains that the Conference that the American Jewish Committee has decided to call is not satisfactory to the advocates of a congress.]

CONGRESS CONUNDRUM

As will be seen from our news columns, the American Jewish Committee last Sunday endeavored to accomplish the impossible. It attempted to compromise on the Jewish Congress question, but such a compromise cannot in the nature of things be acceptable either to its friends or its opponents. The final report, we believe, makes no mention whatsoever of the issues that underlie the problem of convening a Congress. The New York daily newspapers, either through hearsay of reporters, managed to obtain a far more illuminating statement of what the Committee decided upon at its session than is conveyed in these resolutions. According to its reports, the nationalistic Jewish elements are to be ignored and the question of Palestine deliberately set on one side. If this be so, the American Jewish Committee will attempt to hold a cut and dried gathering of delegates who will be brought together to register an opinion which we can imagine has already been manifolded on a convenient typewriter.

Such a gathering would be a compromise because it would imply that the American Jewish Committee, on the one hand, had obeyed the decision of the New York Kehillah as far as the calling of the gathering is concerned, but on the other hand, it rebuffs those who asked for the Congress by keeping out of the sessions the elements which have made the most strenuous appeal for it and force their views upon the Kehillah.

A one-sided view of the Jewish situation at the present time would be a serious mistake either in the individual or in any collective assembly. Indeed the answer to it would be the statement of yet another point of view, a flat contradiction, in fact, such as would in the end paralyze the auricular abilities of the Powers as far as the Jews are concerned. The Jewish Advocate has all along contended that the American Jewish Congress should be called to decide the issue and permit the majority to rule. The decision of the majority might perchance be against the attitude we support, but the decision as to what should be the fate of the Jews is a matter for the Jewish conscience and not in its essence the responsibility of one small group.

That is why the Congress should be democratic in principle. Only the free expression of opinion can help the Jews and there is no danger involved in such expression. Those who fear that the utterances against the Russian Government may jeopardize the future necessary dealings with that government cannot be regarded as serious or careful thinkers. There is probably not a Jew of any standing

outside of Russia who has not within the last two decades anathematized and justly attacked that government for its persecution of the Jews.

A change of front on the part of the Jews at this time would not impress Russia, would not impress the Jews, would not impress anybody, for the Jews as a people are too committed to attempt the buffoonery of diplomacy where Russia is concerned. We have reason to believe, on the contrary, that Russia realizes the Jewish attitude towards her and accords protest against it, the respect that every act of manhood wins everywhere.

We foresaw last week that the American Jewish Committee would blunder since by its tactics it had put itself in a false position. It will even be hoped for its own sake, that it will not read into its resolutions the attitude courted for it in the New York papers.

The national struggle, the Palestine issues are today prime problems -- the big things in Jewish existence from the non-Jewish point of view.

For one group of Jews to come out with a declaration by omission or evasion, that they are not interested in the most vital permanent and all embracing Jewish question, would be for them a very bad act, since they would not only lose the world's respect which is their concern individually, but they would lose for the Jewish people the world's regard and that is a matter which concerns every Jew.

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June 27, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
July 2, 1915, p.210

[On June 27, 1915 at the Eighteenth Zionist Convention in Boston, a deputation from the Jewish Congress Organization Committee attended the Sunday afternoon meeting of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs urging them to take the lead in calling a general Jewish congress.]

"After a stirring and most impressive discussion of five hours the delegates to the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs Sunday afternoon, it was decided by an overwhelming majority that the Zionist Organizations approve of and take part in the call for a general Jewish congress of representatives on a democratic basis to deal with the question of securing the rights for the Jews and the acquisition of a national home for the Jewish people. After a deputation had urged the Provisional Committee to take the lead, Mr. Lipsky introduced the following resolution:

"The Provisional Committee for General Zionist Affairs, having on May 9th, 1915, declared itself in favor of the convening of an American Jewish Congress on the Democratic basis. This conference

of the constituent organizations of the Provisional Committee approves the declaration of policy. In furtherance thereof, it urges the Provisional Committee to invite the cooperation of other national Jewish organizations in the United States to issue a joint call for an American Jewish Congress which shall consider the proper steps to be taken to obtain full civil status for the Jews in all lands, and the further development of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine."

This was followed by a spirited debate in which Dr. Magnes and Judge Mack led the opposition. Mr. Brandeis, finally called upon to express his views on the subject took a stand for the congress and the resolution was adopted by an overwhelming majority.

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July 7, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
July 23, 1915, p.285

(Quoted from London Jewish World, July 7)

A NATIONAL JEWISH CONFERENCE

We welcome the news that the American Jewish Committee has decided to hold a conference to consist of not more than one hundred and fifty delegates from all Jewish organizations in the United States, and which will devote itself exclusively to "considering the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands." We see that the conference is not to meet till November 1st at the earliest, and from one point of view, we would hope that it may be too late for its purpose. The Kaiser has just declared that the war will be over in October, and he ought to know. Still with deference to the War Lord, we venture to think that November will still see the Jewish questions arising directly out of the war -- if not the war itself -- still unsolved. We wish to Heaven we could think otherwise. The committee hastaken a wide and statesman like course; for, whatever may happen, America must have a considerable voice in the peace settlement, whenever it comes, and American Jewry in the future destinies of our people.

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News Item, B'nai Brith News,
July, 1915, p.25

STATUS OF THE JEWS AFTER THE WAR

An important meeting was recently held in Milan and was attended by many prominent Italian Jews, including Luzzatti and Ottolenghi. It was decided at the meeting that the Jews of Italy shall join hands with the Jewish bodies of other lands that are now working in behalf of the Jews who are deprived of their rights in various lands. It

is also reported that the French Jews will come in the general plan and work hand in hand with the Jews of other lands to the same end.

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July 8, 1915 --

Editorial, American Israelite,
July 8, 1915, p.4

CONGRESS OR CONFERENCE

The call issued by the American Jewish Committee for a conference of representatives of the various national Jewish organizations to meet in Washington on November 1, 1915, has already become the subject of considerable discussion.

The call limited the number of delegates to 150, these to be appointed by the Committee. It was also the intention of the Committee that the object of the conference should be solely to create a central body to work in the interest of the Jews in those countries in Europe where they are still suffering under political and civil disabilities, to prevent persecutions there and work for full emancipation.

The principal object of this central body was to be to attempt to gain a hearing at the end of the European war from whatever body would arrange the treaties of peace and to plead for the full emancipation of the Jews in such countries as Russia and Rumania, or wherever they are still without full civil status.

This however does not entirely suit the Zionists. At their recent meeting in Boston, Mass., they passed resolutions demanding a larger number of representatives than the proposed 150, and further that the conference should concern itself more especially with the Jewish re-settlement of Palestine and in fact, with the advancing of the objects of the Zionist organization.

It may be safely stated that the large majority of American Jews, -- using the term to describe the older settlers and their descendants, -- as distinct from the more recent immigrants -- are opposed to the conference taking any action except along the lines set forth in the original call of the American Jewish Committee.

In answer to an inquiry in this connection, J. Walter Freiberg of Cincinnati, President of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the most important Jewish organization in the United States, says:

"I do not understand that the object of the proposed meeting of November 1st, is to establish a central body or congress. According to the resolution adopted at that meeting, a conference is to be held 'for the sole purpose of considering the Jewish question, as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands.' To the subject of the central body or conference, I have not given sufficient thought to express an opinion for publication, but it appears to me that the object of the proposed conference as expressed in the resolution, is one that should appeal to all of our national Jewish organizations."

Adolph Kraus of Chicago, official head of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, the oldest Jewish fraternal order in the country says:

"A conference by representative organizations may do some good; a congress or central body may do great harm."

The Hon. Simon Wolf, chairman of the Board of Delegates on Civil and Religious Rights of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, who for nearly half a century past has cared at Washington for Jewish affairs says:

"I am opposed to a Jewish Congress under any circumstances. It would lead to no possible good, but do infinite harm. My experience in Jewish affairs for the last sixty years leads me to this conclusion. The conference which has been called by the American Jewish Committee at the suggestion not only of the "Kehilla," but on the part of other organizations, while in my judgment also unnecessary, may possibly outline some concrete action to be taken in the future and prevent flamboyant orators in plunging the Jews of the United States into a position untenable and illogical. I sincerely trust that this conference will be composed of men of the highest representative standing, men while they are in every sense Jewish, are above and beyond all other considerations, Americans."

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff does not want to be quoted at present on this subject. Hon. M. Alexander, Governor of Idaho, thinks that:

"Such a body would be of great benefit, could it be organized along lines broad enough to receive the support and confidence of the entire people of the world, anything else will fall short of its object."

THE ISRAELITE is at liberty to state that Louis Marshall of New York agrees with the gentleman quoted above, that under no circumstances should there be a congress and that as the only to offset the possibility of a congress, the conference was called.

That either a congress or a conference is advisable or necessary is very much to be doubted, but "a conference may possibly lead to some concrete action for the future," as Mr. Wolf states. It is highly probable however that the conference at Washington will be held. The movement however has not the unqualified approval of those men to whom American Jewry has hitherto looked for guidance and it is very probable that the meeting will be marked by the clashing of conflicting elements: and that nothing substantial will be done. It is also quite possible that such a meeting will not rebound to the credit of American Jewry. Still, let us hope for the best.

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July 9, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
July 9, 1915, p.241

At the last moment the Zionist conference decided that the congress they and others had desired to solve the Jewish problems throughout the world and in Palestine, shall not be held until after the war is over. This, at any rate, relieves the situation insofar as it prevents any clash between the more modest conference promoted

by the American Jewish Committee for next November, which will confine itself to a study of the possibilities of the situation without being handicapped by any preconceived program. The problems involved are so large and so difficult that they will need all the wisdom that the Jews of the world have at their command, if anything of practical value is to come of them. It would indeed have been a pity if the Jews of America had failed to show some signs of a united front at this most critical moment.

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July 12, 1915 --

Minutes of the Adler-Brandeis Conference,
July 12, 1915. American Hebrew,
August 13, 1915, p.355

Minutes of conference held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, July 12th, 1915, beginning at four o'clock and lasting until six, between Dr. Cyrus Adler, representing the American Jewish Committee, and Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, representing the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs. Prof. Felix Frankfurter, a member of both organizations, was present at the conference.

Dr. Adler explained the basis of selection of the various Jewish organizations throughout the United States, which the Jewish Committee, tentatively, had in mind to invite to a proposed conference (throughout the discussion Dr. Adler used the term "Conference" and Mr. Brandeis spoke of a "Congress") and the number of votes to be allotted to each of these organizations in such a Conference, the total not to exceed a membership of one hundred fifty representatives. Mr. Brandeis stated that the number of delegates, the size of the Congress, did not appear to him a matter of vital moment, but the basis of the inception of such a Congress, the manner of the selection of its delegates, was a vital matter. Mr. Brandeis, therefore, suggested that Dr. Adler and he select, from the tentative list of organizations which Dr. Adler submitted, a nucleus of from twelve to twenty-four organizations, representatives of which should be invited to a preliminary conference, whose purpose it should be, in turn, to invite all appropriate Jewish organizations of the United States to meet in a national Congress, to formulate the basis of membership in such a Congress, the number and method of selecting the delegates to such a Congress, and questions of like nature...

As a result of the discussion following this suggestion, a modified proposal was made that there be called a pre-preliminary conference. Just as Mr. Brandeis thought that no one organization or two can or should assume the responsibility or authority of inviting the rest of the country in Congress, so Dr. Adler suggested that a larger preliminary selecting committee be called as a pre-preliminary committee to invite representatives of other organizations for a preliminary conference to formulate all the questions for the final Conference, or Congress. He suggested that such a pre-preliminary body consist of the organizations to whom, in the list of organizations submitted to Mr. Brandeis, he had allotted seven and five votes,

respectively. Mr. Brandeis suggested that he desired to consider, with his associates, the list submitted by Dr. Adler for the pre-preliminary committee, and subsequently meet Dr. Adler for further consideration of the matter. Dr. Adler suggested that his executive committee meets to-morrow, Tuesday, and that it would be desirable to submit to his committee the results of the interview, as well as have Mr. Brandeis consider the results of the interview with his associates. To this end, a minute of the meeting was to be prepared, which Prof. Frankfurter was asked to draw.

(Signed) FELIX FRANKFURTER

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Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
July 16, 1915, p.263

ZIONISTS FOR A CONGRESS

To The American Hebrew:

After reading your editorial comment in the second column, second page, in your issue of July 9th, I am convinced that you are not in possession of a correct copy of the resolution adopted at the Zionist convention in Boston, on June 27th.

I am therefore giving you below, exact text of the resolution adopted.

The Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, having on May 9th, 1915, declared itself in favor of the convening of an American Jewish Congress on the democratic basis:

"This conference of the constituent organizations of the Provisional Committee approves that declaration of policy. In furtherance thereof, it urges the Provisional Committee to invite the co-operation of other national Jewish organizations in the United States to issue a joint call for an American Jewish Congress, which shall consider the proper steps to be taken to obtain full civil status for the Jews in all lands and the further development of a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine.

Benj. Perlstein
Administrative Secretary
Provisional Executive Committee
for General Zionist Affairs.

New York, July 12th

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July 13, 1915 --

Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
July 16, 1915, pp.271-272

RABBI GRIES AND JEWISH ORGANIZATION

To The American Hebrew:

The stirring address delivered by Rabbi Moses J. Gries as President

of the Central Conference of American Rabbis before the convention of this body just held in Charlevoix, Michigan, indicates that the leaders of Reform Judaism are fully alive to the extent of the great crisis which now confronts the Jews of the whole world, and it is gratifying to know that on this occasion the spokesman of this movement, chiefly made up of native-born Jews, are coming very close to the views and desires of the immigrant Jews of the first and second generation. We "downtown" Jews have been especially impressed by the following paragraph in Dr. Gries' effective address:

"The crisis condemns 'division of counsel,' and demands 'unity of action.' Let the multitude of committees and of leaders surrender their claims to priority and precedence. They must unite to create one committee, which shall be permanent -- and thoroughly representative -- and duly authorized, with the right and the power to speak and to act on behalf of all the Jews of America. The united heart of Israel will speak, with a voice powerful enough to compel the hearing of the nations, to right the wrongs of the centuries. The psychological hour for the Jew has come and united Israel should speak with one voice."

The large masses of Jews in the Eastern cities, those of recent as well as of earlier arrival in this country, have given expression to this desire for unity on a representative, duly authorized and democratic basis, and for action on a large comprehensive scale in the advocacy and the launching of the movement to hold a congress of delegates from organizations representing every element and every section of Jews in this country. This plan for an American Jewish Congress has the day before yesterday been endorsed by the fourteenth Jewish convention to meet within the last few months, namely, the convention of the Jewish National Labor Alliance, which has just closed in Buffalo, New York. Oddly enough, the convention of the United Synagogue of West One Hundred and Twenty-third street, in America, which just met in Arverne, and which is made up of Orthodox Jews, did not see the situation in the light in which it is seen by most orthodox Jews in this country, and failed to respond to the call of this popular movement of the people. But then, the United Synagogue is young, oh, so very young, and obviously the hundreds of orthodox congregations which favor a Congress have not yet become affiliated with it.

It is to be hoped that all of the older and larger organizations in the West and in the South as well as in the East, whether they be orthodox, Reform, or generally Jewish, will see the situation with that breadth of view which has been displayed in the Presidential address before the General Conference, and which has been shown by the leaders of organizations, who in response to the wishes of the members, have already placed themselves on the side of convening a large and popular assembly, by whatever name that assembly may be called, and acting on a scale and in a manner which shall be in keeping with the solemn and historic hour. The great duty which now rests upon American Jewry offers also the opportunity of removing many of the old differences, and of creating new bounds of friendship between natives and immigrants, between conservative and radicals, and between other circles of Jews of different points of view. Of course, only ill-feeling can be engendered by a policy of obstruction

maintained on either side of the present controversy, or by any attempt of one section of Jewry to dictate to all others.

Writing these lines purely in the interests of the movement for a Jewish Congress and not in the capacity of a professional writer, one of the main objects of the present article is to acquaint your readers with the progress which has already been made by this movement, which has received such strong impetus from the decision of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs at its Boston session to give it active support. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee which has been meeting in New York for a number of weeks, and of which Gedaliah Eublick is chairman and Dr. M. Girsdanky is secretary, is now made up of representatives from the following central organizations, each one of which has in convention assembled declared in favor of a general assembly which shall deal with the present Jewish question in Europe in its broadest aspects. The names of the organizations follow: Independent Order Free Sons of Judah, Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations, Independent Order Brith Abraham, Independent Order Brith Sholom, Free Sons of Israel, Association of Orthodox Rabbis, Federation of Galician Jews, Federation of Roumanian Jews, Federation of Russian-Polish Jews, Federation of Bessarabian Jews, Mizrahi Zionist Organization, Socialist Organization, Poale Zion, Jewish National Labor Alliance and the Federation of American Zionists, which first raised the question of a congress at its extraordinary gathering held last August and which now gives its official report to the movement by virtue of the action of its superior body, the Provisional Executive Committee.

Though the Order Brith Abraham has taken no action on the matter at its recent convention, a large number of the individual lodges have adopted resolutions in favor of the movement which has also received the support of nearly all the Yiddish newspapers, and several of the English-Jewish newspapers in this country. The Jewish Daily News of New York, which has carried on a special campaign in favor of the Congress, has among its numerous articles and interviews on the subject published a thousand or more resolutions of organizations favoring the democratic assembly. All kinds of Jewish organizations made up of Jews of various points of view have voted in favor of the Congress idea, and last but not least, the Jewish Community (Kehillah) of New York City not long ago earned the applause of the masses of Jews of this metropolis by putting on its convention order of business and giving its sanction to the movement for a Congress.

That the Kehillah is now in danger of losing the prestige which it has gained through raising this question is another story -- but you can't expect any one to single-handedly tell all the untold stories on Jewish life.

(Signed) BERNARD G. RICHARDS

New York, July 13.

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July 21, 1915 -- United States sends third note to Germany regarding the rights of neutral ships.

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Letter of Adler to Brandeis dated
 July 21, 1915, American Hebrew,
 August 13, 1915, p.355

(At its meeting on July 13th, the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee decided that the plan, purpose and scope of the Conference voted by the General Committee on June 20th be adhered to, except that a number of the larger organizations may be invited to sign the call for the Conference, jointly with the American Jewish Committee. This decision was communicated to Mr. Brandeis on July 21st. The letter follows:)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Dear Mr. Brandeis:

I am authorized to inform you that the memorandum, prepared by Professor Frankfurter representing in brief the results of our conference of July 12th, was laid before the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee.

After a full discussion, the following resolution was adopted:

"RESOLVED, that the chairman be instructed that it is the sense of the American Jewish Committee that the plan, purpose and scope of the Conference heretofore decided upon by the General Committee at a special meeting held on July 20, 1915, be adhered to, with the modification that instead of the call for the Conference being signed by the American Jewish Committee alone, the following organizations be invited to sign the call, the chairman to have the power to modify immaterial details: Arbeiter Ring, Federation of American Zionists, Federation of Galician and Bukowinean Jews, Independent Order B'nai B'rith, Independent Order B'rith Abraham, Independent Order B'rith Shalom, Order B'rith Abraham, Union of American Hebrew Congregations."

Let me say in explanation that our Committee favored your suggestion that it would be sufficient if you with your associates should agree with our Committee as to organizations to be invited and the number of representatives assigned to each, thus obviating the necessity of a preliminary conference. On the other hand, they felt that my suggestions that a number of organizations should join in the call was likely to produce a more favorable result.

Conference Planned After Deliberation

With regard to the purpose and scope of the conference, the Executive Committee felt that it was without power to change these. They were adopted at a meeting of the American Jewish Committee especially called for the purpose, and the Executive Committee regards itself as bound by the terms of the resolutions, a copy of which is enclosed herewith. The reason for the limitation of the scope of the Conference is that such limitation is representative of the dominant issue before the Jews of America and the Jews of the world, and it was deemed inadvisable to obscure the issue with any other subject.

I am, as you will note, given the discretion, in conference with you, to modify details such as would not materially change the main proposition. As soon as you find it possible to continue the discussion, I shall be glad to arrange with you for a further meeting.

Very sincerely yours,

(Signed) CYRUS ADLER
Chairman, Executive Committee

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July 22, 1915 --

Circular Letter issued by Louis Lipsky,
July 22, 1915, American Hebrew,
August 13, 1915, pp.355-356

(It was understood that the American Jewish Committee would withhold the issuance of invitations to the Conference until negotiations with the Provisional Committee had been concluded. On July 22nd the following circular letter was issued by the Federation of American Zionists:)

(Copy of Circular Letter)

Federation of American Zionists
44 East 23rd Street, New York,
July 22, 1915.

Dear Comrade:

The status of our negotiations with the American Jewish Committee in our attempt to secure unity of action on the Jewish Congress issue, makes it necessary that throughout the United States a public demonstration be made expressive of the feelings of American Jews with regard to this important question. It is desirable and urgent that every Zionist use his influence to call local conferences, mass-meetings, etc., to have resolutions adopted, ENDORSING UNEQUIVOCALLY THE RESOLUTION OF THE PROVISIONAL COMMITTEE ADOPTED AT BOSTON, in effect:

THAT A JEWISH CONGRESS BE HELD, CALLED JOINTLY BY JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, AND ORGANIZED on a democratic basis, which shall discuss the whole Jewish problem in all its phases;

THAT NO LIMITED CONFERENCE CAN TAKE THE PLACE OF SUCH A CONGRESS, AND THAT SHOULD SUCH A LIMITED CONFERENCE BE HELD, IT WOULD NOT BE REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SENTIMENTS AND DESIRES OF THE JEWS OF AMERICA.

We appeal to you to use all your energies during the next few weeks to secure such an expression of opinion from your community, and that you aid in having that opinion given the widest and most effective publicity.

It is important that you report to this office the results of your activity.

Immediate action is imperative.

With Zion's greetings,

LOUIS LIPSKY,
Chairman

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News Item, American Hebrew,
July 23, 1915, p.287

IN AID OF WAR SUFFERERS

East Side Relief Committee to Arouse Greater Interest of Masses

In order to arouse greater interest among the Jewish masses of this country, in the distress and suffering which has overtaken the numerous Jewish settlements in the European war zone and to extend the work of relief to such circles as have not yet been reached, the People's Relief Committee for Jewish War Sufferers has just been organized.

The committee, which intends to make a special appeal to the working class in this and other cities of the country, is made up of 50 representative residents, communal workers and professional people of the East Side. Congressman Meyer London is chairman of the committee; Scholom Asch, the novelist and playwright, is vice-chairman; Isaac Goldberg, 171 East Broadway, is treasurer, and Bernard G. Richards, secretary.

At a meeting to be held on Thursday evening, July 22nd, in the Forward Building, the organization will be perfected and plans will be adopted for the collection of funds. Steps will also be taken for the calling of a conference of organizations with a view of interesting local lodges, societies and trade unions in the relief work. Among the members of the committee are Dr. S. Ellsberg, Gedalia Bublick, Dr. Fanny Dembo, Rabbi S. Eskolsky, Dr. Samuel Joseph, Louis Lipsky, Dr. J.L. Magnes, Ch. Minikes, Prof. Isaac A. Hourwich, Jacob Panken, Dr. B. Hoffman, Leon S. Moisseiff, J. Entin, Dr. Ch. Schitlowsky, Rabbi Meyer Berlin, Abram Goldberg, Dr. Henry Moskowitz, Herman Bernstein, Bernard Semel, S. Thau and Meyer Brown. The temporary office of the committee is at 108 Second avenue.

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July 25, 1915 -- American steamship LEELANAW sunk by German submarine off coast of Scotland.

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July 28, 1915 --

Letter of Adler to Brandeis dated
July 28, 1915, American Hebrew,
August 13, 1915, p.356

(Dr. Adler wrote Mr. Brandeis, bringing the circular letter to his attention:)

July 28, 1915

Dear Mr. Brandeis:

Pending receipt of a reply from you to my communication on behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, dated July 21st and delivered at the office of the Federation of American Zionists, 44 East 23rd Street, by messenger on that day, I beg to bring to your attention a copy of a circular letter issued by the Federation of American Zionists on the 22nd inst.

I do not believe that, pending negotiations upon which we entered in all loyalty and with the fullest desire to bring about co-operation, you have sanctioned a policy on behalf of an organization so closely connected with the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs as is the Federation of American Zionists, to bring about a series of agitations throughout the country aiming to influence these negotiations, I feel sure that you will have this action disavowed.

Faithfully yours,

(Signed) CYRUS ADLER

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Letter of Brandeis to Adler dated
July 28, 1915, American Hebrew,
August 13, 1915, p.356

(In this letter of July 28th, Mr. Brandeis outlines the objections of his organization to the plan, purpose and scope of the Conference contemplated by the American Jewish Committee and suggests that inasmuch as the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee felt that it could not contravene the decision of the General Committee, another meeting of the General Committee be called to consider the question de novo. The letter follows:)

My dear Dr. Adler:

I have yours of the 21st transmitting the vote of your Executive Committee, which rejects in substance the proposal submitted by me to you on July 12, 1915, for co-operation between the American Jewish Committee, the Zionists and the other national organizations in calling a Congress on a democratic basis to consider the problems of the Jewish people.

Rejects Compromise Proposal

The vote of your Executive Committee declares "that the plan, purpose, and scope of the Conference heretofore decided upon by the General Committee at a special meeting on June 20, 1915, be adhered to" except that "instead of the call for the Conference being signed by the American Jewish Committee alone," eight other organizations named by it "be invited to sign the call," and that the chairman "have power to modify immaterial details." You also state that your "Executive Committee felt that it was without power to change the purpose and scope of the Conference," and that "the reason for the limitation of the scope of the Conference is that such limitation is representative of the dominant issue before the Jews of America," etc.

The single modification named by your Executive Committee appears to us of no significance. Even though adopted it would leave in full force all the fundamental objections to the Conference plan as originally proposed by your Committee. The Conference would still remain thoroughly undemocratic. It would still not be co-operative. Its scope would still be so limited as to preclude the consideration of certain matters which might be deemed vital to the welfare of the Jews. The fact that your power as chairman is by the vote expressly limited to the modification of "immaterial details," leads me to urge most earnestly, that before you and I meet again for a further discussion of this subject, the whole matter be referred to your General Committee, in order that the General Committee may take such action as is required to permit your Executive Committee and yourself to deal with the matter broadly, in accordance with the widely expressed will of the Jews of America.

When this matter is laid again before your General Committee, I trust you will make clear to them the grounds of objection to your Committee's Conference plan which I set forth at our meeting on July 12th, namely:

First: Your Committee's Conference plan is undemocratic. Democracy demands that those representatives of the Jews of America who are to assemble in Conference to take action concerning the problems of the Jewish people shall have some voice in determining the conditions under which the Conference shall convene and the scope of its deliberations. Your Committee has assumed to determine these matters itself; to determine in advance not only when and where the Conference shall be held: what the aggregate number of delegates shall be; which organizations shall be permitted to send delegates; and what number of representatives each such organization shall have; but also what its plan and scope shall be. Obviously the mere formality now proposed by your Executive Committee of having certain other organizations selected by it sign with the American Jewish Committee the call to the Conference, would not make the proceeding any less undemocratic. So fundamental an objection as lack of democratic character can be removed only by a change equally fundamental. All national organizations must be given some voice in determining the conditions, plan and scope of the Conference or Congress. It was to this end that I proposed that your Committee join ours in inviting the leading national organizations, say 12, 24, or more, to each send one delegate to a preliminary conference which should determine

when, where and how a Congress should be called, and also the number of delegates; how they should be selected; and generally the plan of the Congress; and that its scope to be set forth in the call, be broadly the problems of the Jewish people, so that the Congress itself might determine, after full discussion, what particular subjects it shall act upon.

Second: Your Committee's Conference plan is not co-operative. Co-operation demands that those who are to work together shall all have the opportunity, as well as the responsibility, of sharing in important fundamental determinations. The conditions under which the Congress (or Conference) shall be held, who should participate, the extent of participation, how the delegates shall be selected, and generally the plan and scope, are of the very essence of the Congress. But your plan vests this grave responsibility in the American Jewish Committee alone, and precludes others from participating in the determination of these matters.

Third: Your Committee's Conference plan, according to your letter, places a limitation upon the scope of the deliberations, which limitation may greatly impair, if not wholly defeat, the usefulness of the Conference (or Congress). Your Committee undertakes to decide (in advance) for the Jews of America what they shall and what they shall not discuss, and within what limit they may act in Conference (or Congress) assembled. Is it not clear that neither the American Jewish Committee nor the Zionist Committee, acting alone or acting jointly, should arrogate to itself or themselves the function of determining on what subjects the Conference (or Congress) should act. Neither of our Committees acting separately can justly claim to represent all the Jews of America, nor can two committees jointly justly make such a claim. Neither of our Committees acting separately, nor the two jointly has any mandate which entitles it or them, to determine in advance (without even consulting the other national organizations) what measure may best subserve, the interest of the Jewish people.

Disproportionate Delegate Rights

Fourth: The dangers incident to the method adopted by the American Jewish Committee in assuming to determine alone and make itself entirely responsible for all the component elements in such a Conference (or Congress) is exhibited by the "list of organizations to be invited to participate in the Jewish Conference," of which you were good enough to hand me a copy. Taking three of the organizations of kindred type there named, I find your Committee has allotted to their respective memberships the following disproportionate delegate rights:

- To one with 84,000 members, 5 delegates
- To one with 4,000 members, 2 delegates
- To one with 40,000 members, 1 delegate

In pursuance of your valuable suggestion, Professor Frankfurter (who is a member both of the American Jewish Committee and of the Zionist organization) was invited to be present when you and I were to discuss this matter at Hotel Astor on July 12th. I venture to

suggest now, that a special effort be made to insure his attendance at the meeting of your General Committee to be called for the discussion of this subject: because he could aid you most effectively in presenting to your Committee the views which I expressed at our July 12th meeting.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

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August 3, 1915 --

Letter of Adler to Brandeis dated
August 3, 1915, American Hebrew,
August 13, 1915, pp.356,357,358

(In reply to this communication, Dr. Adler on behalf of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, sent Mr. Brandeis the following letter, which defines the attitude of the American Jewish Committee on the calling of the Conference:)

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE
New York, August 3, 1915.

Dear Mr. Brandeis:

I have your letter of July 28th, in which you urge that before we meet again for the further discussion of the subject of a Conference, the American Jewish Committee be reconvened for the purpose of reconsidering its vote of June 20th, in regard to the plan, purpose and scope of such a Conference. I am satisfied that no result will follow the adoption of this suggestion. The American Jewish Committee met in special session on June 20, for the sole purpose of considering this subject. It had been a matter for discussion ever since September 1914, with various committees and in the Executive Committee. On the occasion of its special meeting, the American Jewish Committee had before it the resolutions of one of its largest constituencies -- the Jewish Community of New York City. The resolutions that were adopted were a modification of a previously proposed plan for the assembling of a conference consisting of the president and one other of every national Jewish organization in the United States, willing to confer. Practically all the considerations and arguments brought forward by yourself at our conference of July 12 were presented at the meeting of the American Jewish Committee on June 20.

The resolutions of which you are aware were adopted after deliberate and careful consideration of all the arguments and by men representing all shades of Jewish opinion and from various sections of the country. They were believed to be in the best interests of our brethren abroad affected by the war and its con-

sequences, without in any way jeopardizing the interests of the Jews in America or interfering with the proper pursuits or the autonomy of any existing organization.

Objects of Committee General

You seem to take for granted that in a matter of this kind the American Jewish Committee stands upon a footing exactly similar to that of the Federation of American Zionists, or of other national bodies. May I point out to you that this interpretation can hardly be maintained upon a careful examination of the facts. Among the approximately forty Jewish organizations of national scope in the United States, the great majority were founded for specific purposes -- religious, education, philanthropic, mutual benefit, fraternal -- all the various forms of activity which have from time to time developed in American Jewish life. Your own organization has for its basic purpose the securing of "a publicly and legally recognized home for the Jewish people in Palestine." Now, if you will contrast these special purposes with those of the American Jewish Committee as recited in its charter, as follows, I think you will be constrained to admit that it is incumbent upon the American Jewish Committee to do exactly that which it is now doing; that if it did not take the steps which it has taken it would shirk the obligations which have been placed upon it:

"The objects of this corporation shall be, 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 which may be received by it, in trust or otherwise, for any of the aforesaid objects or for purposes comprehended therein."

You speak of the American Jewish Committee "assuming" to do certain things, and "arrogating" to itself certain powers. Let me assure you and your associates that such expressions are very wide of the mark. The American Jewish Committee, neither collectively nor through any individual member, is "assuming" or "arrogating". It is with great reluctance and a deep sense of responsibility that the American Jewish Committee took up a burden which no one else had been found willing to bear.

At the risk of reciting what may perhaps be already well-known to you, I venture to point out that, whereas in the course of the settlement and development of the Jewish people in the United States, now a matter approaching three hundred years, there had

grown up numerous local organizations for specific purpose, which probably number in all about ten thousand, and that for the purpose of coordinating these special organizations they had been federated, more or less loosely, into some forty organizations of national scope, it happened that when a great emergency arose in the condition of our brethren in Russia at the time of the Kishineff massacres in 1905, there existed no central body to grapple with these conditions and there had to be brought together hastily and practically without consultation a small committee in New York City, which, however, met the need with the greatest efficiency.

When this crisis had passed, the men who had been foremost in doing this work themselves felt that it was necessary to aid in creating an organization which, in ordinary times should maintain a modest existence but, when occasion demanded, serve as a central point for bringing about united and effective action.

Conferences to which all the national Jewish organizations were invited to send representatives were held, and as a consequence the American Jewish Committee was formed upon as truly representative a basis as it was then possible to attain. Thereafter, all the great national Jewish organizations were invited to representation at large. Some accepted and some declined. When the creation of communities began, these were sought and incorporated as constituencies of the American Jewish Committee; and wherever such organized communities exist the members of the American Jewish Committee for the given district are elected by the Community and by it alone.

Its Representative Character

In view of these facts and the further consideration that there is now incorporated in the membership of the American Jewish Committee every shade of Jewish opinion without distinction, I do not think that it can be seriously denied that, whereas the other national Jewish organizations represent some part of the activities of the American Jews, the American Jewish Committee has gathered within itself the representation of the whole of such activities.

I cannot but feel therefore that you and your associates and those committees that are now engaged in making propaganda against the American Jewish Committee, have not given due weight either to the large general purposes of the American Jewish Committee or to its genuinely representative and democratic character.

At such a grave crisis, I would not be disposed to discuss mere phrases, but since both in our interview and in your communication you constantly re-iterate the charge that the methods of the American Jewish Committee are undemocratic, I feel constrained to insist that your strictures are not justified, at least if you are employing the word "democracy" in its customary meaning in the United States.

You state that the danger incident to the method adopted by the American Jewish Committee is exhibited by the list of organizations to be invited to participate in the conference. May I remind you that the statement that the American Jewish Committee itself selected the organizations to be invited can be considered as true in the merest technical sense but not actually so in fact. The list

of organizations is as objective as any list can possibly be. It was based upon the proof-sheets of the forthcoming American Jewish Year Book. It included all the organizations listed there as "national," except those which were purely auxiliary, juvenile, or known not to be entitled to be called "national" by reason of the limitation of their scope to a given State by the terms of their charters.

I handed you these proof-sheets showing the exact reason for the elimination of each society not included among those to be invited; these, I understood, you were to consider with your associates, and I was and am prepared to discuss with you any modifications of either the list or the representation granted.

The representation, I may say, has been based on three guiding principles: (1) The number of members in each organization; (2) the diversified interests of the Jews of America; (3) the geographical distribution of the Jewish population in America.

With regard to the list itself, you have furnished me with no criticism whatsoever. You have called my attention to the apparently disproportionate delegate rights, but since the proof-sheets of the American Jewish Year Book containing explanatory statements are still in your possession and I have no copy, and you do not give me the names of the organizations referred to, I cannot very intelligently discuss your criticism. I may point out to you, however, that in dealing with the representation of the organizations, the special committee (which consisted of Mr. Harry Cutler, Mr. Samuel Dorf, Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. J.L. Magnes, Mr. Bernard Semel, Mr. Isaac M. Ullman, and myself) very carefully considered not only the membership but also the character of the organization in each case. Organizations of congregations, where the numbers seem small in comparison with those of the fraternal orders, were nevertheless given what might appear proportionately larger representation, because it was borne in mind that the membership of congregations is usually stated by heads of families and does not furnish a definite criterion of the number of souls represented. Rabbinical Associations which, of course, are limited in number, being composed of a small body of men, were nevertheless granted an apparently large representation because the rabbi is, in most communities the acknowledged representative of the opinions of anywhere from 200 to 1,000 persons. The three Jewish colleges, though small in numbers, were nevertheless after careful consideration each assigned one delegate, because it was the opinion of the committee that in a conference of this kind the scholarly and historical view would prove of value in the deliberations. The Zionist organization itself which, of course, cannot show such large numbers as some of the fraternal orders and workmen's societies, was nevertheless given as high a number of delegates as was assigned to any organization, because of the recognition of the great interest (an interest I may say, not limited by any means to Zionists) which that organization has in Palestine, which must undoubtedly form one of the important subjects in the deliberations of the Conference.

Limitation Not Undemocratic

You may recall that I informed you that the Committee did not assign the full number of delegates, leaving thirty vacancies to be filled later either by the inclusion of organizations entitled to representation, which may not have been known heretofore as national organizations, or by increasing the number in individual cases, should the apportionment of the committee have been found unsatisfactory. Again, the filling of these thirty vacancies was a subject left open for discussion at a further meeting which I hoped we might have, and by consultation with the representatives of other important Jewish national organizations. Upon this point, we claim no finality. Such questions and even those of the time and place of meeting were some of the details which I was given the power to modify in a meeting with you.

I cannot admit that the limitation of the conference to 150 persons is in any way indicative of an undemocratic or un-cooperative spirit, if a representative conference is to be held for any effective purpose. The one hundred million people of the United States are represented by a Congress which, in both houses, is not much larger than 500 men. The great commonwealths like New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and Ohio, to cite but a few, whose populations range from eight millions to two and one-half millions, have legislatures, which including the senates, do not exceed at the maximum 257 men; and in some states whose populations approach three millions, the legislatures are limited to about 150. It was through such considerations and the fact that the largest estimate of the Jews in the United States heretofore made places the sum at less than three million that the number one hundred and fifty members of the Conference was reached.

The direct proportionate representation of organizations based upon numbers alone seems to me neither fair nor wise, and certainly not in accord with the methods which prevail in such matters in the United States. Even if the Conference were not limited in scope, some, if not many, of the questions which may be brought up for consideration would undoubtedly have an important international bearing. Under our system, the responsibility for these affairs is placed in large measure upon the Executive himself, and in many cases only with the advice of the Senate, a body in which Rhode Island has an equal voice with New York. Since it would have been neither prudent nor feasible to establish two houses in such a Conference, a modified system of representation must be employed in order that all interests of the Jews shall have a voice, that the Jewish residents of all states shall have at least one representative and that at the same time reasonable weight be given to the numbers in the various national organizations.

I have recited at some length the principles which guided us in the preparation of the list to which you object, because I hope that you will appreciate the fact that the matter has been considered from every angle in view of the very special conditions before us.

"Problems of Jewish People"

You have laid special stress upon the limitation of the scope of the deliberations which you think may greatly impair if not wholly defeat the usefulness of the Conference, and you wish instead a Congress "to consider the problems of the Jewish people."

A meeting, whether it be a conference or a congress, thus called without any restriction as to the questions to be discussed would, I am certain, be futile and dangerous, and national Jewish organizations of importance, besides our own, would unquestionably decline to enter any such meeting.

The problems of the Jewish people, both here and in other lands are manifold. They have been discussed on many occasions. Some of the most important ones are not capable of composition. Let me instance the single yet important matter of religion. There are many people who believe that Judaism is the kernel and the Jewish people the shell, that our continued existence during these twenty odd centuries of dispersion is due, in the Providence of God, to the Jewish religion. Now, the Jewish religion appears in the various phases. It has developed differences of opinion in both theory and practice. This has been so for a long time. Here, in America, after many struggles and heart-burnings, and in spite of occasional outbreaks, we have come to recognize that upon these theological matters it may be advisable to agree to disagree. Yet no one would have the right to declare that the theory and practice of Judaism is not a Jewish problem, and it could not with propriety be excluded from an unlimited conference or congress.

Labor As a Jewish Problem

Again, in the United States, certain large organizations of Jews have been created upon issues which are purely economic and, indeed, as economic theories sometimes become part of the practical politics of a country, they may even be described as political. I allude to the great workmen's associations, to the socialistic societies and even to those sections of Zionists who devote themselves distinctly to the propagation of the socialistic theory. Since they are assumed to be composed of Jews and to be national in scope, these organizations are to have their representatives in the proposed conference. But I cannot for a moment suppose that such a conference should be thrown open to discussions of labor and capital, hours of work, wages, or anything else of that sort.

Similar statements can be made about educational matters, philanthropic matters, and, in fact, about all the interests which our Jewish organizations in the United States each especially subserves.

Only One Reason for Conference

None can deny that the one fact that brings us together today is the appalling condition of the Jews in the lands engaged in the war, and a consideration of how, if at all, we can best aid in improving it, either now or when this unhappy war shall cease.

I cannot conceive but that it would be fraught with the greatest danger not only to the Jews of America but also to the Jews throughout the world if, just at this time, when even the most deliberate persons seem to be under the influence of the prevailing excitement, an unlimited conference were called for the purpose of discussing the problems of the Jewish people.

The American Jewish Committee is not determining in advance what measures would best serve the interests of the Jewish people. If it were doing so it would not call a conference at all. It was to secure a consensus of opinion as to such measures that it was decided to assemble this conference, and it was for the purpose of elucidating this opinion that the conference has been limited in number.

Even on this very point for which the Conference is being called, the American Jewish Committee has felt that the Jews of America are not the only persons to be consulted, and steps have been taken to secure the opinions of leaders of all sections of Jewry in belligerent and neutral states abroad, so that those may be freely and impartially laid before such a conference in order that we may know how persons intimately in touch with the situation view the questions as they have actually arisen.

There is one point that has not been touched upon in our negotiations and possibly has not been made clear in our own resolutions. While it may not make for the acceptance on your part of our views, I nevertheless feel obliged, in all frankness to state it to you. The conference that we are planning is to meet in executive sessions, and only the results of its action are to be made known to the public through such definite authorized channels and to the extent which the conference itself shall decide.

Possibility of Intemperate Speech

The inflamed condition of public opinion in Europe and in America, the large number of Jews in the belligerent lands -- nearly three-fourths of the Jewry of the entire world -- make the possibility of intemperate and even ill-considered speech so great, that we feel that we in this country have no right to risk injury to our unhappy brethren abroad in these times.

In this connection, may I call your attention to an editorial in the Jewish Comment of July 16, which I have no doubt is from the pen of Mr. Louis H. Levin, whose fidelity to the Zionist cause, is, I believe, not to be questioned, and who has recently returned from Palestine, whither he was sent on an errand of mercy jointly by the American Jewish Relief Committee and the Zionist organization. In this editorial, the writer distinctly states that so far as the Jewish inhabitants of Palestine themselves are concerned, "a careless word can arouse suspicion that years of peaceful pursuits and consistent loyalty cannot overcome." In another place he says: "The people who are living in Zion and are trying to work out a modus vivendi with the existing government, find the beautiful rhetoric of their unthinking friends sadly embarrassing."

You have alluded to the widely expressed will of the Jews of America, who have demanded an unlimited congress to consider the problems of the Jewish people. I venture to differ with you as to this "widely expressed will." I furnished you the other day, in a communication, evidence that some of this sentiment was being manufactured. The Federation of American Zionists in a circular letter to its members, points out that "the status of our negotiations with the American Jewish Committee makes it desirable that every Zionist use his influence to call local conferences, mass-meetings, etc., to have resolutions adopted endorsing unequivocally the resolution of the Provisional Committee adopted in Boston," and urging its members to use all their energies "during the next few weeks to secure such an expression of opinion from your (their) community, and that you (they) aid in having that opinion given the most effective publicity."

Stimulating "Will of the People"

You are no doubt aware of the fact that another organization, calling itself the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, has established a Congress Bureau to carry on propaganda in favor of such a congress; that on the small Executive Committee of this Congress Bureau are to be found officials of the Zionist organizations, among them the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Federation of American Zionists; that committees have appeared before various organizations to "stimulate," as it were, this "widely expressed will" of the Jews of America. In other words, a small body of people are carrying on a propaganda intended to bring about a public agitation in favor of a Congress. So that the will of the people is as yet in the making. Methods of this kind the American Jewish Committee is unwilling to combat.

In view of all these statements and the fact that you are unwilling under present circumstances further to confer with me; in view of the fact that all ready on June 20, the American Jewish Committee decided to issue invitations to a conference -- which, except in two or three cases, have been withheld at the request of Judge Mack, to render negotiations with you possible -- I feel obliged to issue the invitations to all the national Jewish organizations in the list handed to you, without further delay. This I have now done.

The invitation extended to the Federation of American Zionists at its last annual convention to be represented at this conference by seven delegates, which was referred by the Federation to the committee over which you preside, is therefore still in your hands.

As I am sure that it is your desire effectively to aid our unhappy brethren abroad, at this important juncture, may I not anticipate that, fully recognizing that there are theoretical differences between us as to the method and even the scope of such a conference, you will nevertheless see your way to urging upon your association the acceptance of the invitation and give us the benefit, in conference, of your advice and help.

Very sincerely yours,
(Signed) CYRUS ADLER
Chairman, Executive Committee

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
August 6, 1915, p.1

I.O.B.B. FAVORS DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS

Atlantic City, N.J., Aug.3. -- The Executive Committee of the international Order of B'nai B'rith today declared its gratitude to President Wilson for what he has done to aid millions of Jews in Russia.

If a national congress of Jews can be created along lines that will not render its members subject to stigma as hyphenated citizens, the committee expressed itself in favor of the federation of organizations proposed by Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston. The members are firmly opposed to any step that might make it appear that members of the race have lost sight of the fact that they are first of all American citizens.

A.B. Seelenfreund of Chicago said the Department of State has been asked to investigate charges that Russians, in the fighting around Warsaw, used Jewish women and children to shield their movements under German fire.

Members of the council attending the meeting include Adolph Kraus, A. B. Seelenfreund, and Philip Stein, Chicago; Jacob Furth, St. Louis; Charles Hartman, New York; L.L. Solomon, San Francisco; Jacob Singer and Simon Wolf, Philadelphia, and B. M. Okalisch, Richmond, Va., Judge A.K. Cohen was present, representing District No. 1.

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August 4, 1915 --

Excerpt from Minutes of I.O.B.B. Executive
Committee Meeting, Atlantic City,
August 4, 1915, B'nai Brith News,
September 1915, p.5

...The President submitted correspondence with the Jewish Congress Organization Committee with reference to securing the co-operation of the Order in the calling of a Jewish Congress on a broad democratic basis, for the purpose of obtaining equal rights and justice for the Jews of all lands.

In this connection communication from the American Jewish Committee was also presented, enclosing text of resolutions adopted at its special meeting held on June 20, 1915, with a view to convening a Conference of representatives of National Jewish Organizations to consider the Jewish question as it affects our co-religionists in belligerent lands, and requesting that the Order elect or appoint seven delegates to the Conference to be held in Washington on October 24, 1915.

After a discussion participated in by all the members of the Executive Committee it was moved by Bro. Jacob Singer that communication from the American-Jewish Committee and the Jewish Congress

Organization Committee be referred to the President of the Order with a view of making an effort to secure a union of forces between the two conflicting calls, and that in the event of bringing about such a union, the participation of the Order in the consideration of the Jewish question be assured. Motion prevailed....

August 5, 1915 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
August 13, 1915, p.8

JEWISH WORKINGMEN ENDORSE CONGRESS

Over five thousand Jewish workingmen tried to get into Cooper Union, New York City, on Thursday evening, August 5th, to attend the mass meeting arranged by the National Socialist Congress Agitations Committee, which is organizing sentiment among radical Jewish workingmen favorable to the holding of a Jewish Congress. The hall of Cooper Union was filled to the doors when Dr. Schitlowsky opened the meeting....

News Item, New York Times,
August 6, 1915, p.18:6

NYT

URGE JEWISH CONGRESS

3000 Working Men and Women Take Steps Toward Organization

A mass meeting of Jewish workingmen and women was held last night in Cooper Union for the purpose of taking steps toward the organization of a Jewish Congress, the purpose of which will be to ameliorate the conditions of Jews all over the world. There were 3000 men and women present, most of them young.

The following resolution was adopted by a rising vote:

Whereas, The tragic conditions of the Jewish people in the belligerent countries imperatively demands the unity and greatest efforts of some Jewish people in its struggle for political and rational emancipation and regeneration, be it

Resolved, That it is of great importance to convene a Jewish congress of American Jews democratically represented.

Be It Further Resolved, That it is the duty of the Jewish labor class to join the movement for the Jewish congress; be it further

Resolved, That the congress shall deliberate and find means and ways to obtain full political, civic and national rights for Jews and a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

The speakers were Dr. C.H. Zhitlovsky, who presided; Dr. H. Sirkin,

B. Zuckerman, Professor Isaac Hourwitch and Pincus Rutenberg, one of the leaders of the resolution in Russia in 1906. Mr. Rutenberg has been living in Italy for a number of years and came to this country recently to try to unite the Jewish workingmen in this movement.

August 6, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
August 6, 1915, p.337

LIST OF ORGANIZATIONS INVITED TO WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

In accordance with the resolution adopted by the American Jewish Committee at a special meeting held on June 20th, 1915, that Jewish national organizations throughout the United States be invited to send representatives to a Conference to be held at Washington about the 24th of October next, the following committee was appointed to draw up the list of organizations to be invited and to designate the number of delegates to be assigned to each organization: Dr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman; Col. Harry Cutler, Mr. Samuel Dorf, Judge Julian W. Mack, Dr. J.L. Magnes, Mr. Bernard Semel, and Mr. Isaac M. Ullman.

This committee has met and has drawn up the tentative list of organizations which follows. The basis of this tentative list was the proof sheets of the American Jewish Year Book for 1915-1916, which contains a list of all national Jewish organizations that are known to exist or have reported themselves. The only organizations which are not included by the committee are college fraternities, auxiliary societies, and fraternal orders whose charters do not permit them to operate outside of a single State. The committee invites suggestions as to the inclusion of such national organizations as are not on the appended list.

The representation has been based on three guiding principles: (1) The number of members in each organization; (2) the diversified interests of the Jews of America; (3) the territorial distribution of the Jewish population in America.

The American Jewish Committee voted that the number of delegates should not exceed 150. The total number apportioned to the organizations in this list is 120. The committee has left a number of memberships vacant so that organizations not on this list could also obtain representation, if entitled to it, and to provide for representation from those States from which delegates shall not be elected by the organizations, to the end that every State in the Union shall be represented by at least one delegate.

The maximum number of delegates allotted to any organization is seven, and the minimum is one.

Invitations are being sent to the organizations requesting them to notify the committee of the names of the delegates elected to represent them at the Conference not later than October 10, 1915.

The list of organizations invited to participate in the Jewish

Conference, and their representation follows:

American Jewish Committee	7
American Jewish Historical Society	1
Arbeiter Ring	5
Central Conference of American Rabbis.....	2
Council of Jewish Women.....	2
Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations	3
Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning.....	1
Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis	2
Federation of American Zionists.....	7
Federation of Galician and Bukowinean Jews ..	5
Federation of Jewish Farmers	1
Federation of Oriental Jews	2
Federation of Roumanian Jews	1
Federation of Roumanian Jews	1
Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society..	1
Hebrew Union College	1
Independent Order B'nai B'rith	7
Independent Order B'rith Abraham	7
Independent Order B'rith Sholom	5
Independent Order Free Sons of Israel	2
Independent Order Free Sons of Judah	3
Independent Order of True Sisters	2
Independent Western Star Order	3
Intercollegiate Menorah Association	2
Jewish Chautauqua Society	2
Jewish National Workers Alliance	2
Jewish Publication Society	2
Jewish Socialist Federation	2
Jewish Socialist-Territorialist Labor Party of America	2
Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion	2
Jewish Theological Seminary	1
Mizrachi of America	2
National Association of Jewish Social Workers	1
National Conference of Jewish Charities	2
National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods....	2
Order B'rith Abraham	7
Order Knights of Joseph	2
Order Sons of Zion	2
Progressive Order of the West	2
Union of American Hebrew Congregations	7
Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations	3
United Orthodox Rabbis	2
United Synagogue of America	3

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
August 6, 1915, p.8

"SIGNED AND SEALED"

The American Jewish Committee, according to the report we published this week is evidently determined to persist in its plans to convene a conference of its own selection. It might as well announce the resolution it intends to have passed, and thus save the delegates the expense of going to Washington, D.C. Recently it was rumored that the Committee would at least so far heed the demand for democracy as to invite some other organizations to join it in issuing the call. But that temptation was resisted.

We venture the suggestion that the majority of the organizations invited to send delegates will not do so, and that the American Jewish Committee will have to retrace its steps before it will be able to show that it has the co-operation of the Jews of the United States in the plans it has contrived for aiding the Jews when the war is over.

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August 10, 1915 --

Letter of Brandeis to Adler dated
August 10, 1915, American Hebrew,
August 13, 1915, pp.358,362

Dear Dr. Adler:

Absence on a vacation has delayed reply to your letters dated July 28th and August 3rd, which I understand have been duly acknowledged through the Zionist Bureau of New England.

First: As to your complaint that Mr. Lipsky was arranging meetings to urge the holding of a democratic congress while your and my negotiations were pending, you are right in assuming that Mr. Lipsky did this without consulting me, but I am greatly surprised that you should find fault with his action, for he simply followed your example. You cannot have forgotten that although you and I arranged on July 7th for a conference to be held July 12th to work out some plan of co-operation, you proceeded on July 11th to commit the United Synagogue to support the undemocratic conference which the American Jewish Committee had arranged. Mr. Lipsky knew that you had done this and naturally assumed that you would not expect the friends of a democratic congress to remain inactive while you continued your efforts to defeat a democratic consideration of the problems of the Jewish people.

Second: As to your refusal of my request that you call together the full committee to consider my arguments in favor of the American Jewish Committee's co-operating with the other national organizations in a congress to be convened and conducted on a democratic basis; your refusal of my request seems to me most regrettable; for there never was a time when the Jewish people stood in greater need than

now of unity and of patient deliberation. I am the more surprised at your decision since at least two members of the American Jewish Committee, Judge Mack, himself a vice-president, and Dr. Harry Friedenwald, supported my request. Your refusal to permit my arguments to be presented to the full committee seems to me strong evidence that there exists in your executive committee that absolutistic spirit against which the proposers of a democratic congress have so earnestly protested.

Says Conference Worse Than Futile

Third: While refusing the request for a hearing of my arguments by your full committee, you courteously renew the invitation to the Zionists to attend the conference at Washington which your committee has called for October 24th. The need of wise counsel in Jewish affairs and of unity is now so great, that I should earnestly urge my associates to yield, where possible, their objections, and attend your conference, if I believed that there was the least likelihood of such a conference serving the Jewish cause. But I am convinced that the conference which you have decided upon will be worse than futile; it will be positively dangerous to Jewish interests. You state: "The conference that we are planning is to meet in executive session, and only the results of its action are to be made known to the public through such definite authorized channels, and to the extent, which the conference itself shall decide." Secrecy necessarily breeds suspicion and creates misunderstanding. Suspicion and misunderstanding have been among the greatest enemies of the Jews in the past, and a conference conducted in secret sessions, as your committee has decided, would, if generally participated in by the Jews of this country, prove a menace both to them and to the Jews of the rest of the world. It is only through a frank and open discussion of the conditions, the sufferings and hopes of our people, that we may expect to secure the co-operation of non-Jews in our effort to obtain justice and rights. It is only through a congress convened and conducted on a democratic basis that we can expect to secure that thorough co-operation of the Jews for self-help, without which they cannot be freed from existing injustice and oppression.

Fourth: You say I err in assuming that in a matter of this kind "the American Jewish Committee stands upon a footing exactly similar to that of the Federation of American Zionists, or other rational bodies." On the contrary, I was fully aware of the powers granted to itself by the American Jewish Committee and set forth in its charter, but the process by which the American Jewish Committee was called into existence was an undemocratic as the steps you have now taken to create a Jewish conference, and I use the term "democratic" in the American sense when I say that an organization in which a system of self-election and perpetuation in office is in vogue, and which meets always in secret session, cannot properly be called democratic.

Fifth: In spite of the publicity which you have given to your refusal, I renew my request that you call a meeting of the full committee to which my arguments for co-operation in calling a congress to be convened and conducted on a democratic basis may be present.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) LOUIS D. BRANDETS

Letter of Adolf Kraus to Jewish
Congress Organization Committee and
American Jewish Committee dated
August 10, 1915, B'nai Brith News,
September 1915, p.1

BREACH BETWEEN JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS AVOIDED

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF B'NAI B'RITH

Office of
Executive Committee
1228 Tribune Bldg., Chicago

August 10, 1915.

To the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, and
to the American Jewish Committee:

Dear Sirs:

At its recent meeting in Atlantic City, the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith considered the communication of the American Jewish Committee which embodied resolutions calling for a conference of delegates from national Jewish societies and organizations to consider the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands; it considered also a communication of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee advising us that the representatives of the national Jewish organizations composing it are pledged to the calling of a Jewish congress on a broad democratic basis for the purpose of obtaining equal rights and justice for Jews in all lands. Each of said organizations requested us to send delegates to the proposed gatherings.

As the Order of B'nai B'rith has taken upon itself the mission of uniting Israelites in the work of promoting their highest interests and those of humanity, both communications were sympathetically received. We noticed, however, with deep regret, that at this time when united and wise action is most necessary, there seems to be a tendency toward dissension. Our Executive Committee is of the opinion that a large gathering of one hundred and fifty or more, whether it is styled a Conference or a Congress, is inadvisable and likely to do much more harm than good. Our Committee is further of the opinion that at the proposed meeting only one subject should be considered, and that is what measures can be taken to secure for our people in certain countries the same measure of liberty and equality as is enjoyed by the other inhabitants of those countries. We feel also that the most earnest endeavor should be made to prevent the Jews of this land, who desire to aid such cause, from working at cross-purposes.

If our persecuted brethren are to obtain relief through the Jews of this country, such relief must come through efforts which

are conceived and directed in a diplomatic way. Diplomacy as a rule does not work through the medium of town meetings. We therefore suggest for consideration the following:

It is safe to assume that those who were instrumental in the creation of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee have absolute faith in Mr. Brandeis. It can also be safely assumed that the American Jewish Committee has absolute faith in Mr. Marshall. It may be assumed further that each of the national organizations of Jews has confidence in its president, and that if the presidents of such organizations as have heretofore taken an active interest in Jewish affairs were to meet and agree upon some plan of action, it would be satisfactory to the Jewish masses whose desire it is that a sane concerted effort, having some prospect of success, be made. We therefore suggest that a meeting be held consisting of the presidents of as many Jewish organizations as the two gentlemen named may agree upon, each to select an equal number. In addition to such selections we suggest that our organization be represented by its presiding officer. We recommend, not from any motive to have any one in particular omitted, but for the good of the cause, that the invitations to such a conference be limited to a reasonable number. We believe that if this plan is adopted, good results will be made possible and that such a meeting will be deemed sufficiently democratic and representative and will avoid dissension at a time when calm deliberation is most necessary. If this or some similar plan is adopted, our organization will be pleased to co-operate.

You will oblige by replying to this communication as soon as you can conveniently do so.

Very truly yours,
EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of
the I.O.B.B.

By Adolf Kraus,
President.

Attest:

A. B. Seelenfreund,
Secretary

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August 13, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
August 13, 1915, p.364

THE CONFERENCE CORRESPONDENCE

The interesting, and in some respects important, correspondence between Dr. Cyrus Adler, representing the American Jewish Committee, and Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, speaking on behalf of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, is a remarkable instance of the way which Zionists spread themselves over matters in which they would seemingly have no particular concern. If Zionism means anything, and Zionists were at all practical, they

would concern themselves with the affairs of the Jews in Palestine, which is at least nominally their immediate concern. But the correspondence in question shows them to be mainly concerned as to methods of election and selection of a body to represent American Jews in general to confer on the best means of alleviating the distress caused by the European war to Jews of that continent, and incidentally of those in Palestine. They seem, also, to desire to raise all sorts of academic questions on the general position of the Jews in the universe, and for that purpose persist in advocating a debating "congress" instead of a practical conference.

Dr. Cyrus Adler, in the admirable resume of the situation which he has sent to Mr. Brandeis, gives full reasons for not extending the scope or composition of the Conference to the vague and indefinite issues seemingly desired by the Zionists, though one would rather have expected them to confine themselves to their more immediate concern. In the discussions between the two gentlemen, which preceded this correspondence, Dr. Adler, on behalf of the American Jewish Committee, made all possible concessions to the characteristically vague demands of the Zionist organization, but on the main point, as to the holding of a Conference of all the Jewish organizations which have the slightest claims to be considered "national" he was definitely firm and such a Conference will undoubtedly be held on October 24th, whether the Zionists choose to attend it or not.

The question is now up to the Zionist organization of this country to show whether they care more for the interests of the Jewish victims of the European war or for their own views of constitutional problems of representation. For the present, at least, their attempt to impose these views on all the other "national" bodies of Jews of this country, even though "stimulated" by meetings and petitions brought about by the usual methods of professional politicians, has completely failed.

While it is to be regretted that at such a critical moment any evidence of dissension should be given to the world by one of the sections of American Jews, it is perhaps as well that the pretensions of Zionists to control the councils of American Jews should be put to a definite test. It seems almost impossible for them to work with other Jews in the common cause; they seem incapable of accepting the democratic principle of the predominance of a majority. This principle is not alone democratic and American, but it is also definitely Jewish and it is curious to find a body like the Zionists adopting so undemocratic, so un-American and so un-Jewish an attitude.

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
August 13, 1915, p.8

DEFINES THE ISSUE

It is reasonably safe to prophesy that the conference which the American Jewish Committee proposes to hold in October will not be held at that date; and probably not at all. Less than a majority of the organizations listed in our last issue are likely to accept

the invitation to appoint a given quota of delegates to attend a secret conference to adjudicate the affairs of the Jewish people. And though the American Jewish Committee may decide to meet with a minority group, such a "Rump Conference" can have but little influence either upon the Jews, or upon those it is sought to influence in the interest of the Jewish people.

We confess indeed to a certain sympathy for the American Jewish Committee, the sympathy one feels for any case of natural wrong-headedness. Here it is preparing a fine mental banquet and even the selected guests do not respond to the engraved invitations. The trouble is slightly complex. Although we live in days of pre-digested breakfast foods it still remains true that it is impossible to devise and order a conference on the Jewish question by a brief discussion in committee. This offhand method is shown in the notification and the apportionment of delegates as published and the same summary methods were adopted at the conference held last October when the American Jewish Committee called the American Jewish Relief Committee into existence.

The creation of a democratic representative Jewish congress in the United States is not an easy matter, but it does not surpass the ability of American Jewry. And that congress should be as democratic as possible because it is highly desirable that the wishes of the Jews in America and their willingness to stand behind their wishes be made known. No one has the right to say the Jews want this or prefer that, and there is neither more nor less power of pre-judgment on what the Jews really think about the Jewish problem, than in the guess as to which political party will win the 1916 Presidential campaign. Fundamentally, that is the trouble with this "hand-picked" delegates conference. For instance, the United Synagogue has agreed to send three delegates -- we quote the case because it is one of the few acceptances we know of. But the United Synagogue has no known views on the Jewish question and its president, as will be seen from Dr. Cyrus Adler's letter, published on another page, regards the fundamental issue that confronts the Jews as a hypothetical question.

Yet as there is no great likelihood of the war being over by October 24th, the conference will have to confer on hypotheses. Thus three delegates at the best would go in a purely personal capacity to help decide the viewpoint of the Jews of America. That they are appointed by an administrative committee does not make them representative because their organization has no viewpoint nor has it been asked to create a viewpoint through the decision of its constituents. In addition, the United Synagogue does not exist for the purpose for which this conference is called, hence, nothing that can happen at the conference is binding or mandatory upon the United Synagogue. And this applies with equal force and cogency to thirty-seven of the forty organizations invited to attend the sittings.

It is far more expensive and difficult to convene a congress but if it is held those who attend will come as the representative of thoroughly informed and responsive constituencies. That implies issues, differences, candidates, platforms, pledges, and what not. Just so the people of each European nation are preparing to voice

their views as to the final settlement after the war, and so too the Jews must find their way to opinions and purposes.

The conference should not be held because it is proposed to make it a secret and executive session. It may be true that a hasty word spoken at an open gathering may do some remote harm. It is very doubtful for all the evil things that Jews can say about those who have persecuted them have been said and have been registered against those who said them. If this risk is feared then the conference should not be held, for there is not a Jew in the United States who is persona grata to Russia or Roumania. Those who are acceptable in Germany today are not acceptable to England and France. All the un-neutral acts have been committed by most people, but most particularly by those who are directly responsible for the convening of this secret conference. So they need not meet in secret on that score. But a secret gathering will work endless mischief, and evil to the Jews. It will compromise the position of the Jews in every country in Europe and particularly those in Russia. There exists throughout the world and even here in the United States a belief in the existence of a Jewish International Organization. Governments believe that the Jews use it to swing the populace, the populace believe it is used to influence governments. We have lately had occasion to draw attention to this myth -- but it is a myth that is believed by men of high as well as low station. One hundred men coming together in Washington, D.C. to plan the measures that would best improve the Jewish lot after the war, meeting in secret session, would prove, beyond all apologies, that the Jews seek to gain their ends by conspirator's means. To this we offer vigorous protest.

The Jews have no secrets, the secret influences do not exist. Nothing can be said at any Jewish conference which all the world should not be welcome to hear. No worthy or useful plan can be proposed which might not be shouted from the housetops. The way to freedom for the majority of the Jews is, that the Jews in America shall be so free in the choice and means of selecting delegates that no man shall thereafter conceive it possible to convene a "secret" session for the solution of the Jewish question.

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Article, Jewish Advocate,
August 27, 1913, p.1

CONGRESS VS. CONFERENCE

American Jewish Committee Lacks Support

(From a Special Correspondent)

New York is in part sizzling with the Jewish Congress idea. New York, in part too, is worried whether there will be a conference, limited, and ready-made by the American Jewish Committee. New York and there is an endless number of New Yorks -- is in part, too, trying to discover a straddle. But New York, one way or the other, is deeply concerned over the question. This is the first time that

New York Jewry has been really aroused and the Congress-Conference problem is holding attention much better than even the Frank episode which has created much depression. Having roused New York to the problem the "Congressists" are jubilant. They are proud of their accomplishment and of the fact that more Jews turned out last Thursday in the Cooper Union for the Congress demonstration than ever before attended a Jewish mass meeting in New York City.

On the side of the Congressists is another achievement. They have aroused the interest of the great army of radical and labor unionized Jews to Jewish problems. This element, running into hundreds of thousands, has hitherto ignored or avoided all interest in Jewish life or Jewish affairs. The Congress has interested even the most radical elements, and a first class fight is being fought between radicals, Socialists, labor unionists, a fight on regular and formal lines as to the furthest possible policy they will adopt. Many stand for democracy in Jewish life, some go further and add to it the Palestinian interest. Whichever has the upper hand the humor of the situation is that this great mass has been courted by the American Jewish Committee as well as by the Congressists. And the A.J.C. has lost in the courtship.

The problem ahead is a mighty interesting one. The case for the American Jewish Committee has little sympathy. If the gossips know anything Dr. Cyrus Adler has over-stepped his authority and has displeased Mr. Jacob H. Schiff by forcing the breach with the Congress forces. One of the officials of a subordinate organization which belongs to the A.J.C. put the situation somewhat regretfully to the writer.

"I doubt," he said, "whether the American Jewish Committee's Conference will take place, although some preparations are being made in Washington for the December gathering. So far only the organizations which are dependent upon the favors of the A.J.C., or the individual men who lead the A.J.C., have promised to attend the Conference. My organization must go with the A.J.C. We are financed by the A.J.C. so what can we do? But if I had to take a vote on the question outside of our executive, I believe I should only be able to hold my people for the A.J.C. on the basis of gratitude. Some of these Congress fellows know this and that is a source of trouble to me."

The head of another organization included in the Adler list of national organizations invited to the Conference was in a quandary. "We cannot decline the A.J.C. invitation because we are too greatly obligated to A.J.C. forces, but it is a very dangerous thing for us to accept the invitation. Our policy, therefore, has been to raise the question of proportionate representation and see what happens."

The next man I interviewed opposed the Conference because the A.J.C. list represented him eight times over and he does not believe in plural representation. A Congressist put his objections to the A.J.C. Conference somewhat simply. Said he: "If you examine the list of organizations that the A.J.C. has invited to participate in its Conference you will see that it has invited a list of organizations that have no real constituencies and which by a system of interlocking directorates are practically under the control of the A.J.C. Dr. Adler worked up an argument to explain the admission

of these organizations to the Conference, but the truth is that they would never have been invited if they were not controlled beforehand. This obvious control annoys even elements who are not otherwise opposed to the general A.J.C. policy. They do not, however, propose to sit at a gathering where they will merely appear on sufferance."

From another source I gleaned that the A.J.C. has only secured the support of one national organization, viz: The Order B'rith Abraham. Mr. Dorf stands alone among the grand masters who supports the A.J.C. attitude, and even he, it is claimed, is not being supported by his organization. Public sentiment, in New York, whatever it may be worth, is, therefore, clearly not with the American Jewish Committee leadership.

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August 15, 1915 --

Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
August 20, 1915, p.394

WHY NOT BOTH CONGRESS AND CONFERENCE?

To The American Hebrew:

I have patiently read the correspondence in last week's American Hebrew entitled "Conference versus Congress," and I confess that I cannot understand why so much heat should be needlessly generated this hot weather. As I gather from this, the "Conference" of Dr. Adler is concerned only with the problems affecting the Jews arising out of the present war, while the "Congress" of Mr. Brandeis, as his spokesman, Mr. Lipsky, puts it, is concerned "with the whole Jewish problem in all its phases," an entirely different proposition. Let the American Jewish Committee hold its Conference, and let the Zionists and others hold their Congress. Both are entirely separate propositions. That the subject of the Jews in Palestine may incidentally come before the Conference does not alter the matter. A truce to all this useless discussion which will only serve to lessen the respect of the Christian world for the Jews. If it is kept up, the "Jew of the Street" will cry: "A plague on both of your houses."

JULIUS STRAUSS

New York, August 15th.

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August 16, 1915 --

Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
August 20, 1915, p.394

ZIONISM AND A CONGRESS

To The American Hebrew:

I submit that the seriousness of conditions in Jewish life demands on the part of a responsible Jewish publication thoughtful and

deliberate consideration of the efforts now being made to organize the American Jewish people in order that they may adequately meet their responsibilities.

Your editorial in last week's issue on "The Conference Correspondence" does not indicate that you are giving that subject the deliberate consideration it deserves.

You nonchalantly order the Zionists to tend to their legitimate business, to wit, the affairs of Jews in Palestine, at a time when the support of every Jew, Zionist and non-Zionist, is needed if American Jews are to meet their obligations to their brethren abroad.

In your issue of March 26th you said:

"Zionists, it would seem, do not concern themselves directly with the material welfare of their brethren abroad or with the spiritual progress of the faith which they have in common with the rest of Israel. They are extremely sensitive to the bearing of any event upon the political prospects of Jewish nationalism, but outside that they seem to concern themselves little with Jewish affairs in general or with the tendencies of Jewish religious thought. Hence, in recent discussions, Zionists seem to concentrate their attention only upon Palestinian affairs."

We point out to you then that we Zionists were as much interested in General Jewish Affairs, as in Palestine matters. Now in your issue of August 13th you say:

"That is a remarkable instance of the way which Zionists spread themselves over matters in which they would seemingly have no particular concern. If Zionism means anything, and Zionists were at all practical they would concern themselves with the affairs of the Jews in Palestine, which is at least nominally their immediate concern."

You direct us back again to your narrow conception of what Zionism stands for, when you find your point of view interfering with the complacent assumption of superior judgment by a few men on the American Jewish Committee.

The Congress issue is a serious matter. It involves the question as to whether the Jews of this free land are to be allowed freedom to organize themselves for meeting the large responsibility that becomes theirs by virtue of the inability of our brethren abroad to meet that responsibility. It involves the question whether proper steps are to be taken to extend the area of responsibility, and take it out of the hands of a group of men who seem to be unable to cope with the situation.

In short, the Congress aims to secure for any comprehensive Jewish operation the whole-hearted and co-operative support of all Jews, who, through the Congress, are to be invited to share the burden of responsibility and administration.

Those who oppose the Congress are opposing a movement which is destined to create an organization of American Jews which will be actually representative and responsible. They wish to divide the responsibility but maintain their control over the policies and the administration of affairs. Thus, at this juncture, they refuse to admit as equal partners in Jewish administration such organizations as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the I.O.B.B., the Independent Order Berith Abraham, the Zionist organization, and other influential representative organizations. It is true, they are willing to invite these organizations to a conference, but always with the implied understanding that the

American Jewish Committee remains in control, enabled at all times to veto any suggestion that may be made at these conferences. The American Jewish Committee will not listen to a plan calling for the co-operation of organizations that stand on an equal plane. It insists that the hegemony belongs to it.

In this discussion, you prefer to deal superficially with the whole matter, and wrongly attribute the desire for a Congress to the machinations of the Zionist organization. You are misinformed however, as these facts will show:

The Democratic Congress idea was endorsed unanimously by the following organizations in annual convention: By the I.O.B.A., which has 200,000 members; by the I.O.B.S., which has 50,000 members; by the Galician Verband, which has 50,000 members; by the Federation of American Zionists, which has 30,000 members; and by other fraternal organizations with an aggregate membership of not less than 100,000.

The whole Congress agitation up to July 1st was conducted by a co-operative committee known as the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, in which fourteen representative organizations were enrolled. On the initiative of nationalists, not Zionists, a continuous agitation has been going on for many months among the Jewish workmen's organizations. In fact, it was the Zionist organization that held in check the Congress movement until July 28th, believing all the while that the American Jewish Committee would commit itself to a democratic policy.

You hopelessly mistake the situation when you order your cartoonist to characterize the Zionists as the tail of the lion. It is a queer sort of a lion you produce, but I assure you that the Lion of Israel, is certainly not that Committee which fears to submit the Jewish problem to open discussion, and prefers a secret, conspirative Conference to a free democratic Congress. If you understand the meaning of democracy, you will not again trespass upon the indulgence of your readers by charging the proponents of a democratic Jewish Congress in which no Jewish Question shall be regarded as alien as being undemocratic, un-American and un-Jewish. Which is the undemocratic and un-American and un-Jewish party is easily revealed in the Brandeis-Adler correspondence. That correspondence is a translucent contradiction of the position you take in your editorial.

LOUIS LIPSKY.

New York, August 16th

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News Item, American Hebrew,
August 20, 1915, p.384

MEETING OF CONGRESS COMMITTEE

A special meeting of the Jewish Congress Committee was held Monday evening at the building of the Hebrew Immigrant Aid Society on East Broadway. A large number of delegates were present.

G. Bublick presided. Preparations were made for the public mass meeting which took place last evening in the auditorium of Cooper Union, where the announced speakers included Nathan Straus, Louis D. Brandeis, Leon Sanders, Joseph Barondess, Judge Aaron Levy, Dr. Stephen S. Wise, and Rabbi Mayer Berlin. The meeting closed with the selection of Mr. Brandeis as president of the Congress Committee, Leon Sanders, Joseph Barondess, and Dr. Joseph Bluestone, vice-presidents; Dr. Girsdansky and B. G. Richards, secretaries.

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
August 20, 1915, p.1

DECLINE A.J.C. INVITATIONS

B'rith Sholom Will Not Attend American Jewish Committee Gathering
Boston Meeting

The Jewish Congress Organization Committee Tuesday makes public a letter written on August 16th by Dr. Louis Rubinsohn, grand master of the Independent Order B'rith Sholom, declining in the name of his organization the invitation of the American Jewish Committee to attend its Washington conference.

In his letter to Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. Rubinsohn says:

Dear Sir:

Your communication of recent date in which you extend an invitation to the Independent Order B'rith Sholom to be represented by a committee of five at a conference to be held in Washington, October 25th, was received by me.

I deferred replying thereto as I deemed the matter of great importance, and desired to take the matter up with the members of my Executive Board. I have already done so and I beg to submit the following in reply:

The Independent Order B'rith Sholom exceedingly regrets that there should be a difference of opinion between the American Jewish Committee and the Federation of American Zionists as regards the manner in which a Jewish Congress shall be convened. Our Order had hopes that all differences would be satisfactorily adjusted so that all factions would be united in this great movement which will undoubtedly mean a great deal to our persecuted race.

We, the Independent Order B'rith Sholom exceedingly regret that we must decline your kind invitation. Our Order, in their annual convention held at Hartford, Conn., last June, adopted resolutions pledging the Independent Order B'rith Sholom to a Jewish Congress called jointly by the Jewish organizations and organized on a democratic basis, and as Grand Master of the Order, I am in duty bound to carry out the wishes of the members of the Independent Order B'rith Sholom.

Very truly yours,

(SIGNED) DR. LOUIS RUBINSOHN,
Grand Master.

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August 16, 1915 -- Leo M. Frank was lynched this date by Georgia mob.

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August 18, 1915 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
September 3, 1915, pp.1,8

WESTERN STAR ORDER FAVORS CONGRESS AND WANTS PEACE

At a general meeting of the executive board of the Independent Western Star Order, held at Chicago on August 18th, the following resolution reported by the committee composed of Leo Wolfson, Nathan T. Brenner and H. Weiss, was adopted.

Whereas, invitations have been received from the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Congress Organization Committee requesting the Independent Western Star Order to send delegates to a Conference to a Congress to be held by the said respective organizations, to consider the Jewish question as it affects the same in belligerent lands and also to obtain equal rights for the Jews in all lands and the home of the land of Israel, therefore be it

Resolved that the Independent Western Star Order favors the holding of a National Jewish Congress on a broad democratic basis, and it exceedingly regrets that this question of utmost importance to our people is being dealt with by separate organizations. Be it further

Resolved, that we urge the American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Congress Organization Committee to use their utmost influence and get together so that these momentous questions should be dealt with by a united and thoroughly representative body representing all phases of Jewish life in America, and be it further

Resolved, that when a Union of all Organizations will be affected, that the Independent Western Star Order will be glad to co-operate in the work and deliberations of such Congress and send its representatives thereto.

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August 19, 1915 --

Letter of Publick and Girsdansky to
Adolf Kraus, dated August 18, 1913,
B'nai Brith News, September 1915, p.1

EXECUTIVE BUREAU OF THE JEWISH CONGRESS ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE

New York, Aug. 18, 1915.

Mr. Adolf Kraus, Grand Master, Independent Order B'nai B'rith,
Tribune Building, Chicago.

Dear Sir:

We are in receipt of yours of August 10th, addressed to the

American Jewish Committee and the Jewish Congress Organization Committee. We have no doubt that you have in the meantime taken notice of the fact that the correspondence between Dr. Cyrus Adler and Louis D. Brandeis relative to the calling of a Jewish Congress has been given wide publicity. We assume, therefore, that you are acquainted with the status of the negotiations which, we regret to say, have thus far not been as successful as we had hoped.

Mr. Brandeis' letters make it clear that we, on our part, have been very desirous that the American Jewish Committee should agree to the holding of a preliminary conference representing the national Jewish organizations at which the basis of a form of organization for a Congress should be formulated.

Mr. Brandeis' renewed request to be heard by the American Jewish Committee, even after Dr. Adler had published his side of the correspondence, must make it clear to you that we have done our utmost, and are still sincerely desirous of preventing the confusion which must result if Jewish organizations are to work at cross purposes at this time.

If you can still bring about such a gathering at which the presidents or delegations of national organizations can meet to define and plan the scope of the Congress, we shall be more than pleased to send our representative.

It must be borne in mind, however, that the national organizations represented on our Committee stand for a Congress as against a conference which shall deliberate upon the affairs of the Jewish people. A Congress implies responsibility on the part of the delegates. The problems that now confront the Jewish people are so important that achievement would be impossible unless the deliberations have the fullest support of a democracy willing to assume the burdens that must follow the carrying out of the decisions of the Congress.

Further, we are in favor of a Congress open and public, for in our opinion, only in that way can we really ascertain the extent of the willingness of the Jewish people to assume responsibility. The Congress must be public because we have every reason to believe that secrecy at this time can engender only mistrust, misunderstanding and dangerous suspicions, both as to what the Jews seek to accomplish of their aims.

Assuring you that we shall look forward with great interest and concern to any effort you can make that will bring about a better understanding, both as to the needs of this gathering and the methods of its organization, we are,

Cordially yours,

G. BUEBLICK,
Chairman.

M. GIRDANSKY,
General Secretary.

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News Item, New York Times,
August 20, 1915, p.20:2

FAVOR JEWISH CONGRESS

Great Crowd in Cooper Union Indorses Movement

Cooper Union could not hold more than one-third of the crowd which turned out last night to attend the mass meeting on the question of holding a Jewish Congress to unite Jews in favor of bringing about an abolition of Jewish disabilities in Russia and establishing a Zionistic State in Palestine at the close of the war. Practically everybody in the hall rose to vote in favor of the resolution for holding the congress.

Louis D. Brandeis, who was to have been the chief speaker, sent a telegram saying he had been detained. Nathan Straus, who was to have presided, did not appear, and his speech was read. Talks were made in English by Judge Leon Sanders and N. Taylor Phillips, both of whom urged the holding of a congress in which the Jews of this country should be represented by delegates chosen by vote. He denounced the idea of having a congress held behind closed doors.

"I believe the Jews should speak out," he said. "I feel now that a great outrage has been committed in Georgia, and who will say that I ought to keep silent about it?"

There was applause for this, which was the only reference made in English to the lynching of Frank. Later at the suggestion of Joseph Baroness all in the hall rose to their feet as an expression of sympathy for the family of Leo Frank.

Speakers in Yiddish at the meeting were Dr. Shmaryah Levin, Dr. Nahum Syrkin, Rabbi Meyer Berlin, Abraham Goldberg, Dr. M. Girsdansky, Dr. Julius Weiss, and Dr. Joseph Seff.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
August 27, 1915, p.415

Notwithstanding the absence of the three attractions which were held up as an inducement to attend the "Congress Meeting" at Cooper Union, the meeting itself was a great success, if judged only by the test of numbers and enthusiasm. It failed, however, to show any business-like attention to the matter in hand, and several of the speakers seemed more interested in the Frank case than in the prospects of a congress. In one aspect, however, the direction of the meeting was thoroughly business-like. An elaborate resolution, written and read in English, though the majority of the audience were speakers of Yiddish, was railroaded through, practically without any discussion. If this is the "democracy" demanded by the promoters of the congress it bears a curious resemblance to the autocracy of the party boss.

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THE TAIL ATTEMPTS TO WAG THE LION

[American Hebrew, August 20, 1915, p.365]

August 21, 1915 -- Italy declares war on Turkey.

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August 23, 1915 --

Letter by Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen,
dated August 23, 1915, American Hebrew,
August 27, 1915, p.417

THE CONGRESS PROPAGANDA

Dr. Solis Cohen Protests Against Abuse of
Zionist Machinery for that Purpose

In reply to a circular letter sent out by the Special Zionist Committee to raise funds for the Jewish Congress, of which Dr. A. M. Hilkowich is chairman, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, of Philadelphia, sent the following communication on August 23rd:

"I have received your circular letter without date, stating that the Zionists of America are actively and vitally interested in the holding of a Jewish Congress on democratic lines at which the whole Jewish problem shall be considered. In order that this Congress shall be successful; that it shall be truly representative and democratic, it is necessary to interest the great Jewish masses of this country; a bureau must be established which shall conduct an incessant propaganda through press and platform; articles must be written, pamphlets issued, speakers sent out. It must be clear that this work will involve the expenditures of a large sum of money.

"I must confess my surprise at its contents, and especially at its request for a contribution for the purpose.

"If there exists a demand for a Jewish Congress so widespread, tremendous and irresistible that, however unwise its object may seem, one must necessarily yield his individual judgment to the clear voice of the people, why is it necessary to further 'interest the great Jewish masses?' Why must a bureau be established which shall conduct an incessant propaganda through press and platform? Why must articles be written and speakers sent out? Above all, why must there be undertaken in order to fan this unquenchable flame, 'the expenditure of a large sum of money when the funds at hand and in sight to relieve immediate distress are so woefully inadequate?

"I most certainly will not contribute to the creation of a false appearance of public sentiment or to the sowing of dissension and division in Israel at a time when, more than ever, union is imperative, and as a loyal Zionist of long standing, I must protest most earnestly against the abuse of Zionist machinery to that end."

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News Item, American Hebrew,
September 3, 1915, p.437

Total contributions received by the American Jewish Relief Committee as of August 23, 1915 amount to \$929,238.38.

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August 25, 1915 --

Letter of Brandeis to Adolf Kraus
dated August 25, 1915, B'nai Brith News,
September 1915, p.2

PROVISIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR GENERAL ZIONIST AFFAIRS

Mr. Adolf Kraus, President Independent Order B'nai B'rith
1228 Tribune Building, Chicago, Ill.

My Dear Mr. Kraus:

I acknowledged, under date of August 20th, your recent letters, adding that I would reply as soon as I could confere with my associates, with whom, however, a conference was to be obtained with difficulty, owing to the interruptions of the vacation season. We have just met and discussed your proposal, and I hasten to report the result.

First: My associates agree with me that we should accept your invitation to be represented at the conference which you propose to call, understanding that what you propose is strictly a conference, and that no one attending is to bind, in advance, the organization which he represents, to any specific policy which may be submitted, or appear to be the prevailing opinion at the conference; in other words, that the meeting is strictly a conference in which we exchange views and endeavor to reach a consensus of opinion as to what it is wisest to do, leaving further action to be determined later.

Second: It would obviously be desirable that such conference should be held at as early a date as possible, consistent with adequate attendance of representatives of such other organizations as should be invited to attend. I suppose it would not be possible for you to arrange for such a conference until after the Jewish Holidays.

Third: We were glad to find, in your proposal, substantial agreement with that portion of my proposition made to Dr. Cyrus Adler on July 12th, and subsequently referred to in my letter of July 28th: that concerted action on the part of the Jews of this country can be effected only through an understanding reached upon consultation of representatives of those national organizations which actually represent the Jews. Our action, at this time, should bring about a better understanding among all concerned by thus adopting American democratic methods of proceeding in the conduct of Jewish affairs, and I trust you will succeed in securing the assent also of the American Jewish Committee to so reasonable a proposal. If you succeed, you and your organization will have rendered a great

service to the Jewish cause.

Will you kindly keep me duly advised of the results of your negotiations?

Most cordially yours,

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS.

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Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
August 27, 1915, p.408

ISSUE CLEAR, SAYS MR. LIPSKY

To The American Hebrew:

You misunderstand and misinterpret my letter of last week in the editorial note which you attached to it by ascribing to me a desire to speak in the name of various organizations, which I never aspired to do. You had charged the Zionist organization with being the instigator of the Congress movement, I replied, giving you the facts regarding the adoption of the Congress resolution by Jewish organizations representing over 350,000 Jews.

In almost every instance, such a resolution was adopted independently of the Zionist organization. The Independent Order B'rith Abraham adopted the resolution as a result of the activity of one of its own committees. The same is true of the Independent Order B'rith Sholom. The adoption of a Congress resolution by the Federation of Roumanian Jews, by the Federation of Bessarabian Jews, by the Federation of Russian-Polish Jews came about directly through the initiative of the leaders of those organizations, who have at no time been affiliated with the Zionist organization.

You try to create the impression that all this sentiment is the result of the efforts of the Zionists, and that if the Zionists had only remained quiet and tractable, there would not have been a Congress movement. This charge is strangely at variance with your assumption that the Zionists are only one per cent of the Jewish population, for the amount of sentiment that has been created suggests the wielding of a tremendous power in Jewish life, which one per cent certainly would have been unable to master. The fact is that you, together with the gentlemen of the American Jewish Committee, are wrongly informed and are acting without knowledge of the facts. The mass-meeting at Cooper Union last week, the successful meetings in Chicago, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Boston, and now Philadelphia, the spreading of resolutions on the record, the general popular interest as indicated in the Yiddish press, all this should have been demonstration to reasonable men that the underlying feeling in this matter is genuine.

Do you really think that publicity, the providing of channels for the expression of public opinion, is so reprehensible? Do you suppose that if men and women were opposed to the Congress and in favor of a secret Conference meeting in the palm of the American Jewish Committee, there would have been created what is clearly a popular Jewish interest in the issue? Do you suppose hundreds of

the best Jewish workers, the entire Yiddish press, the best Yiddish publicists could have been united on an artificially created interest?

Is it not a fact that Dr. Cyrus Adler's refusal to present the arguments for a Congress to the American Jewish Committee in general meeting is due to his fear that his high-minded methods will be repudiated by the members of his own committee? Is it not a fact that the New York Kehillah leaders are afraid to call their delegates into convention -- which is now due -- because it knows that the action of the American Jewish Committee will be repudiated? And do you not know that any referendum vote now taken would indicate that not less than eighty per cent of the Jews of this country are in favor of an open Congress to discuss the whole Jewish problem?

The issue is clear. It is publicity against secrecy. It is democracy against supine autocracy. It is the people against the few men who do not want to be disturbed in their peaceful control of the representative powers of the Jews of this country.

No attempt by you to shift the controversy to one of personality and innuendo, to aspersions upon a movement you yourself have often praised for its idealism, will avail. This issue will have to be decided, not by the few controllers, but by the large mass of people to whom the control belongs. The sooner you recognize this, the simpler your discussion of the issues will become.

LOUIS LIPSKY.

August 25th.

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August 26, 1915 --

Letter of Adolf Kraus to Jewish Congress
Organization Committee dated August 26, 1915,
B'nai Brith News, September 1915, p.2

INDEPENDENT ORDER OF B'NAI B'RITH
Office of Executive Committee
1228 Tribune Bldg., Chicago

August 26, 1915.

To the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, 1 Madison Ave.,
Cor. 23d St., New York City, N.Y.

Gentlemen:

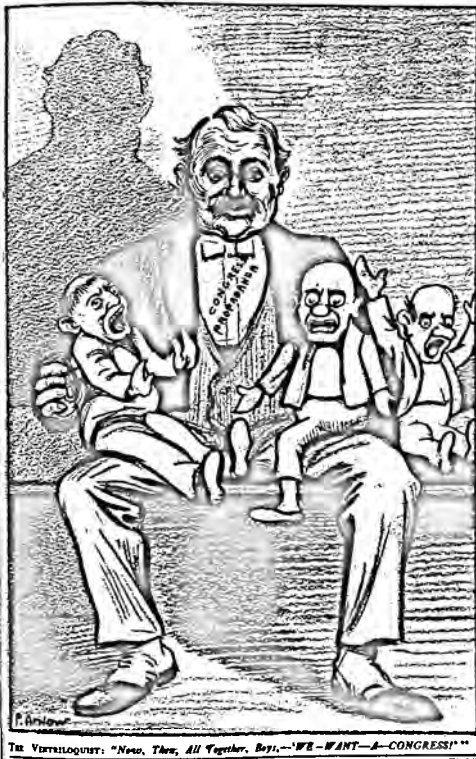
I note with satisfaction your statement that you are "still sincerely desirous of preventing the confusion which must result if Jewish Organizations are to work at cross purposes at this time." For the purpose of this communication, I disregard your statement "it must be borne in mind, however, that the national organizations represented on our Committee stand for a congress as against a conference, which shall deliberate upon the affairs of the Jewish people".

That your organization is committed to a congress and the American Jewish Committee to a conference is well understood, but that should not prevent us from making an effort to co-operate in

August 27, 1915

THE AMERICAN HEBREW

MAKING PUBLIC SENTIMENT



[American Hebrew, August 27, 1915, p. 45]

some manner, if possible; and to make an honest effort to agree upon some united action, for even if we should fail to agree, we would at least be in a position to act advisedly and not assume grave responsibilities blindly. Believing that all of the American Jewish Organizations are desirous of aiding our co-religionists to obtain equal rights with the other inhabitants of those lands in which such rights are denied them, the Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith is ready, if the plan previously submitted by us is not satisfactory, to call a meeting for consultation to be held in the City of New York, and would be pleased to have your organizations and two or three others join in such call to which meeting one representative from each of the following organizations would be invited:

- The Independent Order B'rith Abraham.
- The Federation of American Zionists.
- The Federation of Russian-Polish Jews.
- The Federation of Rumanian Jews.
- The Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations.
- The Society of Orthodox Rabbis.
- Independent Order B'nai B'rith.
- Central Conference of American Rabbis.
- Union of American Hebrew Congregations.
- American Jewish Committee.
- Council of Jewish Women.
- Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis.
- Jewish Chautauqua Society.
- National Conference of Jewish Charities.

You will note that the first seven are members of your organization. Of these seven, you are to have the privilege of striking out any one or more and substituting others; the American Jewish Committee to have the same right regarding the last seven on the list. Our desire is to have the conference as nearly evenly balanced as possible. At the conference the question as to what is the best method to be adopted to secure to Jews in all lands rights equal to those of the ruling creed, is to be discussed without necessarily taking such action as to bind any organization.

We shall be pleased to consider any other suggestion which either you or the American Jewish Committee may care to make. A copy of this communication will be sent to that Committee.

A prompt reply will oblige,

Yours very truly,

ADOLF KRAUS,
President

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August 29, 1915 --

Letter of Adler to Adolf Kraus
dated August 29, 1915, B'nai B'rith News,
September 1915, p.2

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

New York, August 29, 1915.

Dear Mr. Kraus:

I have submitted to the Executive Committee your letter of August 10, on behalf of the Executive Committee of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, in which you suggest that in lieu of the conference proposed by this Committee, there be held a meeting consisting of the presidents of as many Jewish organizations as may be agreed upon by Mr. Marshall and Mr. Brandeis (each to select an equal number), besides the President of your own organization.

In reply, I am authorized to say that such a plan would be entirely agreeable to the American Jewish Committee if acceptable to the Zionist organization. I may point out, however, that ever since September, 1914, when a conference between a committee of the American Jewish Committee and representatives of the Zionist organization took place, the plan for a large and, so-called, democratic congress has been put forward and constantly urged. A conference, limited to one hundred and fifty persons, representatives of all the national Jewish organizations, was proposed by the American Jewish Committee because it was hoped that it might meet the views of organizations like your own as well as of the Zionists and similar bodies, and thus render united action possible in the present grave condition of affairs.

The conference that we have called, limited as it is to the discussion of the Jewish question as it affects our brethren in belligerent lands, not interfering with the autonomy or proper pursuits of any existing Jewish organization in the United States, and yet large enough to render possible the representation of Jews of all shades of opinion and of every state in the Union, seemed to our Committee, after careful consideration by both its Executive and its whole membership, to be a reasonable solution.

I would say, however, that I so fully recognize your strong desire to bring about mutual co-operation at this time -- the purpose for which, indeed the American Jewish Committee was founded -- that although our preparations have gone very far and we have sent out invitations to forty organizations, some of which have already designated their delegates and others of which have indicated their expectation of doing so, I am nevertheless prepared to agree to your suggestion and to submit your proposal to the members of the American Jewish Committee, when you shall have secured the adherence of the Zionist organization, or any other committee which is making propaganda for the congress and which is qualified to represent the views of its constituency.

Let me say that the proposed conference for which invitations have been sent out by the American Jewish Committee differs from your suggestion in size only, and I earnestly express the hope that we may count upon the sincere and hearty co-operation of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith.

Faithfully yours,

CYRUS ADLER
Chairman Executive Committee

Adolf Kraus, Esq., President
Independent Order B'nai B'rith
Tribune Building, Chicago, Ill.

September 1, 1915 -- The diplomatic controversy between the United States and Germany ended today with the assurance of the German Ambassador that ocean liners would not be sunk without warning.

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September 3, 1915 --

Statement of Louis D. Brandeis,
Jewish Advocate, September 3, 1915, p.8

[On the eve of Rosh Hoshano, 1915, Louis D. Brandeis issued this inspirational appeal surveying and evaluating the congress agitation and calling for greater continued effort in behalf of the congress.]

WORK FOR THE CONGRESS

by Louis D. Brandeis

The first year of war which coincides practically with the Jewish year 5675, has been eventful in Jewish history.

To Jews the war has revealed not new fact concerning themselves. But to the non-Jews it has proved that the loyalty of the Jews to the Governments of which they are subjects is inextinguishable. The war has also made clear to all the gravity of the Jewish situation -- a gravity which a large part of the Jews, even in the belligerent lands, had failed heretofore to recognize fully.

Recent experience has again demonstrated that self sacrificing patriotism on the part of Jews does not quench the ardor of the anti-semitism; and that under the accepted code the Jews may be denied political and civic equality while an individual Jew is being rewarded for patriotism.

To the Jews of America the year has been the most stirring in our history. The responsibility has been thrown upon us for movements which vitally effect the Jews of the whole world. Imperious necessity compels us to formulate and express the Jewish needs and aspirations. For this reason our efforts must be directed during the coming year toward developing adequate means for common deliberation, and for ascertaining and giving expression to the will of the Jews -- primarily of the Jews in America, because they are called upon to represent at present the Jews of the whole world.

The recent agitation for a Jewish Congress -- which is one of the most remarkable agitations of our time -- has sprung from the aroused self-consciousness of the Jews in America that those who purport to speak as Jews must speak not only for themselves but also for others. For this reason, among others, this Congress must be a thoroughly democratic instrument -- democratic in its basis, its convening, and in the regulations which shall guide its conduct.

How else should we be justified in claiming that the voice of this Congress is the real expression of the actual majority of the Jews in this country? How else could we expect the effective and enthusiastic cooperation necessary to achieve whatever such a Congress might will?

Because of this great development of Jewish self-consciousness we may fairly claim that even this terrible war has served the Jewish people. For everyone of us the supreme task of the New Year is to help make this influence strong enough and clear enough so that it shall not only serve us here in America, but shall serve all our People everywhere.

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September 4-6, 1915 --

News Item, New York Times,
September 5, 1915, p.3:3

MOVE HERE TO FREE THE JEWS OF RUSSIA

President and Congress to be Asked to Back Demand at End of War

Find Precedent for Action

Congressman Chandler Even Says We Should Fight the Czar for Emancipation

More than 300 delegates from Hebrew congregations over the country assembled at Cooper Union last night to launch a movement for the emancipation of the Jew in Russia after the war. A theory of 2500 sympathizers welcomed the delegates, who will convene for business today. Their work will be to formulate a plan to induce the United States Government to demand equal rights for the Jew at the peace congress of nations expected to be held after the war.

The reception at Cooper Union was almost waned early in the meeting when a faction of Zionists demanded the platform for one of their number. He was Bernard Zuckerman, and was on the list of speakers, but he insisted to the Chairman, A. I. Shiplasocc, that he needed more than the allotted five minutes in which to deliver his address. Mr. Shiplacoff refused to extend his time, and Zuckerman started to leave the platform.

His exit was the occasion of an outburst of protest from Zionists, and Mr. Shiplacoff rebuked them; but they would have taken the meeting out of his control if Meyer London had not come to his assistance. Mr. London scolded the unruly ones, and they finally subsided.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights. Delegates were present from all Jewish centers of the country with the avowed purpose of considering the Jewish problem as it will present itself in Europe and in Russia especially after the war. They hope to relieve the Jew from oppression, with the aid of the United States and by arousing international Socialist organizations.

President Wilson and Congress will be asked to act on a precedent established at the Congress of Berlin in 1878, when Rumania was recognized as an independent power only on condition that it grant equal political, civil and national rights to all the races living within its borders.

Congressman Walter N. Chandler of the Nineteenth Congress District, who was one of the speakers last night, urged even more extreme measures if Russia fails to grant Jewish emancipation.

"In my opinion," declared Mr. Chandler, "the representative the United States will send to this peace congress ought to demand that these people be protected to the limit. If they are not, he ought to say that this Government will call into service every soldier and every gun to insure the protection of the Jewish people in those nations where they are being subjected to outrageous oppression."

Meyer London spoke upon the condition of the Jew in Russia. He said the opening session of the Duma brought for a hopeful expression of sympathy from several prominent disputes. He said both the Church and the Social Democratic Party had failed dismally in preventing the war, but it was to be hoped that they would unite finally in a demand for peace.

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News Item, New York Times,
September 6, 1915, p.1611

TO ASK WILSON'S AID FOR EUROPEAN JEWS

Convention Will Have American Peace Delegate Demand Equal Rights
For Them

Funds Are Needed Now

National Workmen's Committee Announces That It Considers Jewry
As a Whole to be a Nation

Delegates who were said to represent 1,000,000 American Jews met yesterday in Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth Street, to consider ways and means by which American Jews can assist European Jews during and after the war. The delegates were sent to the meeting by a number of Jewish trade unions, and the united body was called The National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights. The National Committee, which was organized in April, held its first meeting Saturday night in Cooper Union, and the last meetings of its three-day convention will be held today in Beethoven Hall.

Jacob Panken, the attorney for the United Hebrew Trades, acted as the temporary Chairman yesterday, and outlined the aims of the committee. With the assistance of President Wilson and the people of this country the committee hopes to be effective in procuring civil, political, and national rights for European Jews equal with the rights enjoyed by persons of other nationalities and faiths.

It considers Jewry as a whole to be a nation, instead of holding with some of the modern Jews that the Jew is distinguished only by faith and not nationality.

The speeches of the delegates yesterday indicated that the committee expects the United States to play an important part in the peace conference at the end of the war.

"We want to induce the United States Government to send a delegate to the peace conference to speak for the Jews in the warring countries," said Dr. Frank F. Rosenblatt, who took a permanent part in the meetings and who was elected Chairman of the Resolutions Committee. "We want this delegate to insist that one of the terms of peace shall be that the Jew be granted equal rights in each of the countries. In Russia there are provinces in which the Jew is denied his civil rights, and provinces in which he is not allowed to live. This is just one example of what we hope to reform.

"It is probable that we shall send a delegate to wait on President Roosevelt and lay the case of the European Jew before him in the hope of inducing him to do whatever he can to insist on peace with justice in Europe when the opportunity presents itself. We have received from Russia a great number of official and other records, and a number of important documents from the Russian Duma, describing the atrocities that have been inflicted on Jews during the present war. We shall send copies of these to President Wilson and to every Senator and Congressman. Some of these records show that while 400,000 Jews have been fighting in the Russian armies, their families have been hounded from their homes and driven about the country like so many cattle. In places whole Jewish communities have been practically exterminated, despite the fact that the men of the communities were giving their blood for the Russian Government.

"But this does not mean that we hope for Russia's defeat in the present conflict, for we consider Jews as members of a distinct nationality, and there are tens of thousands of the members of this nationality fighting with every one of the countries at war. It is easier for us to follow President Wilson's neutrality requests than for any other people for this reason, for the Jews are forced to fight against themselves, and neither side is their side."

The National Workmen's Committee planned yesterday to send appeals to working men all over the world to insist upon equal rights for Jews in every country, and decided to lay their appeal before the next International Socialistic Congress....

News Item, New York Times,
September 7, 1915, p.16:5

FOR ONE-DAY JEWISH STRIKE

Workmen's Committee Suggests it to Show Solidarity for Rights

The National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, composed of delegates from Jewish trade unions, passed a resolution at the final

session of its first convention, in Beethoven Hall, 210 East Fifth Street, yesterday, urging all of the Jews in America to go out on a one-day "strike" when the peace conference is called to end the present war. The purpose of the "strike," the officers explained, is to demonstrate the solidarity of American Jewry in its advocacy of equal national, civil and political rights for the Jews of Europe. The convention was called to devise methods for aiding Jewish war victims and for helping European Jews to gain equal rights with persons of other nationalities.

Another resolution was passed proposing that a general congress of representatives of every Jewish organization of America be held in Washington or New York within the next few months to take up the subject of how to go about aiding the European Jews. Among the other organizations which it was decided to invite to participate in this congress was the American Jewish Committee, of which Louis Marshall and Jacob H. Schiff are prominent members.

The committee decided to start a subscription fund for Jewish war victims and to issue stamps and label buttons to be sold for this cause. It was announced in this connection that the Jewish Workmen's Circle, which is said to have 50,000 members, had decided to levy a tax of 60 cents on each of its members for the war relief fund.

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September 14, 1915 --

Letter of Brandeis to Adolf Kraus
dated September 14, 1915, Jewish Advocate,
September 17, 1915, pp.1,5

September 14, 1915

Adolph Kraus, Esq.

President, Indpt. Order B'nai B'rith, Tribune Building, Chicago, Ill.

My dear Mr. Kraus:

I have conferred with my associates concerning your recent letter to me, and your letter of August 26th to the Congress Committee.

We Are Of Opinion:

(1) That the invitation to the meeting to be held October 3rd should be sent out in your name only.

(2) That you should decide your self whether the number of organizations to be invited to the meeting should be limited to fifteen including yourself, or should be increased to twenty-one as has been proposed, and also, that you should decide yourself which organizations shall be invited.

As our meeting is to be one for consultation only, it does not seem to us, important that there be any attempt made to balance the organizations invited. Upon the basis of any opinion held by them respectively in regard to any of the questions touching which we are to consult. But since you ask suggestions, we wish to call your attention to the fact that the list of organizations which you named

does not include any organization of Jewish working people, such as the Arbeiter Ring and the Jewish National Labor Alliance.

We also call your attention to the fact that the National Council of Y.M.H.A.'s would be an appropriate organization to invite.

(3) We deem it imperative in order to avoid the possibility of misunderstanding that your invitation should make perfectly clear the fact that this is merely a coming together for exchange of opinion and that no one attending is to bind in advance the organization which he represents to any specific policy which may be submitted or which may appear to be the prevailing opinion of the conference; in other words that the meeting is strictly for exchange of views in the endeavor to reach a consensus of opinion as to what it is wisest to do.

My association and I heartily appreciate the effort which you are making in the interest of Jewish unity.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

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September 17, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
September 17, 1915, p.561

It is difficult to understand the exact purpose of the triangular correspondence that has passed between the I.O.B.B., the organizing committee for the Proposed Congress, and the American Jewish Committee. But the substance seems to be that Mr. Adolf Krauss, the president of the I.O.B.B., is proposing a preconference conference of fourteen presidents of national organizations, who shall again thresh out the question of the form and characteristics of the proposed meeting. Dr. Cyrus Adler, on behalf of the American Jewish Committee in accepting the suggestion, points out very pertinently that the proposed conference only differs from that suggested by the American Jewish Committee in being composed of fourteen instead of one hundred and fifty members. Surely somebody ought to protest that this is still more undemocratic and un-American, for only fourteen persons to represent the great Jewish people. It is even possible that they may meet in camera and be still more undemocratic and un-American.

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September 27, 1915 --

Excerpt from address, American Hebrew,
October 1, 1915, pp.604,621

[On September 27, 1915, Brandeis delivered an address entitled JEWISH UNITY AND THE CONGRESS at the Lyric Theater, Baltimore, Md. He pleaded for unity among Jews that they might aid in the solution of those

problems which most deeply affected Jews abroad. He castigated the Conference which the American Jewish Committee planned for October 24, 1915.]

...the conference which the American Jewish Committee proposed should be held on October 24th would be not only futile but dangerous. It would be futile because the conference would purport to be an assembly authorized to express the will of the Jewish people, whereas it would in fact have no such mandate and would lack the necessary support of the Jews of America without which its action would be ineffective.

Such a conference would be positively dangerous to Jewish interests; first, because its deliberations would be secret, and the fact of secrecy would lead necessarily to suspicion and misrepresentation of Jewish purposes and deprive us of non-Jewish support...

Secondly, such a conference would be dangerous because it would discourage activity on the part of the Jews of America who would assume that the conference had relieved them of the necessity of doing their part.

In the third place, such a conference, in secret, would inevitably prevent Jewish unity, because a large part of the Jews of America have definitely declared against it. Of the organizations originally invited, organizations to which more than two-thirds of all the delegates arranged for have been assigned and which together have a membership of more than 400,000 persons, have already refused to participate in the conference....

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
October 1, 1915, p.612

In the very elaborate plea for a Congress which Mr. Louis D. Brandeis has brought forward, and which is reproduced in another column, he reiterates all those vague and glittering generalities about the blessings of democracy which thinkers of his school generally indulge in. But he does not answer the two plain objections which have been brought against such a Congress and which militate against its possible utility. Such an unwieldy body would inevitably result in a mere "talk-fest" without any practical outcome, and besides this the indiscretion of many of the speakers would in all probability give rise to utterances that would destroy any chance of affecting any good in Europe, where such utterances would offend the nations chiefly concerned. It is for these two reasons, among others, that those among us who are most deeply concerned for the state of our brethren in Europe regard with some apprehension the summoning of a popular assembly which would have no practical issue and might easily do more harm than good.

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October 1, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
October 1, 1915, p.620

ACTIVITIES OF CONGRESS BUREAU

In accordance with a resolution adopted at a conference of representatives from organizations from different cities held in New York on August 20th, steps have now been taken in 29 cities of the country to organize central committees for the furtherance of the proposed Jewish Congress. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee, 1 Madison Avenue, is receiving daily reports from additional cities in which conferences of organizations are planned for the organization of Congress Committees. These conferences are composed of delegates from nearly every one of the societies in each given city. The object of these central committees is to make further progress for the congress idea, and to prepare the Jewish population in each city for the holding of the Congress.

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October 3, 1915 --

News Item, B'nai Brith News,
October 1915, p.9

CONFERENCE OF PRESIDENTS OF NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

At the invitation of Mr. Adolf Kraus, President of the Independent Order of B'nai Brith, twenty-two presidents of National Jewish organizations and institutions met on Sunday, Oct. 3, 1915, in the Hotel Astor, New York City. Mr. Adolf Kraus presided and Mrs. A.B. Seelenfreund acted as secretary.

The purpose of the conference was to discuss what steps can best be taken toward obtaining for the Jews in countries abroad civic and religious rights at present denied to them. Incidentally it was hoped that it might be the means of bringing together the leaders of the so-called "Conference" and "Congress" movements.

The following were in attendance:

Louis D. Brandeis, Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs.

Dr. Wm. Rosenau, Central Conference of American Rabbis.

Dr. Cyrus Adler, United Synagogue of America.

Samuel Dorf, Order B'rith Abraham.

J. Walter Freiberg, Union of American Hebrew Congregations.

Dr. Frank E. Rosenblatt, National Jewish Workingmen's Association.

Simon Miller, Jewish Publication Society.

Oscar S. Strauss, American Jewish Historical Society.

Prof. Dr. Solomon Schechter, Jewish Theological Seminary.

Emil Tausig, Independent Order Free Sons of Israel.

A.D. Katcher, Federation of Galician and Bucovinian Jews.
 Louis Marshall, American Jewish Committee.
 Leon Sanders, Independent Order B'rith Abraham.
 Dr. L.S. Rubinsohn, Independent Order B'rith Sholom.
 Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Federation of American Zionists.
 Dr. Bernard Drachman, Union of Orthodox Hebrew Congregations of America.

Dr. J.L. Bluestone, The Mizrahi.
 Rabbi M.S. Margolis, United Orthodox Rabbis of America.
 Solomon Diamant, Federation of Roumanian Jews of America.
 Judge Julian W. Mack, Council of Young Men's Hebrew Associations.
 C. Carlinger, Federation of Russo-Polish Hebrews of America.
 Adolf Kraus, Independent Order of B'nai B'rith....

No definite conclusion was reached. It was the general opinion that those present should confer further with one another informally.

When the meeting closed it was voted that the meeting adjourn subject to the call of the chairman.

Rev. Dr. Wm. Rosenau, one of the attendants at the Conference, says of the meeting:

"The relative values of Conference and Congress were discussed in the most friendly way. No definite conclusion was reached; the meeting therefore adjourned to be called again some weeks hence by Mr. Kraus, the president of the committee."

Asked what the Conference had accomplished, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, who represented the American Federation of Zionists, said:

"The Conference was a long and earnest one, and the differences of opinion were very sharply drawn. The result could not be gauged, for there was no vote taken on any of the questions involved. My own impression, however, was that the very frank statement of the issues on both sides coupled with the intense earnestness of all who spoke, led to a better understanding of opposing views.

"I do not believe that it is simply the result of the desire that I felt that all present had been brought much closer together and that there is much greater likelihood than before that 'any action taken by American Jewry will be concerted.'"

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 News Item, Jewish Advocate,
 October 8, 1915, p.1

NEITHER CONFERENCE NOR CONGRESS DESIRED BY A.J.C.

Louis Marshall Tells Secret Conference that He Wanted No Action
 on War Problem

Official and Other Reports

The long anticipated conference convened by the I.O.B.B. for the discussion of Congress and Conference, took place last Sunday at the Astor Hotel, New York City.

At the outset of the proceedings ten newspaper men, representing Yiddish dailies and English newspapers, asked for admission and were refused, it being decided that the conference be a secret one. At the end of the occasion, Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, Hon. Oscar Straus and Mr. J. Carlinger handed out a statement to the reporters who, however, according to the reports printed on Monday, obtained more extensive information, than is contained in this report.

We, therefore, publish the following official report of the proceedings and items as reported by the various newspapers. Together they make a very clear picture of what happened and what was said. The official report reads:

"The meeting was devoted to a frank and friendly discussion of the relative advantages and disadvantages, respectively, of a Congress or a Conference, or of holding either..

"All who spoke at the meeting were of the opinion that at the appointed time the Jews of this country should, through concerted action, place before the proper authorities, national or international their basic demands that the Jews be accorded equal civil, political and religious liberty in countries where they are now oppressed.

"No definite conclusion was reached. It was the general opinion of those present that they should confer further with one another informally...."

The Boston "Post" on Monday published the following report under a New York date line:

The Democratic congress plan, as advocated by Louis D. Brandeis was severely flayed by Louis Marshall, president of the American Jewish Committee, at a conference of leading Jews of the United States, held in Hotel Astor last Sunday. Mr. Marshall declared that the holding of a democratic congress would be insanity and that it would be a dangerous thing for the Jews of this country.

He further declared that the very thought of the mass of Jews of America having a voice in the matter of deciding the welfare of the Jews in the world made him shrink in horror.

He attached the foreign Jews and the American Jews who are exponents of the Yiddish press, saying that he considered it a calamity that he knows how to read Yiddish and thus is able to understand their attitude. He congratulated Mr. Brandeis on his ignorance of Yiddish.

Samuel Dorf, grand master of the Order B'rith Abraham, representing over 75,000 Jews in the United States created a sensation when he said that he had no confidence in the mass of the Jews in this country to take care of their own affairs, and that he would not trust them in that matter in the course of his remarks, he said that the Jews were not sufficiently Americanized and if given control of affairs would create a revolution.

These remarks caused a furor among the majority of those present and Mr. Brandeis quickly arose and demanded from Mr. Dorf an explanation as to his remarks. Mr. Dorf replied by saying that the rank and file of the Jews, if given power, would displace the old leaders and there would ensue personal bickerings and jealousies that would be destructive of the Jewish unity.

At this time several of the delegates left the room, saying that the statements of Mr. Dorf were entirely uncalled for and it was an

insult to them. Mr. Dorf then continued and said he did not mean to give offence but believed the fewer the men deciding the policies of the Jewish people the better.

Mr. Marshall then spoke and said that he maintained the holding of a congress would be a dangerous thing. He discussed bitterly the animosity of the Yiddish press to the opponents of the congress idea.

Dr. Solomon Schechter, representing the Jewish Theological Seminary, said he felt that the situation was too critical to admit of a congress. He desired to place the whole problem in the hands of 30 men, of whom Mr. Brandeis should be one. He said that the question of democracy should not be fored just now. He suggested a limited committee and the dropping of both, the conference and congress.

Mr. Brandeis, who was frequently questioned during the session by the Hon. Oscar Straus, told the conference that the open congress was the only road to Jewish unity. Men must and should differ, he declared, but the minority must yield to the majority. He said that establishment of a "legally assured publicly recognized home" for the Jews in Palestine was the best aid that could be given in the campaign for rights and equality in every country.

Mr. Brandeis created a sensation when he quoted against Dr. Cyrus Adler, his leading opponent, a citation showing that Dr. Adler had favored a most democratic Jewish assembly in 1905.

Dr. Adler defended the creation of the American Jewish Committee. He said the differences of opinion were not serious and he was prepared to consider the suggestion made by Dr. Schechter.

The "Jewish Morning Journal" says the conference began at 10:00 and lasted til 7 P.M., and it took an hour and a half debate to decide that the press should not be admitted, the vote being fourteen against and eight for their admission. It says Mr. Marshall spoke with much vehemence in his attempt to overbear Mr. Brandeis' argument. "He was not ashamed to admit that the conference which the American Jewish Committee had convened was also unnecessary. Both the congress and conference were dangerous while the war continued."

"Mr. Oscar Straus pointed out that the American Jewish Committee was thw worst sinner in this respect because it had appointed its conference for October, while the congressists had named no date for their gathering." The report further claims that Mr. Marshall "attacked the immigrant Jews who desire a congress." It also reports him as having bitterly attacked the Yiddish press.

The "Wahrheit", which editorially is very angry with Mr. Marshall, has a report similar to those already quoted and described Mr. Marshall's address as "a bitter attack on the Yiddish press." It bears out considerably, the report of the Boston "Post," and particularly the statement that Mr. Marshall opposed both congress and conference.

The "Day" heads its report "Nine measures of talk on Jewish Congress plan and no result." The Marshall attack on the Yiddish press also forms a strong featurue of this report. It, however, mentions that Judge Leon Sanders offered a plan. The conference and congress issue should be tabled till after the war, but conferences shouldbe held in the meantime. This report claims that no votes were taken on any issue but that of the press being allowed to be present.

The "Jewish Daily News" also heads its report in the same spirit, "Opponents of congress plan do not want conference." The reporter

adds that despite the decision of secrecy and closed doors he found no difficulty in ascertaining what took place, and proceeds to report the proceedings much as the other papers have done. The new item in this report is that Hon. Oscar S. Straus strongly supported the congress plan.

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Excerpt from Editorial, American Hebrew,
October 8, 1915, p.636

THE PRE-CONFERENCE CONFERENCE

Although the meeting at the Hotel Astor last Sunday, of twenty-two representatives of national organizations to discuss the best form in which American Jews could aid their brethren abroad arrived at no definite conclusion, the interchange of views made face to face will doubtless facilitate a more harmonious feeling. The meeting was held in executive session, but the secrets of its debates are what the French call secrets of "funch" and are fairly well known....

Whatever happens, it is most earnestly to be hoped that some common plan of action will be hit upon which will enable American Jews to present a united front in their attempts to plead the cause of their suffering brethren in Europe at the end of the war, when the political status of Eastern Jewry will probably be settled for many a long year to come. It is by no means certain that American intervention in any shape will be permitted by the belligerents in the final settlement of their affairs. But it will be simply calamitous if American Israel spoke with two or even more voices, if any hearing is vouchsafed to it at all in the European Areopagus.

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Excerpts from Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
October 8, 1915, p.8

GROTESQUE BUT PITIABLE

...According to the reporters the chief address against the proposed congress was made by Mr. Louis Marshall.

What said Mr. Marshall? He was against the congress entirely, and only five per cent more in favor of a conference. A very small margin. A small enough margin to show that Mr. Marshall, as president of the American Jewish Committee, was only forced by his own Kehillah in agreeing to any gathering other than some secret session of his own organization. "On what meat doth this Caesar feed that he hath grown so proud...."

So it comes to this. The agitation for the congress will continue and the congress will be held when its organization work has been perfected. The conference of October 24th will in all probability not be held. Few want to attend it, and even those who convened it do not really want it to meet. The grotesque, unreasonable, unimaginable in this critical hour ends in fathomless pity.

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October 10, 1915 --

News Item, New York Times,
October 16, 1915, p.8:7

DROP JEWISH CONFERENCE

No Meeting to Consider War Problems to be Held in Washington

The Jewish conference to be held in Washington on Oct. 24 has been abandoned, it was announced yesterday. This conference was called by the American Jewish Committee to consider the Jewish problem, and especially what American Jews may do when the war ends to get that problem before the world and, if possible, obtain a settlement of it. The Chairman of the American Jewish Committee is Louis Marshall, and it was formed originally for purposes of relief.

Immediately after the Washington conference was called, opposition to it developed, led by Louis D. Brandeis. This was due to the conviction that the men to settle questions that affected 13,000,000 people ought to be chosen by all Jews, not by a selected few.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
October 15, 1915, p.657

POSTPONE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee, at its meeting held on Sunday [October 10], adopted the following resolution postponing the proposed Washington conference:

"Pending negotiations with various organizations and bodies, and in view of the approaching annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee, it is voted by the Executive Committee in accordance with the discretion granted to it by the general committee, at its meeting on June 20th, that the Conference called for October 24th be postponed, and that the organizations which have accepted invitations be notified to that effect"....

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 15, 1915, p.1

ABANDON CONFERENCE

American Jewish Committee Formally Drops Oct. 24 Gathering

Congressists Active

The Jewish Advocate learns that the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee formally decided on Sunday last [October 10]

to abandon the proposed national conference on the problems arising out of the war, which it had convened for October 24th, and which was to have been held in Washington, D.C.

The decision to abandon the conference was kept secret and an attempt was made early in the week on the part of representatives of the American Jewish Committee, to formulate some compromise with the Congress Committee and the Workingmen's Committee. The plan, however, was dropped on it becoming known that the conference having been abandoned there was nothing to compromise about.

The New York Congress Committee is calling a conference of the heads of national organizations for November 21st. This conference will take preliminary steps towards the organization of the Congress.

CHAPTER IV

DELAY AND DECISION

October 1915 through February 1916

Congress leaders interpreted the American Jewish Committee's abandonment of the Washington Conference as the final collapse of opposition to the congress idea. But the American Jewish Committee was far from surrendering. With the entry of the National Workmen's Committee into the congress arena staunchly supporting the American Jewish Committee's point of view and introducing a whole new front of determined opposition to a congress, the Committee could retire temporarily in great confidence.

The Washington Conference, from the Committee standpoint, had been very successful. The congress of the Zionists was being delayed and delayed again. If delay could be continued, the war would soon end and the popular hysteria which was working in favor of a congress would pass. The Committee had broken off negotiations with the congress forces. The Washington Conference had been indefinitely postponed. It appeared that the next move was up to the Zionists. But it was at this moment that the National Workmen's Committee stepped in to re-open negotiations and to enable the Committee to occasion further delay.

The Zionists, supported now by Jewish Congress Committees in forty-seven cities,¹²⁸ had apparently resolved to go their separate way, but they tarried to bargain and haggle. Elements within the congress camp were blamed by Louis Lipsky for Zionist weakness:

The balance of power, it appeared was held by the labor organizations and their socialist allies. Had they remained neutral, the American Jewish Committee would have been forced to make terms with us. If

they went the way of the American Jewish Committee, we were about evenly matched, and neither group could successfully hold a fully representative Conference or Congress. We were thus at the mercy of the peacemakers. We were being nagged continuously into a compromise alliance with the socialists. Let it be a limited programme, said Rutenberg. Let the emphasis be relief, if necessary. Once you have them bagged and compromised, you can sing a different tune, and they will sing it with you. But every time we advanced in the direction indicated, the socialists balked and made new demands, via Rutenberg or inspired Poale Zion. Then came the peacemakers from the fraternal orders. They did not speak of conditions; they merely urged; "Get together, and all differences will disappear. Peace is a holy Jewish word." 129

The Special Committee of Seven, appointed by the Convention of the National Workmen's Committee "for the purpose of bringing together all groups of American Jewry in the work of Jewish rights", set about to accomplish its mission without delay.

A number of conferences were held between representatives of the National Workmen's Committee and of the American Jewish Committee. The former included Messrs. Sholom Asch, David Pinski, Max Goldfarb, B. Zuckerman and Frank F. Rosenblatt; the latter included Messrs. Louis Marshall, J.L. Magnes, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Cyrus Adler, Col. Harry Cutler, and others. Several conferences were also held with representatives of the Jewish Congress Committee, viz., Messrs. Louis D. Brandeis, Louis Lipsky, G. Bublick, A. Goldberg, B.G. Richards, and others. 130

In a series of conferences with representatives of the American Jewish Committee, the sub-committee of the National Workmen's Committee managed to overcome the objections of the former to "nationality rights". When the National Workmen's sub-committee came to meet with the sub-committee of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, the influence of the American Jewish Committee was very evident in the negotiations.

On October 11, 1915, the negotiators for the National Workmen's Committee and the Congress Organization Committee had reached an agreement that called for a conference of national organizations that would take whatever action necessary to secure equality for all Jews in belligerent countries and to insure the granting of "nationality rights" to

such Jews as lived in lands where such rights were granted similar groups. Shortly thereafter, however, the agreement was recognized by Congress leaders as a move to head off the Congress and was rejected.¹³¹

At its meeting of October 19, 1915, the Congress Organization Committee decided to permit no further delay. A preliminary conference of representatives of national Jewish Organizations was called for Sunday, November 21, to discuss the convening of a Jewish congress. The National Workmen's Committee objected strenuously to this unilateral action and protested that not only they but also the American Jewish Committee were ready to join the congress movement and counselled continued negotiation. The Congress Organization Committee assented and a meeting of the three groups was arranged.

Sub-committees met November 12, 1915 to iron out all difficulties.

Dr. Magnes made the following proposal:

That a Conference be called for the purpose of considering the rights of the Jews in belligerent lands and in Roumania, and that it take steps to call a Congress on a democratic basis at such time and place, and in such manner as to it may seem best to secure these rights.

Magnes' proposal was acceptable to both the Congress Organization Committee and to the National Workmen's Committee, but not to his fellow sub-committee members (Cutler and Sulzberger) representing the American Jewish Committee. They suggested that such an arrangement would be acceptable to the American Jewish Committee only if there were inserted a provision prohibiting the conference from calling the congress until after the termination of hostilities. The conferees agreed to take no further action until the Magnes proposal had been considered by their respective committees. They agreed to meet again following such consideration. In light of the great concessions which the American Jewish

Committee appeared to be about to make, the Jewish Congress Organization Committee cancelled its conference of November 21.

The American Jewish Committee held its ninth annual meeting November 14, 1915 and almost unanimously supported the position of Cutler and Sulzberger. The following resolution was adopted:

That the American Jewish Committee join with other national Jewish organizations in the calling of a conference for the purpose of considering the rights of Jews in belligerent lands and in Roumania, and that it take steps to call a congress on a democratic basis after the termination of hostilities and at such place and in such manner as to it may seem best for the securing of these rights.¹³²

Cyrus Adler opposed the entire proposal.

The Congress Organization Committee and the National Workmen's Committee were notified of the action of the American Jewish Committee, and arrangements were made for another meeting of the sub-committees. The meeting did not take place until December 19.

At that session, representatives of the Workmen suggested the calling of a conference of national organizations to consider the convening of a congress, each committee reserving to itself the right to withdraw from the conference if opposed to its decisions. The American Jewish Committee agreed on the condition that the proposed congress be held only after the end of the war. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee objected to the delay arguing that the postponement of the congress might be fatal to its effectiveness. The American Jewish Committee indicated a basis for compromise -- it would entertain no objection to the immediate completion of all arrangements for a congress, but that it must be definitely understood that the congress itself would not be convened until after the war.¹³³

It became clear once again to congress forces that the National

Workmen's Committee and the American Jewish Committee were not negotiating in good faith. The former was amenable to almost any proposal but insisted upon its right to be bound by no decision and to withdraw in the event of any disagreement. The latter insisted upon arbitrarily delaying the date of the congress until some time in the unforeseeable future. Tiring of the long drawn out futile negotiations, the Congress Organization Committee met privately on December 23, 1915 and issued its final proposal which amounted to an ultimatum.

The Congress Organization Committee proposed that a conference be called to discuss the advisability of holding a congress, the date of the congress, the program of the congress and whether the deliberations should be open or closed. All decisions of the majority of the conference were to be binding upon participating organizations. The American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee were asked to indicate their intentions with regard to this proposal by January 15, 1916. If by that date, they had not indicated their willingness to participate in the calling of the preliminary conference,

then the Congress Committee, having exhausted all means for arriving at unity of action by American Jewry, will appeal directly to the people, and call the preliminary conference itself.

A new approach to the solution of Jewish problems was enunciated about this time protesting Jewish disabilities and seeking United States Government intercession in behalf of Jews rather than emphasizing Jewish mass movement in that direction. On November 14, 1915, a mass meeting in Chelsea, Mass., protested the persecution of Jews in Russia and requested the United States Government to intercede at the Peace Conference to obtain a guarantee of equal civil, political, and national rights for Jews in European countries. A Cleveland mass meeting on December 6, 1915

protested the oppression of Jews and petitioned the United States Government to use its good offices with European nations to secure emancipation for Jews. The B'nai Brith sponsored a mass meeting in Cincinnati, December 12, 1915 urging the United States Government to exert its influence at the Peace Conference to secure equal civil and political rights for all Jews.¹³⁴

At its Executive Committee meeting in Chicago January 12, 1916, the B'nai Brith decided to commission a leading citizen (unnamed) of a neutral power to visit the capitals of the leading belligerents to ascertain the best means of presenting the Jewish case at the Peace Conference. This individual would present such information to a conference of the B'nai Brith Advisory Council which would consider plans for implementing such means. It was decided not to participate in any proposed Jewish congress but to cooperate with such a congress if such action were deemed advisable.

On January 21, 1916, Abraham I. Shiplacoff, prominent in the National Workmen's Committee, introduced a resolution to urge belligerents to cease all discriminatory practices against Jews and to remove all disabilities.¹³⁵

Meanwhile, the American Jewish Committee engaged in a desperate attempt to head off the congress by directing attention to relief. On December 21, 1915, the American Jewish Relief Committee launched a new campaign for five million dollars at a gigantic mass meeting in Carnegie Hall. A stirring appeal by Judah L. Magnes brought in cash contributions of \$401,127.97 and pledges of \$437,000,000.¹³⁶ At a Baltimore mass meeting January 2, 1916 Magnes encouraged an enthusiastic audience to

contribute \$64,603.00 to relief.¹³⁷ Washington, D.C. responded to Judah L. Magnes at an American Jewish Relief Committee sponsored mass meeting on January 20, 1916 with \$10,000. On January 25, 1916 Magnes addressed a Cincinnati mass meeting for the A.J.R.C. and collected \$60,000.¹³⁸ President Wilson proclaimed January 27 as Jewish Relief Day and about two million dollars was collected.¹³⁹ Philadelphia responded to Magnes and an A.J.R.C. mass meeting on January 30, 1916 with contributions amounting to \$200,000. On February 4, 1916, the American Jewish Committee published a 120 page report on the sufferings of Jews in Russia, Galicia, Rumania, and Palestine entitled "Jews in the Eastern War Zone." February 6, 1916, Magnes addressed a Brooklyn mass meeting called by the A.J.R.C. and raised another \$75,000.

At the same time, the Congress Organization Committee continued to build enthusiasm for a congress. A mass meeting was held in New York City, December 28, 1915. New Jewish Congress Committees were organized in St. Louis, Danville, Va., Glen Falls, N.Y., Colorado Springs, Colorado, Canton, Ohio.¹⁴⁰ A meeting of delegates of more than sixty local Jewish organizations in San Francisco, January 17, 1916 endorsed a Jewish congress.¹⁴¹ On January 18, 1916 a Boston meeting of delegates representing 140 local organizations elected twenty-five delegates to the national conference that was to be called to decide congress issues.

January 23, 1916, the Jewish Congress Association of Chicago held a pre-conference of Jewish organizations of Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and Wisconsin.¹⁴² January 24, 1916, the Jewish Congress Organization Committee staged a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall addressed by Brandeis on the subject, "Jewish Rights and the Congress".

January 28, 1916 was a red-letter day for every Zionist and

Congressist in America. Louis D. Brandeis, Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs, and President of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, was nominated by President Wilson for the position of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court!

Mass meetings in the interest of the Jewish Congress were held during the week of February 6, 1916 in Perth Amboy, Newark, and Bayonne, N.J. 143

Encouraged by the overwhelming success of its mass meetings, by the organization of seventy-four Jewish Congress Committees in as many cities -- clear indication of popular mass support -- the Congress Organization Committee met in New York City Monday evening, February 7, 1916 and decided, in accordance with their ultimatum to the American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee of December 23, 1915, to call a preliminary conference to be held in Philadelphia, March 26, 1916. It was announced that the preliminary conference would "take action in regard to time, place, and program of the proposed Jewish Congress..."

Supplement to Chapter IV

October 13, 1915 -- Bulgaria declares war on Serbia.

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October 15, 1915 -- Serbia declares war on Bulgaria. Great Britain declares war on Bulgaria. A \$500 million loan agreement between Britain, France, and American underwriters was signed today in the office of J.P. Morgan and Company.

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Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
October 22, 1915, p.697

To The American Hebrews:

A hysteria has taken hold of the great masses of our people.

The masses, but seldom able to judge calmly of events, almost ever guided by its feelings and passions, has ever since decided that knowledge and experience and training count for naught, but that crass ignorance and enthusiasm -- blind enthusiasm -- will go a great way. The anarchic spirit now and then manifesting itself in all masses of people and must unexpectedly has now come to the surface and yells itself hoarse in a demand for a "Jewish Congress" or some other and similar Quixotism...

But the misguided mass chortles with glee, is all wrought up and gloats in smug complacency in its happiness over its victory over those whom it instinctively despises for being superior to it. When you have read carefully the quite voluminous correspondence between the American Jewish Committee and the congress advocates, there is one thing that strikes you quite forcibly and squarely between the eyes. The representative of the American Jewish Committee speaks calmly and in a judicious tone, spreading out a net of what seems to be irrefutable logic, unanswerable logic, while the representatives of the other side talk petulantly, use hyperbole and strong adjectives, and have recourse to sentiment when logic fails them. That slow people can become so thoroughly blinded to the call of common sense and human reason is indeed quite beyond comprehension. The "closed door" policy of the American Jewish Committee adds to the fury of its opponents. "What," says they, "secret meetings, clandestine assemblies behind barred doors, and not admit us, all of us, or as many of us as would be inclined to enter? "Treason!" shout they, and experience a thrill of righteous indignation deep down in their democratic hearts, of course, it goes without saying that they have already ascertained that the coming Peace Congress will be a sort of town-meeting, will, as all such conferences ever are, be open to all who care to come, so that every subject, citizen and resident of any land whatsoever, will be able to come in, have his say, interpose an objection, or an approval, or otherwise enlighten and prod along his country's representatives, when he thinks that they are in need of his prodding. So why can't the Jewish man and woman do likewise. Why exclude him from the exercise of a delightful privilege, such as he enjoys undisturbed in his synagogue or lodge? Why indeed?

October 15th

ROBERT BLOOMFIELD

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
October 15, 1915, p.8

THERE WILL BE UNITY

The opponents of the Congress will be grievously but, we believe, in the end they will pleasantly disappointed. The Congress will take place, and we feel certain that by the time it is held the opponents to the idea will have accepted the principle and elected their delegates. And so unity in Israel will have been brought about, in the only way which it could be, viz., by the minority submitting to the will of the majority.

The Jews have still a good deal to learn in the world of politics using the term in the best sense. The first difficulty is the old one, how to promote unity. The normal routine was to quarrel thus increasing the friction. The newer way promoted by the Congress-Conference controversy was to gith it out openly as a public issue, praying that the best side might win. Such public struggles never harmed any people. The Jews were afraid because they have seldom practiced this art of bloodless battle. The fight is nearly over. And it will in the end have promoted the first real united action on the part of the three million Jews in the United States.

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October 19, 1915 -- Italy declares war on Bulgaria.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
October 22, 1915, p.599

TO HOLD PRELIMINARY CONGRESS

A preliminary conference of representatives from national Jewish organizations to discuss ways and means of convening a Jewish congress will beheld in this city on Sunday, November 21st. This action was decided on at a meeting of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee held Tuesday at the Broadway Central Hotel.

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October 23, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
October 29, 1915, p.711

Total contributions received by the American Jewish Relief Committee amounted to \$1,184,746.18 as of October 23, 1915.

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October 26, 1915 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
October 29, 1915, p.1

UNITY OF ALL JEWISH FORCES IN UNITED STATES PREDICTED

Correspondent States that American Jewish Committee Has Yielded
and Will Participate in Congress

Won Over by Defeat

(Special to The Jewish Advocate)

New York, Oct. 26, -- It can now be stated with reasonable certainty that when the American Jewish Congress meets, all the Jews of this

country will be represented at that gathering. The question that arises immediately is does this include the American Jewish Committee? And the answer is, it does. At least at the present time. The American Jewish Committee has accepted its defeat in the matter of convening a conference.

It never wanted to convene a gathering, but having decided to do so, it made an attempt to turn the gathering of October 24th into a success. It failed. Mr. Schiff had subscribed \$1500 towards the \$5000 expense fund. But even this generosity did not help. On the 10th of October the American Jewish Committee discovered that its outside support was limited to the Order B'rith Abraham. Hence it "postponed" its conference, but in reality the prime movers made up their minds to accept the situation and admit their defeat. It is this admission which makes for real Jewish harmony -- the first that has ever been manifested in United States Jewry.

The permanence of the present condition is a matter for speculation. Some American Jewish Committeemen are flirting with the extreme radicals and socialists, who enjoy being courted, and who may through the novelty of the situation be led to commit an act that might revive differences. But if this does not happen the road is clearly open to a united American Jewish meeting in congress.

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October 29, 1915 --

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
October 29, 1915, p.8

RIDICULOUS SECRET

The address delivered in Boston on Saturday and Sunday last, by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise all ring with the sustaining note -- that the world depends for its future on democracy, and in the workings of democracy pitiless publicity is a first class means of avoiding evils. The minority of people, of all beliefs and races, have, however, learnt this solemn truth. There is still everywhere some belief that somehow secret methods can accomplish something that frank interchanges of opinion and information cannot do. The maintenance of this belief despite the fact that the great war is more directly due to this mystification of the peoples, than any other cause, shows how deep-rooted are the superstitions of political life.

Two instances of the worship of the idol are before us. Apparently the American Jewish Committee seeks to unite its policy with that of the English Jewish bodies of a like character. Now the American Jewish Committee has no mandate to do that from any real American Jewish constituency, and by this policy it is endeavoring to destroy one of the big assets of the American Jewish position the neutral position of the Jews in America. While the Congress movement has refused to permit the Jews of Canada to join it in order to avoid a breach of the neutral position, the American Jewish Committee goes out of its way to create a condition which can only lead to disaster. But from an American communal point of view there

is something essentially foolish in so negotiating that the news of American efforts should come from London instead of from the office in New York City....

Now the Jews in England are unfortunately living in a period of preposterous mystification in which all but the enemies are hoodwinked by the censorship. So the Jews in England feel perhaps constrained to suffer the pomposity of the Jewish circumlocutory office which is known as the Conjoint Committee. So much the worse for them. But that is an example for the American Jewish Committee to follow in this country. Its pomposity is self-evolved. None of its members were brought up to the purpose of statesmanship, and the flunkys of the "high spheres." Their mystification does not mystify. They do not even know how to keep the useless secrets to which they are not entitled. No American institution should be made so ridiculous.

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November 1, 1915 --

Letter to Editor, Jewish Advocate,
November 4, 1915, p.1

DR. CYRUS ADLER WRITES IN VERY IRRITATED MOOD

Accuses Jewish Advocate of "Malicious Mendacity" for its Comment
on a "Tageblatt" Cable

See Our Editorial

Editor of The Jewish Advocate:

Sir -- My attention has been called to an editorial in your issues of October 29th, 1915, which charges that the American Jewish Committee has been engaging in secret negotiations with English Jewish organizations and that by these negotiations the Committee "is endeavoring to destroy one of the big assets of the American Jewish position -- the neutral position of the Jews of America."

Both of these statements are incorrect and misleading. The American Jewish Committee made no secret of the fact that it was seeking the advice of Jewish leaders of all sections of Jewry in belligerent and neutral states abroad.

In a letter to Mr. Brandeis, dated August 3d, 1915, and extensively published, I wrote:

The American Jewish Committee has felt that the Jews of America are not the only persons to be consulted, and steps have been taken to secure the opinions of leaders of all sections of Jewry in belligerent and neutral states abroad.

This action was taken by the Committee in accordance with a resolution unanimously adopted at the special meeting of the whole Committee held on June 20th, 1915 in the effect "That the President of the Committee be authorized and instructed to learn from representative leaders of our co-religionists in belligerent and neutral lands, how best may the Jews in this country at this time and

pending war, promote the interests of their brethren in belligerent lands and aid in securing for them equal rights."

In accordance with the resolution the Committee sent a letter to fifty prominent Jewish organizations and individuals in almost every country in Europe, stating that the Jews of America were very desirous of promoting the well-being of their co-religionists in the belligerent countries both now and when peace shall be brought about; that they are very loath to take decisive steps without having the views of the Jewish leaders in other countries; and that the American Jewish Committee solicits such information, suggestions and advice as the persons addressed deemed helpful. This letter was sent to the Conjoint Foreign Committee of the Board of Deputies and the Anglo-Jewish Association just as it was sent to every prominent Jewish organization that could be reached abroad. From many of these helpful replies have already been received.

In order to absolutely assure the neutrality of the Committee's action in seeking advice from Jewish organizations and leaders abroad the letter which the Committee intended to send was submitted in advance to the Department of State through whose good offices the letters were forwarded, many replies were received through the same channel. You will thus observe that both of the charges you have made against the American Jewish Committee -- secrecy and breach of American neutrality -- are false. They are continued evidence of the policy of malicious mendacity which your journal and others like-minded have employed against the American Jewish Committee.

CYRUS ADLER

New York, November 1st, 1915
The American Jewish Committee

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Editorial, The Maccabaeans,
November 1915, p.113

THE WAY CLEARED FOR PEACE

The American Jewish Committee has cleared its path for the Congress movement by abandoning the conference which was to have been held on October 24th. It thus confesses that it is powerless to interfere with the progress of the movement for democratic organization in Jewish life. It confesses not only its lack of power and influence, but by abandoning its conference it admits that the argument advanced against secrecy in Jewish affairs, and autocracy in Jewish organizations could not successfully be controverted. Its defeat means an end to the controversy between an open Congress and a secret Conference. There is now only one constructive program in American Jewish life which has relevancy to the problems that confront us. It is the program of having a representative assembly assume responsibility for Jewish affairs in this country. That program is embodied in the Congress for which the people are to made responsible, and which they will control.

At this time, only one thought is in our minds: How best to develop the Congress idea, and to bring into the movement all classes, sections and parties in American Jewry. But we cannot refrain from pointing out that the education of the American Jewish people has proceeded so far, that they have made it impossible forever for a small group of men, no matter how sagacious and influential, to assume the entire responsibility for, and the control of Jewish affairs. This is a victory of sound Jewish public opinion, hitherto smothered and inarticulate. For it was the power of public opinion, not the influence of one man or party, that made it impossible for the American Jewish Committee to overawe the Jewish people and dissuade them from doing what they considered the best thing possible for them to do. Public opinion, as expressed in Jewish newspapers, organizations, and in mass meetings overwhelmed the arrogance of individuals and paralyzed every effort to impose their wills upon the Jewish people.

This is a gratifying development of American Jewish life. It makes for a broadened responsibility. It makes for more intelligent action. It brings into Jewish life the healthy note of struggle and controversy which is bound to result in more intelligent action. There was a time when discussion of important Jewish issues was impossible. A silent mood enwrapped all Jewish enterprise. But the controversy that raged about the Congress-Conference agitation was a frank discussion instead of the secret manipulation of issues and conventional apologetics. Good comes from the airing of grievances, from frankness, and from a bold tackling of Jewish issues.

We now pass to a new chapter. In that chapter there will be controversy and differences of opinion, but, let us hope, they will be centered on questions of method, issues of organization, varying ideas of education, etc. The work of organizing the Congress involves many difficulties, and we shall need the wisdom of all classes and elements. Let no one withhold his counsel, and regard himself as too superior or too wise to enter into the deliberations of the Jewish people.

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November 8, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
November 12, 1915, p.9

WILL HOLD JEWISH CONFERENCE IN CANADA

Montreal Canada, Monday, November 8th -- A Canadian Jewish conference will be held in this city Sunday, November 14th. At this meeting there will be representatives of important Jewish organizations in Canada. The original call was issued by Mr. Clarence I. deSola, president of the Zionist Societies of Canada and an organizing committee of Zionists, but the committee invited representatives of other bodies to help them on an organizing committee...Several prominent Jews of the United States have promised to attend the convention and to address it during its sessions, including Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, chairman of the Zionist Provisional Committee, Rabbi

Ashinsky of Pittsburgh, Jacob de Haas, J. Goldberg, editor of the Yiddish Folk. Immediately after the conclusion of the conference those delegates who are Zionists will assemble to take part in the Fourteen Convention of the Federation of Zionist Societies of Canada, which will open its sessions the day following the closing of the conference. The program of the Zionist Convention is scheduled to take two days.

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November 10-11, 1915 -- Four American plants manufacturing war munitions for the Allies were damaged by fires believed to have been of incendiary origin.

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November 14, 1915 --

News Item, New York Times,
November 15, 1915, p.18:5

WILL SEEK RIGHTS OF JEWS

Committee Decides Upon a Conference Before a Congress

It was decided at the ninth annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee at the Hotel Astor yesterday morning to call a conference which will take steps to call, after the war, a congress of American Jews to consider the rights of Jews in belligerent lands and Rumania.

This decision was made after several hours of deliberation, and is opposed to the radical program which had been advocated by many to call a Jewish congress during the war. The report of the Executive Committee on the affect of the war upon the Jews said in part:

"All the calamities which have been visited upon the Jewish people are insignificant compared to the disaster which has come upon our co-religionists in the war zone as a result of the titanic struggle now convulsing more than one-third of the habitable globe. Previous misfortunes -- even the Spanish expulsion and the Russian massacre -- were definitely localized and of short duration. The imagination fails when it is called upon to conceive of hundreds of thousands of sufferers in such a vast territory."

The reports says that, because of the loyalty to Russia shown by Russian Jews, it appeared at first that the long-desired union with the Russian people was about to be realized.

"But it soon developed," the report adds, "that the chains which tied the Jews of Russia to their past could not be broken. Forces which they could not possibly control doomed them to the greatest tragedy in their history."

Louis Marshall was elected President of the committee; Judge Julian W. Mack and Professor Jacob H. Hollender, Vice Presidents, and Isaac W. Bernheim, Treasurer. Jacob H. Schiff, Judge Julian W.

Mack, and Dr. J. L. Magnes were elected to the Executive Committee to serve for three years.

News Item, American Hebrew,
November 19, 1915, p.34

CONFERENCE ON RIGHTS OF JEWS

American Jewish Committee also Favors a Congress after the War --
Report of Year's Work

A resolution calling for a conference of national organizations for the purpose of considering the rights of Jews in belligerent lands and in Rumania was adopted at the ninth annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee at the Hotel Astor Sunday. The resolution also provided that a congress be called after the war to consider how best to secure these rights. Louis Marshall was re-elected president for the ensuing year.

The meeting lasted all day, with a recess for luncheon. The morning session was devoted to the reading and consideration of reports from Dr. Cyrus Adler, Chairman of the Executive Committee, Dr. J. L. Magnes, on behalf of the Kehillah, and from the Statistical Bureau of the Committee. Following the reports the committee discussed the question of membership as affected by the increase of the Executive Committee of the New York Kehillah from 25 to 36. This and the entire subject of the method of selection of members was referred to the Executive Committee with power.

The afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of a report of the sub-committee which had been appointed by the Executive Committee for the purpose of conferring with committees of the National Workmen's Committee for Jewish Rights and of the Congress Organization Committee. This sub-committee consisted of Dr. J.L. Magnes, Cyrus L. Sulzberger and Harry Cutler.

The majority report, signed by Messrs. Cutler and Sulzberger, recommended that the Committee agree to the calling of a conference of delegates of National Jewish organizations, limited in number to 150, for the purpose of considering the rights of Jews in belligerent lands. This conference is also to elect an Executive Committee of fifteen with power to act for it until the termination of hostilities, at which time a congress on democratic lines shall be convened. Dr. Magnes presented a minority report recommending that the conference shall itself decide when the congress shall be held. After a protracted discussion, the minority report was withdrawn and the following resolution was adopted almost unanimously, Dr. Adler alone dissenting:

"That the American Jewish Committee join with other national Jewish organizations in the calling of a conference for the purpose of considering the rights of Jews in belligerent lands and in Rumania and that it take steps to call a congress on a democratic basis after the termination of hostilities and at such place and in such manner

as to it may seem best for the securing of these rights."

It was also understood that the conference provided for in this resolution is to take due account of the fact that about sixteen national Jewish organizations have accepted the invitation of the American Jewish Committee to attend a conference which was to have been held October 24.

The Committee has been engaged for the past three months in making a study from original sources of the condition of the Jews in belligerent countries, particularly Russia. This study has now been completed and results of it will soon be published in book form for the information of the American people....

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Excerpt from News Item, American Hebrew,
November 19, 1915, p.40

CANADIAN JEWISH CONFERENCE

Adopt Resolutions and Elect Committee to Deal with Question of
Equal Rights in Other Lands

(Special to The American Hebrew)

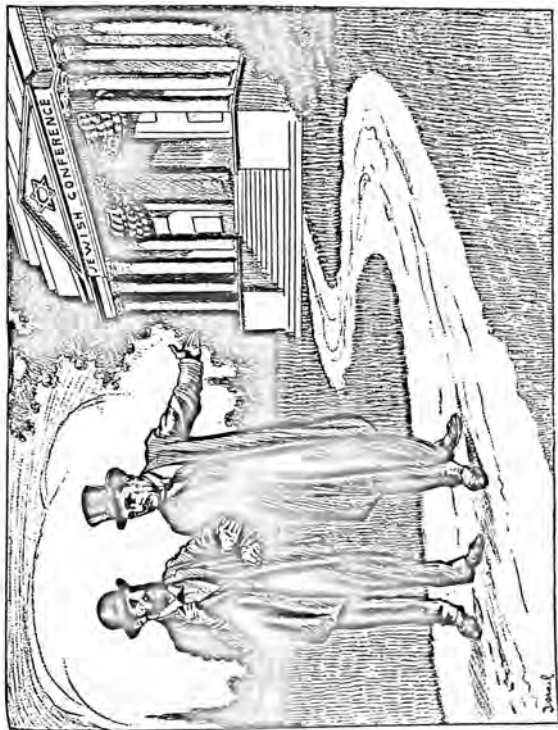
Montreal, Canada, November 15th. -- Canadian Jewry held its first conference at the Gayety theatre in this city yesterday and adopted resolutions calling for equal rights to Jews in every land. An Executive Committee was elected to deal with the various questions of Jewish interest leading up to the final peace conference. The meeting was attended by over three hundred delegates from every part of Canada. The conference was presided over by Clarence I. de Sola, president of the Canadian Zionists.

Move for Harmony

In the afternoon, what was intended to be a protest meeting was held by the Canadian Jewish Alliance and the Canadian Jewish Workmen's Federation in the Prince Arthur Hall. The protest was against the conference claiming to represent all classes and sections of Jews in Canada, whereas it was claimed, it only represented the Zionist section. Two delegates were dispatched from the meeting to the conference to seek the adoption of a resolution embracing all Jewish societies in the conference and for the two executives to work in harmony and at some future date to call a great Jewish congress in Canada and then to take definite steps towards the amelioration of the condition of the Jews. The resolution was adopted by the conference and recognition extended to all societies....

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ONE IN HEART AND PURPOSE



COME, BROTHER, LET US ENTER THE HOUSE TOGETHER

[American Hebrew, November 19, 1915, p.43]

November 19, 1915 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
November 19, 1915, p.42

UNION IN JEWRY

The American Jewish Committee has gone a long way to secure the harmony that everybody has desired in the matter of a Jewish Congress. Conditioned only upon the delaying of the Congress until the cessation of hostilities, it has by an almost unanimous vote declared itself in favor of uniting with other organizations in the holding of such a Congress. Even the most ardent advocates of an eventual Congress are agreed that it were better that it should not be held until after the war and there should, therefore, not be the slightest difficulty in reaching a complete agreement with all the other organizations in interest.

The Committee has for the past several months been engaged in valuable work. It has caused to be prepared, from original and in many cases official sources, an account of the atrocities committed upon the Jews in Russia. These sources are not the ordinary journalistic information but either Russian governmental documents or Russian newspapers which have been passed by the censor. Under these circumstances, the validity of the tales cannot be questioned and they must be convincing not alone to those persons who have not contributed to the relief fund because they professed to doubt the truth of the stories of suffering but also to such authorities as may in due course be asked to take cognizance of the condition of the Jews in Russia. The publication of this book will be awaited with interest and it will afford valuable material for the press, for the relief committee and eventually for the Congress.

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November 29, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
December 3, 1915, p.105

RELIEF COMMITTEE MEET

Distribute \$229,000 for Relief of the Jewish Victims of the War

The Joint Distribution Committee, which represents the three American Jewish relief committees, engaged in raising funds for the relief of the Jewish war sufferers, consisting of representatives from the American Jewish Relief Committee, the Central Relief Committee and the People's Relief Committee, met Monday at the office of Felix M. Warburg, 52 William street, and voted to send and distribute among the victims of the war \$229,000.

The amounts sent out are: Eighty thousand dollars for the Jews of Russia; seventy thousand dollars for the Jews of Poland, under

German rule; fifty thousand dollars for the Jews of Galicia; twenty-four thousand dollars for the Jews of Palestine, and five thousand dollars for the Jews of Turkey.

It was announced that of the money sent out, forty thousand dollars was contributed by the People's Relief Committee, a body which is but of recent organization, and which has been devoting itself exclusively to the collection of moneys from the working classes and the professional elements. This committee is also arranging for the concert that Mischa Elman will give on Saturday afternoon, December 11th, at Carnegie Hall, of which the entire income is to go for the war sufferers....

Among those present at the meeting were Jacob H. Schiff, Felix M. Warburg, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Sholom Asch, Morris Roth W. Mack, and Dr. J. L. Magnes presiding.

The total sum collected by the American Jewish Relief Committee to date is a little in excess of \$1,500,000; by the Central Relief Committee, in excess of \$400,000, and by the People's Relief Committee, \$40,000, making a total of \$1,940,000.

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December 3, 1915 -- United States requests recall of German diplomats, Capts. Poy-Ed and Von Papen, on account of improper activities in military and naval matters.

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December 23, 1915 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
December 24, 1915, p.1

CONGRESS ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE PROPOSES TO RE-OPEN ISSUE

Offers to Convene National Conference Which Will Decide Every
Detail of Congress Including Holding of that Gathering

Only Way to United Action

At a meeting of the New York Jewish Congress Organization Committee held last Thursday evening, the following report was submitted:

On November 12th the Sub-committees of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, the National Workmen's Committee and the American Jewish Committee met to discuss further the proposal for co-operation in the holding of a Congress. At that meeting, Dr. Magnes (who was a member of the sub-committee of the American Jewish Committee) suggested the following as the basis of co-operation:

That a Conference be called for the purpose of considering the rights of the Jews in belligerent lands and in

Roumania, and that it take steps to call a Congress on a democratic basis at such time and place, and in such manner as to it may seem best, to secure these rights."

The members of the sub-committees of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee and of the National Workmen's Committee expressed their satisfaction with this proposition; but two members of the sub-committee of the American Jewish Committee stated that they were confident that it would not be accepted by the American Jewish Committee unless there were inserted a further provision by which the conference should be prohibited from calling the Congress until after the end of the war.

It was accordingly deemed advisable that the sub-committees should take no action at that time except to submit the Magnes proposition to their respective committees for the further action, and after doing so, meet again to consider the situation.

The annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee was to be held on November 14th, and it was then agreed that its sub-committee would present the matter to the full committee at the November 14th meeting. This was done, and the American Jewish Committee declined to co-operate in the holding of a congress unless it were expressly provided that the Congress could not be held until after the termination of hostilities, the resolution passed by the American Jewish Committee being as follows:

"That the American Jewish Committee join with other national Jewish organizations in the calling of a Conference for the purpose of considering the rights of Jews in belligerent countries and in Roumania, and that such Conference take steps to call a Congress on a democratic basis after the termination of hostilities, and in such place and in such manner as to it may seem best for the securing of these rights."

After receiving notice of the action of the American Jewish Committee an effort was made to secure a meeting of the three sub-committees, but it was found impossible for them to arrange for a date mutually convenient earlier than December 19th, owing to the absence from the city of some of the members.

The three sub-committees came together on December 19th, and the National Workmen's Committee then proposed that the three committees there represented should join in calling a conference of the National or other Jewish organizations, each of the committees signing the call reserving to itself the right to withdraw from the conference be against its views.

The negotiations in which the congress organization committee has sought to arrive at unity of action on the congress movement have occupied nearly six months. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee has throughout this period taken the position that all those who favor holding a congress on a democratic basis should consent to enter the necessary preliminary conference with an open mind that they should not be bound by pledges nor attempt to limit their participation in the conference by conditions but that entering this preliminary conference they should be willing to accept the decision in all questions and the majority of the delegates at the preliminary conference without any rights to retire from either conference or congress.

Neither the American Jewish Committee or the National Workmen's Committee have been willing to adopt this law: the American Jewish Committee having insisted upon making its participation conditional upon agreement in advance that no congress should be held until after the termination of hostilities and the National Workmen's Committee having insisted that its participation in the conference must be subject to the right to retire if it shall not be satisfied with the decision of the conference in matters of program.

If the plan now proposed by the National Workmen's Committee were adopted, all parties would enter the Conference with a right reserved to withdraw, if the views it presented were not adopted by the conference, in other words, under the plan proposed no binding action could be taken by the conference on such matters, fundamental in character, except by unanimous consent. We are of opinion that a conference of Jewish organizations, called under such conditions, would be doomed to failure and would be futile.

We recommend as a substitute with a view to securing unity and the avoidance of further delays in the Congress movement, that the following resolutions be adopted:

"That the Congress Organization Committee invite the National Workmen's Committee and the American Jewish Committee to join with it in calling an open conference of all Jewish National Organizations, Central Organizations and City Congress Committee, at which all questions relating to the calling and organization of a Congress to consider the rights of Jews in belligerent lands and in Roumania, shall be discussed, and that the conference shall have power to determine among other things:

First: Whether or not a Congress shall be held.

Second: If a Congress is to be held, whether it may be held either before or after the termination of hostilities, as the Conference may thereafter determine.

Third: What the program of the Congress shall be.

Fourth: Whether or not the proceedings of the Conference shall be open to the press.

And that the decision of the conference by the requisite majority of its duly elected delegates on these and all other matters concerning the Committee have been willing to binding upon organizations participating in the Conference or Congress.

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December 28, 1915 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
December 31, 1915, p.217

DEMAND A JEWISH CONGRESS

Rabbi Wise and Schmarya Levin Say Now Is the Time for Action

Speakers at a propaganda mass meeting in the interests of a Jewish Congress, in the Broadway Central Hotel, Tuesday evening, berated the "inactivity" of American Israel and declared that the time had come for Jews to band together for their common welfare.

Abraham S. Schomer, chairman of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, presided.

Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, of the Free Synagogue, in a stirring address, declared that the congress movement was the most significant and hopeful symptom of "the Jewish renaissance which we are today witnessing in Israel." He said that the movement had sprung out of the Jewish consciousness in this hour of need and peril...

Congressman Siegel, Municipal Judge Gustave Hartman, Dr. H.M. Kallen, Dr. Schmarya Levin, and others addressed the meeting.

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December 31, 1915--

News Item, American Hebrew,
December 31, 1915, p.215

Samuel Dorf, Grand Master of the Order Brith Abraham, has issued an official circular to the members of the various lodges, giving his reasons why a Jewish Congress should not be held until after the war.

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January 7, 1916 --

Editorial, The Maccabaeon,
January 1916, p.1

WHY THE CONGRESS IS DELAYED

The Jewish Congress Organization has been severely criticized by friends of the Congress movement on the ground that practical steps for the calling of the preliminary conference to organize the Congress has been unduly delayed. This is criticism which is not warranted by the facts. The Congress Organization Committee being sincerely interested in uniting all American Jewry for the Congress, has eagerly pursued every opportunity to bring about a union of effort. For the past six months, it has been negotiating with the American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee. When the negotiations started, the American Jewish Committee was determined not to co-operate in the organization of the Congress, and insisted upon the calling of a limited conference of national organizations, on a privately selected basis, meeting in secret session. Then the National Workmen's Convention endorsed the Congress, but insisted that its program should be agreed to in advance. This program, a formidable document, was intended to exclude the bringing up at the Congress of the definite proposition: A Jewish homeland in Palestine. Preceding the action of the National Workmen's Convention, the Congress Organization Committee carried on negotiations with the American Jewish Committee, which were broken off by the latter committee. Popular feeling was against its limited



conference, and thereafter the negotiations were carried on by sub-committees of three committees. A great deal of time was spent in these negotiations. At first, the National Workmen's Committee seemed to be anxious to go hand in hand with the American Jewish Committee, but then the Congress Organization Committee accepted its program, and it had no option but to decide to lean to the side of the Congress Committee. The results of these negotiations were submitted to the annual meeting of the American Jewish Committee, which decided to endorse the Congress on a democratic basis, but insisted that it must not be held until after the termination of hostilities. At first, no one imagined that this condition was an ultimatum. But when the sub-committees met again, it was clear that the American Jewish Committee would not participate in the preliminary conference unless the three sub-committees agreed in advance as to the date of the Congress. It is clear, therefore, that the Congress Committee has done very thing within reason to meet with the views of the American Jewish Committee, but it has taken a long time to discover just what that Committee intended doing. The National Workmen's Committee is now willing to have the preliminary conference decide date, place, program, etc., of the Congress, provided only that if the program contradicts the resolution adopted by the National Workmen's Convention, the National Workmen's Committee breaks into its constituent elements, and each part is free to remain in the Conference or to withdraw. The Congress Committee therefore decided that it would put the situation up to the various committees frankly and definitely. It has asked them to decide what they intended doing by January 15th. If the American Jewish Committee refuses by that date to join in the call for the preliminary conference unless the conference is prohibited from calling the Congress before the termination of hostilities, then the Congress Committee, with the National Workmen's Committee, will proceed to call the preliminary conference. If the National Workmen's Committee by that date also refuses to participate in the calling of the preliminary conference, then the Congress Committee, having exhausted all means for arriving at unity of action by American Jewry, will appeal directly to the people, and call the preliminary conference itself.

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January 12, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
January 12, 1916, p.3:7

N.Y.T.

A JEWISH "BLACK BOOK."

It Will Cite Evidence of Russian Persecutions in War Areas.

The National Jewish Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights will publish within the next few days a "Black Book," dealing with the persecutions of Jews in the eastern war theatre by high officials in the Russian Government and commanding officers of the Russian Army.

This was announced yesterday from the committee's headquarters.

According to Dr. Henry Moskowitz, who will collaborate in the preparation of the book, it will contain authentic documentary evidence of the persecutions charged against Russian officials.

"The object of the publication," said Dr. Moskowitz, "is to awaken American public opinion in favor of civil rights for Jews in Europe, and to exercise the pressure of this opinion upon the Congress of Nations, which will meet to sign the treaty of peace, so that Jews may get those personal rights which will minimize for all time their persecution."

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News Item, B'nai B'rith News,
January 1916, p.1

MEETING OF EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Jewish Situation Considered

Plan of Action Adopted

The Executive Committee of the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith held its annual meeting in Chicago during the second week in January. Considerable time was devoted to the consideration of the proposition to hold a Jewish Congress in New York City and the status of Russian and Rumanian Jews, as well as Armenian Christians. It was decided that the President, of the Order cable to Dr. _____, a leading citizen of one of the neutral countries, to visit without delay the capitals of the leading nations now at war for the purpose of ascertaining the most acceptable means of having presented to the Peace Conference, when it meets, the question of securing equal civil and religious rights to all inhabitants of European lands, and after securing such information to proceed to this country for a conference with the Advisory Committee of the Order. The Advisory Committee was instructed to consider at such conference plans for bringing to bear, at the proper time, through a national commission or otherwise, the moral weight of the people of the United States, without distinction as to creed, in support of the demand for equality of civil and religious rights for all the inhabitants of those countries where such equality is at present denied.

As to participation in the proposed Jewish Congress, attention was called to the resolution adopted on June 17, 1906, which reads as follows:

"Be it resolved, that the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith while rigidly maintaining its separate identity in the fulfillment of the tasks it has undertaken, nevertheless, stands ready to cooperate temporarily in all critical emergencies with other recognized Jewish Organizations for the achievement of immediate results in matters affecting the Jewish cause. At the same time, this Executive Committee deems it antagonistic to the principles of the Order and subversive to its mission to enter into any permanent alliance or federation with other institutions limited in their scope and lacking

the universality which has ever characterized the B'nai B'rith."

In view of said resolution it was not deemed advisable to participate in the deliberations of the proposed congress, but it was decided that the Order co-operate as a unit with the Jewish Congress in its efforts to secure human rights to Jews in certain countries if in the opinion of the Advisory Committee of the Order the plan and method which will be adopted at such Congress, if held, shall be deemed practical and feasible....

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January 18, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
January 21, 1916, p.297

BOSTON JEWISH CONGRESS CONFERENCE

Boston, Mass., Jan. 18th -- An enthusiastic meeting for a Jewish Congress was held in Kingsley Hall, Sunday. It was arranged by the Temporary Jewish Congress Committee of Boston. There were 381 delegates present, representing 140 separate organizations. Jacob de Haas acted as temporary chairman. An address was delivered by Louis D. Brandeis. A committee of twenty-five was elected as delegates to the National Conference, when that is called.

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January 23, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
January 28, 1916, p.324

CHICAGO FOR JEWISH CONGRESS

Chicago, Ill., Jan. 25th -- A Jewish Congress Committee representing the Middle West was organized in this city Sunday evening at a special mass meeting called to consider the emancipation of Jews in countries where they are persecuted. The meeting was held at the Hotel Sherman and was largely attended. J.G. Grossman, head of the committee, presided and made the principal address. He dwelt on the "humiliating and intolerable" sufferings of his co-religionists in Russia and Rumania.

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January 24, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate
January 28, 1916, p.1

NEW YORK ENTHUSIASTIC FOR CONGRESS

A mass meeting under the auspices of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee to demand the rights of the Jewish people throughout

the world completely filled Carnegie Hall New York City, last Monday night and grew enthusiastic as speaker after speaker called upon the Jews to further the organization of a Jewish Congress in America.

Among the speakers were: Rep. Walter M. Chandler, Adolph Lewisohn, Frederick C. Howe, Commissioner of Immigration, and Leon Sanders, grand master of the Independent Order of Brith Abraham, also spoke.

Rep. Chandler in a ringing address pledged himself to work for the Jews of America in furtherance of their movement to free the race from all oppression in every land. He said: -- "I have come up from Washington as a member of the American Congress to offer you my services, in any way that I can perform them, in Congress or outside of it, and the services which I wish to tender you will not be services primarily for the Jews. They will be services rendered in behalf of international morality, in behalf of the rights of all races in the name of the sanctity and dignity of international law."

Adolph Lewisohn said that the disabilities under which Jews labor in some countries, especially in Russia and Roumania, are a blot upon civilization.

"The Jews are good citizens wherever they dwell," he said, "and every country which has extended to them equal rights has benefited by it. Both as Americans and as members of the Jewish race we should dedicate ourselves to the ideals of freedom and justice, and these ideals of freedom and justice, and these ideals impose upon us the sacred duty of resisting wrong everywhere and assisting all who are struggling to regain their freedom."

Samuel Untermeyer, who could not be present owing to ill health, sent the following message:

"We American citizens of the Jewish race and faith must demand from our own dear country that it shall regard as an outcast in the family of nations any nation that denies to Jews the rights it accords its other citizens."

The following resolution was presented at Carnegie Hall meeting, under the auspices of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, on Monday evening, January 24th:

"Whereas, the Jewish people for centuries have suffered in various parts of Europe unjust discrimination, religious persecution, economic oppression and at times expulsion, and

"Whereas, they still suffer political and civil disabilities under various governments and are treated by them as aliens; and even in those lands where political and civil rights have been accorded them, they endure social and economic persecution; and

"Whereas, the present European war has accentuated their abnormal status, for in the midst of the conflict to which they have contributed their full quota of men in arms, and more than their share of sacrifices for the national cause, showing notable acts of heroism, devotion and fortitude, in some lands they are still harassed and treated as aliens, the governments of which they are faithful and loyal subjects affording them no protection;

Therefore, be it resolved that this mass-meeting composed of American citizens, call upon the nations of the world to take up the cause of the oppressed Jewish people, and to give humane

consideration, at the conference of nations to be called to fix the terms of peace and the adjustment of international relations, to the Jewish problem in order that the Jewish people may be accorded those rights that are essential to their national, political, religious and economic development;

"Be it further resolved that we call upon the American government, to act in line with its traditions as the champion of the rights of oppressed peoples, and to use its good offices to secure for the Jewish people their just and full rights;

"Be it further resolved, that in order that the just demands of the Jewish people may receive the fullest possible representative authority, and the Jewish people themselves may be organized to further their own interests, that a Congress of the Jews of America be convened on a democratic basis to formulate and give expression to the wishes of American Jewry."

Mr. Brandeis delivered the following address, which was received with great enthusiasm.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
January 28, 1916, p.321

"Equal rights for Jews" was the slogan enthusiastically endorsed at the mass meeting under the auspices of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee in Carnegie Hall Monday evening. An audience that filled the hall from gallery to platform heard addresses by Louis D. Brandeis, Adolph Lewisohn, Congressmen Chandler and Siegel, Immigration Commissioner Howe, and listened to encouraging letters from Mayor Mitchell, Senators Wadsworth and Poindexter and Port Collector Malone.

Resolutions calling upon the American Government to "securing for the Jewish people their just and full rights" were passed amid great cheering and all references to a Jewish Congress received loud applause...

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Excerpt from address by Louis D. Brandeis,
Jewish Rights and the Congress, American
Hebrew, January 28, 1916, pp.318-320

"...It is eight months since the movement for an American Jewish Congress was actively organized. To some it seems that the movement has proceeded slowly. But when we consider the obstacles which had to be overcome, the progress must be deemed rapid. The time spent in discussion - which some have called controversy - was time well spent. Discussion has educated the Jews of America. It has taught them the need, the character and the purpose of the Congress. Week by week, as this process of education was continued, opposition yielded ever more to reasoning and former opponents declared their adhesion to the Congress idea.

In the eight months since the Congress Organization Committee was formed practically all save one of the important national Jewish organizations have declared their approval of holding a Congress; and in seventy-two cities general committees have been formed in which for the first time in the history of America, the many local Jewish organizations have combined with a view to the solution of the Jewish problem. There are still differences of opinion as to the powers which the Congress shall exercise when it convenes -- as to the time and manner of assembling. But the fundamental idea has passed beyond the stage of controversy. It is accepted by the Jews of America....

It cannot be effective if its functions are limited to the passing of resolutions, however carefully framed. Those whom the Congress authorizes to act for the Jewish people must have the actual support of the Jews of America. They must not only be prepared to act, but must be supplied with the means to do so.

First: The Congress, by creating spokesmen for American Israel who are representative, will provide a body through which the Jews of America, as the only great neutral group of Jews, may not only authoritatively address other governments, but may be so addressed by other governments desirous of dealing with representatives of the whole Jewish people.

Second: ...Jews can properly ask that throughout Europe, Asia and Africa their rights be acknowledged...But the Congress must go a step further...The Congress must create the machinery which will assure that what these spokesmen promise will be fulfilled, and that whatever gains the treaty of peace may exhibit will be maintained by the united effort of the Jews...

Third: The Congress will have the further effect of creating unity in American Jewry, without which achievement abroad is impossible....

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
January 28, 1916, p.328

THE CARNEGIE HALL MEETING

The meeting at Carnegie Hall on Monday night was an enthusiastic one and showed the popularity of the Congress idea in several quarters. It is obvious that the organizers of the movement have succeeded in obtaining adhesion to its main idea from a very large number of organizations of a representative or a quasi-representative character.

An editorial in the latest issue of The Maccabean, which may be regarded as the official mouthpiece of the Congress movement, shows, however, how far from any hopeful plan its advocates still are. It says: "When Jews of this country, through their government, make demands upon Russia or revived Poland for the Jews living in those lands, such demands will have no value unless the Jews formulating these demands are prepared to sacrifice material possessions, to sacrifice life, if necessary, in order that the demands may be conceded. Diplomacy nowadays deals with the balancing of power. Where

there is no effective power, there can be no diplomacy worthy of the name. When the American Jewish Congress is convened, it will have to be the expression not only of the vocal or philosophic or literary ability of the Jews there assembled. It will have to be backed up by men and women willing to make appreciable sacrifices in order that the demands made shall be realized."

What is meant by readiness to "sacrifice life, if necessary," in order that the demands of the Jews may be conceded, we are at a loss to understand, unless it means that in the event of the failure of these Jewish demands the Jews of America are prepared to go to war with the nations of the peace congress. This, of course, is an absurdity. There is no "effective power" among the American Jews excepting the power of public opinion. We are of the belief, as we have always been, that this public opinion can be best aroused by representations to our own government, and through it to the belligerent powers. However, be that as it may, we are firmly convinced that while hostilities are still on, the time is inopportune for any action in the matter.

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January 25, 1916 -- Publication of official figures showed that United States' exports for 1915 were the greatest in the history of the country.

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January 27, 1916 -- President Wilson delivered two addresses in New York advocating defense legislation.

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January 28, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
February 4, 1916, p.349

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS NOMINATED FOR U.S. SUPREME COURT

(Special Correspondence)

Washington, January 28th. -- President Wilson sprung a complete surprise on the nation to-day when he sent to the Senate the nomination of Louis D. Brandeis, of Boston, as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court, to succeed the late Justice Lamar. His name had not been mentioned for this judicial post and the President's announcement has created a sensation in official circles here. It is expected that a contest over his confirmation will be made in the Senate. The Senate Judiciary Committee will meet next Thursday to make arrangements for hearing protests and receiving endorsement of Mr. Brandeis.

Mr. Brandeis was born at Louisville, Ky., November 13, 1856. His

early education was received in a school at Dresden and at Harvard where he was graduated from the law school at the age of twenty. He began practice of law in Boston in his twenty-second year, devoting a large part of his time to charitable and social service work. In 1891 he married Miss Alice Goldmark, of New York.

In the past few years Mr. Brandeis has been conspicuously active in Zionist work. He is the head of the Provisional Committee for Generation Zionist Affairs and has taken the leadership in the demand for the calling of a Jewish Congress to seek the emancipation of the Jews in Russia and Roumania and other countries where they are not enjoying full equal rights.

Mr. Brandeis is a lawyer of wide repute. His manifold activity has led to the bringing about of many social reforms in Boston and other cities of the country. He was the leading counsel of the people in their fight for the regulation of the gas companies in Massachusetts and also fought for the people to obtain a hearing on the proposition to lease the Tremont Street Subway to the company controlling most of the surface lines in Boston.

Mr. Brandeis has been interested in the movement for shorter hours for women workers. As unpaid counsel for the National Consumers' League he was responsible for the upholding of the constitutionality of the law passed in Oregon in 1907, to restrict women's work in factories and laundries to ten hours a day. He has acted as arbitrator during recent clothing strikes in New York, aiding measurably in restoring peace and harmony between the workers and their employers.

Mr. Brandeis first came to the public notice in 1909 when he conducted the investigation into the charges against Secretary of the Interior, Richard A. Ballinger, regarding the Forestry service. In 1910 he was counsel for the shippers before the Interstate Commerce Commission in their endeavor to prevent an increase in freight rates. He appeared in 1905 as unpaid counsel for a protective committee in the investigation of the Equitable Life Insurance Company. In the rate hearings of 1913 and 1914, before the Interstate Commerce Commission, which resulted in many rises in freight rates, although they were less than the general 5 per cent, increase which was requested by the railroads, Mr. Brandeis took part as a special investigator and adviser. His part in this investigation brought about a more friendly feeling toward him than had previously existed on the part of many railroad men.

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February 4, 1916 -- The American Jewish Committee issues its "The Jews in the Eastern War Zone."¹¹⁴

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Excerpt from American Jewish Committee's
Tenth Annual Report, 1917, p.21

In order to get at the facts with regard to the condition of the Jews in the Eastern war zone about which so many conflicting reports had appeared, your committee, at the beginning of August 1915 undertook

an investigation of this matter. The results of this investigation were so significant and were so little known to the general public that your Committee decided to publish them in book form. Accordingly, an edition of 2500 copies of the book, followed by a second edition of 22,500 copies, entitled "The Jews in the Eastern War Zone," was published and distributed to the press and among a large number of influential individuals, including the President of the United States, Members of the Cabinet and of both Houses of Congress. The book was received with a great deal of interest, and has served to place in the hands of the American public a statement of facts derived from non-partisan and authentic sources.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
February 4, 1916, p.351

The American Jewish Committee has issued a report on the sufferings of the Jews in the Eastern War Zone, describing their condition as appalling beyond precedent. It is a black-bound volume of 120 pages, containing about 40,000 words, and is divided into four sections, covering Russia, Galicia, Rumania and Palestine.

The Russian section, which is the largest, is based exclusively upon data emanating from non-Jewish, Russian or Allied sources, including military orders and official records, Duma debates, reports and interpellations, and responsible Russian press items that have been subjected to military and civil censorship and have passed unchallenged. Every statement of fact is supported by a reference to the original source of information, and the report as a whole is regarded as a conservative statement of the situation.

The report shows that the seven million Jews affected, who constitute one-half of the Jewish population of the world, have, because of their unfortunate geographic position, actually borne the brunt of the war's burdens in Eastern Europe. When the war broke out, they found themselves trapped, absolutely shut off from all neutral lands and from the sea -- in the region of Russian Poland, Austrian Galicia and the Russian Pale.

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February 7, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
February 11, 1916, p.1

CONFERENCE PRELIMINARY TO CONGRESS ANNOUNCED

National Convention to Meet on Sunday, March 26th

At a meeting of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, held last Monday evening in the offices of Mr. Nathan Straus, Aeolian Hall Building, New York City, it was decided to call the preliminary conference of national and central organizations and of Jewish Congress

Committees in the various cities of the country, to be held in Philadelphia, on March 26th.

In accordance with the previous decision of the Committee, this Conference is to take action in regard to the time, place and program of the proposed Jewish Congress and the forms of election thereto.

At the meeting of the Committee, which is now made up of representatives from 18 national and central organizations, there were present last Monday evening in addition to the regular delegates, officers of Jewish Congress Committees from Philadelphia, Newark and Perth Amboy, N.J., Bridgeport, New London and Stamford, Conn., and Newburgh, N.Y.

Former Judge Leon Sanders, who presided, presented a report of the Committee on Negotiations with the American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee, consisting of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, Dr. I. J. Bluestone and himself. The report showed that since the last meeting further efforts have been made to arrive at a basis of co-operation with the other bodies. The report was adopted.

Resolutions were presented in behalf of the Convention of Jewish organizations from Illinois, Michigan, Indiana and Wisconsin, which met in Chicago on January 23rd, and in which 684 delegates representing 442 organizations took part, calling upon the Jewish Congress Organization Committee to take immediate steps toward the convening of the preliminary conference of organizations which had previously been projected and decided upon. The Executive Secretary reported of similar communications received from the Jewish Congress Committees of Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, St. Louis and other cities.

After a full discussion of the subject by the delegates and the representatives from outside cities, the resolution referred to above was unanimously adopted to call the preliminary conference for Sunday, March 26th, the Administrative Committee being authorized to work out the details of representation. In accordance with the previous decision to issue a call to all organizations and to get into communication with the various Jewish Congress Committees, which have now been formed in seventy-four cities of the country.

News Item, American Hebrew,
February 11, 1916, p.383

"CONGRESS" MEETING MARCH 26TH

At a meeting of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee held Monday evening [February 16] in the offices of Mr. Nathan Straus, Aeolian Hall Building, New York, it was decided to call the preliminary conference of national and central organizations and of Jewish Congress Committees in the various cities of the country, to be held in Philadelphia on March 26th. In accordance with the previous decision of the committee, this conference is to take action in regard to the time place and program of the proposed Jewish Congress and the forms of election thereto.

Former Judge Leon Sanders, who presided, presented a report of the committee on negotiations with the American Jewish Committee and

the National Workmen's Committee, consisting of Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, Dr. I. J. Bluestone and himself. The report showed that since the last meeting further efforts have been made to arrive at a basis of co-operation with the other bodies. The report was accepted.

The Administrative Committee was authorized to work out the details of representation, in accordance with the previous decision, to issue a call to all organizations and to get into communication with the various Jewish Congress Committee, which have now been formed in seventy-four cities of the country.

Announcement was made of the first convention to locally organize the Jews of New York for participation in the Jewish Congress, which will be held on the afternoon of February 22nd and to which all Jewish organizations of Manhattan have been asked to send delegates. Other conventions will subsequently be held in Brooklyn and in the Bronx. It was decided that the Grand Masters and heads of the organizations constituting the Jewish Congress Organization Committee issue a joint call to their subsidiary lodges and branches, urging them to participate in the Manhattan Convention.

Among the delegates from out-of-town were: Dr. Louis S. Rubinsohn, Sol C. Kraus, and Isaac Weiss, of Philadelphia; Ferdinand Borenstein, Jacob Divinsky, Rabbi H. Brodsky and Saul Cohn of Newark; Dr. Louis Smirnow, of Bridgeport; Jacob Berger, of Stamford; Sol Ockooheff, of New London; Max Scott and Louis Y. Sosin, of Perth Amboy and Mr. David Vennick, of Newburgh.

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CHAPTER V

THE PHILADELPHIA PRELIMINARY CONFERENCE

February 1916 through March 1916

The American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee claimed to have been taken completely by surprise by the decision of the Congress Organization Committee to call a pre-congress conference on its own. In a report to its membership, the American Jewish Committee protested that

...the negotiations with the Congress Organization seemed to be progressing satisfactorily when, without consulting your Committee and while negotiations were still pending, the Congress Organization Committee issued a call for a Conference to be held in Philadelphia on March 26, 1916, for the purpose of making arrangements for a Congress to be held at such time as the Conference should decide. Your Committee received an invitation to send delegates to the conference, but inasmuch as the conditions set forth in the resolution adopted by you, namely, that a Congress should be called after the termination of hostilities, was not met in the plans of the Congress Organization Committee.

Similar action was taken by the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights which also had certain specific objections to the plans of the Congress Organization Committee and whose objections had also not been met. ¹¹⁵

Paying no heed to the protests of the anti-congress forces, the Congress Organization Committee set about preparing for the Philadelphia Preliminary Conference. The pattern of preparation on the part of supporting organizations was set by the Manhattan Congress Convention which, made up of some five hundred local New York organizations, met February 22 to organize for the Conference. Resolutions were adopted calling for a democratic congress to discuss all aspects of the Jewish problem including equal rights for Jews in all lands and the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. It was also resolved that the congress be called "at

as early a date as possible without regard to the cessation or continuation of the war." ¹⁴⁶

Some of the tensions that prevailed at the Manhattan meeting are evident in the remarks of various speakers. Nachum Syrkin said:

Jewish Wall Street does not want this Congress. Those men want to do the talking. They are standing against democracy, and they are not only treacherous to the Jewish people, but to the spirit of America. They are un-democratic and un-Jewish. ¹⁴⁷

Abram Goldberg, speaking on the resolution concerning the date of the Congress said:

The question is not when, but who shall decide about a Congress. We want to call the 'bluff' of the American Jewish Committee which has been appointed by divine power; let them come to our conference and give us proofs why we should not hold a Congress before the war ends. ¹⁴⁸

On the same evening (February 22, 1916), the Greater Boston Jewish Congress Committee selected committees to prepare for the Philadelphia Conference. ¹⁴⁹

The Jewish Congress Organization Committee issued its formal call for the Philadelphia Conference February 27, 1916. The call which was signed by the presidents of twenty national Jewish organizations invited all national organizations and city, regional, and state congress committees to send three delegates and one additional for every ten thousand members. It was stated that the purposes of the Conference were to determine the date and program of the Congress, the basis of representation, the financial policies, the election of an executive committee to take over the duties of the present Jewish Congress Organization Committee, and the instruction of that committee.

Well organized nation-wide Congress machinery began to function. Supporting organizations throughout the country selected delegates with all the fanfare of extensive publicity. On March 11 and 12, the Southern States Jewish Organizations met in Baltimore to elect delegates to the Conference and to adopt resolutions. ¹⁵⁰

Delegates of one hundred and twenty-one Brooklyn Jewish organizations elected delegates March 12, as did the Jewish Congress Organization Committee of the Bronx Borough.¹⁵¹ During the same week, the Jewish Congress Committee of Providence, Rhode Island, representing more than fifty organizations held elections.¹⁵² The Manhattan Jewish Congress Organization met March 15 for Conference elections¹⁵³ as did twelve Jewish organizations of Springfield, Massachusetts.¹⁵⁴ March 16 the Greater Boston Jewish Congress Committee met and elected delegates.¹⁵⁵ March 19, one hundred and ten delegates from twenty Pennsylvania cities met in Philadelphia to elect delegates to the Conference.¹⁵⁶ On the eve of the Conference, it was estimated that elected delegates would represent about one million American Jews despite the absence of the American Jewish Committee and their associates.

It was about this time that the Zionists began to speak not only of calling an independent congress, but of making that congress a permanent institution. As long as they had hoped for the cooperation of the American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee, they had refrained from emphasizing this point of their congress program. They had realized that congress opponents would have been irreconcilable on this score. But now free and untrammelled, congress leaders encouraged the idea of congress permanency which rapidly gained popular acceptance. Shortly before the Conference was to meet, even Judah I. Magnes asked for his opinion of the Conference, spoke in favor of a permanent Congress organization.¹⁵⁷

The American Jewish Committee, despite the attitude of Magnes and some of its other members who enjoyed dual membership, did not relax its running fight against the congress movement. On the contrary, as the

date of the Preliminary Conference approached, the attacks became more bitter. It was intimated that Ambassador Morgenthau could have given very cogent reasons for the postponement of congress plans if only the State Department would permit him to speak. No one curtailed the expression of Jacob H. Schiff, however, who fearlessly impugned the motives of the congress leaders and was repaid in kind with vicious calumny throughout the Yiddish press.

Ambassador Straus declared that a congress would probably seriously jeopardize any hope for the amelioration of the conditions of Jews in Russia. Louis Marshall, Rabbi William Rosenau, Simon Wolf, and J. Walter Frieberg condemned congress plans as unwise, untactful, and undiplomatic.

The National Workmen's Committee, having adopted the stand of the American Jewish Committee, also refused the invitation of the Congress Organization to attend the Philadelphia Conference. Consequently, they suffered the defection of the Poale Zion and the National Workmen's Alliance which decided to join the Congress Organization Committee in sponsoring the Philadelphia Conference. Uncertain as to the popular support of its action, the National Workmen's Committee called a conference of its constituent organizations in the Eastern States for the same day as the Philadelphia Conference, March 26, but in the City of New York.

Two weeks later, April 9, 1916, a similar conference of Western branches was held in Chicago and the action of the Executive Committee in refusing to take part in the pre-congress conference was upheld ex post facto.¹⁵⁸

Seventy-seven of the 313 delegates broke with the organization and founded the National Socialist Workmen's Committee.¹⁵⁹ At the New York conference, the National Workmen's Committee issued its "The War and the Jews in Russia", a report summarizing Jewish disabilities in Russia and

persecutions suffered by Jews during the war documented with newspaper articles, military orders, and civil legislation.

Congress leaders were not to be intimidated nor dissuaded. The Philadelphia Preliminary Conference was convened as scheduled, called to order by Dr. Louis Rubinsohn, Grand Master of the Independent Order Brith Sholom and Chairman of the Philadelphia Congress Committee, at the Walton Hotel, 2:30 Sunday afternoon, March 26, 1916. The Committee on Credentials later made the following report on representation and attendance:

Total number of delegates seated	367
Number of National and Central Organizations represented	30
Number of delegates from same	141
Number of City Congress Committees represented	83
Number of delegates representing same	226
Number of cities represented	83
Total number of affiliated organizations represented, in cluding branches of National and Central Organizations ...	381
Representing approximately a membership of over	1,000,000 Jews ¹⁶⁰

Some of the familiar personalities attending the Conference were: Jacob de Haas, Louis Lipsky, Senior Abel, Joseph Barondess, Rabbi Bernard Brachman, Rabbi Herbert S. Goldstein, Gedalia Bublick, Rabbi Philip Klein, Dr. M. Girsdansky, Leon Kamaiky, Jacob Massel, David Pinski, Dr. Gotthard Deutsch, Prof. Horace M. Kallen, Judge Hugo Pam, Leon Zolotkoff, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Rabbi David de Sola Pool, Prof. I.A. Hourwich, Prof. Richard Gottheil, Bernard G. Richards, Pincus Rutenberg, Abraham S. Schomer, Leon Sanders, Dr. Nachum Syrkin, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, Baruch Zuckerman, Rabbi I. E. Philo, Mrs. A. Silverman, E. W. Lewin-Epstein.

The following delegates were also members of the American Jewish Committee: Bernard Semel, Leo Lerner, Joseph Barondess, Leon Kamaiky, Jacob Massel, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Mrs. William B. Einstein, Adolph Lewisohn (elected but not present), Leon Sanders, Rabbi B. L. Levinthal.

Delegates had been arriving in the city since early Saturday morning and caucusses were everywhere in evidence about the Hotel Walton, before the sessions were called to order Sunday afternoon. Judge Leon Sanders, Grand Master of the Independent Order Brith Abraham, campaigned for permanent chairman but was forced to content himself with the position of temporary chairman

The majority wanted Rabbi Stephen S. Wise (for permanent chairman); an orthodox minority opposed him on religious grounds. The Zionists caucussed twice. They had probably a majority in the conference and they have been earnest in assuming responsibility for the whole gathering, rather than for their own particular issues.¹⁶¹

The dominant figure of the conference, Stephen S. Wise, delivered not only the keynote address, but also at the conclusion of the Conference summed up its accomplishments and aspirations. Commanding tremendous respect and admiration from all delegates, he engineered compromises and agreements that rendered successful the deliberations which were threatened seriously several times by apparently irreconcilable points of view. In his opening address, Wise said in part:

...A once beneficent attitude reveals itself as a petulant and malevolent boss-ship, abhorring the substance of democracy amid the counsels of a people...This Conference is to labor solely to the end that there be devised and perfected such agencies as may bring about a completely democratic organization of all the forces of American Israel save for such as may will to exclude themselves...Out of this war is to come an end of private professional secret diplomacy and a beginning of the control by the people of their national and international relationships...The time is come for a leadership by us to be chosen -- a leadership that shall democratically and wisely lead rather than autocratically and unwisely command...The only program acceptable to the men in control of our affairs has been a program of palliation, as if nothing more than temporary relief could be hoped for Israel, wounded and oppressed. Relief, also, is at times sorely needed, was never more needed than today. But relief is not to be exalted as the policy or program of a people unless these be hopeless beggars and their leaders adopt a program of relief as the only way out. Not relief but redress, not palliation but prevention, not charity but justice, not Zedakah but Zedek is the only program worthy of a great and proud people....¹⁶²

Louis D. Brandeis was not present, but wild demonstrations greeted every mention of his name. With only one dissenting vote, that of Isaac A. Hourwich, he was elected Honorary Chairman of the Conference and Honorary Chairman of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress. Louis Lipsky and Joseph Barondess acted as floor whips. Compromise Candidate, Judge Hugo Pam of the Appellate Court of Illinois, was unanimously elected Permanent Chairman of the Conference. In his acceptance speech, Judge Pam said in part:

...While there has been a nation-wide movement for a Congress, yet in some localities there had been a desire for a Conference. We must be fair. We know that the men who have suggested a Conference are men who have been in the advance guard battling for Jewry, and have lent generously of their thought, power and influence on behalf of the Jew. They have been honest and steadfast in their purpose, and have conscientiously believed in their views. I have no doubt that they, from their viewpoint, believed themselves absolutely to be right. We are as strongly the other way. We need them and want them to join with us in this Congress movement. Therefore, we must reason with them, give them our views, show them the justice of our cause, make them realize that the masses are earnestly supporting our movement, and that public opinion, the value of which is incalculable, is slowly but surely approving our course....¹⁶³

The following were elected officers of the Conference: Vice-presidents -- Rabbi B. L. Leventhal, Professor Gotthard Deutsch, Dr. Harry Friedenwald, Dr. Louis S. Rubinsohn, Professor Isaac A. Hourwich, Joseph Barondess, Joseph M. Herman; Secretaries -- Bernard G. Richards, Professor Hayim Fineman, A. B. Brenner.¹⁶⁴

At the Monday (March 27) session the Conference accepted the following program for the Congress with the explicit understanding, nevertheless, that the Congress and its delegates were to be free from binding instructions. Stephen S. Wise drew up the compromise proposal that enabled the Conference to accept the highly contested first item:

1. a. That the Congress consider the question of securing to Jews free and equal rights, civil, political, religious, in all such lands

- where these rights were denied to them;
- b. That the Congress consider the question of securing to the Jews national rights in all such lands in which national rights were or are or ought to be recognized.
 2. That the Congress consider the problems of the Jewish development in Palestine in all its phases.
 3. That the Congress consider co-operation with Jews in other lands, in furtherance of the Congress program.
 4. That the Congress consider the question of creating a Commission which shall submit the deliberations of the Congress to the Peace Conference.
 5. That the Congress consider the advisability of establishing the Congress as a permanent institution.
 6. That the Congress consider the problem of our constructive relief in the lands affected by the war.
 7. That the Congress consider the problems of Jewish migration in all its aspects.
 8. That the Congress consider the financial responsibility which the Congress movement may create.
 9. That Commissions be appointed to make a survey of the condition of Jews in foreign lands and to make a study of restrictive Jews.¹⁶⁵

The Congress Organization Committee had planned for an Executive Committee of seventy not including the Honorary Chairman and the secretary. A hand-picked nominating committee recommended a hand-picked slate, the presentation of which to the Conference precipitated near rebellion on the part of delegates who believed that their organizations or areas had been slighted.

Wise Orally disciplined the complainants. Various noted individuals who had been nominated to the Executive shamed them by offering to resign in favor of their candidates. The uproar was finally stilled by the decision to permit the Executive Committee to increase its number to one hundred members if it should so desire, in which case the nominations from the floor of the Conference were to be considered the Conference's recommendations though they were not to be binding upon the Executive. It was decided that all members of the Executive must be citizens of the United States. An administrative committee and all officers except the Honorary Chairman were to be selected by the Executive Committee itself.

Aside from the challenging tone of Stephen Wise's remarks and the earnest hope for unity expressed by Judge Pam, little had been said thus far about the Congress enemies. But when the subject of negotiations was mentioned, rage and fear destroyed the comparative calm that had thus far marked the proceedings.

The next piece of business on the program was the report of the committee bearing on the duties of the proposed Executive Committee. Things ran along smoothly so far as the general duties of this committee were concerned but there was a broiling time when Chairman Henry H. Levinson of Boston read the following clause:

"That negotiations with any other organizations shall in no case be continued beyond May 15th, 1916."

At this point bedlam broke loose. Chairman Pam found himself shouting beyond his strength for order and was kept busy pounding on the table...

Up to this point the delegates had kept well within restraint... But the pent-up energy broke loose at the mention of "negotiations." "There is nothing to negotiate," shouted Jacob de Haas from the platform, "we lower our dignity by placing ourselves on the same plane with any organization..."

Bernard G. Richards, secretary of the Congress Organization Committee, who up to this time had kept behind the scenes, came forward and in a very flaring speech gave vent to his feelings on the matters of "negotiations." "I am opposed to any negotiations," he said, "because we have had enough of it. Nor should we recognize any parties or groups. By negotiation you imply that there are special groups that need special invitations. I would call these groups into rebuke and renunciation and not give them special privileges. Let us not leave them another opening for killing our work. We have invited them along with everybody else in American Jewry -- they may come to us if they like."

Mr. Rutenberg was more lenient. He urged that the Conference adopt the definite date of closing negotiations. Dr. J. Grossberg of Chicago, felt it would be undignified to have a clause on "negotiations." The doors should be open, he said, but it must be by way of application for admission.

Judge Sanders declared that the conference had adopted a set of resolutions that were strong enough to hold any Jew. He would not conciliate. He opposed the setting of a date or the making of a statement in regard to "negotiations" on the ground that it would be a declaration of weakness. Mr. Zuckerman urged that the conference make another attempt for unity -- it now spoke in the name of a million Jews, he said, and that might have some weight with those who are still outside the Congress camp. Rabbi M. Z. Margolies pleaded for unity, and an open door for all, and urged that the hands of the executive committee be not tied against those outside. Abraham Goldberg declared that negotiations would imply that something would have to be given in; there was nothing to compromise, he urged.

Rabbi Wise proved the last speaker on this clause. "Negotiations means compromise and surrender," he declared. "It means faltering, it means moral suicide. We shut no one out from the Jewish Congress. What is the use of adopting a set of principles in the morning and then beating them around in the afternoon..."

The "negotiations" clause was then put to a vote and killed by a large majority.¹⁶⁶

Washington, D.C. was selected as the meeting place of the American Jewish Congress which was to be held some time between September 3 and December 31, 1916. A three-fourths vote of the Executive Committee could delay the Congress but in an emergency the date could be advanced and the Congress summoned at any time after thirty days notice.

As the Conference drew to a close:

The delegates would not leave. Radicals and Conservatives jumped on chairs and tables and sang the Hebrew songs which the new life in Palestine has created, and all congratulated one another upon the fact...brought out with clearness that a million Jews of America had emancipated themselves from irresponsible masters to work for self-mastery for the sake of Israel.¹⁶⁷

From every Congress view-point, the Philadelphia was supremely successful. The Zionists with the strong support of certain fraternal organizations had proved their ability to conduct with order and dignity the type of deliberations they had been proposing for a year and a half. The path and program before them was clear cut. But despite the bold expression which had been asserted on the floor of the Conference. Congress leaders continued sensitive to the reactions of Congress opponents. Still eager for unity, the Zionists awaited the next move of the American Jewish Committee with trepidation.

Supplement to Chapter V

February 18, 1916 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
February 18, 1916, p.418

UNITY IN ISRAEL

Taking as its text, the recent address in Brooklyn by Mr. Jacob H.

Schiff, the Jewish Daily News makes a plea for Jewish unity which we warmly endorse. We are all agreed that in troublous times it is possible for us to get together. The difficulty has been that in normal times it seems impossible for us to keep together. The responsibility for this condition rests in no one quarter. Both sides have aided to create the schism and if we may be permitted to say so, the Jewish Daily News itself, in its frequent references to Yahudim and Yidden, has not been free from offending. Let us now endeavor to forget past differences and being together on the matter of war relief work, see whether we cannot stay together on all subject. At the moment of course, relief of the war sufferers is the paramount matter. But a time is coming, we hope in the near future, when with the close of the war the matter of food and clothing may be subordinated and the largest subject of all, the question of full rights for the Jews in lands where these are denied, will be before the world for consideration. When that day comes it is of the highest importance that there be essential unity in Israel. There must be one demand made by the Jews in free lands in behalf of their brethren in lands of oppression. It were desirable that this demand should find expression with one voice and for this reason above all others, we have entertained the hope that a *modus vivendi* might be found between the Congress Organization Committee and the American Jewish Committee. We do not yet despair of an ultimate agreement but if this cannot be reached, certain things may still be done.

Each of these two organizations is animated by the desire to do the best that can be done for oppressed Israel. Let each recognize the good faith of the other. We are in accord with the view of the American Jewish Committee, that a Congress is not the most useful instrument to accomplish the desire purpose and we believe that, prior to the cessation of hostilities, it may be a dangerous instrument. If the Congress advocates find themselves unable to share the view which we hold, they should not find it difficult to grant that men who have for a lifetime devoted themselves to the Jewish cause have not suddenly become enemies thereto. If differ we must as to the means to be employed, we are all in agreement as to the end to be reached and we should all agree as to the sincerity of those whose views as to means do not agree with our own. Let there be an end, once and for all, of making faces at each other and calling names.

Nor is it only in these grave international matters that unity is called for. We have here in New York City more Jews than the entire population of many states. There are for these, internal problems which only a united people can solve. The question of Federation, now much discussed, is one such and there are many others. If such questions are to have a lasting and beneficial answer, it can only be through united action. To this end we give cordial endorsement to the attitude of the Jewish Daily News and hope to see it followed both by the press generally and by all sections of the community.

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February 18, 1916 -- American Jewish Relief Committee Treasurer, Felix

M. Warburg announces a total of \$3,029,928.67 toward the five million dollar 1916 Relief Fund.

February 22, 1916 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
February 25, 1916, p.448

THE DEMOCRATIC (?) MEETING

Great is Democracy but greater is Humbug! The much heralded democratic meeting of the Jews of New York for the purpose of selecting delegates to the Conference to be held next month at Philadelphia was precisely as democratic as such gatherings usually are. The first business transacted, after the speech of the presiding officer, was the adoption of a resolution making the rules of the Assembly of the State of New York the rules of the convention. Excepting the mover of the resolution (Judge Aaron J. Levy) and the chairman (Judge Leon Sanders), both ex-members of the Assembly, few of the delegates present had ever read these rules or knew what they were. In any case, "Democracy" was throttled then and there before it had a chance to be born. When it came to the appointment of committees by the chair, the convention discovered that it had surrendered its democratic functions and had placed itself once more into the hands of the oligarchy. From that time on the machine moved as smoothly as well-oiled machines usually go, and the slate was not even cracked.

It has been said over and over again by the Congress advocates, that their opponents were not representative of the Jews. In our news columns, we publish a full list of the various committees. Observe what representative names they are. Think of the names that occur to you as the representative Jews of New York and you will look for them in vain here. The tailors of Tooley Street were great by comparison.

We have every respect for the Independent Order B'rith Abraham. It is the largest and one of the most useful of our fraternal organizations. But it is not the whole of Jewry. When the chairman, who is also president of this Order, made the statement that a majority of those present were members of the Order, he gave the whole show away -- to use the language of the street. The machinery had been prepared in the secret conclave of the lodge room. Great is Democracy!...

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February 25, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
March 10, 1916, p.513

JEWISH CONGRESS IN ARGENTINA

The Jewish Congress Committee has received the following cable from Buenos Aires, Argentina. "The Jewish Congress of Argentine convened in Buenos Aires on the twenty-fifth of February and passed resolutions in favor of equality and justice for Jews everywhere, and a homeland in Palestine. Much enthusiasm. Presidents Liebeschutz, Gosang, Aranovich and Geciovich."

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February 27, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
March 9, 1916, p.1

20 PRESIDENTS SIGN CALL

For National Jewish Conference at Philadelphia, on March 28th

Proportionate Representation

The Jewish Congress Committee has issued its call for the conference to take place at Philadelphia on March 26th, at the Hotel Walton. The call, addressed to national organizations and city committees, states in part: --

The time has come to take the first step in the organization of the Congress. As proposed at the beginning of the movement, the Congress is to be organized and convened by and through a Preliminary Conference of Jewish Organizations. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee was organized only as a provisional committee, whose object was to secure the co-operation of all organizations and parties, in the deliberations of the Preliminary Conference, which, when convened, supersedes in authority the Congress Organization Committee.

Each national organization is entitled to elect or appoint a number of delegates in accordance with the following rule, which has been adopted as basis of representation:

"Every national or central organization shall have the right to send three delegates and one additional delegate for every 10,000 members or major fraction thereof."

Invitations to the Preliminary Conference are extended to all national and central organizations and to local Jewish Congress Committees.

The purpose of the Preliminary Conference shall be to consider and act upon the following questions:

1. The date of the Congress.
2. The program of the Congress.
3. The basis of representation and method of electing delegates to the Congress.
4. All financial matters relating to the convening of the Congress and the propaganda and organization work preceding it.
5. The election of an executive committee to serve as the Congress Organization Committee, and instructions to that Committee.

The Preliminary Conference shall elect its own officers, it is also understood that the Conference is the final and supreme authority as to its own program; and that the above program is subject to its revision or amendment.

The call is signed by the president of twenty national organizations, and a list is appended showing the operation or the plan of representation.

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Excerpts from Address, American Hebrew,
March 3, 1916, pp.471-472

Addressing the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Hebrew Sheltering and
Immigrant Aid Society of America, Sunday, February 27, 1916, Jacob H.

Schiff said in part:

...We have just heard..that this immigration bill is in the first instance levelled against the Jew. So you have it. It is only the beginning, and if you are not careful, and I am going to say something that is unpopular here, perhaps more unpopular with your chairman (Judge Leon Sanders) than with anybody else, that if we are really to have a Jewish Congress in America, if by similar attempts we seek to put ourselves into a separate class, it will not be long before political anti-Semitism will raise its ugly head in these United States of America.

Now, my friends, we can and should all unite for Jewish rights, and that is what we demand for our oppressed brethren in Russia and elsewhere; but let us ask for and insist and obtain these rights for our brethren as Americans and not because we are Jews, and we shall obtain them. At all times in Jewish life there have risen men who endeavored to lead the masses for their own purposes. It began at the dawn of history...and so it is now again here with us...do we want again to have this fire brand thrown into our midst, this fire brand which says we do not trust our old leaders, we want new leaders chosen upon a democratic basis?

If you really want to do this, I say to you leaders cannot be elected. True leaders must develop, true leaders must have proved their value. Office holders can be elected, but we Jews, to gain what we must obtain, not for ourselves but for our unhappy and miserable brethren in Europe, must have proved leaders and not office holders...

Now, my friends, as I am standing before you, with seventy years behind me, I warn you to stop, I say to you with all emphasis I am capable of, preserve true Jewish unity in the United States, that has stood the test of many, many a decade, do not tear it apart. You may or may not heed my warning, but if you hold this proposed Jewish Congress you will at some time deeply regret it, you will have committed the greatest sin against the Jew in America, you will have once for all put him into a class by himself, no matter what your new found, I believe to a great extent selfish, leaders may tell you. Do not misunderstand me. I don't say that the men who are leading you into this are all selfish. Many of them, like Judge Sanders, are men for whom I take off my hat any day, men who seek the zeal of their brethren, but even they are mistaken, and if, as I believe, they wish for Jewish unity, I beg of them to consider before it is too late....

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February 28, 1916 --

Cablegram, Jewish Advocate,
March 9, 1916, p.1

ARGENTINE HOLDS JEWISH CONGRESS

The Jewish Congress of Argentine convened in Buenos Aires on the 28th of February, and passed resolutions in favor of equality and justice for the Jews everywhere, and a home land in Palestine. Much enthusiasm. Presidents: Liebeschutz, Cesang, Aranovich and Ceclovich.

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March 3, 1916 -- The American Jewish Relief Committee announces the receipt of \$3,251,450.77. 169

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News Items, American Hebrew,
March 3, 1916, p.481

Rev. Dr. Leon Harrison of St. Louis, Mo., has just completed a two weeks tour of the South and West for the American Jewish Relief Committee in aid of Jewish War sufferers. He addressed mass meetings in New Orleans, Houston, Galveston, San Antonio and Dallas.

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It was announced that Jacob H. Schiff had donated \$10,000 to the New York County Chapter of the American Red Cross toward the equipment of a second base hospital of five hundred beds in this city, to be used by the Medical Corps of the Army in the event of war.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
March 3, 1916, p.480

It is to be hoped, that if Ambassador Morgenthau is given the privilege of breaking the seal which the State Department has put upon his lips, he will explain to those interested in the congress movement the attitude of the Turkish officials toward the Jews, and Zionism in particular. His splendid service to the cause of Israel, as the accredited Ambassador of a great republic under whose hospitable "umbrella" there sought shelter the peoples of nine belligerent nations, would not have been possible without the power which came from this representation. From many sources we have learned of the difficulties encountered by Mr. Morgenthau and others who have tried to aid our suffering brethren in the war zone and in Palestine. Much of this was due to the lack of foresight and understanding of the situation on the part of some of our brethren in this country....

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March 5, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
March 10, 1916, p.504

The annual meeting of the Educational Alliance, held Sunday evening, March 5, 1916 was addressed by Ambassador Henry Morgenthau, President of Free Synagogue, Judge Samuel Greenbaum, President of the Educational Alliance, and Jacob H. Schiff. The following was reported of the remarks of Mr. Schiff:

In conclusion he urged all Jews to become true American citizens, to learn the English language, to swear allegiance to America, and to be loyal to their allegiance vows ever afterward. "Then," he declared, "the calumniators of Israel can no longer speak of us as a people who know not the laws and the language of the country we have adopted. What makes a nation is the common language that the people of that nation speak. Those who do not want to speak the common language cannot be a part of the nation. The Morgenthau and the Greenbaums are the true leaders of Israel, for they are teaching the strange people the common language of the country -- they are the leaders of Israel; and the men who tell you you are a separate nation and try and make you look at the American problem from a Jewish viewpoint are like the men who made the golden calf."

March 8, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
March 24, 1916, p.578

STATEMENT OF RELIEF COMMITTEE

The American Jewish Relief Committee has issued a financial statement as of March 8th. The total receipts up to that date amount to \$4,151,222, of which \$2,640,232.92 represents the sum raised for the special five million dollar fund. Of these receipts, \$3,083,989.93 has been distributed among the Jews in European lands, as follows: Russia, \$1,235,000; German Poland, \$960,000; Austro-Hungary, \$510,000; Salonica, \$30,000; Aleppo, \$2,500; Monastir, \$3,000; Swiss University Students, \$5,000; Uskub and Ischtip, \$1,000; Gallipoli and Dardanelles, \$2,500; Crete, \$1,000; Ottoman Jews, outside of Palestine, general relief, \$106,243.39; Soup Kitchen, Palestine, \$5,500; "Vulcan" expenses, \$80,506.09; Transferred to old fund to wipe out deficiency, \$13,918.96; Palestine (medicine), \$15,944.37; Palestine (monthly), \$15,000; Galician prisoners and refugees in Russia, \$50,000; Jews of Epirus, \$2,500; Expenses for Administration, \$22,326.20.

March 10, 1916 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
March 10, 1916, p.510

The Jews are not the only people who have their troubles. The Irish are also Congress-making and have aroused discussions among themselves. The essential difference between the two people though is this: The Irish in this country are in a position to injure only themselves by any indiscretion of which they may be guilty -- the Jews on the other hand are taking the risk of irreparable damage, as well to millions of their co-religionists living in lands of oppression.

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March 11, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
March 11, 1916, p.7:4

SEE PERIL TO RACE IN JEWISH CONGRESS

J. H. Schiff Believes It Might Cost Good-Will and Respect of This Nation

He Favors a Convention

Banker Objects to Name of Proposed Gathering and Warns Against Anything "Un-American."

Jewish unity would be lost and the vital problems of the Jewish people here and elsewhere would not be solved by the proposed Jewish congress to be called at Philadelphia on March 26, says Jacob H. Schiff, who finds in some features of the new movement and its Zionist support dangers to the development of real progress, and which, if carried out, might result in possible loss of the respect and goodwill which the American people have shown to so great an extent. Suggesting what should be the Jewish national point of view including co-operation to help build up American national life, he asserts that any other attitude would almost be treason to the principle of American citizenship.

This public statement was made by Mr. Schiff in the form of an interview with Isaac Gornickman, city editor of The New York Warheit, who sought the opinions of Mr. Schiff on the subject of the congress because of his many years of activity in national Jewish work as the Chairman of the American Jewish Committee. The interview, read, revised, and approved by Mr. Schiff, was authorized by him for publication in that newspaper this morning.

The American Jewish Committee has for years occupied the place of the highest council in both local and international Jewish affairs. Associated with Mr. Schiff in the committee are the leading representatives of the race throughout the country. On the plea of less "conservative" and "more democracy" the committee was requested by the

Jewish Kehilla, (Community) after a meeting of various organizations to call a congress to consider problems which had heretofore been exclusively within the province and jurisdiction of the American Jewish Committee.

The committee decided that a congress promised dangerous results for the entire race, here and abroad, and declined to join in the movement. During the last six months the question has been agitated here and throughout the country and the new movement has the support of most of the Jewish press.

Mr. Schiff's statement was made in reply to questions put to him by Mr. Gonickman. The statement, in part, follows:

"When I think of the possibility of a breach in the American Jewry my heart aches. I have always endeavored and worked to bring about unity among the Jews. I never permitted myself, even in thought, to distinguish one Jew from another. I always struggled against a dividing line between brethren. I am convinced, now more than ever before, that America can, and I hope she will, develop the best generation of Jewish men and women that the world has yet seen. And it is because of this conviction that I am so deeply grieved when I only think of a possible division among the American Jews.

"Within the past fifty years Jews have been coming to the United States in large numbers. The Jews has sought and found in this country what he could not get in Europe, namely, freedom and all civil rights. Is it therefore not the first duty of the Jew to help to build up American national life, together with all who really love our country? Can the Jew and will he do this if it is constantly and at every opportunity being hammered into his head: "We must remain apart from the rest, we must build up a new nation for ourselves, we need only look upon American problems only from the Jewish point of view, not the good of the whole country, but our own good from a Jewish national point of view, that we must consider everything?

"Is not such an attitude almost reason to the principle of American citizenship and to the love and gratitude we should feel for this country?

"The question of a Jewish congress which is now being discussed by the Jews of America, and which has been raised by the Zionists, (this cannot be denied,) who would like to segregate the Jews of America into a separate class, will eventually arouse the suspicion of the American people against its Jewish population. They will insist that there is no room in the United States for any other congress, with national tendencies, except for the United States Congress and they will shun and look with suspicion upon those who wish to constitute a separate class in America...

It is undoubtedly true, correct, and necessary that the Jews of the United States should unite for the purpose of helping our unfortunate brethren of Russia and in the other countries where they have no rights to obtain for them equal civil rights in the countries in which they live. But is it necessary to have a congress for this purpose? Is it necessary to have a congress at which many things would necessarily be said which, for the good of the Jewish people, should remain unsaid, a congress at which the demagogue and hot-headed agitator, who cannot be controlled by the best Chairman and parliamentary genius, will

most likely, and perhaps surely, get the upper hand, a congress which will probably bring us nothing except the possible loss of the respect and good-will which the American people show us to so great an extent?

"Would it not be more practical, more dignified, and wise in every respect if Jewish national organizations of every kind, and in which the great majority of the American Jewry are already represented, would carefully select men to become delegates to an American Jewish convention? In this manner we should save unity, and a true representation by the best and most trustworthy men of American Jewry."

Upon the question why the Irish in America were not afraid to assemble and speak freely and openly, Mr. Schiff said:

"Do not forget that they have not called a congress. They had a convention which we too might have, and the delegates for their convention were elected not in the manner planned for the congress, but similar to the way which I suggested before. And yet I want to assure you that the address of Recorder Goff will do more harm than good for Irish national existence.

"Why use the name congress? It is nothing but a phrase. Is a convention not good enough, not well-sounding enough? We do not want any politicians who wish to make political capital out of the great Jewish tragedy and want to be constantly on the band wagon. We need men who have shown their great interest in Jewish affairs in the past, and really feel deeply the sorrows of the Jewish people. We do not want the professional or unprofessional fakir or those who humbug the people for their own selfish interests. We need only those who have stood the fire-test in the long strife for Jewish interests."

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
March 16, 1916, p.1

SCHIFF'S ATTACK AND WITHDRAWAL

Gave Interview to "Wahrheit" Which Was Repeated in General Press

Not Aware of Change

The Attack

Telegram

Saturday evening, March 11th, '16

Mr. Jacob H. Schiff

965 Fifth Avenue, City

Dear Mr. Schiff: --

The New York Sun and the New York Times of today contain what purports to be an interview with you on the Jewish Congress Question in which you are quoted as charging participants in Congress Movement as well as Zionists with treason to the United States. Are you correctly quoted. Please reply through bearer.

EDITOR, JEWISH DAILY NEWS

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The Withdrawal

Telegram

New York, N.Y. 8 A.M.

March 12th, 1916

Editor Jewish Daily News

East Broadway, New York

Replying to your telegram received late last evening the only interview I have given has been to the "Wahrheit." I am not aware that I have charged participants in the Congress movement and Zionists with treason to the United States.

JACOB H. SCHIFF

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March 12, 1915 -News Item, Jewish Advocate,

March 16, 1916, p.1

ENGLISH JEWS ORGANIZE FOR JEWISH RIGHTS AFTER WAR

Demonstration Held in London by National Jewish Organization
Which Seeks to Influence Government

Zangwill Has Hopes

London, March 12th. -- To unite all the forces in the Anglo-Jewish community in a movement to secure the rights of Jews after the war, the National Union for Jewish Rights has been formed. It held its first meeting this afternoon. Lucien Wolf said that through the triumph of the Allies great transfers of territories would take place and that these would involve the fate of large aggregations of Jewish people.

The union demanded equal rights with its members' fellow citizens in all countries in which they might be living after the war. Israel Zangwill said he always thought they might get a piece of Canada or a piece of Australia. The premiers of different colonies were in London now, and perhaps it might be possible to make a bargain with some of them to give the Jews the land free.

England was the country Zangwill said, that would have the say at the close of the war, and upon England, therefore, fell the responsibility of doing its utmost for the Jews of the world. If England got Palestine, Zangwill hoped a Jewish Governor would be appointed.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,

March 17, 1916, p.538

The platform adopted by the Jews of England as expressive of their hopes for oppressed Jewry after the war is one which could be adopted by them with much better grace than it could by the Jews of America. England and Turkey being at war with each other, the English need

have hesitancy in voicing demands on Turkey which may not be acceptable to that country. Our condition of neutrality creates a different situation and until the outcome of the war is determined, it will be the part of wisdom to confine the demands to the general formula adopted by the American Jewish Committee and found on p.37 of its report just issued. It runs thus: "Full rights for the Jews in all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them." Analysis of this formula will show it to cover the whole ground and it should be adopted by all American Jews as a basis on which no disagreement is possible.

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March 17, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
March 17, 1916, p.541

MR. STRAUS ON A "CONGRESS"

Former Ambassador to Turkey Sees Danger in Popular Gathering Here

In an interview which Mr. Oscar S. Straus, former Ambassador to Turkey, gave out to a representative of The Day this week, the diplomat declares that it would be the height of folly to hold a Jewish Congress at this time, and emphasizes the fact that the Jewish question in Russia is a strictly diplomatic one. He says, in part:

"I feel as much sympathy and would make as great sacrifice for the welfare of my suffering coreligionists in Russia as any one of my Russian Jewish brethren. The plan to aid the Jews in Russia in securing equal rights is not a matter of sympathy, but a matter of wisdom and international experience. It may gratify many to hold a Jewish congress in this country, and to pour out the sorrows of their hearts. But we must consider not ourselves, but how such a movement would affect our brethren in Russia.

"Should such a congress unfortunately be held, many unwise and indiscreet speeches would be made and the newspapers would play up, not the wise and the deliberate sentences, but the sensational and unwise statements that would be made by some of the speakers. The result would be that instead of bringing the emancipation of our brethren one day nearer it would, in my opinion, postpone the question for many years.

"The Russian Jewish question must be settled in Russia. In the last analysis it is a strictly diplomatic question, and it is the height of unwisdom to endeavor to settle such a question at a mass meeting.

"If my coreligionists credit me by reason of experience and lifelong study of international affairs with any special wisdom, and if my deliberate judgment has any weight with them, I wish to say to them most emphatically and solemnly, that I would regard it as the height of folly to insist on holding a Jewish congress. Certainly not so long as the war continues."

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March 18, 1916 --

Editorial, The Reform Advocate,
March 18, 1916, pp.165-166

JEWISH CONGRESSES

II

We have before us the call sent out by the Executive Bureau of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee for the meeting to be held in Philadelphia this month; the call contains also a list of the organizations that have been invited to send delegates to the preliminary conference for the organization of an American Jewish Congress. An examination of this list strengthens our conviction that the one serious charge of undemocratic representation launched against the American Jewish Committee by the agitation for a democratic congress, and for an expression of the voice of the Jewish masses can be launched against the Congress, with the additional paragraph that the American Jewish Committee did not parade as being the democratic organization, the representative of the masses. In the first place the list shows conclusively that they who compiled it were either ignorant of the relationship subsisting between some of the organizations or were diligently neglectful of whatever knowledge they may have had in order to make the list appear long and imposing. Some two or more years ago the great vexing question of the Reform Jewish ministry was the Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis. After long and heated discussion, in which not the best motives were attributed to the opposing forces, on the one hand an attempt at compelling leadership recognition on the part of one outside the group of men who had for years had been the dominant powers in the affairs of the Central Conference of American Rabbis, and on the other, the hope of smashing the bosses and annulling the apostolic succession, it was finally decided and accepted that no Rabbi could be a member of the Eastern Council of Reform Rabbis who was not also a member of the Central Conference of American Rabbis. Yet both organizations, representing the same men, are asked to send delegates to the preliminary conference for the organization of an American Jewish Congress. Was this done to insure the possibility of the attendance at the conference of a particular man who might not be delegated by the C.C.A.R. The United Hebrew Trades of Chicago are asked to send delegates. Chances are that the Hebrew trades are not the wiring of Mezuzoth and Tefilin and Sefer Torahs. Then there are Jewish Socialist-Territorialist Labor Party of America, Jewish National Workers Alliance of America, Arbeiter Ring, Federation of Jewish Farmers of America, United Hebrew Trades of New York, our objection to whom is that they represent Industrial and not Jewish organizations. The list shows even more interlocking membership than we thought of. On the whole, the list -- quite formidable -- seems to us the result of an attempt to make as long a list as possible, including, as it does even some organizations that from the start have been opposed to the congress.

We urge against a Congress before the war the following considerations. The result desired and to be kept in mind and view continually

is the gaining of rights for Jews in the lands where they live. Let us be clear about our powers and let us not be mistaken as to the extent of the influence of the Jews in America. Before the war it might have been said that there is no Jewish problem in England. Since the war, England, as many items in the London Jewish Chronicle indicate, the science of English newspapers on Russia atrocities, confessed by Zangwill who at the opening of the war asked that Jews in America be on the side of the Allies, seems to have become Russianized. The main locality of trouble however, is Russia and Poland. It is questionable whether Jews in America can accomplish anything in that locality. In this the London Jewish Chronicle is correct -- the Russian Jewish problem must be settled in Russia and without measuring the leaders or the American Jewish Congress, one must feel that Russian Jewry with its almost seven million souls must have produced some leaders and men of power, who can speak in Russia, for the Russian Jews. Most assuredly Duma members still in Russia, Friedman, for example, have not been silent. At any rate America was not able to make Russia honor its "scrap of paper" the treaty in which Russia pledged itself to certain recognition of American citizenship. But against the treaty Russia made discriminations against Jewish American citizens. The abrogation of the treaty on the part of America saved American honor but confessed defeat of an American attempt to arouse fairness and honor in Russian governmental circles. And now the representatives of the Lodge and Insurance orders will in great meeting "demand" that Russia give rights and remove disabilities. Why deceive ourselves.

The war is not yet ended, and while many of us have favorites, no one can say what will be the actual outcome of the war. How can a congress now pledge itself to anything? Suppose, and we say it only for the sake of argument, the allies gain the upper hand -- suppose the combination of which Russia is the great factor is victorious, what then? Russia, Shaw was bold enough to say it, would be the power. Its bureaucracy will have been justified, its course of Russification ratified. The Jewish question would then include not only Russia, Poland and Galicia but German Poland as well. Will the Federation of Russian-Polish Jews in America find itself in better grace with Russia than before. Will the Russian government be disposed for a moment to surrender its dictum of "once a Russian always a Russian" and after a victorious campaign listen to suggestions of American Jews whose Americanism it denies, and who, if they ever entered Russia would have a hard time getting out again. It might even be that the American government would warn such citizens of its land to keep out of Russian territory. If Russia is to be the winner, all the planning and congressing will be to no avail. Jews of this land will be helpless except as contributors to a war relief fund.

In the event of Germany being the victor, the influence of the Jews in America will be dependent upon the influence of America itself. Most certainly a large part of the problem will have been solved by Germany's victory. Poland in the hands of Germany today has schools to which Jews can go. The administration of Polish cities has Jewish representatives. How much Jews in this country can ask for the brethren abroad will depend upon how much Germany will feel inclined to listen to a neutral nation speaking through an unneutral administration, or how short its memory will be of the ring of allied steel and American

shell tossed into the ring, and to meet all this we are plunging headlong into a Congress organization with all the dangers of partisanship with the to-be-feared opportunity for untrammelled unweighed speech, to be taken up by journals the land over who will misquote and misinterpret.

To solve the Jewish problem after the war long before we are permitted to see the nature and extent of it we are risking the danger of a change of race separation which a list such as the one sent out by the Jewish Congress Organization Committee will entitle others to say we ourselves recognize and utilize. It may in the days to come react upon us and we shall be sorry that love for our people and concern for their welfare led us into ways that have become thorny for the very ones whom we hoped to help. The racial separateness recognized by the Congress is just the Russian position. The Jew is to be treated as a race, a foreign race, an inferior race.

GERSON B. LEVI

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March 22, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
March 23, 1916, p.1

ONE MILLION JEWS WILL BE REPRESENTED AT PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE

Session to Decide All Details of Congress

Four or Five Hundred Delegates Will Gather from All Parts of United States to Build Constitution for Future Jewish Assembly

New England Will Have Many Delegates

(Special Correspondence)

New York, March 22. -- In round numbers one million Jews will be represented at the Congress Conference which opens at noon on Sunday in Philadelphia. The conference therefore promises to be the most important Jewish gathering ever held in this country. This notwithstanding that the American Jewish Committee and those in association with it have not accepted the invitation to the conference.

There is a rumor current that an attempt will be made before the end of the week to compose the differences between those who are for and those who are against the conference and congress, but Mr. Louis Marshall has issued so sharp an attack on the conference that there is practically no possibility of any compromise. Mr. Marshall's final contention is that the calling of the conference at this time is a breach of good faith on the part of the Congress Committee, because sub-committees were constantly conferring to compose outstanding differences.

The congress people reply that these conferences led to nothing. The Socialist wing and the American Jewish Committee formed an alliance on the date of the congress, and the Congress Organization

Committee felt that no conclusion was possible because it was bound to allow the Philadelphia conference settle everything concerning the congress, inclusive of the date.

It is interesting to note here, in New York, where the air is as full of rumors as of snow-flakes, that despite all the attacks on the Congress movement by Mr. Schiff and others that all the city conferences have grown in volume and success. This applies equally well to the Brooklyn as to the Pennsylvania State Conference. In other words there is movement among the masses, and the Congress idea is no longer dependent or affrightened by big names. Still rumor has it that some time after this message goes on the wire an attempt will be made to fire a last hour "bomb" at the conference. Even if this should prove not be true the belief in it shows the temper of friend and opponent of the conference.

Messages reaching the headquarters show that the delegates, coming from all parts of the country, are by no means extreme in their demands. The issues that will rouse much debate will be the date of the Congress, the electoral system, and the program. And on the latter it is likely that a curious struggle will ensue.

A great number of the delegates seek to have the Palestine "Homeland" question debated at the conference. They favor the assertion of that principle. The Zionists hold a most reserved opinion. They do not want a Zionist victory at this convention, though they are, of course, agreeable that the national rights of the Jews shall be discussed at the Congress. Their attitude of reserve is built out of a desire not to permit the conference to usurp any of the functions of the Congress. They want the conference to create the Congress and leave the Congress as free in its opinions, as through their exertions the conference will be.

To every appeal they have so far answered: "The success of the movement depends upon the political self-education of the Jewish masses. We want to leave the people free to think until decision is absolutely necessary. We will rather risk a final defeat than a present victory which may be later in doubt.

Whether they will be able to carry out this policy remains to be seen. The opening session of the conference has been postponed to Sunday afternoon in order to permit all regular and necessary caucuses Sunday morning -- and there will be many caucuses.

On the Question of the date of the Congress there are only two opinions. The impatient want it within three months; the others are willing to allow the executive committee to settle it somewhat on the lines adopted in Boston. The personnel of the conference is wholly undecided. The Congress Organization Committee has invited Judge Pam of Chicago, to act as temporary chairman. The election of the permanent chairman will be left to the conference, and as the Congress Organization Committee dissolves at the opening of the conference, there will be no slate. Jewish democracy will therefore be tested in the first few minutes of the opening session. However, there is plenty of excellent material to choose from for all purposes....

March 24, 1916 --

Symposium, American Hebrew,
March 24, 1916, pp.556-558

IS IT WISE TO HOLD A CONGRESS BEFORE THE END OF THE WAR?

A Symposium

One of the purposes of the Congress Conference at Philadelphia next Sunday is "to consider and act upon the date and the purpose of the Congress." Desirous of obtaining the views of representative American Jews on the wisdom of holding such a congress before the end of the war, "The American Hebrew" sent out this query: Is It Wise to Hold a Congress Before the Cessation of Hostilities? The following replies have been received.

MR. MARSHALL'S LETTER

Louis Marshall, President of the American Jewish Committee, has sent to Bernard G. Richards, Secretary of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, the following reply to the invitation to send delegates to the Philadelphia Congress Conference. It covers the inquiry at the head of this page.

Mr. Bernard G. Richards
Secretary, Jewish Congress
Organization Committee,
1 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Dear Sir:

The American Jewish Committee has received your circular letter, which gives notice that a preliminary conference for the organization and convening of, what you are pleased to call, "The American Jewish Congress," will be held at Philadelphia on Sunday, March 26th, and Monday, March 27th, and which conveys the intelligence that the American Jewish Committee is entitled to elect or appoint three delegates to the conference.

This invitation cannot be accepted, for many reasons. The statement of some of them will suffice.

The American Jewish Committee was organized ten years ago, its objects being "to prevent the infraction of the civil and religious rights of the 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."

The committee has, during its existence, faithfully striven to further these objects. It has sought diligently to familiarize itself with Jewish conditions, and, since the outbreak of the present world conflict, has devoted its best energies to the securing of data which

will be of use in dealing with present problems and with such as may hereafter arise. It has entertained the belief that no serious differences of opinion can exist among reasonable men as to what, so far as our suffering brethren are concerned, is the goal to be reached.

At its Ninth Annual Meeting, held on November 14, 1915, the Committee adopted what it believed to be the formulation of such a principle as would appeal, not only to all Jews, but to all lovers of Justice and humanity, in these words: "Full rights for the Jews in all lands, and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them." The phrase "full rights" was understood to include civil, religious and political rights, and in addition, wherever separate group rights are recognized in any land, the conferring upon the Jews thereof of such rights, if desired by them. It is the purpose of the Committee, to the utmost extent of its powers, to bring about the recognition of this principle.

It has, however, been of the opinion that, whether a congress of American Jews is or is not held, it would be unwise, impolitic, and positively injurious, to convene a congress during the progress of the European war. It is so strongly convinced of the soundness of this proposition, not only as a result of its own study and observation, but of information received from responsible organizations abroad, that it cannot, without doing violence to its convictions, participate in any movement which would contemplate the holding of a congress prior to the cessation of hostilities, not only because of its futility, but because of its potentiality for mischief. It has been conceded by the leaders of those who have agitated for a congress, that there has not been a time since the outbreak of the war when it would have been proper or safe to have held one. It is now nearly a year since the American Jewish Committee, recognizing the desire of those interested in Jewish affairs, some of whom were not affiliated with it, to co-operate for the accomplishment of such results as would inure to the welfare of our persecuted brethren, concluded to call a conference of the various national Jewish organizations, for the purpose of taking concerted action. One June 20, 1915, at a special meeting held for that purpose, action was taken to call such a conference, and invitations were extended to forty-five national organizations, which were invited to send delegates to a conference, to be held at Washington, D.C., on October 24, 1915. A considerable number of the organizations thus invited accepted, five declined, some did not respond, while others deferred action.

Whilst preparations for this conference were in progress, a number of Jewish labor organizations met in consultation, in September last, and formed the National Workmen's Committee for Jewish Rights. At its instance a series of meetings took place between its representatives and those of the American Jewish Committee and of your organization in the hope of bringing about harmonious action. As a consequence the American Jewish Committee was persuaded to postpone the Washington conference indefinitely, and the negotiations were serious undertaken by it and reached a point when it was reasonably expected that an agreement could be arrived at.

While these negotiations were still in progress, without the slightest warning and without giving any indication of its purpose, your organization ignored the efforts of the American Jewish Committee

and of the National Workmen's Committee, to arrive at an amicable adjustment of differences with your committee, and issued the call for the Philadelphia conference, on a plan entirely at variance with that which had been under discussion.

The list of organizations invited to participate does not even mention the National Workmen's Committee, but contains the names of a large number of organizations, all of which are placed on a parity as to representation, so that the American Jewish Committee is accorded three delegates, the same number which has been allotted to the Council of Jewish Women, the Federation of Oriental Jews, the Hadassah, the Intercollegiate Menorah Association, the Mikrahi of America, the Knights of Zion, the Independent Hebrews of America and the American Jewish Historical Society. These names are chosen at random.

Instead of confining the conference to national organizations, your plan also provides for a representation of local congress committees, whereby in at least a hundred cities such committees, in fact composed of a negligible number, are enabled, on the basis of a Jewish population of 5,000 whether they participate or not in the activities of the local congress committee, or are in discord therewith, to select one delegate, and at least a dozen cities, having a Jewish population of 25,000, they can select three delegates. The boroughs of Manhattan, the Bronx and Brooklyn are given forty-eight delegates. The boroughs of Queens and Richmond are entirely omitted. The selection of all of these local delegates will naturally be in the hands of your organization, with the consequence that national organizations, and especially those that have been established for a number of years, cannot hope to be heard in the deliberations of your conference. The democracy of such a plan is scarcely colorable.

According to your call, the holding of a congress is assumed, the conference being merely called upon to fix the date of the congress, its program, the basis of representation and the method of electing delegates to the congress, in such a manner as to prelude discussion of such subjects as should in fact be determined by a properly constituted conference. It is obvious that the conference which you have called is to be held under such conditions as will necessarily convert it into a mass meeting where calm discussion and consideration are quite impossible, where irreparable injury may be done to those whom we are seeking to help, by indiscreet utterances, and yet where a cut and dried programme, pre-determined by a small coterie constituting its managers, will be put through in accordance with the usual convention methods.

Aside from the obvious breach of faith involved in the calling of the so-called conference, the American Jewish Committee declines to give its sanction to a meeting which, while assuming the form of a conference, in reality has all the characteristics of a packed convention, and which from its very nature cannot possibly perform the functions of a conference.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS MARSHALL,
President

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NOT A QUESTION OF DATE

Mr. Lipsky Declares the Issue Is the Congress Itself

The date of the congress is not the issue which has brought about a cleavage in American Jewish life. The issue is the congress itself. Although the American Jewish Committee in on record in favor of a Jewish congress, provided it be held after the termination of hostilities, and although Mr. Schiff himself has twice given his approval to the idea of a democratic congress, he and other American Jewish Committee members in their interviews and statements have made it plain that they object to a congress as such.

The issue was raised as to who should have the right to decide when the congress is to be held. The American Jewish Committee insisted that if the congress were held before the termination of hostilities, it would not co-operate in its organization. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee, however, declared that it did not consider itself empowered to settle this question, but the date should be fixed, not by the American Jewish Committee, the Congress Committee, or by any other group, but by the preliminary conference, representative of all groups, elements and sections of American Jewry, exercising its best judgment.

It is possible that the preliminary conference, after hearing arguments pro and con, will decide to give the power to an executive committee to fix the date; or the conference itself may fix it tentatively, giving the executive committee power to postpone or advance the date if necessary; or it may decide to fix the date itself before or after the termination of hostilities, or when the necessary preliminary work will have been finished. The point is, the preliminary conference, representing every section and party in American Jewry, will exercise its best judgment, with an eye not to put in jeopardy any Jewish interest.

The American Jewish Committee rejected the proposal made by the Jewish Congress Committee to leave the fixing of the date of the congress to an executive committee. It refused to come to the preliminary conference there to present its arguments in favor of its contention. It declines to subject its conclusion to the review of other representatives, and regards itself as the only competent authority to decide the question. By declining to participate in the conference, it declared, in effect, that it did not believe in the competence or good faith or good judgment of men and women who have as much concern about the welfare of the Jewish people as any other group of American Jews. Nothing so clearly indicts the undemocratic ideals of the men who lead the American Jewish Committee as its refusal to meet in a free discussion the representatives of the Jewish people.

I do not pretend to hold that my present personal views are the views that will absolutely control my vote in the matter of the date of the Congress when it comes up in the preliminary conference. I am prepared to listen to argument, to view the reasons given pro and con and to give heed to all facts that may be presented against any of the views I may hold.

But fundamentally, I believe that Mr. Schiff's sensational and unfounded warnings, and 'r. Marshall's dogmatic assertions, indicate

a point of view with regard to Jewish life that is directly contradictory to all the views I hold with regard to the Jewish problem. I do not believe that Jewish interests require the exercise of fear and the methods that arise out of fear and cowardice, in order that they may be safeguarded. I see no treason in Jews coming together to protect the legitimate interests of the Jewish people. Jewish suffering and Jewish disabilities antedate the great conflict which is destroying life in wholesale in Europe. I believe that our claim for justice is not limited to any one government. I think that what we have to say is not a breach of neutrality, for it is a general protest against the inhumanity of civilization in its treatment of the Jewish people.

If in organizing to gather our strength together, and to give expression to what we think should be done to put the Jewish people right before the world, we meet in the midst of an international war, we must avoid what should be avoided even if we meet during a period of peace. Demagogic speeches, inflammatory harangues and injudicious statements, whether made by men high or low in station, are just as harmful to Jewish interests in a time of peace as they are in war-time.

The point is, we must bear in mind the purpose of the congress, and how best to attain it. Granting that Jews must be represented by their own elected delegates, and that American Jewry must be organized in order that there may be created a collective responsibility, expressing itself through a democratically elected executive committee, then the congress should be held as soon as the Jews are organized and prepared for it. The war is merely an incident, and not the controlling incident. The controlling incident is the preparedness of the Jewish people. Whenever the Jewish people are prepared for the congress, aware of the responsibility involved in its establishment and the sacrifices that may be required to maintain it, in possession of all the knowledge necessary for arriving at decisions, the date of the congress can be fixed. It is hoped that the propaganda and organization will progress with unusual speed, owing to the great need for an early organization of American Jewry, but no external fact should be allowed to interfere with the steady development of the organized strength of the Jewish people.

LOUIS LIPSKY

New York City

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DR. ROSENAU DEEMS IT UNWISE

I personally deem it unwise "to hold a Jewish Congress prior to the cessation of hostilities." The following are some of my reasons:

1. We need to safeguard in every possible way the neutrality of the United States in the present European war.
2. At this juncture Jewish agitation might ostensibly, even though not actually, commit the American government to certain prematurely defined conditions.
3. Utterances now made on the floor of a convention of Jews cannot be altogether devoid of partisanship, not say bias.
4. Whatever is today declared, even in all fairness, will be exposed

and very likely subjected, to misconstruction.

5. Because of the misinterpretation of motives of American Jews, out European co-religionists may be the sufferers together rather than the gainers from a Congress held before the cessation of hostilities.

6. Perhaps when hostilities shall have ceased and truce shall exist the Jewish question shall assume a character different from that which it now has; for who knows but what some governments might take the initiative in granting to Jews rights which we now are ready to demand?

7. Without much preliminary organization, we shall always, if necessary, be in position to state at the proper time, that we wish to obtain for Jews in warring countries naught else but civil, political and religious rights.

8. If we wait with the assertion of our claims in behalf of our suffering co-religionists until truce shall have been declared, we shall stand a better chance to have our claims recognized.

Let, therefore, American Jewry for the nonce exercise that patient diplomacy which by no means involves the sacrifice of American Jewry's dignity and self-respect.

WILLIAM ROSENAU

Baltimore, Md.

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BELIEVES IN CONGRESS AT EARLY DATE

(Special by wire)

I believe in the Congress at an early date, without reference to the cessation of hostilities. If the Jews of America are to play any helpful part in the peace negotiations on behalf of the Jews in lands of discrimination they must have their course of action carefully mapped out, the method determined, etc. To wait till hostilities are suspended would necessitate haste. Now we have time for calm deliberation and sober judgment on the big questions involved. The Peace Congress will not wait for the Jews. The Jews must be prepared to wait on it. Let us be prepared for it.

MARTIN A. MEYER

San Francisco, Cal.

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JEWS SHOULD LOOK AHEAD

(Special by wire)

Not being in close touch with the situation, I would defer to the views of those more actively engaged in the relief work as to whether a Jewish Congress should be held now, or later. I believe, however, the Jews of America should look ahead, and take reasonable precautions against unpreparedness for such consequences of the war as may be foreseen.

VICTOR ROSEWATER

Omaha, Nebraska

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"INSINCERE PROPAGANDA" -- DR. ADLER

In reply to your question of March 17th, "Is it wise to hold a

Jewish Congress prior to the cessation of hostilities?" I beg to say that I do not think it wise to hold a Jewish congress prior to the cessation of hostilities or at any other time.

During the past sixteen months I have discussed this question in various ways in public and my reasons, which are numerous, are fairly well known. My principal reason against holding an American Jewish congress at the present time is that I believe the entire Jewish Congress movement to be an insincere propaganda, which, taking advantage of the terrible distress of our brethren abroad, is endeavoring to consolidate the Jews of America into a separate nationalistic group, and, since it is well known that this cannot be done with all or even a majority of the Jews, by agitations, mass meetings and noise to give the false impression that this movement does represent all the Jews of America. The proposed Congress can do not good to the Jews of Europe or Asia, and will result in grave harm to the Jews of America. I am not in any way represented in it and, should the congress really be held, have no part in it and decline to be bound by it in any way. Let me add that THE AMERICAN HEBREW, in the years 1905 and 1906, shortly after the Kishineff massacres, published numerous articles with regard to the formation of a congress then being agitated. At that time I stated in a document published January 5, 1906, "A congress seems neither possible nor desirable." I am still of the same opinion and especially refer to the document as, on a recent important occasion, it was quoted, though this particular sentence was omitted.

CYRUS ADLER.

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"A QUESTION OF DIPLOMACY" -- Simon Wolf

In compliance with your request as to an expression of my views on the question "Is it wise to hold a Jewish Congress prior to the cessation of hostilities?" I beg leave to answer that time and again within the year I have said on the rostrum, as well as in the public press, that I was opposed to the holding of any such congress at any time, but especially opposed at this time; that in my judgment, based on an experience of sixty years of public life, it will prove detrimental to the very best interests that we have at heart; that it will lead to unjust, undeserved and unwise criticism of some of our co-religionists who no doubt are inspired by sympathy and sentiment, rather than by any practical experience in matters of this character. This is not a question of domestic democracy, but a question of tact and diplomacy when the hour for action abroad shall come. No congress no matter how constituted or guided, can influence our government to do more than the government itself has already given assurance of -- loyal, hearty and sympathetic support when the proper time shall come. A congress, if it convenes, may appoint committee after committee to appeal to the President or to Congress, and we will not be any better informed than we already are and have been. It goes without saying that I am in thorough accord with each and every movement that is practical for the amelioration of our people, and securing their inalienable rights as citizens of the respective countries in which they reside. The shibboleth by which we may conquer is vigilance, self-

sacrifice and a little more patience.

SIMON WOLF

Washington, D.C.

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"MUST BE TRULY REPRESENTATIVE"

A Jewish Congress must be held in order to give to American Jewry the opportunity to express, through its chosen representatives, its desires and demands in behalf of the Jewish people.

A Jewish Congress should be held because American Jewry can in no other way forcefully impress its desires and demands upon the American people and upon the world at large.

A Jewish Congress should be held when it is possible to convene a congress truly representative of American Jewry. Not the cessation of hostilities, but the preparedness of the organization should be the essential factor in fixing the date of the Congress.

I have confidence in the individual and collective prudence and sense of responsibility of those whom the Jewish people will select to represent them on this momentous occasion.

HARRY FRIEDENWALD

Baltimore, Md.

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OPPOSED TO CONGRESS AT ANY TIME

To The American Hebrew:

In reply to your request for an expression of my views upon the wisdom of holding a Jewish congress prior to the cessation of hostilities, I beg to say:

1. I deem it unwise to hold a Jewish congress at any time.
2. I deem it supremely unwise to hold a Jewish congress prior to the cessation of hostilities.

JACOB H. HOLLANDER

Baltimore, Md.

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SHOULD BE CONVENED AT EARLIEST DATE
(Special by wire)

I am of the opinion that a Jewish Congress should be convened at the earliest day and on the broadest and most democratic basis of representation, because no one can foretell when peace may unexpectedly be declared and because the Jews would be at a great disadvantage if they fail to organize a Congress and formulate their ideas of European Jewish rights before articles of European peace have been agreed upon.

HARRIS WEINSTOCK

San Francisco, Cal.

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FEARS HARMFUL DISCUSSION

(Special by wire)

I believe it unwise to hold a Jewish Congress during the continuance of the European war because only harm can come from a public discussion by a large body, of such subjects as will be brought before the conference.

J. WALTER FREIBERG

Cincinnati, Ohio

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ADVISES POSTPONEMENT

(Special by wire)

It is advisable to postpone the Congress till after the cessation of hostilities. Belligerent nations would then accept the proposals which would be rejected now. The Congress could then better determine the course of procedure.

BEN SELLING

Portland, Ore.

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DELAY WOULD FIND US UNPREPARED

(Special by wire)

To await the cessation of hostilities for the holding of the Jewish Congress would imply that the victory for the one side or of the other would materially affect our demands. It would create the impression that we feel this cessation to be very remote. To remain idle now would be to lose the advantages of deliberate discussion. Should the world congress in settlement of victors claims and losers rights ensue speedily after the world truce it would then find us unprepared either to formulate our demands or to appoint our representatives.

MAX HELLER

New Orleans, La.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
March 24, 1916, p.561

FINAL PLANS FOR CONGRESS CONFERENCE

Final arrangements have been made for the Congress Conference which is to be held at the Hotel Walton, Philadelphia, on Sunday and Monday. The Jewish Congress Organization Committee reports that up to the present time over 1,000,000 Jews of this country have declared themselves in favor of the convening of such a Congress. This figure of 1,000,000 is based upon the total membership of Jewish organizations, which have passed resolutions favoring the calling of the Jewish Congress.

The purpose of the Congress conference is to consider and act upon

the date and the program of the Congress; the basis of representation and method of electing delegates; financial matters relating to the convening of the Congress, and the propaganda and organization work preceding it; and the election of an executive committee to serve as the Congress Organization Committee, and instructions to that committee.

Editorial, American Hebrew,
March 24, 1916, p.568

THE PHILADELPHIA CONFERENCE

Even though it may avail naught, we make this eleventh hour appeal to those about to hold a pre-Congress Conference of Jews for the purpose of considering the situation of our brethren in the countries of oppression. Many, perhaps a majority, of those who will gather there have little knowledge of American institutions and methods or of American modes of thought. They have a deep love of their fellow-Jews, an exuberant oratory and a profound hatred of Russia. Here is a combination admirably adapted for creating trouble and when this combination is united with a radical disregard for established methods its powers for mischief are very largely increased.

There will be at the Conference, however, a few men who have a sense of proportion and of fitness. To these we address ourselves. The outcome of the war is still in the lap of the gods. Nobody can safely forecast the result. After the war, the Jews of Russia and Poland may still be subject to Russian domination. What that domination shall mean to them, will, in that event, be largely dependent upon how and by whom the matter is approached. If the the Allies win the war a different method of approach will be necessary than if Germany wins. In any case, unbridled exhortation, while a relief to our own feelings, is not apt to be useful in any other direction.

After the cessation of hostilities, judgment can be formed as to the best course to be followed. Prior to then, not only will it be impossible to act, but it will also be impractical to plan effective action. We therefore urge upon the prudent and thoughtful men of the conference that they use their influence in favor of the holding of no Congress until after hostilities have ceased.

March 26, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
March 27, 1916, p.1:2

Jews ASK WILSON'S AID

Urged to Stand for their Rights in Russia after the War

Under the auspices of the National Jewish Workmen's Committee, 500 delegates from twenty-five Eastern cities conferred yesterday at Beethoven Hall as the first move toward equal rights for Jews in

belligerent countries after the war.

A resolution to send a petition to President Wilson urging him to use his good offices was adopted unanimously.

The delegates also adopted a resolution declaring the so-called "Black Book," a pamphlet entitled "The War and the Jews in Russia," which Dr. Henry Moskovitz, Chairman of the Publication Committee, introduced for the first time yesterday, an indictment of the Russian Government for its attitude toward the Jews during the war. Concerning the "Black Book" the resolution says:

It is the firm belief of the conference that the Government of the United States should speak in behalf of the persecuted and down-trodden Jews in Russia, in the name of humanity and civilization. Such action would evoke not only the approval of the civilized world but also of the enlightened elements of the Russian people, who have long regarded the demand for equal rights for the Jewish people as being of paramount importance.

The conference believes that this Government, as the Government of the foremost democracy of the world, should be heard at the peace conference which will take place at the close of the European war in behalf of Jewish political, civic, and national rights where such rights are now denied them.

Dr. Max Goldfarb, secretary of the Workmen's Committee, explained the object of the conference, which he said was to be preliminary to a large Jewish congress at the close of European hostilities. He read a long letter from Samuel Compers, and later the Chairman read congratulatory telegrams from Jewish workmen's organizations throughout the East, as well as a letter from Morris Hillquit, the Socialist leader in support of this movement.

The following resolution, which the Immigration Committee reported, was unanimously approved by the delegates:

The National Jewish Workmen's conference, representing 350,000 Jewish working men of the Eastern States, expresses its deep conviction that the welfare of the Great American Republic requires a reasonable and unhampered immigration into this country.

The gates of a commonwealth created and made properous by the tireless and fruitful labor of immigrants must not be closed to new labor and new energies, which will be contributed by a flood of immigration.

The conference therefore instructs the National Workmen's Committee to devote its untiring energy to awaken American public opinion into influence Congress against the passage of the un-American, anti-immigration bills now pending.

It is the sense of the conference that the education to restrict immigration undertaken by some labor organizations in the belief that free immigration lowers the standard of living, violates all the aims and purposes of the labor movement. The conference therefore instructs the National Workmen's Committee to undertake a campaign of education respecting immigration among the labor masses in order to convince them that restriction of immigration is detrimental to the interests of the working people.

Dr. Henry Moscovitz denounced the Burnett bill, now pending in Congress, as un-American and one which the whole country should decry. Speeches were made by Assemblyman Abraham Shuplakoff, the only Socialist member of the Assembly, and Dr. Max Goldfarb.

March 26-27, 1916 --

Excerpt from News Item, New York Times,
March 27, 1916, p.4:2

JEWISH CONFERENCE HAILS RACE'S HOPES

Philadelphia Delegates Coming From 3,381 Organizations to Plan Congress
Sees History in Making

Dr. Wise Declares Long-Cherished Ideals of an Oppressed People
Will be Realized

(Special to the New York Times)

PHILADELPHIA, March 26. -- Jews from twenty-three States, representing 3,381 local and centralized organizations, and a constituency of more than 1,000,000, today assembled at the Hotel Walton and held the first session of the two-day preliminary conference, to complete arrangements for the great Jewish Congress to be held in the near future. During the proceedings Louis D. Brandeis of Boston was named honorary President of the conference.

Speeches recalling the ancient glory of Israel and intensely prophetic of a still more glorious future aroused the Jews to manifestation of deep feeling. Speakers were interrupted with breaks of ringing applause, and fervent glances from tear-filled eyes as the orator proclaimed the self-determination and the indomitable purpose of the oppressed peoples of Israel.

The conference was opened by Dr. L.S. Rubinsohn, who as chairman of the Philadelphia delegation welcomed the visitors and delegates from other States. Patriotic hymns were then sung, both American and Jewish, and the conference formally was opened by E.J. Cattell, who came as the representative of Mayor Smith. His address was received with applause.

Rabbi B.L. Levinthal addressed the delegates in Yiddish, urging them to unite and put aside the smaller issues of their race for the one great achievement in the success of the coming congress....

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List of Organizations Represented at
Philadelphia Preliminary Conference,
March 26 and 27, 1916.¹⁷⁰

Independent Order Brith Abraham, 23 delegates
Independent Order Brith Sholom, 11 delegates
Federation of Galician and Bukowinian Jews of America, 10 delegates
Federation of American Zionists, 6 delegates
Federation of Russian Polish Jews, 5 delegates
Federation of Bessarabian Jews, 3 delegates
Federation of Roumanian Jews, 5 delegates
Order Sons of Zion, 3 delegates
Independent Order Sons of Israel, Boston, 3 delegates
Order Knights of Zion, 5 delegates
Union Orthodox Jewish Congregations, 3 delegates
Mizrachi Federation of America, 4 delegates

Association of Orthodox Rabbis, 3 delegates
 Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, 10 delegates
 Independent Order Free Sons of Judah, 2 delegates
 Independent Western Star Order, 6 delegates
 Independent Order King Solomon, 4 delegates
 Women's Organization Hadassah, 3 delegates
 Jewish National Workers' Alliance of America, 3 delegates
 Jewish Socialist Labor Party Poale Zion of America, 3 delegates
 Order Knights of Joseph, 4 delegates
 Progressive Order of the West, 3 delegates
 Jewish Socialist National Labor Committee, 1 delegate
 Independent Order Erith Sholom of Baltimore, 3 delegates
 Independent Sons of Israel of Baltimore, 3 delegates
 Jewish Socialist Revolutionist Organizations, 3 delegates
 National Socialist Workmen's Committee of Newark, 1 delegate
 Progressive Order of Philadelphia, 3 delegates
 Jewish Labor Committee, Baltimore, 1 delegate

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News Item, New York Times,
March 28, 1916, p.54

JEWS OUTLINE PLANS FOR THEIR CONGRESS

Greetings Are Sent to Session in Philadelphia by Straus and Brandeis

To Meet in Present Year

'Equal Rights for the Race all Over the World will be Demanded
 (Special to the New York Times)

PHILADELPHIA, March 27. -- The preliminary conference of more than 400 Jews, which tonight closed its two-day session at the Hotel Walton, arranged for the great Jewish congress to be held in Washington at a date not later than next December. Hearings of the various committees were given, and after a day of lively sessions the conference adjourned at 11:00 p.m.

More than \$11,000 was pledged by the delegates for the present needs of the congress, and the Finance Committee reported that \$100,000 would be necessary to carry out the propaganda of the combined Jewish societies in arranging for the congress.

Louis D. Brandeis, who is Honorary President, was unable to attend the session today. He sent the following telegram to the Secretary, B.G. Richards:

To the delegates assembled in conference:
 My heartiest greetings. May your deliberations prove worthy of American democracy and of the great people whom we are seeking specifically to aid.

LOUIS D. BRANDEIS

Another telegram urging equal rights for Jews was received from Nathan Straus, reading as follows:

Regret that absence prevents my taking part in preliminary conference. Should have loved to add whatever strength I possess to our noble and

timely aspirations. We owe it to ourselves as citizens of this great free country that we try to procure equal measure of freedom to our co-religionists, wherever they may live, and no time will be more propitious for our preparing than the present. The Jews in all belligerent countries have proved their intense patriotism, and have thereby established anew their just demand for equal rights.

NATHAN STRAUS....

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Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
March 30, 1916, p.8

A DAY OF VICTORY

Jewish idealism and American democracy are both the gainers by the Philadelphia conference. All the cities and opponents are confounded and undone. The conference was a splendid success, the congress is a practical plan. Men who were present at the conference confessed at the end that for the first time in their lives they really understood what it is to be a Jew. Many men came to Philadelphia in doubt. The term "mob rule" had been bandied about so often that many of the delegates came fearful of the scenes that would be enacted, all of them went away stirred by the truth that an untrammelled democracy swayed by idealism is capable of calm deliberation and wise decision.

The conference proved the unquestionable triumph in American Israel of the Zionist ideal. Not that every man present was a Zionist. Far from it. But the non-Zionists were more anxious to have the congress discuss the Zionist program the organized Zionists. On the other hand, the Zionists showed that if they were in control of the conference they had achieved it by the fact that in every city in the country the men who have the Jewish passion, who are deeply interested in every Jewish problem, are Zionists. And being in the lead the Zionists maintained a wise reserve and in all things exhibited their abiding faith in democracy. The longing and yearning, and the power of the ideal were exhibited in the closing hour when victory and gratification were demonstrated, not by votes, but by beautiful songs sung with vim of conquerers. To the mist of world-suffering the sound of these songs will be as a cleansing sun. No people is spent while its remnant feel the future is still with them.

The conference was united. But it was not a surface unity. As our reports show there had been difficulties as to the chairmanship, but the chairman who was elected, Judge Hugo Pam, had the confidence of all the groups. The democratic confidence in the old truth, that the hour will produce the man, was proved. Who is this Pam? He is a member of the Chicago Court of Appeals. He was shoved into office a compromise candidate, just as the President of the United States takes men and turns them into Ambassadors. He proved, as so many Ambassadors have proved to be, the right man for the place. Who knows the power of the untried forces of the people? Pam suggests that wonderful Jewish potentiality of which the American Jewish Committee has no conception.

The unity of the conference expressed itself on the record by the fact that on all the leading issues all the delegates voted practically

as a unit. Behind this acclamation was no machine. Nor were the differences composed by their sheer compromise. On two issues that was impossible. There were those who sought to fix the date of the congress beyond all cavil; there were those who wished to maintain the date as an open question that might be settled according to the needs of the hour. It is a peculiar fact, one that must be taken into account in a free republic, that the majority were desirous of a definite early date of the congress. That majority was not a Zionist majority. Yet the situation was clarified and a unanimous opinion was created. The congress will probably be held this year, but if the circumstances demand, it may be called immediately or it may be held at some unspecified time in the future.

The other issue in dispute was the electoral system to be adopted. The difference was as between unqualified democracy, universal suffrage, or a representation arrived at through the votes of organizations. The problem is technical and complex. Both views had merits. Cool consideration and careful deliberation found the way out to compose these differences. The principle adopted is universal suffrage. Every Jew, by virtue of his membership in any kind of Jewish organization, has the right to vote. And the unaffiliated have the right to organize into societies so as to establish their registration. The decision betrays again a supreme confidence in democracy. The congress will be master of its own program. The delegates elected to it are unbound. The conference created for them personally and for the congress the framework of a constitution. There can be written into it whatever men choose.

Another thing that had exercised the opposition to the congress movement was the fear of rash words and dangerous speech. Let it go into the record that with all the pent up emotion of Jewish suffering not a rash word was uttered. On the most trying problem that faces Jewry, the outrages in Russia, the conference acted with such circumspection and dignity that the scene witnessed when Hon. Charles B. Strecker presented a memorial, will never be forgotten by those present. There were representatives of all the governments of Europe present. They watched keenly. They have been compelled to pay the Jews a tribute. Neither rashness nor a single breach of neutrality was committed.

The conference idolized Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, not for what he said but for what he did. He proved his worth, the sincerity of his sentiments and the high power of what he calls selflessness and which we describe as unselfishness. The tribute paid him shows the Jewish passion for leadership. And he was notably supported by the New England delegation which made in every way an excellent showing in conference and committee.

There is still much to be said. This is written too near the scene for a fine balancing of all the elements in the conference which has written a new page in Jewish history in America. The writer is among the very small group who began to labor for the conference and the congress movement eleven years ago. Triumph of idealism is deeply moving. Let us conclude. The delegates of a million Jews showed themselves worthy of Israel.

Excerpts from Editorial, American Hebrew,
March 31, 1916, p.600

THE LEADERSHIP OF DR. WISE

The Philadelphia Conference was, excepting as to the speech of Dr. Wise, a dignified and orderly consideration of a great subject, and it is all the more to be regretted that the entire community could not have been represented. Whatever may be true of the democratic character of the representation, it must be admitted that the gathering lacked impressiveness by reason of the absence of most of the impressive persons in the Jewry of America.

Mixed with much eloquence and no little feeling in Dr. Wise's speech was a vast amount of rhetoric and misleading counsel that can only lead to trouble. Admitting that the world can be expected to aid Israel only if Israel speaks unitedly, he used his great powers to destroy hope of union by the application, to those who do not agree with him, of opprobrious epithets to drive them still further away. Those who are not in accord with him he characterized as benevolent despots, leaders of inaction, petulant and malevolent bosses. That they should be simultaneously benevolent and malevolent does not trouble his silver tongue....

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News Item, American Hebrew,
April 7, 1916, p.627

PHILADELPHIA JEWS AND THE CONGRESS (Special Correspondence)

PHILADELPHIA, March 31. -- Your correspondent asked Dr. Cyrus Adler for a statement with reference to the report that appeared in THE AMERICAN HEBREW in connection with the Pre-Congress Conference to the effect that at the close of this gathering, Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York "took occasion to sharply criticize the Jews of Philadelphia, declaring that the attitude of 100,000 or more in that city shutting themselves out of the Conference was a proof of the degradation of those people."

"It is a pity," said Dr. Adler, "that under the very serious conditions with which the Jewry of the world is confronted the Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise was not able to draw the correct inference from the fact that the Pre-Congress Conference was ignored by the Jewish people of Philadelphia. The Jewish people of Philadelphia ignored the Pre-Congress Conference because they had no part in it and because they did not believe in it. The people who said they represented the Jews of Philadelphia did not in fact represent them and the proof which was recognized even by Dr. Wise is that Philadelphia took no real part in the Conference.

"The Jews of Philadelphia and of America were not represented in this movement which is an agitation carried on with a semblance of popular support because of the deep emotions which have been aroused by the terrible war and the terrible sufferings of our people in Europe. Dr. Wise and his fellow-agitators can pack a hall. A prize-

fight can do even better. The Jewish Community of Philadelphia requires no defence and has shown unerring good judgment in having ignored the meeting in which it had no real part, in which it was never intended that it should have a real part, and which was participated in only by the delegates picked by the Congress Organization Committee, which represents an attempt by indirection to foist upon the Jewish people of the United States at large, a small coterie of Zionistic Nationalists as the leaders of American Jewry...."

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Statement of Louis Lipsky, Jewish Advocate,
April 13, 1916, pp.1,8

A STATEMENT TO ZIONISTS ON THE CONGRESS

Credit for the success of the Philadelphia Preliminary Conference is due to the Zionist ideal and the Zionist organization. It was the Zionist faith in the inherent possibilities of the Jewish people for self-government that won over a large majority of our people to the cause of democracy in Jewish life. It was the devotion and self-sacrifice of the Zionists, individually and as a group, that made possible unity and accord in the deliberations of the Conference.

The Philadelphia Conference showed that we Zionists have acquired an esprit de corps, a feeling of common relationship and desire for common action, that enabled our delegates to agree with remarkable unanimity on the chief issues involved in the Congress movement. We have been the militant, forceful element in Jewish life, pervading all avenues of Jewish activities, but only now, tested by actual experience, do we find ourselves in the position of a strong, disciplined, capable party in Israel, working in every direction for the upliftment of our people through democracy and self-help.

The way is open. It has been forced open by the strength of our ideals.

The congress is the vessel in which a sturdy, self-dependent Jewish life is to be created. We should see to it that when the Congress expresses itself, it shall voice the ideals for which we have been struggling these many years. With due respect to all other groups and parties. We want the Congress to be consciously Zionistic. We want the men and women who are to form that Congress to understand our aims and aspirations, to know what we are doing and what we are striving for. This means thorough-going propaganda on our part, and the exercise of ability in organization and propaganda during the months before the Congress is convened.

The way is open, but it will require efficient work for us to make it lead to Zionism.

The delegates to the Congress are to be elected by individual electors on a democratic basis through existing local organizations. In order to educate the electors and to have the Congressmen elected in sympathy with our views, it becomes necessary for every Zionist to be an individual missionary to the electorate. The electorate should understand Zionism and be organized to elect Congressmen who will actually represent their views.

The Congress will be the test of our strength, the strenght of our

organization as well as the strength of our ideals.

At Philadelphia we felt that every delegate free from prejudice was stirred at every mention of Zionist ideals. Every reference to Palestine evoked applause that came from the heart. It could be seen that those who had not been with us were being agitated by feelings that had not suspected themselves of possessing. It was the national aspirations, the national longing the inherent Jewish desire for national rebirth that expressed itself in every resolution adopted, in every discussion held.

It is this feeling that we must capture and hold. We must drive home the Zionist program. We must continue probing the Jewish heart until it beats in unison with the aspirations of the Zionist organization.

Correctly expressed.

Everywhere there must be organized new Zionist groups. Wherever there are ten Jews, they should form a Zionist society. We must increase the number of affiliation Zionists. New elements must be enlisted and for them new societies must be formed. If a city has only one society, and another is necessary to enlist other elements, the organized Zionists on the spot should endeavor to organize a second society. The Zionist organization must become the all-pervasive, the strongest Jewish organization in America. Our aim should be to make it co-extensive with the population of Jews in the United States.

Our shekel-payers must be increased. Before Rosh Hashona we should have not less than 200,000 shekel-payers. It is absolutely necessary that this be done at once if we are to maintain our position on the Congress situation and to be able to fully awaken our people to their national obligations.

We must spread Zionist literature. There must be a substantial increase in the number of readers of our periodicals. You should circulate literature at every Jewish meeting. New literature is being printed, which will be available to immediate use.

You must organize propaganda mass-meetings. Speak Zionism at all times. The voice of Zionism must be heard throughout the land in no uncertain terms, in homes, at clubs, at institution meetings, wherever you may go. Every question asked must be answered, which implies that our own Zionists must first educate themselves in Zionist knowledge. Take the time and patience to do this. The occasion demands this of you.

Fellow Zionists! In calling into being the Jewish Congress, we have invoked the great resources and strength of the Jewish people. This strength requires training. It must have direction. It will have to be molded to become the source from which the Jewish nationality may receive power and force. In the direction of this strength, you and all organized Zionists are called upon to participate, and to offer your time, thought and resources without stint.

We are living in stirring times. Millions of our brethren are suffering indescribable misery, and are uncertain of what the next day will bring forth. They are suffering because they are Jews and because of the neglect of Jewry to rectify the anomalies of Jewish life. We should associate ourselves with their grief and sorrow not only in words of sympathy but by self-sacrifices and by giving up to some extent the same comforts which they are compelled to go without. While Israel is troubled, let no Zionist be content. Let a holy fire of enthusiasm and devotion animate your spirit!

A way has been created for your sacrifices to be made effectively. Be true to your ideals, and become an active force in the revival of Jewish national life.

LOUIS LIPSKY, Chairman

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CHAPTER VI

THE CONFERENCE OF NATIONAL JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS

April through July 1916

The first meeting of the Executive Committee of Seventy named at the Philadelphia Preliminary Conference was held April 9, 1916 in New York. Among the forty-six who attended, Brandeis, Honorary Chairman, and Bernard G. Richards, former secretary of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee, were not of the Seventy. The primary purpose of the meeting was to organize anew to replace the now defunct Jewish Congress Organization Committee.

One of the major items on the agenda was the consideration of a proposal contained in a letter dated April 1 from the National Workmen's Committee suggesting the resumption of negotiations with itself and the American Jewish Committee. Suspicious of the American Jewish Committee's hand in the proposal and unwilling to submit to further hinderance and delay but still eager for unity, Congress leaders decided to delay permanent organization of a new committee to replace the Jewish Congress Organization Committee until the National Workmen's Committee and the American Jewish Committee would join them, which from the tone of the proposal seemed imminent.

The April 9 meeting organized under the name of the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress with Brandeis as temporary chairman, B. G. Richards, temporary secretary, and Jacob Carlinger, temporary treasurer-- all assuming positions they had held in the Jewish Congress Organization Committee. Various committees were appointed by the chairman to work out arrangements for the coming Congress including a Committee on Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations.

The proposal of the National Workmen's Committee to re-open negotiations, was not rejected, but a counter-proposal, an invitation, was extended April 11 to accepted representation on the Executive Organization Committee. April 16, the same invitation was extended to the American Jewish Committee which replied April 20 that the proposal would be considered at its Executive Committee meeting of May 13. Similar invitations were extended to other national Jewish organizations including the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Council of Young Men's Hebrew and Kindred Associations, the Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, and the Union of American Hebrew Congregations. 171

Meanwhile, the National Workmen's Committee had erroneously assumed that the Executive Organization Committee had consented to re-opening negotiations in joint three-way sessions of sub-committees. Under the date of April 23, the Executive Organization Committee corrected this misunderstanding by explaining to the National Workmen's Committee that its Committee on Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations would meet separately with committees of other groups to arrange for cooperation in Congress plans and proper representation in the Executive Organization Committee. The latter, it will be recalled, had authority from the Philadelphia Conference to increase the number of seventy members to one hundred at its discretion. 172

The National Workmen's Committee declined to enter the Executive Organization Committee and the American Jewish Committee replied to the invitation by inviting the Executive Organization Committee to attend its Conference of National Jewish Organizations called for July 16 in New York City.

As much as the National Workmen's Committee and the American Jewish Committee opposed a congress, they knew that they had to be represented if there were to be one. The success of the Philadelphia Conference assured

them that the Congress was to be. The position of the Executive Organization Committee in refusing to resume negotiations was a strong one because the parties to the contest were now no longer equal. The Philadelphia Conference had given Congress advocates a mandate from "the people" as it were, to proceed with definite Congress plans. Neither the American Jewish Committee nor the National Workmen's Committee could claim to speak for so great a segment of the American Jewish community. The Congress opponents realized that only by convening a conference equal at least to that held in Philadelphia and by obtaining a similar mandate could they negotiate once again on a par with Congress forces which were meanwhile proceeding apace with Congress arrangements.

At a special meeting of the general body of the American Jewish Committee, May 14, 1916, the Executive Committee was authorized

...to proceed in conjunction with such other national Jewish organizations as are prepared to unite with it in issuing a call for that purpose to convene a conference of national Jewish organizations at some time during June, 1916, at a place, and on a basis of representation agreed upon, for the purpose of considering suitable measures to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them, it being understood that the phrase "full rights" is to be deemed to include civil, religious, and political rights, and in addition, wherever separate group rights are recognized in any land, the conferring upon the Jews thereof of such rights, if desired by them....¹⁷³

On the basis of this action, the American Jewish Committee proceeded to call a conference designed along the lines of its abandoned Washington Conference. Forty-six national Jewish organizations were invited to send one hundred and forty-six delegates, almost identical to the list and allotted representation that had been prepared following the June 20, 1915 meeting.¹⁷⁴

The Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Council of Jewish

Women, the Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, the National Workmen's Committee, the Order Brith Abraham, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the United Synagogue of America joined the American Jewish Committee in signing the call to the conference issued June 16, 1916. Scheduled for Sunday, July 16, 1916 at the Hotel Astor, New York City, the conference was called to discuss "propositions that may be presented relative to the organization of a Jewish Congress, to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them; it being understood that the phrase 'full rights' is to be deemed to include civil, religious, and political rights, and in addition thereto, wherever the various people of any land are recognized as having separate group rights, the conferring upon the Jews thereof of such rights, if desired by them." ¹⁷⁵ Because they feared Jewish nationalism, those who made up the Committee could not accept the term "nationality rights", but "group rights" meaning much the same was acceptable. No mention was made of the condition they had championed formerly, that the Congress must not convene until after the war.

In the meantime, the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress taking a page from the notebook of the American Jewish Committee addressed letters to leading Jewish organizations of Europe, South Africa, Australia, and South America describing its platform and offering cooperation. ¹⁷⁶

The nomination of Louis D. Brandeis to the United States Supreme Court was confirmed May 24 and he took the oath of office June 5, 1916.

The campaign of slander and vituperation conducted by Congress proponents against the American Jewish Committee in general and Jacob H. Schiff in particular heightened in bitterness and viciousness. Although

he insisted that he had been misquoted, Schiff was accused of having blamed East European Jews as being themselves responsible for their dire predicament by having arbitrarily refused to adjust satisfactorily to their environment.

Led by Leo Wolfson and Louis Lipsky, a meeting of pro-congress delegates to the New York Kehillah, May 29, 1916, decided to take the following action at the Seventh Annual Kehillah Convention scheduled for June 3 and 4:

To propose the termination of the connection of the Kehillah with the American Jewish Committee.

To ask the Kehillah convention to unqualifiedly endorse the Jewish Congress.

To propose that the members of the Executive Committee of the Kehillah resign from the American Jewish Committee.

To leave the convention in a body if these demands are refused.¹⁷⁷

At the Kehillah Convention, Jacob Schiff severely scored his calumniators and uttered that which was interpreted as his withdrawal from Jewish affairs. He said:

I have been hurt to the core, and hereafter Zionism, nationalism, the Congress movement and Jewish politics in whatever form they may come up, will be a sealed book to me. I shall continue to work for the uplift of my people, I shall continue to cooperate in all constructive work that is needed, and I shall continue to cooperate as far as I can in procuring full civic rights for our brethren in the war zone...But beyond this, my friends, my duty ends....¹⁷⁸

The Convention adopted a motion of confidence supporting Schiff and gave him a resounding ovation. Immediately thereafter, the Kehillah delegates by large majorities refused to consider not only the proposals drawn up and presented by Wolfson and Lipsky and their supporters, but also the entire Congress issue. The latter withdrew from the convention which went on to the consideration of the local problems of New York City Jewry.¹⁷⁹

The action of the Seventh Annual Convention of the New York Kehillah

represented and almost complete about face from the position of the Sixth (April 24 and May 23, 1915). It is easily understood that the experience at the Seventh Annual Kehillah Convention might well have led Congress leaders to doubt their strength and to tend more and more to unity through compromise.

As a result of the decision to call the Conference of National Jewish Organizations, there was no longer complete agreement within the American Jewish Committee. Cyrus Adler remained adamantly opposed to any congress consideration. Oscar Straus insisted that the plans for the new conference expressly violated the decision of the American Jewish Committee to hold no such deliberations until after the war. Judge Leon Sanders, Grand Master of the Independent Order Brith Abraham, who was playing both sides in the contest (he served as temporary chairman of the Philadelphia Conference and represented his organization at the American Jewish Committee's Conference) came in for round censure and abuse from members of his fraternal order.

On June 12, Harry Friedenwald, charter member of the American Jewish Committee and President of the Federation of American Zionists, resigned from the Committee because he believed its actions since the war were "inadequate". Unfortunately his letter of resignation as well as the bitter reply of Marshall and Adler were published and given wide circulation. A short time later (June 23) Prof. Felix Frankfurter, also a member of both organizations, finding his sentiments to be exactly those of Dr. Friedenwald, resigned from the American Jewish Committee. His resignation also was marked by widespread publicity.

Outside of Congress circles, unexpected support was arising. The General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,

meeting in Atlantic City in the latter part of May 1916 adopted a resolution petitioning President Wilson to have the Federal Government participate in an international Convention devoted to alleviating the condition of the Jews in Europe.¹⁸⁰

Newton D. Baker, Secretary of War, addressed a message to a mass meeting at Carnegie Hall, June 21, 1916, staged by the Executive Organization Committee in the interests of equal rights for Jews. He said that the objects of the Congress appealed to him as "it is in harmony with a state of beliefs held and urged throughout all my life." He expressed sympathy with its plans and hope that "the day may be hastened when the ignorance and prejudice which at present visits injustice upon Jews in many places will be swept away."¹⁸¹

In the election campaigns of 1916, Republican, Democratic, Progressive, and Socialist Parties, adopted planks in their platforms favoring equal rights for all men everywhere and expressed the attitude that the United States Government should lend every aid to further the attainment of such rights. The New York Chamber of Commerce and the American Federation of Labor adopted resolutions to the same effect.¹⁸²

At a meeting of the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress, June 22, 1916, it was decided to decline the invitation to the Conference of National Jewish Organizations scheduled for July 16 at the Hotel Astor. Regret was expressed that some organizations connected with the Congress movement had already accepted and it was recommended that these rescind their action. A Committee of Three, Brandeis, Pam, and Sanders, was appointed to attend the Conference, if invited, to present the views of the Executive Organization Committee. Under date of June 28, these views were made known to the American Jewish Committee which promptly invited

the Committee of Three to appear at the Conference, July 16, at 3:00 P.M.

The B'nai Brith Executive Committee meeting in New York June 22 and 23, also declined the American Jewish Committee's invitation. Again the B'nai Brith announced that it would take no part in any projected conference or congress. Having decided the previous January to send a noted European to the various belligerent capitals to ascertain Jewish needs, the B'nai Brith now revised its plan. A committee of two would be appointed to visit the belligerent nations to place before the various governments the claims of the Jews for equal rights. The committee would be authorized to seek Jewish cooperation abroad and would report regularly to the Executive Committee in the United States which would invite all other Jews and Jewish organizations to cooperate in attaining desired ends.

The American Jewish Committee was not alone in suffering internal difficulties concerning the Congress issue. The Federation of American Zionists meeting in Nineteenth Annual Convention at Philadelphia June 30 through July 5, 1916 was unexpectedly and surprisingly torn asunder in argument over the inseparable ties that linked the Congress movement to American Zionism. On the one hand, strong elements within the American Jewish Committee laid the deplorable division in American Jewry to the intransigence of Cyrus Adler who as Chairman of the Executive Committee had acted for President Louis Marshall in early negotiations. Now, elements within the ranks of the Zionists were fearful that similar personalities in their own camp were intentionally frustrating the overwhelming desire of American Jewry to unite with all elements to aid their European brethren. Behind all the new born passion for unity lay, of course, the realization that the Executive Organization Committee had failed to recruit the American Jewish Committee and the labor elements. At that very moment, the old

line German organizations with strong labor support, completely free of financial considerations or the very real and burdensome need for dealing directly with the great mass of American Jews, were proceeding quietly and efficiently toward a conference the purpose of which was to bring into existence, and with greater possibilities for success, an independent and separate American Jewish Congress.

At the Zionist Convention, led by Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen and Dr. Frank Schechter, son of the late Solomon Schechter, a minority group introduced a resolution proposing the suspension of Zionist participation in the Congress movement pending further attempts at reconciliation. Such action would have ended Congress deliberations forever. The resolution was defeated by an overwhelming majority but the seeds of doubt engendered were well sown.¹⁸³

At this point no man could have said he opposed unity. The minority group clamored for unity as a sine qua non of further Congress consideration. Harry Friedenwald, David de Sola Pool, Horace M. Kallen,¹⁸⁴ and others interviewed following the debate insisted that they favored union with all Jewish forces but that such unity must not be purchased at the price of compromising principles — already a far cry from the bold defiance so passionately declaimed at the Philadelphia Conference. The first blow to the staunch Zionist stand for a Congress on the lines laid down at Philadelphia had come at the Seventh Annual Convention of the New York Kehillah. The second fell at the 1916 American Zionist Convention. The coup de grace was to be administered at the Conference of National Jewish Organizations, July 16.

During the Zionist Convention it was announced that Dr. Stephen S. Wise had been elected Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee

for General Zionist Affairs in place of Louis D. Brandeis. 185

On the eve of the American Jewish Committee's Hotel Astor Conference, it appeared that all factions were tired of strife. The Jewish Advocate predicted:

We venture the forecast that after the conference which the American Jewish Committee has convened for next Sunday, there will be peace in American Israel.

The American Hebrew scolded:

It is high time that the petty quarrels and differences cease. This is the time for calm, deliberate preparedness, for wise and courageous action.

Unity, harmony, and peace were on every Jewish lip and in every Jewish heart, with two exceptions -- Cyrus Adler and Louis D. Brandeis.

The New York Hotel Astor Conference, convened by the American Jewish Committee, was called to order 10:30 A.M., July 16, 1916 by Colonel Harry Cutler, temporary chairman. Twenty-seven national Jewish organizations were represented by ninety delegates. Some of the better known personalities in attendance were Louis Marshall, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Judge Julian W. Mack, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, Oscar S. Straus, Meyer London, Rabbi William Rosenau, Rabbi and Mrs. David Philipson, Mr. and Mrs. J. Walter Freiberg, Rabbi Samuel Schulman, Rabbi Henry Berkowitz, Dr. Kaufman Kohler, Judge Leon Sanders, B. Vladeck, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Sholom Asch, M. Olgin, Jacob Panken, Dr. Frank F. Rosenblatt, Edward L. Heinsheimer, Max J. Kohler, Simon W. Rosendale, Rabbi Bernard Drachman, M. Pine, Dr. Solomon Solis-Cohen, Prof. Mordecai M. Kaplan.

All the organizations within the orbit of the American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee were represented as well as the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, and the Hebrew Union College. Dr. Kaufman Kohler represented the latter organization to

offset the attendance of Dr. Gotthard Deutsch at the Philadelphia Conference. There was a sprinkling of delegates of other organizations present which apparently couldn't make up their minds as to which side they favored.

Leon Sanders attended as a delegate of the Independent Order Brith Abraham as well as one of the Executive Organization Committee's Committee of Three. The Hebrew Sheltering and Immigrant Aid Society, the Independent Order Free Sons of Judah, the Order Knights of Joseph, and the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, all of which attended the Philadelphia Conference, had come also to New York.

Louis Marshall was elected chairman, Jacob Panken, vice-chairman, and Dr. Max Goldfarb and Harry Schneiderman, secretaries. Marshall, Rosenau, and Drachman made fervent appeals for harmony and unity in the furtherance of the movement for a Congress in which all American Israel might be represented.

Resolutions were prepared by a committee led by Magnes indicating the desire of the Conference

...to bring about united action...to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands, and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them...

The Conference was asked to adopt resolutions favoring the calling of a Congress; to give its Executive Committee (which was to number twenty-five appointed by Chairman Marshall) authority to confer and to cooperate with other organizations to prepare for the Congress, "its time and place and the method of electing delegates and its constitution in general". The Congress was to be called for the sole purpose of improving the condition of Jews in lands of oppression and it was recommended that an institution be established after the war to rehabilitate Jewish life in the eastern war zone and in Palestine. The Executive Committee was to be empowered to

carry out the purpose of the Conference, to elect officers from its own number, and to increase its membership if deemed advisable. The Conference was asked to organize itself into a permanent body and to take the name "The Conference of National Jewish Organizations".

At 3:00 P.M., the Committee of Three -- Brandeis, Pam, and Sanders -- representing the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress appeared to invite the Conference to subscribe to the program adopted by the Philadelphia Conference and to join the Executive Organization Committee. Painstakingly Brandeis explained the purposes of the Congress movement, outlined the action taken in Philadelphia, and pointed out that because Congress leaders hoped for the participation of all elements of American Jewry they had affected only temporary organization. He invited the Conference to join the Executive Organization Committee assuring them that they would be as welcome at this date as they would have been the previous March. Pam and Sanders reiterated Brandeis' remarks appealing for unity in the interest of alleviating Jewish suffering abroad. The Committee of Three was invited to remain for the debate on the proposal they had submitted.

Dr. Magnes read and explained the resolutions his committee had prepared indicating that if the Conference were to adopt them, it would thereby create an organization similar and equal to the Executive Organization Committee authorized by the Philadelphia Conference. He recommended such action in order that the two equal bodies might then meet on an equal plane and resume negotiations.

It was apparent to everyone present that there would have been no need to call the Conference in which they were then participating if Brandeis' invitation were to be seriously considered. If those present were

to join with the Executive Organization Committee under the program devised by the Philadelphia Conference, they could have done so as individual organizations without having united in a Conference of National Jewish Organizations. The majority of organizations present were attending the Conference because they had refused to join Brandeis and to work from within the Executive Organization Committee. The Conference had been called to create a competitive body that could challenge the Executive Organization Committee, to force it to resume negotiations in the hope that its program might have been compromised out of existence if possible, but at least to the point where it would meet with American Jewish Committee approval.

That which took place cannot be dignified with the term "deliberations". What ensued turned out to be a disgraceful demonstration of vicious personal attack calculated to humiliate and insult Louis D. Brandeis. Perhaps this was the revenge of the members of the American Jewish Committee who had so long been vilified and insulted by the pro-Congress press. Perhaps this demonstrated the personal resentment of prominent Jews who disapproved Brandeis' appointment to the bench of the United States Supreme Court. It was certainly the one opportunity of all present to castigate him who personified the whole movement which so seriously threatened them.

Oscar Straus baited Brandeis by challenging the advisability of convening the Congress before the end of the war. He asked if the date of the Congress had been definitely set (he knew it had) or if that had been left open for the general consideration of all forces when union would have been accomplished.

At this point Brandeis was evidently enjoying himself. The opening had occurred for him to fling into the teeth of the American Jewish Committee sentiments identical to those with which Cyrus Adler had frustrated

agreement in July 1915 following the July 12 conference of Adler and Brandeis with Frankfurter in attendance. At that time Brandeis had objected to some of the arrangements for the American Jewish Committee proposed Washington Conference and had suggested changes. On July 21, 1915, Adler had advised him

...that in view of the fact that the resolutions adopted by the General Committee at its meeting on June 20, 1915, directed the Executive Committee to call a Conference for the discussion of a specific question and limited the number of delegates, the Executive Committee was not authorized to change the plan, purpose and scope of this Conference...¹⁸⁶

Brandeis explained that the Philadelphia Conference had set time limitations within which the Congress was to be called. He pointed out the difficulties of changing the date inasmuch as a vote of three-fourths of the Executive Organization Committee and possibly a referendum of the delegates would be required. He also pointed out that the resolutions proposed by Magnes' committee included ideas and attitudes contradictory to those adopted in Philadelphia. If these resolutions were to be adopted by the present Conference, he explained, there was not possibility for harmony because neither the Committee of Three nor the Executive Organization Committee had the power to compromise the program laid down by the Philadelphia Conference. Brandeis declared, in effect, that the Three had not come to negotiate or to bargain but only to invite the Hotel Astor Conference to join the Congress as planned by the Philadelphia Conference. He warned them that their actions could make such cooperation impossible.

...I feel,...gentlemen, that I ought at this time call your attention specifically to these facts to what has been done and also to that which our Committee has no power whatsoever to alter in any respect, and that if you adopt a resolution here in the form drawn, and which apparently was drawn without knowledge of the limitation under which we are acting, if you do that, you make it impossible for us to cooperate towards the end to which we have both declared our desire to cooperate. That is the situation...We have nothing to do if you pass this resolution except to report to our body...that you had in the face

of our pointing out to you the situation which governs our Executive Committee, taken action which rendered it absolutely impossible for our Executive Committee to do anything but to go on alone. But as we stated to you, we want you with us. We have expressly provided at the Conference for the bringing in of these organizations. We have the vacancies expressly created for the purpose of bringing in unaffiliated organizations. We want you to join this Congress... Our Executive Committee has no power to do anything whatsoever except to act within the limits of what the Conference has determined.

Perhaps it would have been asking too much of human capacity for restraint to have expected the "leaders of the American Jewish community" to have remained dignified and polite in the face of such a challenge. Judge Mayer Sulzberger stormed out of the hall. Straus and Magnes began to ridicule both Brandeis and the Philadelphia program for the Congress. Knowing well the eagerness of other Congress leaders for peace at almost any price, Magnes challenged Brandeis to secure mass support for the "or else" dictum he had just expressed and predicted for him personally (and correctly) an overwhelming defeat. He said:

...No, Mr. Brandeis, no Jewish organization at this time can say to representatives of an old established and important institution in this country, that you will do as we have laid it down or you can't cooperate with us....

A delegate requested more courtesy toward Brandeis. Brandeis objected to Magnes' tone. Magnes apologized. Brandeis indicated a desire to leave. Marshall and many delegates preferred that the Committee of Three remain.

Magnes continued to belittle the Philadelphia Conference's Congress plans in the course of which he let slip mention of the American Jewish Committee's major objection. Magnes who several days before the Philadelphia Conference had spoken in favor of a permanent American Jewish Congress now declared:

...But, Mr. Chairman, a point that Mr. Justice Brandeis did not advert to among all of the resolutions adopted by the Congress committee at

Philadelphia which is in many senses one of the two real issues between this conference and theirs is that the Congress considered the advisability of establishing the Congress as a permanent institution. That, Mr. Chairman, is one of the chief differences between us. Not the resolutions.....

At 6:00 P.M., Brandeis and his colleagues retired from the meeting. Magnes' resolutions were put before the Conference for action. An amendment was offered to the effect that the Conference should approve the Philadelphia Congress program excepting that part referring to a permanent Congress and authorizing the Executive Committee of the present Conference to confer with the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress for the purpose of joining that organization. The amendment was defeated and the original resolutions passed.

During the evening session, Judge Julian W. Mack proposed reconsideration of the resolutions adopted following Brandeis' departure. He announced that he had conferred with representatives of the Executive Organization Committee who had assured him that it was not their intention to establish a permanent Congress nor did they propose to stress Zionism in Congress deliberations. In the light of this information, which he believed cleared up much of the doubt that had obscured the afternoon debate, Mack believed many delegates would reconsider and change their votes enabling the Conference to adopt resolutions more likely to encourage reconciliation.

At this point, there was still the possibility of unity with honor for both sides. Face could have been saved for everyone. The decision regarding reconsideration lay with Chairman Marshall. The intelligence conveyed by Mack's motion indicated that the Zionist compromise had begun. The American Jewish Committee was now definitely in the superior bargaining position. And moreover, it indicated that as Magnes had predicted there was no support for Brandeis' position. Out of personal pride and goaded by

the baiting of Oscar Straus and Magnes, he had far exceeded in stringency the Executive Organization Committee's demands for unity. If Marshall were to permit reconsideration, Brandeis would yet be saved as a leader of the opposition. Marshall ruled against reconsideration and abetted Brandeis' destruction.

It would appear that Congress leaders, aware of the rising sentiment for "peace at any price" regretted immediately having sent Brandeis to the Hotel Astor Conference. He was so involved personally that he could not possibly have suggested or accepted compromise toward affecting union without feeling that he was submitting to personal indignity. Moreover, he erroneously judged that he had strong support in his unyielding insistence upon observing all the formalities of the pact arranged at Philadelphia. The decision to send his committee to the Hotel Astor had prevailed in the Executive Organization Committee by a majority of only one vote.

Congress leaders rejected Brandeis' stand and it was immediately obvious to all that they had done so. Closeted with Julian W. Mack immediately after Brandeis' withdrawal from the Conference, they had assured Mack that they were willing to forego demands for permanent organization and the consideration at the Congress of a homeland in Palestine. But Mack's resulting motion in the Conference to reconsider was ruled out of order. Judge Sanders proposed the appointment of a committee of five to re-open negotiations with the Executive Organization Committee, but it was the will of the Conference to let the over-anxious Congress forces hang awhile on tenterhooks of frustration. Sanders' proposal was referred to the Executive Committee for action.

Marshall must have appointed a "negotiations committee" that same night for the very next day (July 17) Cutler, Mack, Schulman, Massel, and Rosenblatt representing the Conference of National Jewish Organizations met with Pam, Sanders, Schomer, Barondess, Katz, Lipsky, and Grossberg for the Executive Organization Committee. Brandeis, it was said, was unable to attend because his presence was required in Washington. That may have been true, but more cogent was the fact that in view of the compromises Congress leaders were willing, nay eager, to make, Brandeis' position was no longer tenable. He had no choice but to resign. And he resigned from every position he held in the Jewish field except that of Honorary Chairman of the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs.

An editorial in the New York Times, July 18, accused Brandeis of improprieties unbefitting his position as Supreme Court Justice. On July 21 Brandeis tendered his resignation without explanation to the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Relief Committee and the Joint Distribution Committee. His Zionist secretary, Jacob de Haas, was quoted as saying Brandeis' judicial duties made impossible his further devotion of time to these committees. Others explained that he resigned because he had been offended at the Hotel Astor Conference. But Brandeis withdrew also from the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress. The Yiddish press claimed that the German Jews had forced him from the Jewish scene. The German Jews intimated that he had intended to sever all Jewish connections as soon as he was elevated to the Supreme Court. Not a word of explanation came from the Congress organization, but they could not have very well explained their position and action. Many things were better left unsaid.

It is well to consider at this point the position of those whose

actions forced Brandeis to leave the Congress movement. It was not the first time that a leader had been sloughed off and for Brandeis it was not the last. The Congress movement had come into being to provide a sounding board for Zionist propaganda to which all other forums were closed. The Zionist organization had taken advantage of every inconsistency, contradiction, and resentment within the Jewish community and it had incorporated unto itself championing the demand for equal rights for Jews everywhere. The latter was clearly secondary to the Congress movement's main purpose which was the building of the Zionist organization. Under the able administration and leadership of Brandeis and using well his great personal prestige, the Zionist organization in America became powerful enough to challenge old established organizations for hegemony in American Jewish affairs. Brandeis and Zionism had served each other well. At the time of the break neither was in the other's debt.

Against all odds, the Congress movement had taken hold and had prospered. The Jew in the street hadn't the slightest idea as to the manner in which a Congress might accomplish its ambitious program, but he was thrilled by the idea of a Congress. The spell binding oratory of men sparked by many motives had convinced him that Jewish salvation was somehow inextricably bound up with a Congress. Congress leaders themselves could have had at this point only the vaguest notions of devising effective machinery to present Jewish claims to some Peace Conference in the dim future.

The Congress idea had snowballed into proportions beyond the fondest dreams of its proponents. It was a bear which the American Jewish community held by the tail unable to release. It was a bit of magic too powerful for the Zionist sorcerer's apprentice to control. It was a wild

destroying geni which the American Jewish Committee and all its labor allies were unable to force back into its flask, but which they hoped to curb and control. Whether its final non-Zionist accomplishments justified all the controversy and the ultimate compromises that made it a reality will be considered later. The great problem, once all forces agreed that a Congress was desirable, was to find a broad formula for action which would enable all these diverse elements to unite with honor and dignity. Brandeis' obstinancy represented the last major obstacle. Adler had already been effectively silenced. Brandeis had to go. The Congress was going to be. It had to be a united venture. No one could stop it now.

Supplement to Chapter VI

April 9, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
April 13, 1916, p.1

CONGRESS ORGANIZATION MEETS UNDER BRANDEIS LEADERSHIP

All Officers Temporary But Plans and Scope Committee Elected to Outline Important Work

Socialists are Divided

The first meeting of the New Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress Organization, elected at the Preliminary Conference held in Philadelphia was held last Sunday afternoon, in the Aeolian Hall Building, New York City. Those present were:

Louis D. Brandeis of Boston, Joseph Barondess, Solomon Blumgarten, Dr. J.I. Bluestein, Meyer L. Brown, Gedalia Bublick, Jacob Carlinger of New York City; Edward M. Chase of Manchester, N.H.; Charles A. Cowen, Max Eckman, Dr. Samuel Ellsberg, Joel Enteen of New York City; Prof. H.S. Fine-man of Philadelphia, Rabbi Wolf God of Brooklyn; Abraham Goldberg of New York; Dr. Benjamin L. Gordon of Philadelphia; Jacob de Haas of Boston; Judge Gustave Hartman of New York, Joseph M. Herman and Louis E. Kirstein of Boston; Max L. Hollander of New York; Prof. Isaac A. Hourwich of Brooklyn; A.D. Katcher of New York; Morris Katz of Philadelphia; Mirchael Leveen of Newark; Henry H. Levenson, Julius Meyer and Nathan A. Pinanski of Boston; Louis Lip-sky, Joseph S. Marcus, Rev. M.Z. Margolis, Samuel Mason, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Morris Rothenberg, Judge Leon Sanders, Abraham S. Schomer, Max Silverstein,

Joshua Sprayregen, Max Stern, Solomon Sufrin, Dr. Julius Weiss, Leo Wolfson and H. Zuckerman of New York City; Dr. Louis R. Rubinsohn of Philadelphia, Otto Irving Wise of San Francisco, and the Executive Secretary of the original Jewish Congress Organization Committee, Bernard G. Richards.

Communications bearing on the new work of organization were received from Judge Hugo Pam of Chicago, Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, Maurice L. Avner of Pittsburgh, Jacob Grossberg, Leo H. Hoffman, Max Shulman, Nathan T. Brenner and Edwin C. Romberg of Chicago, Max Mitchell of Boston, Prof. Gotthard Deutsch of Cincinnati, Julius I. Peyser of Washington, D.C., Dr. Stephen S. Wise and others.

Mr. Louis D. Brandeis, as honorary chairman of the preliminary conference, opened the meeting and the following were elected as temporary officers of the organization; Louis D. Brandeis, chairman; Bernard G. Richards, secretary, and Jacob Carlinger, treasurer. The chair was authorized to appoint a committee of seven which shall act as a temporary Administrative Committee to conduct the immediate work.

A Committee on Plan and Scope, consisting of eleven members, was elected with instructions to report at the next meeting of the Organization and to suggest the names of persons to constitute commissions of experts which, in accordance with the resolutions of the Philadelphia Conference, are to make exhaustive studies of Jewish conditions in Russia, Poland, Roumania, Galicia and Palestine. The committee is made up of the following, Jacob de Haas, Hon. Leon Sanders, Louis Lipsky, Prof Isaac A. Hourwich, B. Zuckerman, Gedalia Publick, Abraham Goldberg, Meyer L. Brown, Leo Wolfson, Solomon Blumgarten (Yehoash) and Charles A. Cowen.

The committee is also to suggest the names of persons to constitute a commission of experts to study the question of migration as it affects the Jewish problem.

Among many communications received was one from the National Workmen's Committee. This letter was referred to a committee of seven to be appointed by the chairman on relations with unaffiliated organizations.

A committee of seven was also elected to work out the plan and methods of election to the Congress in accordance with the resolution of the Preliminary Conference. The committee consists of the following: Abraham S. Schomer, Louis E. Kirstein, Max Silverstein, Prof. Isaac A. Hourwich, Samuel Mason, Morris Rothenberg and Dr. Samuel Ellisberg.

Mr. Carlinger, the treasurer of the former Jewish Congress Organization Committee, presented the report of the incomes and expenditures of that organization up to the time of the closing of the Preliminary Conference. At the request of Mr. Carlinger, an auditing committee of three was to be appointed to employ an accountant to go over the books of the organization and to report at the next meeting.

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
April 13, 1916, p.1

SOCIALISTS OF THE MIDDLE WEST SPLIT ON CONGRESS QUESTION

CHICAGO. -- The convention of the Jewish labor party of the Western States which was held here on Sunday considering the question of the American Jewish Congress, ended in a split, owing to a resolution which endeavored to pledge the party to call a special congress of its own.

Dr. Goldberg of New York, tried to force this resolution through and was supported by 118 out of 195 present at the conference. The remaining 77 broke with the organization and organized a National Socialist Workingmen's Committee.

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April 16, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Advocate,
April 27, 1916, p.1

April 16th, 1916

Mr. Harry Schneiderman,
Assistant Secretary
American Jewish Committee
356 Second Avenue
New York City

Dear Sir: --

At the Preliminary Conference held in Philadelphia on March 25th and 27th a series of resolutions were adopted on Duties of the Executive Committee, which are in part as follows:

"The Executive Committee is required to do all in its power for the purpose that all Jewish organizations that were not represented at the Preliminary Conference may participate in the Jewish Congress.

"In the event of other organizations uniting and becoming affiliated with the Congress movement. The Executive Committee is authorized to increase its membership so as to include representatives of such organizations, but in no event shall the committee increase its membership by more than 20 per cent of the local number."

In pursuance to the resolution first above quoted, the Executive Committee at its first meeting held on April 9th, adopted the following resolution creating a standing committee on Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations:

"Resolved that a standing committee of seven members be appointed to receive applications from and to arrange with unaffiliated organizations as to their affiliation with the Executive Organization Committee for the American Jewish Congress."

In order to enable organizations and heretofore affiliated with the Congress organization and which may now desire to become affiliated to take part in the permanent organization of the Executive Committee the Committee has concluded to defer its permanent organization for a short time.

We shall be glad to receive assurances of your sympathy with our holding of a Jewish Congress and our Committee on Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations will be pleased to meet your Committee at an early date and at such time as may be most convenient with a view to arranging for the proper representation of the American Jewish Committee in our Executive Committee and other necessary details.

Awaiting your early reply, we are

Yours respectfully,
Executive Organization Committee for the
American Jewish Congress.

(signed) BERNARD G. RICHARDS,
Secretary.

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April 18, 1916 -- The State Department at Washington notified the German Government that diplomatic relations would be severed unless Germany abandoned its present methods of submarine warfare.

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April 20, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Advocate,
April 27, 1916, p.1

The American Jewish Committee,
356 Second Avenue
New York City
April 20th, 1916

Dear Mr. Richards:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 16th instant communicating to the Committee various resolutions adopted by the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress and stating that your Committee on Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations will be pleased to meet our Committee at an early date "with a view to arranging for the proper representation of the American Jewish Committee in our (your) Executive Committee and other necessary details."

Your letter will have the attention of the Executive Committee at the next meeting which is to be held on Saturday evening, May 13th next, unless a special meeting is called before that date.

Very truly yours,
(Signed),
HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN,
Assistant Secretary,

Bernard G. Richards, Esq., Secy.
Metropolitan Life Bldg.
New York, N.Y.

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
April 20, 1916, p.8

CONFERENCE FOR JEWISH RIGHTS IN EUROPE

A conference for Jewish Rights was convened in Paris last week under the auspices of the Poale Zion Organization. Deputy Lange, a descendant of Carl Marx and an active socialist, was one of the principal speakers at the meeting. The League for Human Rights was represented by Deputy Herold. The resolution adopted are in the line of those adopted in Philadelphia by the conference and also in London.

In Warsaw, a conference of the leaders of the Jewish community was held recently, with the purpose of formulating the demands of the Jewish community at the time when a peace conference will be convened. Dr. Bodenheimer, the head of the Jewish National Fund Bureau, was present and several other leading Jews of Germany. The Warsaw Jews declared that they have decided to ask no more than autonomous cultural rights, so that they may be permitted to live as Jews and educate their children in a Jewish manner, without outside hindrances. The nationalists, who were in the minority, were not satisfied with these demands and insisted upon asking for distinct Jewish national rights as well.

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April 23, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Advocate,
April 27, 1916, p.1

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress, 1 Madison Ave., New York City, has sent the following letter to the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights:

April 23d, 1916

Dr. Max Goldfarb, National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights
175 East Broadway, New York City

Dear Sir: --

We are in receipt of your letter dated April 17th and are pleased to note your readiness to meet us. I am directed, however, to call your attention to the fact that your letter indicates a fundamental misunderstanding of our communication of the 11th inst.

It was the intention of our Executive Committee to inform you by that letter that our permanent Committee on Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations is prepared to discuss arrangements for the affiliation of your organization with the Congress Organization. We are surprised that you should have misunderstood us.

It is our experience and firm conviction that the interests of unity in action will be served best by our taking up separately with each of the several National organizations who have not yet joined the Congress the details of its affiliation with us. As a matter of fact we are now in correspondence with all such organizations. Under the resolution

adopted by the Philadelphia Conference, a joint discussion, such as your suggest would not be proper.

We, therefore, repeat that our permanent Committee on Relations with Unaffiliated Organizations is prepared forthwith to meet your Committee of Five to arrange for your co-operation in the Congress organization, at such time and place as may be mutually agreed upon.

We wish to assure you again of our desire to have all elements of our people join in the work for the attainment of Jewish rights.

Cordially yours,

(Signed) B. G. Richards,
Secretary

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April 28, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
April 28, 1916, p.802

JEWISH CONGRESS ACTIVITY

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Congress is exchanging correspondence with the American Jewish Committee and the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights with a view to arranging for their representation in the Congress.

Harry Schniederman, assistant secretary of the American Jewish Committee, has written Bernard G. Richards, of the Congress Executive Committee, that his communication will be taken up at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee on May 13th unless a special meeting is called before that date.

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May 11, 1916 -- Great Britain agreed to allow American relief agencies to send food to the starving inhabitants of Russian Poland occupied by German forces.

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May 12, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
May 12, 1916, p.26

Renewed efforts are being made by the various relief committees to meet the appalling conditions of distress that obtain among our unfortunate brethren in the war zone. So far a little over five million dollars has been collected by the three committees in this country,, the exact amount received to date, as reported by Mr. Felix M. Warburg, chairman of the Joint Distribution Committee, is \$5,064,491.52. It is estimated that one million dollars a month is needed by the Jews in the war zone and concerted efforts are to be made to approximate that sum....

May 14, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
May 15, 1916, p.9:4

JEWS APPEAL TO LANSING

Urge State Department to Intercede for Those in Russia

At a meeting of the members of the American Jewish Committee, held yesterday at the Hotel Astor, an amendment to its laws was adopted by which its membership is increased from 96 to 200, to provide for the admission of members from every State in the Union and representatives from every Jewish organization in the country.

In view of the fact that the committee has received information that the Jews of Russia are in a state of terror because they fear an outbreak of pogroms at the time of the Russian Easter, the State Department at Washington has been requested to use its influence to prevent these outbreaks.

A resolution was adopted to authorize the committee to unite with other Jewish societies for the calling of a congress of Jewish societies in June for the purpose of obtaining full rights for the Jews of all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them.

The committee announced that it had brought to the attention of the State Department the subject of the protection of Ottoman Jews of Vera Cruz, there being no representative of the Ottoman Government in that place. The department has given the necessary instructions for their protection by American Consular officers.

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May 21, 1916 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
May 26, 1916, p.84

THE MISQUOTED SPEECH

We are publishing in this issue a stenographic report of Mr. Schiff's speech which he delivered on Sunday at the dedication of the Central Jewish Institute, and which called forth a storm of criticism in the Yiddish press. The criticism was based upon disconnected extracts published in the American newspapers. The accounts, as published in the press, would have justified much of the criticism directed against Mr. Schiff. He was reported in the Times as saying:

"If the Jews in Russia and the Jews in Poland had not kept themselves apart, had not insisted on a separate language, the tragedies and persecutions to which they have been subjected would not have reached such stages."

Such a statement would have been inexcusable on the part of so prominent an American Jew whose words are always widely quoted and whose opinions carry much weight because they are regarded as utterances of a representative and most influential American Jew. To give the

impression to the world that Jewish separatism in Russia was responsible for much of the anti-Jewish persecution in that country, is to spread a dangerous theory -- a theory that is not based upon facts, and that would injure the cause of Jewry everywhere.

The Jews of Russia were persecuted not because of their separatism, but they were forced to lead a life of separation because of the policy of persecution.

The Jews of America, who have come from the lands where they were persecuted, do not bring with them any tendencies towards separatism in this country. It is hardly necessary to point out that of all the immigrants coming to these shores, the Jews have less cause for friendly attachments abroad, particularly in such backward countries as Russia and Roumania. And they did not come, as perhaps other immigrants come, -- their bodies here, their souls abroad. The Jews who have fled recent religious and political persecution, are no less intense in their love for America than are those Americans whose forefathers fled to these shores from religious or political persecution.

Thus Mr. Schiff's criticism as reproduced in the American press might have served to create a wrong impression regarding Americanism and the Jews of America, and regarding the anti-Jewish policy of the Russian Government.

But we are fortunate in having securing a stenographic report of Mr. Schiff's speech, which shows that Mr. Schiff was quoted inaccurately. Here is what he actually did say:

"I am second to none in my feeling for our oppressed brethren in Russia and Poland, not only for what they are suffering now, but what they have suffered for the last fifty years. But it has occurred to me -- and it is considerable thought I have given to this -- that if the Jews of Russia and the Jews of Poland would not have been kept as a separate people by discriminatory laws, the prejudice and the persecution to which they have been subjected would not have reached the stage to which we all regret it has unfortunately come."

It is a fact that the Russian people have been poisoned with anti-Semitism by the government. The discriminatory laws directed against the Jews have singled them out to the Russian masses as an inferior people without rights, deprived of the protection of the government. Little by little the anti-Semitic disease kept infecting the Russian people, and as a result the various forms of pogroms broke out.

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May 22, 1916 --

Letter to Editor, American Hebrew,
May 26, 1916, p.81

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

To the American Hebrew:

It has of late become apparent, even to the uninitiated, that there exists in certain quarters a systematic policy, of directing a series of attacks of the most virulent character against the American Jewish Committee. Wilful misrepresentation, petty misinterpretation and

and manufactured falsehoods are the weapons employed. It is a sad commentary upon conditions in American Jewry. A common foe confronts us, a cataclysm of misfortune and misery is overwhelming our brethren in Eastern Europe and yet there are those in this country who evince so little consideration of their own people, that they aim their missiles and sing their bitter song of hate, to accomplish, if they can, the destruction of those of their own household, who have been swayed by but one purpose, that of furthering the welfare of the Jews who dwell in exile. What a spectacle is now presented! What an exhibition of intolerance and malevolence! What an occasion for grief and despair! Even those who have at times disagreed with it, have hitherto credited the American Jewish Committee with unselfishness, with good intentions, with love and loyalty for their religious brethren throughout the world. Not one of its members has ever sought recognition or personal advantage or emolument. The organization has never craved power. It has sought only to serve according to its lights, and to that end it has devoted time and thought and study, for many years, to aid in the solution of the serious problems affecting the Jews.

Its Immigration Work

Yet, though it has fought for the maintenance of the open door for the Jewish immigrant, and has thus far succeeded in its efforts in that direction, it has recently been charged by innuendo as favoring the so-called "grensperre" in Germany -- a malicious falsehood. Though its activity in bringing about the termination of the treaty with Russia has been universally recognized, the sole motive for its action is now declared to have been, the desire of some of its members to be enabled to take pleasure-trips to Russia. Its earnest hope that, during the pending conflict, the Jews of America should maintain a neutral attitude, has now been interpreted as an effort to help Russia to secure financial credit in the United States.

And now comes one who, under the name of Israel Goldberg, in a communication extensively published, sneers at the Committee for having petitioned Pope Benedict XV to succor the Jews of Poland, and subjecting the Papal Response to microscopic analysis, evolves an unworthy and ridiculous fiction in order to indulge in that propensity for destruction which is common to all children. Licking his chops, he declares that the response from the Vatican was not a Papal Bull, and proceeds to air what he has learned about Bulls from the Jewish Encyclopedia, a publication made possible by the members of the American Jewish Committee. But who of that Committee has said that it was a Bull? The only official statement ever made with regard to it, was issued simultaneously in Europe and America, as an introduction to the Petition and to the Papal response. It was carefully formulated, and before publication its terms were submitted to and approved by the Vatican. Lest they be forgotten, it is well to repeat them:

"The American Jewish Committee recently issued a booklet entitled 'The Jews in the Eastern War Zone,' which undertook to depict the cruelties and indignities to which the Jews have been subjected, especially in Poland. A copy was submitted to His Holiness Benedict XV, with a petition praying him to exert his powerful influence to ameliorate conditions. This has called forth a reply from the Holy See,

which is a virtual encyclical, and has been followed by directions to the Catholic clergy of Poland, admonishing them to use their best endeavors to put an end to the persecution which has prevailed."

Comment on the Pope's Letter

It was not, therefore, the American Jewish Committee that described the noble utterance of Pope Benedict XV as a virtual encyclical, nor was the Committee responsible for the statement that it was followed by an admonition to the Catholic clergy of Poland. Yet the insinuation is made by this super-critic, in the fulness of his ignorance, that the Committee, through its agents, (of whose existence it has no knowledge), has been engaged in making false and misleading statements concerning the Papal response, -- "the only voice that has come from the wilderness." It is significant that, of all the world, the only slur thus far heard has come from one who calls himself Israel. The press of France and of England have recognized the value and importance of this utterance. Even Drumont of *La Libre Parole*, the arch anti-Semite, has been appreciative of its true meaning. Retch, the official organ of the Constitutional Democratic Party in Russia, has just announced that "the petition of the American Jews to the Pope to hold the Jews in Poland has made a deep impression upon the press." The Catholics of America have made much of this episode.

But Mr. Goldberg is curious "to see exactly what the Polish clergy were asked to do." It is to be hoped that the time may come when the scales shall fall from his eyes. It would, however, be folly to suppose that this thirst for knowledge will be satisfied unless his critical faculty may once more be put into operation. He also notes that the Pope refrained from expressing himself concerning the special facts contained in the booklet "The Jews in the Eastern War Zone," which accompanied the petition submitted to him. Can anything be more naive?

Mr. Goldberg need entertain no fear that the American Jewish Committee in making this effort to help the Polish Jews, was seeking for self-glorification, or in anything that it has said or done it has so far forgotten itself as to make a bid for democratic support. (God save the mark!) Nor does it propose to depart from that "dignity and restraint and infrequency in its public appearances," with which this modern Balaam, to its intense gratification, credits it. Nor need he be disturbed by the fear that it will ever indulge in exaggeration when it has occasion to speak, or forget its sense of responsibility in whatever it may do. Would that those who are seeking to pick a quarrel with it, were as careful of their utterances and as sincere as it is, in their desire to contribute to the welfare of Judaism.

LOUIS MARSHALL¹⁸⁷

May 22d.

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May 24, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
May 26, 1916, p.76

BRANDEIS APPROVED BY SENATE COMMITTEE
(Special Correspondence)

WASHINGTON, D.C., May 24. -- The nomination of Louis D. Brandeis

as Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court was favorably reported today by the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. The vote was on strictly partisan lines and stood ten to eight. The matter will not go to the full Senate which is expected to consider the nomination at an executive session within the week.

Senators voting for confirmation were Culberson, Overman, Chilton, O'Gorman, Fletcher, Reed, Ashurst, Shields, Walsh and Smith of Georgia. Against confirmation were Clark of Wyoming, Nelson, Dillingham, Sutherland, Brandegee, Borah, Cummins and Works.

The action of the committee means that Brandeis will be confirmed. Senator Shields of Tennessee, Democrat, who hurried back to Washington to vote, was expected up to the last moment to vote against Brandeis. This would have made the situation a tie. Senator Shields, however, lined up with his Democratic colleagues and supported the nominations. All the Republicans were opposed to Brandeis. Senator Cummins was not present, but was recorded against him.

The Brandeis nomination has been pending in the Senate since January 28. Charles W. Eliot, president emeritus of Harvard, only a few days ago wrote a letter to the committee strongly urging confirmation. Secretary of War Baker appeared on the witness stand to ask for confirmation on the basis of Mr. Brandeis's efforts to establish social justice, and President Wilson recently wrote a personal letter to Chairman Culberson explaining the reasons for making the nomination and urging confirmation.

Editorial, American Hebrew,
June 9, 1916, p.148

THE FIRST JEW IN THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT

After a long and bitter opposition, inspired by questionable motives, directed by some of the forces of reaction, hidden prejudice and cowardly bigotry, Louis D. Brandeis was confirmed by more than two-thirds vote in the Senate to the bench of the highest tribunal in the greatest republic of the world.

The fight against Brandeis was bitter and energetic, because Brandeis has many powerful enemies. As the champion of the people he has incurred the wrath of "the big interests," whom he has fought fearlessly, courageously and masterfully. He has won many victories for the people, and every victory for the people brought him a number of new antagonists among the reactionaries. He has championed many daring measures for years. As we pointed out on a previous occasion he has preached social justice, not as an impractical radical, but as a practical idealist, which made him all the more dangerous in the eyes of those who fear innovations, who resist Reform, who resent new currents and tendencies in the social order of things. He has been feared and hated by the few and he has grown ever more beloved and popular among the masses of the American people.

In American Jewish life, he has made his impress rapidly and profoundly. He threw himself into Jewish activities with zeal and fire,

and brought with him his experience of leadership in American public life.

The opposition to Mr. Brandeis has been conducted with passion and prejudice. The investigation into his character and record as public man and lawyer has been so minute and so searching as to betray the real motives of those who fought his confirmation. But Mr. Brandeis has come out unscathed of this investigation, stronger through the new friends he has gained, stronger through the new enemies he has made.

The appointment of Louis D. Brandeis to the Supreme Court of the United States is a real triumph for American Israel and for true Americanism, and is the most effective blow to religious prejudice and other reactionary tendencies.

Mr. Brandeis, we are sure, will reflect glory upon the Jewish name throughout the world. He brings with him to the highest tribunal of justice in the United States, the wisdom, integrity and idealism of a great American and of a great Jew.

President Wilson deserves enthusiastic praise for his wise and courageous selection. He has dealt the powers of darkness and religious prejudice a staggering blow, and has added a vital power for good to the highest court in the republic.

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May 26, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
May 26, 1916, p.81

ANNUAL MEETING OF KEHILLAH DELEGATES

The Kehillah, Jewish Community, will hold its annual convention Saturday evening, June 3, and Sunday, June 4, in the auditorium of the Hebrew Technical School for Girls, Fifteenth street and Second avenue.

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May 27, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
June 2, 1916, p.127

DEATH OF MRS. LOUIS MARSHALL

Mrs. Florence Lowenstein Marshall, wife of Louis Marshall, died Saturday morning at her home, 47 East Seventy-second Street, after an illness of several weeks...

She was a sister-in-law of the Rev. Dr. J.L. Magnes, and in addition to her husband, is survived by three sons and a daughter.

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May 29, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
June 2, 1916, p.119

VOTE TO OPPOSE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

A conference of delegates and representatives from various Jewish organizations interested in the program of the next Kehillah convention (scheduled for June 3) was held on Monday evening (May 29) at Stuyvesant Casino, 142 Second Avenue. There were about 100 persons present. Mr. Leo Wolfson was elected chairman and Dr. B. Abramowitz was chosen as secretary.

After a lengthy discussion, the following resolutions were adopted:

"Resolved, that we attend the next convention of the Kehillah.

"That we move that the Kehillah sever its relations with the American Jewish Committee and that it take proper steps to that end.

"Resolved, that we move that the Kehillah Convention unqualified endorse the Jewish Congress.

"Resolved, that the members of the Executive Committee of the Kehillah be asked to resign as members of the American Jewish Committee.

"Resolved, that if the Convention refuses to sever relations with the American Jewish Committee or to take steps to that end that then and in that event only the delegates constituting this Conference shall leave the Convention of the Kehillah in a body."

It was decided to appoint a committee of five to draw up and to present to the Convention a resolution disavowing the utterance of Mr. Schiff with reference to the Jews of Russia at the Central Jewish Institute.

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June 1, 1916 --

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
June 1, 1916, p.8

AN ANGERED PEOPLE

Mr. Schiff's attack on Yiddish and on the separateness of the Russian Jews has thoroughly angered the vocal elements of New York. The Yiddish press writhes in anger, and it threatens a cleavage such as has not existed before. "In the near future" the Jews of America will "keep at a distance" from him. Protest meetings are to be organized at which it will be publicly declared that Mr. Schiff is no longer a Jewish leader, and that his utterances are an insult to American Jews.

Mr. Schiff has been weighed in the balance and found wanting because he said: "If the Jews in Russia and the Jews in Poland had not kept themselves apart, had not insisted on a separate language, the tragedies and the persecutions to which they have been subjected would not have reached such stages." Before saying this Mr. Schiff might well have prayed for Talleyrand's gift, which taught him how to be silent in seven tongues. Of course, Mr. Schiff is wrong as to the facts. As a descendant of Frankfort Jews he knows that segregation, separation, and the use of a special language were the effects of per-

secution not the cause. What is left of the old Frankfort Ghetto is a mute witness to four hundred years of such history. And the Pale of Settlement is nothing but a greater Frankfort Ghetto such as Mr. Schiff's ancestors only escaped from, thanks to the French example of emancipation and Napoleon's march on his ill-fated Russian campaign.

Israel Zangwill once told Mr. Schiff that at any time he wished to make money he would consult him, and in return he advised Mr. Schiff to consult him whenever he was minded to obtain advice on Jewish problems. Zangwill touched in this suggestion on a fundamental problem in Jewish affairs. Every Jew, whatever the profession or business, when called upon to speak in public, preaches or gives advice. The result is that alot of regrettable things are said, and plenty of things are done which have no logical relationship to what has gone before, or what will be the natural consequence of any particular act. Incidentally the men who fear the demagogue most, themselves make the readiest blunders, because they do no more careful thinking than the demagogue, but are given the platform moreoften and are quoted by the newspapers.

The storm provoked by Mr. Schiff brings out something that all men should clearly understand. Whoever would play the role of statesman must prove his worthy by demonstrating that he understands the psychology, of his people. After all the intimacy with Jewish masses resulting from his wonderful philanthropy Mr. Schiff does not seem to have gotten under the skin of his fellow-Jews. Hence his leadership fails not as a result of fulmination against his blundering sentences. He is not the leader of those for whom he would be world-spokesman because he does not speak their thoughts and ideas.

Mr. Schiff can, on the other hand, well say: Lord save me from my friends. On Friday last they issued a "stenoographic report" of the speech delivered the previous Sunday. Of course the "stenographic" version was intended to prove that Mr. Schiff had not said what the New York "Times" reported him as saying in its issue of May 22d. But no one is convinced. The facts stack too much the other way. Mr. Schiff spoke on May 21st, was reported in a friendly daily on the 22d and offered no correction -- has offered none since. The columns of the

"Times" are wide open to him. Had he felt he was misreported he would have corrected himself and the "Times" would have gladly corrected his statement. Mr. Schiff, to his credit, has been silent since he made his initial blunder. As for the revised version, it reads foolish, and sounds senseless. It destroys the logic of the whole of Mr. Schiff's thought which was clear enough. Mr. Schiff has come to conceive himself as the Simon Pure American Jew who must denounce everything that is not in his doxy. He has developed into a somewhat excited assimilator who practically tells the Jews: If you had only assimilated one hundred years ago I should not have to bother about you today.

Of three things, Mr. Schiff's blunder, the excitement of the East Side of New York, or the flunkerish conceived "stenographic report" the last is surely the worst, and most depressing sign of the mental condition of a part of Jewry.

June 3-4, 1916 --

Excerpts from News Item, American Hebrew,
June 7, 1916, p.142

THE KEHILLAH CONVENTION

Delegates at Notable Gathering Uphold Administration of Local Body --
Touching Address by Mr. Schiff

The unexpected declaration of Mr. Jacob H. Schiff that he would withdraw from active participation in Jewish political affairs, the overwhelming vote of confidence that followed his "valedictory," and the quick decision of the delegates not to discuss the Congress question nor to sever their relation with the American Jewish Committee, were several notable episodes in the most eventful convention ever held by the New York Kehillah.

The seventh annual meeting, which was held in the auditorium of the Hebrew Technical School for Girls Saturday evening and all day Sunday, had been looked forward to with much interest because of a threatened schism that had been heralded by a group of Zionists and Nationalists. In a printed appeal which they distributed, they called upon the delegates "to free the Kehillah from the shackles of the American Jewish Committee by severing its relations of the Kehillah with the present Congress movement. On both of these questions the opposition was effectively routed by large majorities, the delegates deciding to confine themselves to the business of the Kehilla proper....

The Congress question was the next subject on the calendar.

The minority group, led by Leo Wolfson and Louis Lipsky, had brought in a resolution that the convention endorse the American Jewish Committee and affiliate itself with the local Congress committee. The resolutions committee, of which Isidore Hershfield was chairman, proposed as a substitute a resolution favoring a Congress. A short discussion followed.

Samuel Dorf, Grand Master of the Order Brith Abraham, declared that it was understood that the Kehillah would confine itself to local matters and refer National matters to the American Jewish Committee, of which it is a constituent members. Cyrus L. Sulzberger held that the Kehillah could only recommend to the American Jewish Committee and that constitutionally it could not bind the American Jewish Committee by its action. Mr. Lipsky then asserted that, as the Congress question could only be discussed academically by the delegates, all motions and resolutions on the subject were out of order.

Decide Against Congress Question

Dr. Magnes put the question before the delegates and they decided by a large majority that the Congress matter should not be a subject for discussion by the convention.

Then came the question of severing the Kehillah from the American Jewish Committee. A resolution to that effect was brought before the convention, but on motion of Mr. Sulzberger the entire matter was laid on the table by a large vote. The action on the Congress question and on the relations with the American Jewish Committee took the wind out of the opposition and they had nothing left but to withdraw from the convention. This several of the leading members did, but not till they had had their quota of speeches at the afternoon session....

June 5, 1916 --

News Item, American Hebrew,
June 9, 1916, p.159

JUSTICE BRANDEIS SWORN IN

WASHINGTON, D.C., June 5th. -- Louis D. Brandeis, the first Jew to be elevated to the United States Supreme Court Bench was officially sworn in as Associate Justice of that body today. He took his oath of office at noon. It was administered by Chief Justice White.

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June 6, 1916 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
June 9, 1916, p.149

JACOB H. SCHIFF'S VALEDICTORY

(Editorial in New York "World," Today, June 6)

The dramatic valedictory of Jacob H. Schiff as a public champion of his race in America and the shameful manner in which it was forced deserve the attention of the entire community.

In brief words Mr. Schiff alluded in his Kehillah address to his services to co-religionists. Others are estimating them now, as he cannot. They have been literally unequalled. And now, because a faction differs from him as to Jewish policy in this country, it turns malignantly upon him, wrests from words he never uttered meanings which he never intended, and drives him from the public-spirited work which should have earned only gratitude and honor.

In their view of Jewish policy, Mr. Schiff and those who stand with him seem right. They should be right; they act upon the best information at a time of great difficulty, when more than half the Jewish race is divided into warring camps abroad; when at home the American public has been driven by German arrogance to an unusually critical attitude toward all that suggests separatism within the Republic.

Whether he is right or wrong, can a man be driven from a public life devoted to his race by an appeal to that race based upon a dishonest perversion of his own words, a misrepresentation even of his very thought? It will be strange indeed and disheartening if the seeming triumph of his enemies fails of most emphatic rebuke.

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June 7, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Advocate,
June 15, 1916, p.8

CORRESPONDENCE

Open Letter to Judge Leon Sanders

Hon. Leon Sanders, Grand Master,
Independent Order B'rith Abraham
220 Broadway, New York City, N.Y.

Dear Sir and Bro.: --

I am informed by officials of the Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress Association for the Middle West that you have accepted, on behalf of the Order, an invitation to take part in a conference called by the American Jewish Committee to take place in the near future. As the sole representative of the 7500 members of the Order in Chicago on its Executive Board, duly elected and properly accredited, I protest against your action.

You were the representative of the entire order at the Philadelphia Conference, and were honored with its temporary chairmanship, and, you must be aware that the American Jewish Committee, at its coming meeting, is likely to attempt to discredit, as it has done in the past, this National Democratic Jewish Organization, conceived and successfully brought to its high place in the confidence of the masses of our co-religionists under the leadership of that distinguished American Jew, Louis D. Brandeis.

While I am sure that they cannot succeed in destroying the seeds, by this time planted in the hearts of the Jews of America which have brought such splendid results, yet yourself, by accepting this invitation, are repudiating your own previous acts, and may help to a certain degree to injure the cause of the Movement, regardless of what may transpire at your conference.

The American Jewish Committee consisting as they do individually of splendid examples of American Judaism and philanthropy, should be among the first to accept the decisions of the Philadelphia Conference and thereby attest their loyalty to the common cause without leading a counter-movement which can only result in division and weakening of Jewish forces. They should on the contrary, join us in a body to make the Congress Movement an assured success. We are all willing and anxious to join hands with them, and I for one, am willing that leadership should be committed to them, provided they will agree to abide by the democratic principles of the movement.

No other national conference is necessary, and it seems to me that you are in honor bound, both in justice to yourself, to your Order and to the Congress Movement of which you have been a leader, to decline this invitation, as our opponents will acclaim your acceptance of the American Jewish Committee, and as a defection from our ranks.

I am, Fraternally yours,

E.B. VOYNOW

June 7th, 1916, Chicago, Ill.

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June 9, 1916 --

Editorial, American Hebrew,
June 9, 1916, p.118

[The American Jewish Committee was very well satisfied with its

now well-behaved child, the New York Kehillah.]

THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF NEW YORK

The Kehillah Convention held last Sunday may be regarded as the beginning of the formation of a real Jewish Kehillah in New York. During the seven years of its existence Dr. Magnes, the head of the organization, has quietly accomplished a large number of important matters for the Jews of New York. In the various departments of the Kehillah valuable work has been done. The report of the activities and the problems of the Bureau of Jewish Education, which we publish in this issue, and the review of the other work done, show worthy achievement and constructive effort for still greater achievement.

Now that the storm which has gathered over the Kehillah has spent itself, now that the Jewish Congress question and other problems not within the province of the Kehillah, are no longer to occupy its attention, it is hoped that it will concentrate on the many questions of local importance that must be dealt with by such an institution. The problems are many, the scope of the Kehillah is vast, and the work is waiting to be done.

In Dr. J. L. Magnes the Jewish community of New York has an ideal leader. By his earnestness of purpose, by his intense Jewishness, by his idealism and great ability as an organizer and by his brilliancy as an orator, he towers head and shoulders above any of the younger leaders in American Jewry. It was a colossal task to convince the Jews of New York, amidst the multiplicity of their interests, that a Kehillah was essential. Now that Dr. Magnes has succeeded in convincing them of this, he has before him the great task of making the organization ever more popular and truly representative.

We have faith in Dr. Magnes' leadership and in his ability. With the help of the earnest Jews of New York he should be able to build a Kehillah worthy of the greatest Jewish centre the world has ever known.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
June 9, 1916, pp.148-149

MR. SCHIFF AND HIS SLANDERS

The atmosphere has been cleared by the storm.

Because of a misquotation of Mr. Schiff's speech in the secular press, some of the Yiddish newspapers commenced a campaign of malicious misrepresentation and vituperative attacks upon Mr. Schiff.

Mr. Schiff was accused of justifying the Russian Government for its policy of persecution of the Jews. One of the newspapers went as far as to publish in Yiddish and distribute also in English translation an hysterical, mediaeval appeal calling upon the Jewish masses to "ex-communicate" Mr. Schiff, practically threatening him, declaring that he deserved whatever might happen to him.

Even after the publication of the stenographic report, showing that Mr. Schiff had never said the words attributed to him, the campaign against him was continued in the same slanderous manner.

Last Sunday Mr. Schiff came to the Kehillah Convention, where the "opposition" was ready not only to censure Mr. Schiff but also to disrupt the Kehillah. Mr. Schiff asked for the privilege of addressing the delegates. What he said constituted the most dramatic episode in Jewish meetings in many years. Deeply moved, he told in a straightforward way what had happened; how he was being attacked for words he had not uttered and for sentiments he had not expressed. There were tears in his voice when he asked:

"Whosoever can assert that for the time he knows me, or who knows of me, I have ever denied myself to my people, have denied myself to their wants, have denied myself to any cause, that I have waited until Jewish problems, have been brought to me instead of going after them in my desire to co-operate, that I have not given not only of my means, but day in and day out -- and I may say night in and night out -- have not given of myself, let him rise and accuse me."

No one rose to accuse Mr. Schiff, because all know that what he said was the truth. Mr. Schiff's records of achievements for the Jewish people need no defense. It is a record of glory of which any Jew throughout the world might be proud.

The enthusiasm with which the delegates of the Kehillah Convention expressed their confidence in Mr. Schiff indicated that the representatives of the various organizations believed him. It was a remarkable demonstration against the unscrupulous accusations made for the purpose of discrediting one of the greatest Jews of our age.

While there may have been a few people who really believed that Mr. Schiff had made the damaging statement attributed to him in some of the newspapers, most of those who attacked him were inspired by selfish motives, by the desire to make capital of the incident for their own purposes, and, therefore, did not try to find out the truth, nor were they prompted by any desire to serve the interests of the Jewish people, as they claimed. Thought it is a pity that the incident has been dragged into the general press, it has, nevertheless, served a good purpose. People will realize now the depths of depravity to which the irresponsible portion of the Yiddish press can sink, and will pay no heed to the scandalous misrepresentations these newspapers are heaping from time to time upon important and responsible people and organizations.

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Letter, Jewish Advocate,
June 29, 1916, p.3

SANDERS VS. VOYNOW

Mr. E. Voynow
829 Edison Building
72 West Adams Street
Chicago, Illinois

Dear Sir: --

"I have read with a great deal of interest your letter of the 7th instant, and were it not for the fact that you are an old friend of mine, I would have ignored it without making any reply.

"It seems to me that you do not understand the position that I have taken. I am just as much in favor of a Congress organized on democratic lines as I have ever been. I am opposed to division in the ranks of our people. It is my purpose to use whatever power I possess and whatever influence I have to bring about a union between the two factions in American Jewry. If there must be a split, I for one would not be a party to it. I would rather take my hands off the whole business and stand aside and let responsibility fall upon the shoulders of the so-called leaders in both camps.

"I appreciate, as you perhaps do not, that a split in our ranks will not only prevent our serving our brethren on the other side, but will bring untold misery to those of us who have made America their homes, and who hope to establish a future for their children here.

"Before you are ready to condemn, watch my actions; in the end you will see that I will bring about peace, even though it may be necessary to depose and put aside our self appointed leaders, who are possessed with a great deal of hindsight, but apparently no foresight.

Yours very truly,

(Signed) LEON SANDERS

New York, June 9th, 1916.

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June 12, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Advocate,
June 15, 1916, p.1

FRIEDENWALD RESIGNS FROM AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

Founder Withdraws Because "A.J.C." has Forfeited Confidence of the People
The First Case on Record

We have been asked to publish the following letter which explains itself:

To the American Jewish Committee:
Gentlemen:

It is with regret that I herewith resign my membership in the American Jewish Committee. I have been a member of this Committee since its inception; I was present at the meeting at which it was created. It was stated recently by the chairman of the Executive Committee that the American Jewish Committee grew out of a suggestion made by me as the result of a meeting of a number of gentlemen called together at my home after the Kishineff pogroms. My interest in the activities of the Committee has at all times been great, and I have always been loyal in supporting and serving the Committee to the extent of my ability. I regard the work of the Committee in the past as very creditable, and it is a source of satisfaction that I was able to take even a small part in this service.

Since the beginning of the war, however, it has become increasingly manifest that the methods of the Committee were inadequate and that

the Committee was not what it professed to be, a body representative of American Jews, voicing their sentiments and their wishes and carrying out their will. The Committee deliberately closed its ears to popular demands and frowned upon the expression of the views of the people; views which did not coincide, it is true, with those of the Committee, or more properly speaking, of a few gentlemen who took upon themselves the solution of all our problems and trusted themselves with the sole care of the future of our people.

No matter how seriously they may have regarded their work, no matter how great their means to carry out this work in ordinary times, no matter how high their social position, how great their political influence or their financial resources, the people expressed their lack of confidence; and at the same time they voiced their desire to participate in the solution of their own problems.

I hoped that the Committee would recognize the justice of the popular demand, that they would realize, as I have through intimate contact with the people, that it was a real demand of the people, that it was a real demand of the people, and not, as they have repeatedly charged, a cry of demagogues; and that they would establish a union of effort and would help bring about harmony of action. I remained a member of the Committee, hoping that the occasion might arise when I might be of service in bringing about this harmon. These hopes, I regret, were futile.

The course followed by the Committee and its officers has accentuated the division in American Israel. The lines have been drawn sharply between that comfortable class, more or less indifferent to the situation of our brethren in foreign lands, and the great mass of Jewry which feels in every fibre its oneness with its suffering brethren with whom it is bound together by the closest family, bonds.

The comfortable class is quite ready to let the American Jewish Committee do as it deems fit, is glad to be rid of annoying responsibility, and is even willing to pay its tax to be relieved of all concern.

The masses cannot assume this attitude of indifference. It is their deep concern! Like an anxious mother at the bedside of her sick child, they are not willing to be silenced and are not satisfied with an indifferent answer that nothing need be done. Something must be done -- the best and the wisest counsel must be sought! The American Jewish Committee has forfeited their confidence. It lay in the power of the Committee to prevent this schism; the Committee could later have healed the breach had it made an earnest effort to understand the people, instead of looking with contempt on "so-called democratic support."

The issue has become clearer and clearer. A class of Jewry is ranged against the overwhelming masses -- the unorganized masses which have so long been silent. I see no likelihood that they will become united in the near future. I wish to remove all doubt as to which side has my sympathy. Those of us who feel that their life is part of the throbbing, anxious, suffering Jewish life, belong to that body which is now seeking self-expression in the Congress movement. I find no difficulty in making my choice. I am obliged to resign from the American Jewish Committee.

Very truly yours,
HARRY FRIEDENWALD

June 14, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Advocate,
June 29, 1916, p.3

Hon. Leon Sanders
Grand Master, I.O.E.A.
220 Broadway, New York.

Dear Sir: --

I have in hand your letter of the 9th in reply to mine of the 7th. You state that were it not for the fact that I was an old friend of yours, you would have ignored my letter without making any reply. Were it not for the fact that you are the official head of the Order of which I am a member and to which I am greatly attached, I would have ignored your action with regard to the American Jewish Committee, notwithstanding our old friendship.

"I regret exceedingly that I cannot agree with you that there is justification for the action you have seen fit to take. You state now that you are opposed to a division in the ranks of our people, and that your acceptance of the invitation of the American Jewish Committee is for the purpose of bringing about a union; that if there must be a split, you will not be a party to it. Permit me to say that under all recognized rules of honor, as I understand them, the day before the Philadelphia Conference was the last day on which any such consideration should have been permitted. By taking part in that Conference, accepting honors from it, and a place on its Executive Board, you have precluded yourself from in any way co-operating with an organization that aims to keep up the split that you say you wish to avoid. Let me quote to you from a letter of yours to me dated August 27th, 1915:

"The Executive Board has not yet acted upon the invitation of the American Jewish Committee to attend the Congress in October. Our Executive Board will act upon this matter at its next meeting. Personally I am frank to admit that I should oppose the sending of any delegation to this Conference because it would be lending our support to a movement which has created a split in American Jewry."

"If this was true then, it is much truer today. The Congress Organization has since then been steadily going ahead with the work of endeavoring to unite all Jewry, and the American Jewish Committee has as steadily pursued its course of division and obstruction.

"You state in your letter of the 9th, that if there must be a split, you would not be a party to it; that you would rather take your hands off the whole business and stand aside and let the responsibility fall upon the shoulders of others. This is not a statement that should come from a strong man or a leader. It is weakness and surrender. The times require leadership, steadfastness and unyielding loyalty. True leadership cannot carry water on both shoulders. The time for negotiation is past as had been declared by the Philadelphia platform. Where Brandeis has failed, you cannot succeed.

"I take it from your letter that you intend to persist in your course of endeavoring to preserve neutrality where neutrality is impossible, and where you have by all the known rules of honor, committed yourself against such neutrality. I now consider it my duty

to do all that is in my power to see to it that when you do speak, you speak without the authority of the great Order in whose name you are assuming to speak, at least, so far as concerns the membership of that Order in the Middle West.

Yours very truly,
(Signed) E. B. VOYNOW

Chicago, June 14th, 1916.

June 16, 1916 --

Call to Hotel Astor Conference, American
Jewish Committee, Tenth Annual Report,
New York, 1917, p.12-13

NEW YORK CITY

Gentlemen:

The organizations subscribing hereto have agreed to convene a conference of national Jewish organizations, at the Hotel Astor, in the city of New York, on Sunday, July 16, 1916, at 10 o'clock in the forenoon of that day, for the purpose of considering measures, including the discussion of propositions that may be presented relative to the organization of a Jewish Congress, to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them; it being understood that the phrase "full rights" is to be deemed to include civil, religious, and political rights, and, in addition thereto, wherever the various peoples of any land are recognized as having separate group rights, the conferring upon the Jews thereof of such rights, if desired by them.

Appended hereto is the list of organizations invited and the number of delegates allotted to them respectively. You will note that your organization is entitled to -- delegates. Please be good enough to inform us whether your organization will take part in this conference, and if so, who its representatives are to be, addressing your reply, for mutual convenience, to the office of the American Jewish Committee, 356 Second Avenue, New York City, on or before July 10, 1916.

Very sincerely yours,
The American Jewish Committee,
The Central Conference of American Rabbis,
The Council of Jewish Women,
The Independent Order Free Sons of Israel,
The National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights,
The Order B'rith Abraham,
The Union of American Hebrew Congregations,
The United Synagogue of America.

June 16, 1916 --

Excerpt from Editorial, American Hebrew,
June 16, 1916, p.180

THE NEW PERIL AND THE OLD

...If the Jews of America want a Jewish congress to confer on the tragedy that has befallen the Jewish people, abroad, to formulate our case and try to secure full rights wherever we have no such rights, let us have a Jewish Congress by all means. But such a congress must be representative of the best minds and the noblest hearts in American Israel. Such a congress should speak in terms that the world will understand, that will command universal respect and gain the co-operation of all friends of justice for the Jew.

An American Jewish Congress must be worthy of American Israel and must have the sympathy of American public opinion.

The enemies of the Jewish people are preparing. They are working systematically. The Russian Government demoralized as it is in almost every domain, is supremely efficient in Jew-baiting, in devising new contrivances for anti-Jewish persecutions.

By our internal conflicts we are only helping the Russian Government to crush our brethren and to shatter their hopes even after the war.

If we are powerful to help the Jewish cause, let us at least not injure it. If we cannot unite all our forces even for the purpose of asking Justice for the Jew, how can we expect the Powers to recognize the demands presented by a people torn asunder by eternal internal dissension?

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June 20, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Advocate,
June 29, 1916, pp.1,6

ANSWER BACK BITTERLY

American Jewish Committee Responds in Open Letter to Dr. Harry Friedenwald

Adopt Acid Tone

The following letter, sent us for publication, is the answer of the American Jewish Committee to the letter of resignation published in our issue of June 15th: --

Doctor Harry Friedenwald,
1029 Madison Avenue
Baltimore, Md.

Dear Doctor Friedenwald:

Your letter of the 12th instant, resigning membership in the American Jewish Committee and its publication before the Executive Committee

could give it consideration, call for comment which the undersigned jointly make upon their official responsibility.

The opening paragraph ascribing to the Chairman of the Executive Committee the statement that the Committee was the outcome of a meeting called at your home is an error. Such a statement was never made though no doubt you misunderstood what was said upon the occasion referred to.

You have, however, correctly enough said that you have been a members of the Committee since its inception; that you regard its past work as very creditable and that your participation in the services which it has rendered has been a source of satisfaction to you. Notwithstanding that fact, you permit yourself to attack the organization of which you had been a member, charge its officers with indifference to the woes of Israel, with belonging to what you are pleased to call the "comfortable class" and as responsible for a schism to the intensity of which you are now endeavoring to make an additional contribution.

You absented yourself from two meetings of the American Jewish Committee, one held in June 1915 and the other in May 1916, when the very important matters about which you are now so anxious were under special consideration. Moreover, upon the occasions when you were present you very rarely expressed any opinion of any sort and never presented any concrete proposition for the avoidance of that schism which every loyal Jew so greatly deplores. It seems to us that your action is calculated to destroy attempts at bringing about harmony and that at a critical time you have struck an unfair blow.

Do you think it fair to have indulged in the innuendo that the membership of the American Jewish Committee, who disregarding their comfort and their convenience and at great personal sacrifice have fought the battles of Jewry, are now indifferent to the sufferings of their brethren? Are you aware that, at the very moment when you wrote your invective, there were incorporated into the platforms of the three great political parties of this country, provisions which not only reiterated the declarations made by them in 1912 with respect to the conditions "sine qua non" upon which a new treaty should be entered into with Russia, but likewise gave expression to a policy which pledges our Government to such action as will tend to assure full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land?

The Republican platform declares:

"We unite in the cherished hope that the war which is now desolating the world may speedily end, with a complete and lasting restoration of brotherhood among the nations of the earth and the assurance of full equal rights, civil and religious, to all men in every land."

The Progressive platform declares:

"Whatever our country can legitimately do to attain peace for war-stricken Europe and to aid in the procurement of equal rights without discrimination because of race or creed to all men in all lands should be done."

The Democratic platform proclaims:

"At the earliest practical opportunity our country should strive earnestly for peace among the warring nations of Europe and seek to bring about the adoption of the fundamental principle of justice and humanity, that all men shall enjoy equality of right and freedom from discrimination in the lands wherein they dwell."

How do you suppose these provisions became a part of the tenets of the several political parties of this country? Do you believe that they who were responsible had no understanding of and sympathy for "the throbbing, anxious, suffering Jewish life"?

You and your new found associates, some of whom have but very recently discovered that they were Jews, seem to have fallen into the strange error of supporting that the people on whose behalf we are concerned in the present crisis live in the United States. It is the people who suffer in the war some and who live in lands of oppression whom we desire to rescue. Never has a whisper been heard that they repudiate or even criticize the American Jewish Committee or its work. Those you claim to represent live in this country, but, as a majority of them originate from Russia and other lands of misery, you with them assume that because they are personally nearer to the problem they are better fitted to solve it. The feeling may be natural, but this fact does not prove that the judgment of those who entertain it is infallible or even reasonable.

The grave problem before us is simple. Its practical solution is the difficulty. Up to this point, you and your associates instead of calmly in conference addressing yourself to the solution have expended a great part of your energies in forming combinations and take steps deliberately designed to destroy the American Jewish Committee. Your conscience doubtless approves this course.

If the members of the Committee did represent the comfortable class and were a part of it, your solution could be readily approved by them. But though their voices may not have been so loud with respect to the misery of their brethren they cannot forbear efforts to relieve it and no abuse, calumny or misrepresentation will cause them to abandon a duty to which they have devoted themselves. To take the action which you have taken would seem to the great majority of the members of the Committee an ignoble shirking of individual and communal duty and a betrayal of Judaism and of common humanity.

The American Jewish Committee with other national organizations is about to make another attempt to bring together in conference all of the established national Jewish organizations willing to confer, with a view to consider measures to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands and the abrogation of laws discriminating against them, including a discussion of propositions that may be presented relative to the organization of a Jewish congress.

If you are genuinely distressed about the schism in American Jewry and you think, as we do, that union is essential for the welfare of our brethren in Europe and Asia; if you are not moved by a mere desire of destruction and of the repudiation of men with whom for many years you have served in this cause and in many other Jewish causes, you still have the opportunity to return to the views which you held only a year ago and do your part toward healing a breach which can only injure the Jews in America, whom you claim to represent, and do inestimable harm to the Jews of Europe and Asia whom it is our sole purpose to serve.

Very truly yours,
 LOUIS MARSHALL, President
 CYRUS ADLER, Chairman

June 21, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Congress Bulletin,
Vol. I, No. 2, July 1916, p. 4

THE CARNEGIE HALL MASS MEETING

Our second Carnegie Hall mass meeting in the interests of Jewish rights and the Congress proved to be a tremendous success, and June 21 will hereafter be associated in Jewish Congress history with two other significant dates, namely, January 24, 1916 and August 19, 1915, which were the dates of the two other large demonstrations held in this city in the furtherance of our movement.

The enthusiasm which prevailed at the mass meeting of June 21 was similar to that which manifested itself at the great Cooper Union demonstration of last August. Nathan Straus, Esq., presided and eloquent and stirring addresses were delivered by Dr. Stephen S. Wise, Judge Hugo Pam of Chicago, Rabbi Max Heller of New Orleans, Dr. Harry Friedenwald of Baltimore, Prof. H. M. Kallen of Madison, Wisconsin, Mr. Julius I. Peyser of Washington, D.C., and Rev. Dr. Bernard Drachman, Joseph Barondess, Esq., B. Zuckerman, Esq., and Dr. Chaim Zhitlowsky. An especially notable utterance was the address of Dr. Wise which was reported in several newspapers.

June 22, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
June 29, 1916, p. 1

CONGRESS COMMITTEE DECLINES A.J.C. INVITATION TO CONFERENCE

Mr. de Haas' Plan of Commissions to Study Jewish Conditions in Europe Unanimously Adopted

Justice Brandeis, Pam and Sanders to Explain Attitude

A meeting of the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress was held in the offices of Mr. Nathan Straus, Aeolian Hall Building, Thursday, June 22d, the first session being held in the afternoon and the second in the evening. Justice Louis D. Brandeis presided and among those present were members from New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Newark, Washington, Chicago and Madison, Wis.

The Secretary presented a report of the recent activities of the Organization and of correspondence carried on with various affiliated and unaffiliated organizations. A communication was presented from the American Jewish Committee and other organizations which had called a Conference for July 16th, to consider the question of Jewish rights and of the holding of a Congress. After a lengthy discussion in which most of the members took part, the following resolutions were adopted:

1. That the invitation of the American Jewish Committee and other organizations to this body to attend a conference to be held at the

July 16th be declined.

2. That it is the sense of this meeting that no organization affiliated with the Congress Organization be officially represented at the said conference.

3. That it is the sense of this body that we regret the action of any organizations that have already voted to send delegates to the conference and we hope that such organizations will rescind their decisions.

4. That the American Jewish Committee and other organizations be notified further in answer to their invitation that a Committee of Three has been appointed by this Organization, which will be ready to attend their conference, if invited, to lay before the delegates there assembled the views of this Organization.

The Committee of Three is to consist of the following: Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Hugo Pam, and former Judge Leon Saniers.

Reports on methods of election to the Jewish Congress were presented in behalf of the Electoral Committee by Professor Isaac A. Hourwich and Mr. Jacob de Haas. After considerable discussion, both reports were referred back to the Committee for further elaboration with instructions to report to the next meeting.

Reporting for the Committee on Plan and Scope, Mr. de Haas presented a plan of a series of commission which are to make studies of Jewish conditions in European and other countries. This plan, an outline of which has already been published, was unanimously adopted. The Committee on Plan and Scope also presented a list of the names to serve on the various commissions. This list was accepted and the Committee on Plan and Scope was given power to make several additions.

A tentative budget was presented in behalf of the Administrative Committee. On motion it was decided to refer this budget to the New Finance Committee to be appointed, and which together with the Administrative Committee is to have charge of all immediate financial matters.

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June 23, 1916 --

News Item, Jewish Advocate,
June 29, 1916, p.1

PROF. FRANKFURTER ALSO RESIGNS

American Jewish Committee Does Not Represent His Opinions

Democratic Issue

Prof. Felix Frankfurter has resigned from the American Jewish Committee. His letter of resignation follows: --

My dear Mr. Marshall:

Dr. Friedenwald's letter of resignation and your answer thereto reveal a radical difference of attitude, a real clash of ideas, if not ideals, towards Jewish problems, to the solution of which both the American Jewish Committee and Dr. Friedenwald are whole heartedly devoted. These letters breathe certain underlying spirits, defined hopes

the conviction that disinterested devotion on the part of a few, even if resulting in certain concessions at home or abroad does not answer to the needs of the days ahead; that the great problem is to mould an opinion of the Jews throughout the land, particularly the great masses of more recent immigration, so that the wisdom and the sacrifice of all Jewry may be embodied in action. Democracy is not a political fetish, but a ruling faith that the Jews in America must think their own thoughts, make their collective personal sacrifice, express their own will, choose their own leaders, if the Jews in America are ever to reach self-respect that entitles them to be heard and the weight that will give them a hearing, here and abroad.

So conceiving the issue, and finding myself in thorough accord with Dr. Friedenwald, there is no choice left me but to resign from the American Jewish Committee. I realize that I have been a delinquent member, that I have had but paper participation with the Committee since my election to it. That default, however, in no wise relieves me from acting on the grave issues of the present. The least that one can do is to give utterance to one's opinion. I regret to be compelled to say the American Jewish Committee does not represent mine.

Sincerely yours,
(Signed) FELIX FRANKFURTER
Law School of Harvard University
Cambridge, Mass., June 23d, 1916

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News Item, Jewish Advocate,
June 29, 1916, pp. 1, 5

I.O.B. NOT TO ATTEND A.J.C. CONFERENCE

To Send Commission to European Governments

Decided at N.Y. Meeting

The B'nai B'rith has refused the invitation of the A.J.C. to take part in the American Jewish Committee Conference.

The Executive Committee of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith concluded on Friday, June 23rd, a two days session held at the New York B'nai B'rith headquarters, 2307 Broadway. There were present, President Adolf Kraus of Chicago; Simon Wolf of Washington, D.C.; Lucius L. Solomon of San Francisco; Joseph Furth of St. Louis; Charles Hartman of New York; Jacob Singer of Philadelphia; Rev. Dr. E.N. Calisch of Richmond, Va.; Philip Stein of Chicago; and the Executive Secretary, A.B. Seelenfreund. The Committee decided that the Order would not participate in either the projected conference or congress to be held by various Jewish bodies, for the reason that as an international organization it would be unwise in the spirit of its Constitution to commit the European membership to the action of an assemblage composed exclusively of American Jews. The important Jewish problems arising out of the oppression of the Jewish people in Russia and Roumania, accentuated by the consideration of the Committee and resulted in the adoption of a plan which it is hoped will answer the call of all human people for the granting of equal rights to Jews in the countries

where they are now grievously oppressed. The plan is embodied in the following resolutions, which were unanimously adopted and will be promptly carried into execution:

"Resolved, that in furtherance of the organic principles set forth in the Constitution and of its settled policy as heretofore consistently maintained, to secure full and equal rights for our co-religionists wherever denied or abridged, the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith appoint a Committee of two or more to visit European countries and place before the representatives of the various governments the claims of the Jewish people of the world for equal, civil and political rights.

"That said commissioners seek such co-operation abroad as in their judgment may be helpful to their mission, and likewise take such other course as may be found advisable to the premises:

"That they report progress from time to time to the Executive Committee, and that said Committee adopt and carry into effect such further and additional measures as may be necessary to obtain the end desired.

"Resolved, further, that we invite the co-operation of all other Jewish organizations, and of all Jews, individually, in support of the action hereby determined upon."

In addition to sums heretofore appropriated the Committee ordered \$5,000 for Roumanian relief.

Hon. Henry Morgenthau, ex-Ambassador of the United States to Turkey and member of the Order, was unanimously elected a member-at-large of the Executive Committee and accepted the office.

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News Item, New York Times,
June 24, 1916, p.7:2

TO AID RUMANIAN JEWS

Conference Proposes to Work for Equal Rights After War

At the request of President Adolph Kraus of the order B'nai B'rith, a committee of the American League of Rumanian Jews met in conference with him yesterday at the Hotel Astor, to arrange for a national and an international co-operative effort toward securing for the Jews in Rumania equal civil, economic, and political rights with the citizens of that country. Mr. Kraus informed the committee that he had received documents of the greatest importance concerning conditions of the Jews in Rumania, with suggestions for various plans of action in their behalf.

While the Jewish population, which comprises about 250,000 of the inhabitants of Rumania, chiefly in the northern part of the country, are not threatened with physical danger, they are persecuted in several forms under the civil laws. The Jews of Rumania have never been admitted to general citizenship, although there have been instances of this being accorded to a few as a special privilege, in recognition of some individual commercial importance or reward for personal benefactions.

In a general way it was pointed out at the conference that the old exclusive laws of Rumania were still being applied vigorously against the Jews, regardless of the long ancestry of many of them in the country, and under these laws the Jew generally has no better status in Rumania than a foreigner. Although deprived of all political rights the Jews are welcomed for service in the army of Rumania, but are never permitted to have a commission or rank to which their services may entitle them, it was said.

After the conference the committee announced that in co-operation with other organizations efforts would be made to bring the situation to the attention of the American people in the hope of enlisting their sympathy and interest in the project. Similar efforts are to be made by organizations in France, Switzerland, and Germany, all aiming to bring about the emancipation of the Rumanian Jew at the end of the European war.

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June 28, 1916 --

Letter, Jewish Congress Bulletin,
Vol. I, No. 2, July 1916, p.3

June 28, 1916

To the American Jewish Committee
and Other Organizations,
356 Second Avenue,
New York City.

Dear Sirs: Your communication of the 16th instant, inviting us to send delegates to a Conference which is to be held in this city on July 16 "for the purpose of considering measures, including the discussion of propositions that may be presented relative to the organization of a Jewish Congress, to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them" was presented to the Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress at its meeting held on June 22nd.

This Committee was constituted by the Preliminary Conference held in Philadelphia on March 26th and 27th, to which all Jewish organizations were invited and which adopted a definite program for the convening of a Jewish Congress on a democratic basis, to labor for the attainment of Jewish rights. Under the circumstances, we could not, without submitting the matter to our entire constituency of national and central organizations and city congress committees, consistently enter into a conference which proposes to consider anew the questions upon which we have already taken action. It is also clear that the organizations affiliated with the Congress movement, being bound by the decisions of the Preliminary Conference, cannot properly participate in proceedings which may seek to annul the program they adopted.

We accordingly decided to decline the invitation extended to us to take part in the conference called by the American Jewish Committee and other organizations. We decided further to appoint a Committee of

Three which, if invited, will be ready to attend your conference and to lay before the delegates there assembled the views of this organization. We beg to inform you also that the following were appointed on the Committee of Three: Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Hugo Pam, and former Judge Leon Sanders.

We shall be thankful to you for informing us as early as possible whether you desire to have our Committee appear before your conference in order that we may notify the members thereof sufficiently ahead of time to enable them to keep the engagement.

Yours respectfully,

EXECUTIVE ORGANIZATION COMMITTEE FOR AN AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS.

(Signed) BERNARD G. RICHARDS,
Secretary.

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July 2, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
July 3, 1916, p.9:4

DISCUSS ZIONIST POLICY

Convention Speakers Disagree Over the Congress Movement
(Special to the New York Times)

PHILADELPHIA, July 2. -- Five hundred delegates, representing virtually every part of the United States, assembled here today in the nineteenth annual convention of the Federation of American Zionists, and international organization that has for its aim the establishment of a home for the Jewish people in Palestine. From the moment that the first session was opened, in the South Broad Street Theatre, by Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, Chairman of the local Executive Committee, it was evident that the convention is divided into two factions, one satisfied with the administration of the last year, the other determined on a change of policy.

The contest will centre itself about the Jewish Congress movement which was recently organized in this country, of which Justice Louis D. Brandeis is one of the principal advocates. Dr. Cohen will lead the opposition, he indicated in his opening address. Appealing for peace and harmony at this critical time in the history of the Jewish people, he warned the delegates not to be swayed by the cries of democracy nor to estrange any element among the Jews in America. By this Dr. Cohen meant the American Jewish Committee, of which ex-Judge Sulzberger and Dr. Cyrus Adler of this city are members, which is antagonistic to the Congress movement.

Dr. Cohen was answered by Dr. Shmarya Levin, former member of the Russian Duma, who represents the Inner Actions Committee of the International organization. In a speech which evoked much applause he urged his hearers not to have anything to do with the American Jewish Committee. He told them that the fight was on, and that it must be fought to a finish.

Louis Edward Levy, President of the Jewish Community of Philadelphia, welcomed the delegates on behalf of the organization. Addresses also were made by Dr. DeSola Pool, Miss Henrietta Szold, Joseph Barondess, and Dr. L.S. Rubinschn of Philadelphia.

At a meeting of the provisional committee for Zionist affairs held this morning at Horticultural Hall it was announced that Rabbi Stephen Wise had been elected President of that body in the place of Justice Brandeis.

Nearly \$175,000 to aid the cause of Zionism was contributed at a mass meeting in the Metropolitan Opera House tonight. A tribute to Justice Brandeis who was throughout the day active in the deliberations and activities of the convention, caused a remarkable demonstration at the meeting. Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York, in addressing the gathering, said, in referring to Justice Brandeis:

"We rejoice not only because our leader has been chosen for one of the highest places of service to the American people, but because he has been chosen only after he has been tested as no other man in American history has been tested. We are rejoicing not because a Jew has been called to that service, but because a supremely noble Jew has been called to one of the great places of service to the Republic."

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July 3, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
July 4, 1916, p.9:6

FAVORS JEWISH CONGRESS

Zionist Convention Agrees to Participate in the Movement
(Special to the New York Times)

PHILADELPHIA, July 3.-- One of the stormiest debates in the history of the Zionist movement in America took place this morning at the convention of the Federation of American Zionists. The administration won over the opposition, which had made an effort to introduce a new policy for the organization. It was conceded to be a victory for Justice Louis D. Brandeis, since he was quite frank in his endorsement of the administration.

The question at issue was the Jewish Congress Movement. Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen and a number of delegates from New York desired to divorce the congress from the Zionist movement.

In the end the federation adopted a resolution recommending the participation of the federation in the Jewish Congress which will be held in New York in December.

Rabbi Margolis of Cleveland, who spoke on behalf of the resolutions committee, presented a majority report in which he upheld the stand taken by the administration in the last year. Frank Schechter presented resolutions on behalf of the minority.

Dr. Shmarya Levin, a former member of the Russian Duma and a member of the Zionist Committee, spoke on behalf of the international

organization, saying that it favored the congress.

Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Secretary of the federation, in reporting today, said that he believed the ultimate triumph of Zionism depended upon the rise of the great Jewish leader in Palestine.

"Irish home rule will never be won by demonstrations in New York and Chicago," he said, "and so Jewish home rule in Palestine can come only from the Jewish people in Palestine itself. We in America may help them with money and with influence, but in the long run Jewish national destiny will be determined by the Jewish population in Palestine."

The convention today pledged \$25,000 toward the establishment of an American hospital unit in Palestine. It also adopted resolutions favoring the formation of an international organization before the close of the European war.

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July 13, 1916 --

Editorial, Jewish Advocate,
July 13, 1916, p.8

THERE WILL BE PEACE

We venture the forecast that after the conference which the American Jewish Committee has convened for next Sunday, there will be peace in American Israel. That peace does not mean that there will be an end to differences of opinion, but that there will have come about which we have contended for since the Congress issue was first raised, unity in action.

The peace we see ahead is significant, not only for the Jews in America, but for the Jews throughout the world. Not one of all the peacemakers or pleaders for peace will have brought about this condition. The struggle which began seriously on May, 1915, will end in a clear and decisive victory for the Congress movement. The chief contributors to this success are the Congress Committee which recently put on a bold front by demanding that none of its affiliated organizations attend the conference called by the American Jewish Committee; and the Zionists, who last week showed by over four hundred to ten that they were united and determined to support the Congress.

Sensible men do not misunderstand or misinterpret such a demonstration as the Zionists made on the Congress question. When delegates coming from Oregon to Vermont, from California to Louisiana, idealists who have studied the Jewish question, decide so overwhelmingly in favor of a policy they accept a responsibility which those who have no positive principle at stake, will not lightly venture to deny. The vote at Philadelphia cleared the air. The mandate of the Zionist organization is positive. Those who have stood out will now join the Congress movement. Their allegiance will be the outcome of the American Jewish Committee's conference. There is, of course, the possible alternative that the conferees who will meet on July 16th will themselves divide, the majority going over to the Congress movement, the obdurate minority withdrawing from the conference and withholding all support of the Congress. It is doubtful whether this will happen, but even if it should

"Achdus" which many Jews desire is an impossible ideal. The Rabbis so understood it for they regarded it as improbable as the making of a rope from sand. All the Jews cannot be like-minded, and they should not be. What the war crisis, however, has demanded is the creation of definite and responsible Jewish leadership. That means organization and majority rule tempered by a proper consideration for the rights of the minority. This idea is so simple and so universal that only the chaos of the Diaspora prevented Jews understanding and working for it. All those who have trained themselves to think in terms other than those of the Golith at once seized upon this truth and have labored to this end.

The victory we see ahead will be theirs, but it will be much more a victory of the Jewish people, -- one in which all forces can rejoice. And the struggle has been a most healthy manifestation of the renewed and widespread interest in Jewish affairs. And nothing but struggle could bring that about. Indeed peace will be deplorable if it leads to the old time somnolence or complacency. However, that is not probable. Those who have stood out, and who will agree in their own way to come into the Congress movement will still have their own views on many serious phases of the Jewish problem. They will be welcome to contend for their views within the framework of the Congress, for it is by "campaigns of education" that understanding and responsibility are brought home. And enlightened decision and positive responsibility to the Jewish people are the fundamentals of the Congress movement.

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Excerpt from News Item, Jewish Advocate,
July 13, 1916, p.1

BELIEVED PEACE WILL RESULT AT SUNDAY'S A.J.C. CONFERENCE

No Organization Connected with Congress Organization
Committee will Participate Officially

Opposition to Congress Breaking

NEW YORK CITY, July 12th, 1916. There will either be peace or a redivision of the forces favoring and opposing the Congress movement. This is the forecast as to what is likely to happen on Sunday at the conference called by the American Jewish Committee and the Labor group, with Mr. Harry Cutler of Providence as Chairman, and Dr. Max Goldfarb of the Socialists as Secretary of the Arrangements Committee.

The situation is clearing. The discipline of the Congress Organization Committee has been effective. Not one of its constituents will be represented by delegates at the conference for the list of acceptants does not include the I.O.B.A., the attitude of which was in doubt a few weeks ago. The conference therefore is composed of the American Jewish Committee and seven organizations which it controls and four groups being a re-division of the Jewish Trade Unionists and Socialists, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, Council of Jewish Women and a few of the small fraternal orders, the most important of which is the Omdar Brith Abram.

The American Jewish Committee group held back so far on the congress question by making an issue of the date. The Socialist Labor group held back on a question of the program. The Socialists object strenuously against the Zionist movement being discussed in any form at the congress. On this issue they are likely to stand alone if they endeavor to maintain it. The Central Conference of American Rabbis, whose delegates are four bitter anti-Zionists, are pledged to accept the program with the nationalist features included. This was the unanimous decision of the conference at Wildwood, only Dr. Shulman being recorded as voting against.

The American Jewish Committee group of delegates will evidently seek peace and are therefore likely to meet the presentations made by the Congress Organizations which will be presented by Justice Brandeis, Judge Hugo Pam and Judge Sanders, in a friendly spirit. The real difficulty will be with Dr. Cyrus Adler, who represents the Jewish Theological Seminary and who is known to maintain his bitter opposition to the Congress movement.

However, even he must be, in a measure, affected by the circumstance that at the convention of the United Synagogue held last Sunday, despite his threats to resign, the delegates of the United Synagogue were instructed "to do everything in their power to bring about unity of action and in the event of unity of action not being secured the three delegates, Dr. Solomon Solis Cohen, Prof. Mordecai M. Kaplan and Rabbi Jacob Kohn are to report back so that the United Synagogue shall not be bound by the action of the conference of July the 16th."

Plainly, excluding the Workmens' Group and Dr. Adler personally, no representative group can be in line against the Congress movement....

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July 14, 1916 -

Editorial, American Hebrew,
July 14, 1916, p.308

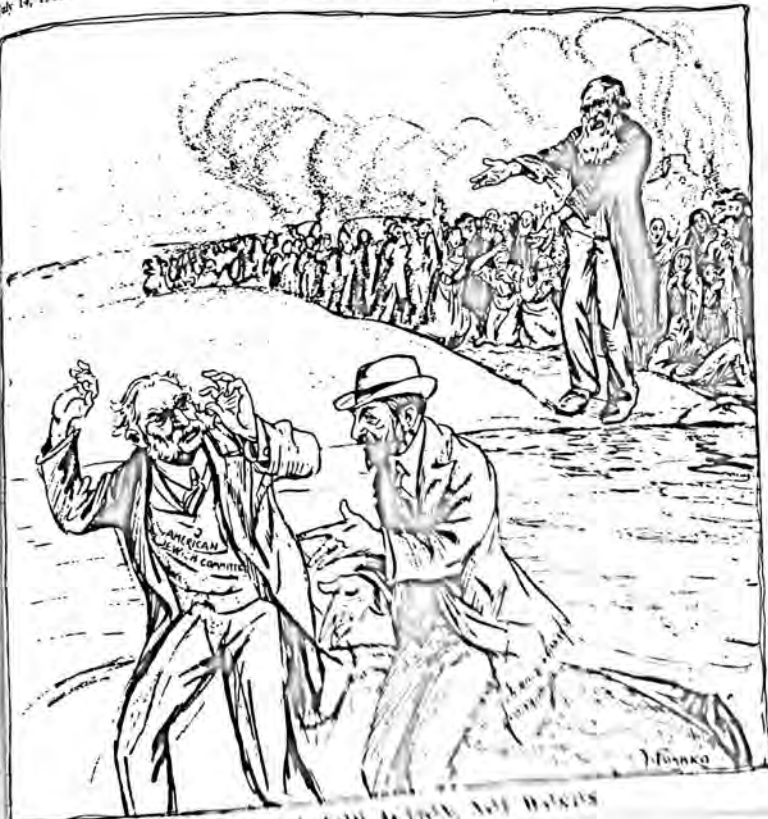
THE COMING CONFERENCE

On Sunday, July 16, the conference called by the American Jewish Committee, together with other national organizations, will be held for the purpose of considering measures to secure equal rights for the Jewish people in all lands and in the name of the entire American Jewry.

The Congress Committee has selected a special committee of three, Justice Louis D. Brandeis, Judge Hugo Pam, of Chicago, and former Judge Leon Sanders, to appear before the Conference and present the side of the Congress movement for the purpose of uniting the factions that are at present divided.

All the Jews of America who have the cause of their brethren at heart are eager to help European Israel in distress. Those who have for many years done effective and important work in behalf of the Jewish people, and those whose Jewish consciousness has been awakened only recently are ready to help. Their purpose is the same. Their methods are different. Some would approach the task with caution. Others would approach it courageously but bluntly, forgetting that there

July 14, 1916



AN APPEAL FOR ACTION, AND WORDS

But whatever the differences between the old and the new leaders may be, none of us has the right to play Jewish politics at this juncture. For the sake of our homeless, rightless, starving, humiliated and persecuted brethren, let us unite our forces and let nothing but the welfare of the Jewish people abroad occupy the wisest minds and the warmest hearts among us in the deliberations to find the way of obtaining equal rights for Jews among the nations.

It is high time that the petty quarrels and differences cease. This is the time for calm, deliberate preparedness, for wise and courageous action.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
July 14, 1916, p.307

I.O.B.B. CONGRESS PLANS

That the Independent Order Bnai Brith does not intend to undertake independently the work of securing equal rights for our persecuted brethren in European lands is the information contained in a letter sent by the Executive Committee of the order to the American Jewish Congress Organization Committee and to delegates of the Conference of National Jewish Organizations, called for Sunday. The Order, the letter announces, will co-operate with "whatever committees or bodies that may be selected by the Conference and the Congress to undertake the work." However, it is contemplating the sending of a commission abroad "to do preparatory work before the Peace Conference is held."

The communication, signed by Adolph Kraus, president, and A.B. Seelenfreund, secretary, follows:

"As you have been advised, the Independent Order of B'nai Brith, through its Executive Committee, has decided not to be represented either at the proposed Conference or Congress. We do not wish, however, that this action be construed as a desire on our part to work independently of other organizations. On the contrary, we believe that if we are to succeed in aiding our unfortunate persecuted brethren in other lands the efforts of all should be united in one common purpose. If the different organizations undertake the work independently of each other there is almost certain to be confusion and weakness in the effort and less to be expected in the result.

"Our organization tenders its services and co-operation to whatever committees or bodies may be selected by the Conference and the Congress to undertake the work. The Independent Order of B'nai Brith has undertaken preparatory measures and has adopted plans for future efforts here and abroad. Among other measures it intends to send a commission to Europe to do preparatory work before the Peace Conference is held. We invite your co-operation in our efforts as well as in the selection of the men to compose the commission and are ready to consider any suggestion or advice you may wish to give."

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July 16, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
July 17, 1916, p.4:2

MODIFIED CONGRESS APPROVED BY JEWS

Hotel Astor National Conference Gives Partial Sanction to Philadelphia Plan

Would Wait Till War Ends

Justice Brandeis Tells of Limitations Upon Committee -- Question Long Debated

Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court appeared before representatives of nearly forty organizations of Jews at the Hotel Astor yesterday to support a program adopted at Philadelphia last March for a national congress of Jews in America to demand "full rights for Jews in all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them."

Although the idea of a congress along the general lines suggested was indorsed, Oscar S. Straus, Chairman of the Public Service Commission; Dr. Cyrus Adler, head of the Dropsie College of Philadelphia; Dr. J.L. Magnes, and other prominent Jews of New York and other cities sharply opposed some of the ideas for the congress as interpreted by Justice Brandeis.

The demand for a democratic congress of Jews in the United States has been agitated for many months in this country. It grew out of many reports received here of cruelties imposed on Jews in some of the belligerent countries of Europe since hostilities began, but the program for a great gathering to take action while the conflict was still on had been opposed by the American Jewish Committee and other representative bodies, who favored a quieter method, and one which would not complicate the efforts of those who were trying to help the Jews.

The agitation has resulted in a sharp division among some Jewish organizations, and Justice Brandeis appeared before the conference yesterday as a member of the committee that had been appointed by the Jewish Congress organization to invite the representatives at the Hotel Astor to participate in the next Congress to be held in Philadelphia. The other men on the committee with Justice Brandeis were Judge Hugo Pam of the Appellate Court of Chicago, and ex-Judge Leon Sanders of New York.

Resent Attitude of Invitation

Some of the representatives at the meeting at the Hotel Astor resented what they describe as the autocratic attitude adopted by the Congress Committee in inviting the members of the Conference to participate in the Jewish Congress.

The Conference had adopted a resolution favoring the idea of a congress which should seek full religious, civil, and political freedom for Jews, but which restricted the activities of that body to that one subject. This was objected to by Justice Brandeis, who was the spokesman of his committee, on the ground that it had been drawn without proper

knowledge of what had been done at the preliminary Jewish Congress in Philadelphia last March.

This Congress, Justice Brandeis said, had given its Executive Committee certain powers which did not permit of the restrictions incorporated in the resolution, and he asserted that if the members of the Conference wanted to join the Congress they would have to do so on the terms fixed by that Congress.

Rabbi Magnes took sharp exception to this statement, and he "dared" Justice Brandeis to seek indorsement of such an autocratic attitude at the hands of the Jews of the nations.

"If Mr. Justice Brandeis goes before the Jews of the country on such an issue, I predict for him as great a defeat as his reception this afternoon was overwhelming," he said. "To come before this conference and to tell it: 'Either you come into our organization on our terms or you cannot come into it at all' is no way to promote peace and harmony."

This brought Justice Brandeis to his feet with a statement that Dr. Magnes's tone did not indicate a desire to promote good feeling, and the latter, although insisting on his position, apologized for anything that he had said that might have sounded disrespectful or discourteous.

Would Await War's End

The colloquy between Dr. Magnes and Justice Brandeis was preceded by one between Justice Brandeis and Mr. Straus that was even more spirited.

Justice Brandeis told the Conference in answer to a question by Mr. Straus that the congress held in Philadelphia last March had provided that another congress of Jews be convened in Philadelphia some time between Sept. 1 and Dec. 31, 1916.

He said the question asked by Mr. Straus, which was whether a definite date had been set, indicated that the members of the conference had failed to understand the "scope and purpose" of the Philadelphia meeting. Mr. Straus had told the Conference and Mr. Brandeis that he had been in favor of holding no congress while the war was still on, and he asked Mr. Brandeis if some way for postponing the congress until after the war could not be found.

"The question asked by Mr. Straus and the resolution drawn up by the Resolutions Committee of this Conference indicates that this conference is without knowledge of the limitations imposed on the Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress Organization," said Justice Brandeis. "The scope and purpose of the Congress has not been covered by the resolution of the committee. The Congress, in creating the Executive Committee, limited its powers. If the Conference adopts this resolution that has been presented here, in the face of the explanations of the limitations that had been imposed on the committee, it will be impossible for the Executive Committee of the Congress to do anything but go on alone.

"The Congress at Philadelphia decided that the next congress be held between September, 1916, and Dec. 31, 1916, and directed its Executive Committee to carry out this plan. The only way this program could be changed would be for a referendum to be taken after a vote of three-fourths of the members of the Executive Committee. Certain things that were done at the Congress cannot be undone. Certain limitations were

created that the Executive Committee cannot avoid."

Fears Harm to Jews in War Zones

"Apparently, then, not all the questions in which this Conference is asked to participate have been left open, and this one question of setting a date for the congress has been left only one-fourth open," retorted Mr. Straus. "You have stated in effect that we have no power to change your views, and that we have not the power of convincing you. I want to say that for my part I am sorry that the congress should be held during the war. I would use my utmost powers of persuasion to come to an understanding with those favoring the Jewish Congress, but I am sorry that the question of setting a date has been left only one-fourth open.

"I have believed that it would be suicidal to the Jews in the oppressed lands for them to be called together to discuss what stand they would take before the war ended. We don't know how the war will end. We don't know where the victory will be. I should very much regret if anything were done that might prevent the Jews from getting their rights.

"I want to say that I would never give my consent to calling a congress that would cut the Jews off from the power to relieve suffering in Russia and Rumania."

Mr. Straus explained further that he was enthusiastically in favor of unity among the Jews of the United States, and of doing away with factional differences, but he said he thought the date of the Congress ought to be one that all parties could discuss on equal terms. He was willing that a congress be held, but he thought all those invited to it should have the opportunity to discuss plans on equal terms.

There was a sharp interruption after Justice Brandeis had finished his reply to Mr. Straus, when Judge Mayer Sulzberger of Philadelphia rose and asserted that he had not come to the meeting to listen to "fancy speeches."

"Five millions of our brethren are bleeding to death, and here we are talking about organizations and procedure," he said, as he left the room.

Justice Brandeis insisted again that the Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress organization could not go beyond the powers that had been given to it, and that discussions intended to change the program could be only "academic." Several other speakers sharply criticized this attitude, and Louis Marshall, Chairman of the meeting, finally found it necessary to suggest that no personalities be indulged in. One delegate took exception to the treatment of the committee of the Jewish Congress, and Justice Brandeis and his associates finally withdrew, after they had been thanked by Mr. Marshall for appearing at the meeting.

The conference at the Hotel Astor was convened upon the joint action of eight of the largest and most important national Jewish organizations in the country, among them the American Jewish Committee, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Council of Jewish Women, the Independent Order of Free Sons of Israel, the Order of B'rith Abraham, the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, and the United Synagogue of America. In addition

to these about thirty organizations of Jews of less importance were represented, delegates being present from all parts of the United States.

The meeting was called to order by Harry Cuttler of Providence, R.I., who gave way to Mr. Marshall, when the latter was made permanent Chairman. The conference held three sessions -- one in the morning, another in the afternoon, and the third at night. Justice Brandeis and the other members of the committee appeared before the conference after an invitation had been extended upon the request of the Congress Organization Committee.

The resolution resisted by the Congress Committee, but which was adopted by the conference, follows:

This conference desires to bring about united action in the first place among the Jews of America, and then by the Jews of the world, to secure full rights for the Jews of all lands and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them; it being understood that the phrase "full rights" is deemed to include civil, religious, and political rights, and, in addition thereto, wherever the various peoples of any land are recognized as having separate group rights, the conferring upon the Jews thereof of such rights if desired by them.

Since the object specified in the foregoing resolution is one as to which there is entire unanimity among all Jews, this conference favors the calling of a congress of Jews of America for the sole purpose of taking appropriate action to accomplish such object.

This conference gives its Executive Committee, to be chosen hereafter, full powers to act for the accomplishment of the aims set forth in Paragraph 1, and for this purpose it gives full power to its Executive Committee to confer and co-operate with all other organizations of American Jews working for the accomplishment of these aims, including full power as to the preparations for the calling of said congress of American Jews, its time and place and the method of electing delegates and its constitution in general.

It is expressly understood that nothing herein contained shall be deemed to affect the autonomy of any existing national Jewish organization.

Form Permanent Body

The conference also adopted a resolution giving Mr. Marshall the right as Chairman to appoint an Executive Committee of twenty-five that would have the right to "take steps in behalf of the Jewish people in the lands of oppression," and to "obtain the cooperation of other bodies."

Another resolution was adopted recommending that the Executive Committee consider the question of establishing an institution to make loans for the rehabilitation of Jewish life in Eastern Europe and in Palestine.

The Conference organized itself into a permanent body and took the name of "The Conference of National Jewish Organizations."

Judge Julian Mack of the Appellate Court, Chicago, asked the conference last night to reconsider the resolution adopted in the afternoon

understanding of all the facts. He said that many of the delegates had voted for it because they thought from a statement made by Justice Brandeis that a permanent congress was intended, and that Zionism and other subjects were to be given too great prominence. Judge Mack informed the conference that he had had a conference with some of the members of the congress organization, and was in a position to say that no permanent congress was intended, and that no special stress was to be laid on Zionism or conditions in Palestine.

This brought about one of the sharpest speeches of the day from Mr. Marshall. "It would be puerile and unmanly for us to reconsider a resolution that had been discussed all day and was adopted after careful consideration," he said. "This resolution was so framed as to enable the Executive Committee of this conference to take up the subject of a conference and of unification among the Jews. I am eager to have complete harmony, and we are ready to meet any other organization in an orderly way. The Congress Committee presented views that were not acceptable to this conference. We were informed that we would have to accept the program as read to us, and it was the unanimous opinion of the delegates that we could not accept it. We are now informed that a modification is possible of that program.

Committee Has Full Powers

"The Executive Committee to be named will have full power to take up the subject of meeting with the Congress Committee, and I most certainly object to any reconsideration of the resolution."

Ex-Judge Sanders then made a motion that a committee of five be appointed to meet with the Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress organization tonight, but this was voted down. Mr. Sanders appeared at the conference in a dual capacity, being a member of the Congress Committee as well as a delegate. The conference then adjourned with the understanding that it could be reconvened at the call of the Chairman should matters looking to unification with the Congress organization demand such a session. Mr. Marshall said he would appoint the Executive Committee of twenty-five probably today, and that he would make it up so as to give all factions representation....

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News Item, American Hebrew,
July 21, 1916, pp.334-337,343

CONGRESS FOR EQUAL RIGHTS, SOLELY

Delegates at Conference of Jewish National Organizations Form Body to Work for Emancipation of European Jewry -- Historic Debate

...The holding of a Congress for the sole purpose of securing full and equal rights for Jews of all lands was voted by delegates from twenty-seven national organizations in an all-day conference at the Hotel Astor Sunday. This decision was reached after a delegation from the Congress Organization Committee, headed by Justice Louis D. Brandeis, had presented the views of that body and vainly urged the delegates to accept the program of the Philadelphia Conference. The spirited debate

that followed was one of the most interesting episodes in a historic gathering of prominent Jews of this country. Louis Marshall presided....

It was at the afternoon session that the differences between the Congress Organization program and that desired by the majority of the delegates assembled were made clear in a three-cornered debate between Justice Brandeis and Dr. J.L. Magnes and Oscar S. Straus. It developed into a quick-fire exchange of views that reached high points of tension at times, but proved an effective means of clarifying the situation in both camps.

The Justice came to the Conference as one of three representatives of the Congress Organization to invite the delegates to join the Congress movement. His colleagues were: Judge Hugo Pam, of Chicago, and former Judge Leon Sanders.

In the midst of this debate a most dramatic moment occurred when Hon. Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, left the hall declaring that he had not come to hear fancy speeches; that there was no time for words when five million of our brethren are bleeding to death.

Justice Brandeis, in his address, explained the purpose of the Congress movement and outlined what had been done at the Philadelphia Conference last March. He said that it was the strong desire of his committee to have other organizations join the fold, declaring that the movement was accentuated by two motives: to effect unity of all Jews in America, and to organize a body which would represent them. Continuing he said:

"The Congress, as we view it, is an absolute essential if we are to have unity. In that way only can all factions come together in open session. Each body represented must contribute what it can to clarifying conditions.

"We want the combined wisdom of American Jews and the determined will of all of them. Most of the organizations here did not participate in the movement for a Jewish Congress held in Philadelphia but is recognized this and did not make its action final. The door remains open to those who did not come in before, and always will remain open.

"When the Executive Committee met it made provisions for those not yet adhering to the movement. But we did not do what was more important. We took no action but that which was necessary, only formed a temporary organization that those who came later should have the same power."

He then invited the Conference to join the Congress Organization saying that the delegates would be just as welcome now as if they had come three months before.

Judge Pam followed with a speech along similar lines urging that nothing could be gained unless the Jews of America presented a united front. The Congress, he declared, must be democratic and must reflect the spirit of the whole American Jewish people. Judge Sanders said that a united Israel was necessary in order to do some good to the suffering Jews abroad.

The committee was invited to remain during the deliberations, and Dr. Magnes proceeded to read and explain the resolution unanimously adopted by his committee. It called for a Congress for the sole purpose of obtaining full rights for the Jews of all lands, and the abrogation of all laws discriminating against them. Dr. Magnes said that by the adoption of this resolution a body would be created equal to that of

the Congress Organization Committee, so that both may come together and adjust their difference on the same plane.

(The historic debate which followed is presented herewith, in full, from the stenographic notes:)

Mr. Straus' Remarks

Oscar Straus: I want to say that I think we all appreciate the spirit in which the Committee that represented the Congress have come here, namely through their best endeavor to bring about a united Jewry, upon the great question that is involved, and I hope that they understand that from our side we meet them in the fullest accord and with the spirit of the fullest co-operation, that we appreciate equally with them the very great importance that there should be a united Jewry and a united front in order to redress the great wrong from which the Jewry is suffering in the lands where they are afflicted. The only difference that has ever existed, I take it between us, has been a difference of method, a difference of plan, a difference of scope. I cannot say that I am in full sympathy with the necessity of democratizing the efforts that we are to make, and hope to make with the greatest effect. In the first place the Jewry of this country are not imperium imperio, we are a part of the population that have before us some special grievance that we want to redress and correct. I don't believe that the large church communities of this country find it necessary or have ever found it necessary to have a democratic vote in order to choose its representatives, in order to present grievances to our government, I will instance such an occasion as the terrible sufferings of the Christians in the East, which has appealed naturally to the Christians of this country. They have not found it necessary to have a democracy throughout all their constituent members but still I am willing to concede that for peace. I do not know of any special good that will come from it. Nevertheless as there is a division of opinion as to the method of procedure, I am entirely willing for my part, to utilize the so-called democratic method in the selection of those who are to represent us, either in this country or in Europe, so I waive that. But there is one point which I would very much like the representatives of the Congress to take into very grave and serious consideration. I know they want exactly what we do; I know that they want that we should put our best foot foremost and put it foremost in the most effective manner, and I know that they have men amongst them who have the highest ability, and I surely bow with humiliation before the great ability and judgment of Justice Brandeis, for no one respects his judgment more than I do. But my training has perhaps been somewhat of a different kind and my experience, perhaps, has also been somewhat different, and that experience, and that point of view compels me to lay before this body, and before the representatives of this Congress, that in our Committee we were divided evenly upon the question as to what time this Congress should be held. By time, I mean, whether it should be held before the war ends or after the war is over.

the Committee representing the Congress whether it has been definitely decided by the Congress Committee that a Congress of the American Jews be held before the war ended or whether that question should be left open.

Justice Brandeis: Perhaps if I may be allowed in this connection I will go a little further in stating something else.

Our Committee desires to express its great gratification in learning that the Committee on Resolutions, divided though it may be on one or possibly more questions, was unanimous in its belief that a Congress might properly be held, and that the Committee is unanimous also on the question that they were ready to submit to this Committee whatever it might be, the question of the time of the Congress. But the resolution as drawn, as Mr. Straus' question indicates, was drawn without that familiarity with the proceedings of our Conference, which seems to me to be absolutely necessary if we are to attain a unity of action. The Conference has vested in the Executive Committee only limited powers. They are the powers to carry out what the Conference has voted. The Conference in March has voted and our powers and the scope of them are quite clearly set out in the resolutions creating the Executive Committee and in submitting resolutions, for instance, on the question which Mr. Straus put as to whether it had been agreed or determined definitely that a Congress must be held before the close of hostilities. Now what has been determined is this: The Conference decided that a Congress should be held between September 1, 1916, and January 1, 1917, and directed the Executive Committee to endeavor and make all preparations to carry out that vote leaving only this possible limitation, that if the Committee should find that it was undesirable or impossible to hold the Congress at that time during the period ending December 31, 1916, and should so vote by three-quarter of the full board -- the Executive Board -- then a referendum should be taken on that subject. That is one of the limitations which are imposed upon us by the Congress which we represent, and that conference has vested in our Executive Committee all the power which it possesses. In the next place, we find in this resolution which your Resolution Committee has unanimously reported a statement of scope and purpose of the Congress which fails in various respects to cover what our Conference has already declared shall be the scope and purpose, subject only to the power of the Congress itself which, of course, is all controlling, but until the Congress meets, our Executive Committee is bound by the instructions given us in respect to the powers and the scope of operations of the Congress.

Scope of the Congress

Now, take this question which was specifically dealt with in the resolution of your Committee -- the question of granting of rights. That is a question in which our Conference expresses itself and in language which is not identical, doubtless in scope, which is not identical to that which you have stated, that the Congress consider the question of securing to Jews free and equal rights, civil, religious, political, in all such lands where these rights were denied to them; that the Congress consider the question of securing to the Jews national rights in all such lands in which national rights were or are or ought

Now either one of two things were presented, it seems to me, when the resolution was read. The resolutions submitted by your Committee is more restrictive than this resolution which I have read from the March, Philadelphia Conference, or it is the same. If it is different, then our Executive Committee will be absolutely powerless to co-operate in any way in producing a result or attempting to limit the scope. But as a matter of fact our Conference adopted other resolutions which bear a considerable relation to this but which go further. There was adopted this resolution: "That the Congress consider the problems of the Jewish development in Palestine in all its phases; that the Congress consider the co-operation with Jews in every land in furtherance of the Congress program; that the Congress consider the question of creating a commission which shall submit the deliberation of the Congress to the Peace Conference; that the Congress consider the advisability of establishing the Congress as a permanent institution; that the Congress consider the problem of constructive relief in the lands affected by the war; that the Congress consider the problem of Jewish migration in all its aspects."

Adopted no Definite Policy

You will see that the Conference did not undertake to decide any of these questions. It did not commit, or undertake or attempt to commit, the Congress to any one question -- the question of Zionism or policy or any other questions -- but what it did was to undertake to lay down subjects which Congress might discuss. So far as this Committee is concerned, we have no power to limit or to take from any resolution which the Philadelphia Congress has passed. I feel, therefore, gentlemen, that I ought at this time call your attention specifically to these facts to what has been done and also to that which our Committee has no power whatsoever to alter in any respect, and that if you adopt a resolution here in the form drawn, and which apparently was drawn without knowledge of the limitation under which we are acting, if you do that, you make it impossible for us to co-operate towards the end to which we have both declared our desire to co-operate. That is the situation!

Limited Powers of Committee

As I said to you a little while ago, we have deferred taking certain definite steps for six months because we didn't want to take any steps before it was absolutely necessary, until we had you with us in participating in the decision, because I realized from what had taken place in the past that certain things were done which so far as we are concerned cannot be undone until the Congress convenes. We wanted you at that Conference. We want to go on now with you so far as we can, just the same as if you had been with us, but facts are facts, certain limitations have been created and we can act only within the powers invested in us. Therefore, if you undertake to lay down a rule which should prevent co-operation in a Congress which undertakes to do anything except that specified in your resolution, you make it impossible to have unity, because the Executive Committee is absolutely bound by what the

Conference has done. But there is another thing I want to call your attention to. It is this. What this resolution proposes as it is laid down here is not the carrying out of the Congress, the organization of which has been fixed and with which our Executive Committee is charged. We have nothing to do if you pass this resolution except to report to our body that we have come to you and that you have received us with a welcome as great as any that we could have asked for, but that you had in the face of our pointing out to you the situation which governs our Executive Committee, taken action which rendered it absolutely impossible for our Executive Committee to do anything but to go on alone. But as we stated to you, we want you with us. We have expressly provided at the Conference for the bringing in of these organizations. We have the vacancies expressly created for the purpose of bringing in unaffiliated organizations. We want you to join this Congress, and when you come in there is more than that. The great questions that come up -- what shall this Congress do -- the electoral system under which the delegates to that Congress will be elected -- your delegates -- what will be the procedure? The Congress when it convenes is to decide all these things.

Our Executive Committee has no power to do anything whatsoever except to act within the limits of what the Conference has determined.

Action, Not Words Wanted

Judge Mayer Sulzberger: I didn't come here to make fancy speeches; I didn't come here thinking that you would get anything but fancy speeches. Five million of our brethren are bleeding to death and they want action not speeches. (Whereupon Mr. Sulzberger left the room.)

Mr. Straus: I am not going to make a speech, but I have not received an answer to the question that I put. I would like to know from Mr. Brandeis whether it has been definitely determined that the Congress shall be held pending the end of the war.

Justice Brandeis: The Conference declared definitely that a Congress should be held between September 1st and December 31st, unless the Executive Committee by a three-fourths vote should find that it is impossible or undesirable to do so, in which event they will submit a referendum upon that subject. The Executive Committee has taken no action upon that subject because that, like the electoral system and a permanent organization of the Congress are questions which have been deferred. But as it stands today the Executive Committee is charged with convening the Congress by December 31st.

The Chairman: As I understand it, the resolution that has been adopted by the Congress organization calls for a Congress between September 1st and January 1, 1917, with the privilege to the Executive Committee by complying with certain conditions to extend the time.

Justice Brandeis: Exactly, Mr. Chairman. There never was a vote anywhere declaring that a Congress should be held during the war. What was objected to and where the issue came between the Congress Organization Committee and the American Jewish Committee was that the American Jewish Committee wasn't willing to enter into a Congress which had the power to fix the holding of the Congress before the close of the war.

It is not a question of fixing the time, but it was a question of the

power to fix the time, but the Congress organization insists that the power to fix the time must be vested in the Congress or the Conference organization.

A Delegate: I would like to ask whether as the matter now stands, whether the war be concluded or not, whether hostilities cease or not, the Congress must under the direction of the Philadelphia Congress be called before the end of this year.

Justice Brandeis: Unless --

A Delegate: By a referendum vote it be otherwise directed.

Justice Brandeis: Correct.

Mr. Straus: Then as I understand it, that while there were left some questions that were left open for future consideration, this question of time was only left about one-quarter open, as it were?

The Chairman: I think that Justice Brandeis has explained very clearly that there are a number of questions which are to be determined by the Congress, and therefore excluded from consideration.

Mr. Straus: Then is it a fact, Justice Brandeis, that those questions as you have stated, are not questions about which we can exchange views?

Justice Brandeis: We can exchange views -- we can always consult and exchange views, but the Executive Committee has absolutely no power to change the resolutions adopted at the Philadelphia conference.

Mr. Straus: We have no power of convincing you, is that right?

Justice Brandeis: You might convince us, but it would be purely an academic matter. Those questions will have to be decided by the Congress when it convenes. We, as the Executive Committee, the creation of the Conference have no power to exclude those questions from the consideration of the Congress and what you would have to do if, you came in as a member of our Congress would be to present your argument to the Congress or to the proper committee created by it as to what should be taken up and how it should be taken up, but we, as the Executive Committee, cannot in any way definitely be committed by this Conference to the consideration of those questions.

Mr. Straus: I wish to say on the subject of the time of the Congress that I am very sorry indeed and regret very much that the Congress should not be held pending the end of the war and that the door was not left entirely open for the decision of that question.

Door Held Only One-Fourth Open

I would use my most emphatic power of persuasion if I could in trying my utmost to come to an agreement, an understanding, so that we may move in the great question together, and I feel very deeply that the door has only been left one-quarter open as to the time of holding this Congress. From my experience in international affairs, take it for what you will, I would deem it suicidal to the cause of the Jews in oppressed lands if we called together the Jewry of the United States to discuss what stand we should take -- gentlemen, I think it is one of the most serious matters that can possibly present itself to us. We don't know how this war will end. We don't know on what side victory will light. We don't know what the conditions will be, and a great Congress of the Jewry of America, called together with their hearts

say, and cannot help saying many indiscreet things which in the end will doubtless prevent us from getting for them those very rights for which our hearts today are throbbing. I believe in order to satisfy either the national feeling of the Jews of this country, of the democratic feeling of this country -- I will never give my consent to doing that -- to bringing together a great congress of our co-religionists -- which may cut off our power of relieving our suffering brethren in Russia and Roumania.

Difference in Resolutions

Dr. Magnes: I have been persistent in asking for the floor because I want to have the difference between this Conference or resolution here presented and the Congress Organization presented squarely. It is not a question of the time of the Congress. It is not any of the other questions that Mr. Brandeis has here spoken about. The declaration of principle is practically the same -- "full civil, political and religious rights." The Philadelphia Conference uses the term "national rights" in such countries where there ought to be or are recognized, whereas this conference uses the term "group rights." The Philadelphia Conference wants phases considered. Our resolution provides for full and equal rights, group rights, if necessary for the Jews of all lands, and when we say all lands, we mean Palestine as well. It is not the Congress Organization committee that has discovered Palestine. Palestine has been a possession of all of the Jews all these years and I doubt if there be a single Jew in America, be he a reformed Jew, or an orthodox Jew, or a socialistic Jew, who has not in his heart deep reverence for the land of our fathers. It is not the question either of consideration and co-operation with the Jews of America and then by the Jews of the world. It is not the question either of considering the problems of constructive relief in lands affected by the war. It is not the question of Jewish migration. But the question is this, and it has been very clearly stated -- he has referred to the powerlessness of the Executive Committee, of the Congress organization to take any further steps wherever, that is, to co-operate with other Jewish organizations -- in plain words, that means this: That Mr. Justice Brandeis and his colleagues come to this meeting and say to us, either you will come into our organization or you cannot be with us at all. I want Mr. Justice Brandeis and his colleagues to go before the masses of the Jewish people of this country with that issue and I predict him and his colleagues just as overwhelming a defeat as he has had laudation and honor at their hands. No, Mr. Brandeis, no Jewish organization at this time can say to representatives of an old established and important institution in this country, that you will do as we have laid it down or you can't co-operate with us.

A Delegate: I rise to a point of order.

The Chairman: What is it?

A Delegate: I must insist that our guests here are not to be lampooned in a way that is done, neither are they to be lectured.

The Chairman: The Chair is not engaged in lecturing anybody. He is not speaking to any particular individual. He is merely addressing himself to a broad proposition as to whether or not a proposition as to whether or not a proposition that has been made here today is one which is capable of being accepted.

Dr. Magnes: I beg to apologize most humbly if my tone was offensive or what I said was offensive.

Object to Dr. Magnes' Remarks

Justice Brandeis: It was not offensive, but I think the tone was one which indicated to us a desire at least on the part of one present not to co-operate. It is the matter and not the tone I object to. I do object very much to the statement of Dr. Magnes that because I have stated to you a situation that he is attempting to, what one of the gentlemen has called lecturing our committee. Facts are facts.

The Philadelphia Conference took certain action. Dr. Magnes must know, and certainly every other gentleman and every other lady here knows, that we who are the committee of the Conference and believe in democratic matters and believe in the law are bound to follow the law. I should have felt myself very derelict, if I had allowed that resolution to be discussed without calling your attention to facts which limit our power. I endeavored as clearly as I could, speaking to a body of men who I supposed were not familiar with the details of our proceedings, to set forth the facts.

We want to avoid any possibility of friction and I think, Mr. Chairman, that perhaps it would be better if we retired while you discussed this matter amongst yourselves. (Loud cries from audiences of "No! No!")

The Chairman: It is the sense of this meeting that you are not to retire. We desire your presence here. I am sure that there has been no intention on the part of anybody to make any remarks which can possibly be construed as offensive. I suggest that the remarks of Dr. Magnes have been purely rhetorical and addressed to the people and not individuals.

Dr. Magnes: I wish to repeat that if the tone of my remarks have been offensive or if they have not been to the point I regret that exceedingly. What I want to point out is that the representatives of the Congress organization say to us that the Congress at Philadelphia has passed certain resolutions and that they, the committee, are powerless to take any steps beyond the authority given them at Philadelphia.

Issues Before Bodies

Mr. Chairman, the only Jewish gathering that I know of that has never revoked the decisions it had come to was that at Mt. Sinai. Even the Constitution of the United States can be amended and if there be a sincere desire to unity with the groups represented at this conference, I have no doubt that the parliamentary wisdom of the gentleman at the head of the Congress organization committee will find a way of securing authority from the organizations making up their body so as to give them power to come together with the representatives of this conference and to discuss the matter freely and calmly as brethren. But, Mr. Chairman, a point that Mr. Justice Brandeis did not advert to among all of the resolutions adopted by the Congress committee at Philadelphia which is in many senses one of the two real issues between this conference and theirs is that the Congress considered the advisability of

is one of the chief differences between us. Not the resolutions. We have said that we are willing go into a Congress of American Jews for the sole purpose of securing full rights for the Jews of the world, whereas the Congress in Philadelphia says, and its spokesmen say, they have no power of amending the resolution, go into the Congress with the additional idea of making the Congress a permanent institution in the life of American Jewry in accordance with the dictates of this Congress. Now, Mr. Chairman, I submit that those are the two issues before us. The first one is, will the Congress organization meet us on an equal level, and will it endeavor to make all concessions necessary that appeal to its wisdom and to its sense of honor of what it believes is right and true for the Jews of the world? And the second question is, are they willing to go into conference with us as equals, agreeing on almost every other point at least with the possibility of coming to an agreement as to time and place, and the method and as to everything else, agreeing with us, however, if it appeals to their judgment, to their wisdom, to their sense of loyalty to the Jewish people, rather than to their own organization; that this Congress shall be for the sole purpose and for no other purpose, as we have said, bringing the Jews of this country together, to secure full rights for the Jews suffering there, without endeavoring to secure more rights for the Jews living here.

Those are the two issues, Mr. Chairman. It is because I see these two issues clearly, and those are the only two issues, that I have asked for the privilege of making these remarks, as chairman of this Resolution Committee, and I want to say again, Mr. Chairman, that I should not for the world have wanted any word of mine or any tone of my voice of anything else I might have said to indicate that I am not anxious to consult, to co-operate and to have every one co-operate with those who are at the head of a Congress organization.

End of Afternoon Session

Dr. Magnes was followed by Jacob Panken, who spoke along similar lines. Sholom Ash urged that action, not words, was wanted at this tragic moment. "Open the doors of the Philadelphia Conference and take in the entire Jewish people," he pleaded. Rev. Dr. Samuel Schulman declared that the machinery will take care of itself if the machinery is there. The Question is the sufferings of the Jews across the sea, he said, and on that plea all American Israel should unite. Judge Max B. May, of Cincinnati, held that the resolution was offered in the spirit of compromise.

Justice Brandeis and his colleagues remained until nearly six o'clock when they retired, after being thanked by Mr. Marshall for appearing at the meeting. They had spent three hours at the Conference.

The original resolution calling for a Congress "solely for equal rights" was then put before the house for action. An amendment proposing that the Conference "approve the program of the preliminary conference held at Philadelphia on March 26 and 27, 1916, except that part relating to a permanent Congress and authorize the executive officers to confer with the Executive Committee for the American Jewish Congress for the purpose of joining in the organization of an American Jewish Congress" was defeated. The delegates then passed the resolution by a

The session was closed at 7 P.M. for a dinner recess....

The opening session was devoted to formal organization, election of officers, reading of reports and appointment of various committees. The meeting was called to order at 10:30 A.M. by Col. Harry Cutler, of Providence, on behalf of the Arrangement Committee. Then followed the election of Louis Marshall as chairman, Jacob Fanker, vice-chairman and Dr. Max Goldfarb and Harry Schniederman, secretaries.

Mr. Marshall's Opening Speech

The keynote of the Conference was struck by Mr. Marshall in his introductory remarks, he said, in part:

"This meeting is a very important one. Its purpose is stated in the call. It is to take measures for the purpose of securing full and equal rights to all Jews in all lands: and it is stated that among those equal rights which are thus to be secured are civil, religious and political rights, and, in such countries where the people are granted group rights, that such group rights shall also be conferred upon Jews.

"The proposition is so plain, so simple, that one would suppose that there could be no difference of opinion with regard to it. I can scarcely conceive of one, who is worthy of the name of Jew, one who has considered our past history, one who is cognizant of the sufferings to which the Jew has been subjected, one who knows how they have been deprived of these equal rights and how they have been discriminated against, who could have the slightest hesitation in endorsing this platform, this program, and of doing all that lies in his power to bring about the attainment of the ideals which all of us have in mind. Unfortunately, we cannot all agree as to methods, and, in consequence, there has been an apparent division in the ranks of American Israel, although I am one who believes there has been no division, in reality, as to any matter of principle.

"We all of us desire to attain the one great object for which we have ascribed, and struggled, and hoped, and prayed for many generations. This is an important time in the history of Israel, in the history of the world; and it is, therefore, incumbent upon us, not to lose the opportunity which may now present itself to solve some of these great problems which have affected us, and in the solution of which, we are so much interested; and it is incumbent upon all of us to make every possible effort to unite, to harmonize, to present an undivided and unbroken front to those who are the enemies of Israel."

Co-Operation of Rabbis

Rev. Dr. William Rosenau, president of the Central Conference of Reform Rabbis, read a statement in which he declared that his organization stood ready to further a movement for a Congress in which all parties in Israel may be represented. He urged unity in the common purpose to attain equal rights for Jews and emphasized the value and influence of a collective American Israel in this respect.

Dr. Goldfarb read the report of the National Workmen's Committee which, he said, represented practically all the Jewish labor organiza-

briefly what this committee had done during the past year in the interest of Jewish rights and declared that the situation now more than ever calls for a united American Jewry. The organized Jewish workers of the land, he added, stood ready to do their full share in the great task of "freeing millions of our brethren from the slavery of the Dark Ages."

Dr. Adler Reports on Committee's Work

Dr. Cyrus Adler was called on to report informally on the activity of the American Jewish Committee. He said that when the war broke out efforts were at once made to get into touch with the central organizations abroad and to ascertain what measures American Jews could take to ameliorate conditions. As soon as information had been obtained from Russia and Poland and committee began giving publicity to the terrible plight of the Jews in the war zone, and took steps to obtain some relief for the sufferers. He told of the collection of material which resulted in the publication and distribution of "The Jews of the Eastern War Zone" and spoke of the negotiating with the Vatican and the subsequent letter of the Pope in aid of the Jews in Poland. Through the activity of the committee, Dr. Adler reported, "equal rights" planks had been inserted in the platform of every important political party in this country. He also said that data was being gathered on the disabilities of Jews in certain European countries, this material to serve as basis for a brief on equal rights for Jews.

Rev. Dr. Bernard Drachman, of the Union of Orthodox Congregations, made a plea for harmony and unity. No cause or reason, he urged, should prevent a united demand to the world of justice to the Jews....

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July 17, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
July 18, 1916, p. 9:3

JEWISH CONFERENCE PLEADS FOR PEACE

Representatives of National Organizations Make Move for Unity

Committee Is Chosen

Prominent Jews Named to Work for Full Rights of Their Co-Religionists

A committee of five members of the Conference of American National Jewish Organizations met the Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress Organization in Aeolian Hall, 20 West Forty-second Street, last night, in the campaign to demand full political, civil, and religious rights for Jews in all lands where those rights are not enjoyed by them. A desire to restore harmony among Jews in the United States in the campaign and to repay the courtesy of the congress organization in sending a committee headed by Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court to the conference on Sunday afternoon prompted the meeting.

The committee of five was selected from an executive committee of twenty-five members of the American National Jewish organizations appointed yesterday by Louis Marshall. It went to Aeolian Hall under instructions to impress the Congress Organization Committee with the desire of the conference to promote peace among the Jews of the United States and to make an official report of the proceedings of Sunday at the Hotel Astor.

It was emphasized by the Executive Committee of the conference that the deliberations at the Astor had been made as democratic as possible so as to assure the Jews of the nation that no autocratic methods were intended in meeting the problems of the Jews, and that there was no desire among any of the organizations represented for self-appointed leadership. It was pointed out that the Conference of American National Jewish Organizations sought to restrict the proceedings of the proposed Philadelphia Congress to a discussion of the full rights for the Jews because that was one subject upon which all Jews were united. The other subjects for consideration suggested by Justice Brandeis, such as Zionism, Jewish nationalism, and other subjects had been considered dangerous, because not all the Jews of the United States were united on them, and it was feared that divisions among the Jews might be accentuated by discussion in the congress.

Committee of Five.

The Committee of Five, bearing this message to the Jewish Congress organization, consisted of Colonel Harry Cutler of Providence, R.I., Chairman; Judge Julian W. Mack of the Appellate Court of Chicago; Jacob Massel, Secretary of a Jewish community of New York City; Dr. F.F. Rosenblatt, Executive Secretary of the National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, and the Rev. Dr. Samuel Schulman of Temple Beth-El.

Judge Mack, in speech before the Executive Committee of the Congress Organization, made a vigorous plea for unity among the Jews of the country, asserting that only through harmony could the ends desired be accomplished. Reports were read at the meeting from Jewish organizations in Europe and letters were received from other bodies with headquarters in Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, and cities in the Middle West.

A motion that the Congress Committee meet the overtures of the Conference of American National Organizations by appointing a committee to work for harmony was vigorously debated. Satisfaction was expressed, however, that organizations that had opposed the idea of a Jewish Congress heretofore now seem willing to send representatives.

A "get together" committee was later appointed by the Executive Committee of the Jewish Congress Organization to confer with the Executive Committee of the Conference of American National Jewish Organizations on ways and means for uniting the Jews of the country in the congress movement. The members of the new committee are Judge Hugo Pam of the Appellate Court of Chicago, ex-Judge Leon Sanders, A. Shomer, father of the congress movement; Louis Lipsky, Secretary of the American Federation of Zionists; J. Grosberg of Chicago, Joseph Baroness of the New York Board of Education, and N.Katz.

The Executive Committee of the Conference of American National Jewish

Organizations, out of which the Committee of Five was selected, was appointed with the intention of giving it the widest possible representation. Mr. Marshall reiterated his hope that Jews in the United States would present an unbroken front in the fight for their co-religionists, and said he had been deeply in earnest when he made his plea for harmony at the Conference on Sunday....

July 18, 1916 --

Editorial, New York Times,
July 18, 1916, p. 8:2

OUT OF PLACE

It has been the custom, faithfully honored by observance, for the Justices of the Supreme Court of the United States, upon taking office, to withdraw from many activities of a political or social nature, in which as private citizens they were free to engage, in order, not only that they might give their whole time and attention to official duty, but further to avoid all controversies or commitments which might seem in any degree to affect their judicial impartiality of mind.

Justice Brandeis, we are sure, was not conscious that there was any impropriety in his appearing at the conference of representatives of many Jewish organizations in this city on Sunday, where he presented a statement or report upon measures to be taken concerning the Jewish Congress soon to be held in Philadelphia. Mr. Brandeis's statement, however, became the subject of a somewhat heated controversy, in which his views, according to the reports, were "sharply opposed" by others who took part in the conference. There was marked difference of opinion among organization representatives present, inasmuch that Mr. Louis Marshall, Chairman of the meeting, found it necessary to suggest "that no personalities be indulged in."

In this running debate Justice Brandeis stood by his guns with the courage and ability which he is known to possess. But it was evident that a good deal of feeling was aroused, and altogether a general impression will be, we fear, that Justice Brandeis might with very great propriety have avoided taking part in such a controversy. Now that he has discharged his duty as a member of the committee appointed by the Jewish Congress organization, we venture to express the hope that he will consider that he is discharged of further obligation and will in future leave to others subjects of such controversial nature.

July 20, 1916 --

Editorial, Warheit, quoted by
Jewish Advocate, July 27, 1916, p.2

BRANDEIS AND THE YAHUDIM

Editorial in Warheit Thursday, July 20th, 1916.

places where he is attacked. The "Times" in referring to Justice Brandeis' participation in the Sunday Hotel Astor conference, where he was insulted for not allowing the Congress movement to be caught in the trap laid for it. And therefore the "Times" hopes Justice Brandeis will presently withdraw from the Zionist and Congress movement and in general from public work because a United States Supreme Court Judge must separate himself from the world and give no one an opportunity to attack him.

The "Times" is not alone in this opinion. The same opinion was expressed in the circles of the Yahudim ever since President Wilson sent in the Brandeis appointment in the United States Senate. Brandeis is like "a thorn in the flesh" of the Yahudim ever since he has undertaken the leadership in the Zionist and Congress movements, and he is especially unbearable to them because Brandeis being a pure American and a great man gave a deathblow to the assertions of the Yahudim that Zionism is treachery to America and that the Congress movement will call out the wrath of the American people against the Jews in this land and will hurt the Jews in the war zones. Brandeis has made himself especially impossible in the eyes of the Yahudim through the firmness of his principles in defense of a Jewish Congress. And as in other cases the "Times" expresses now the wish of the Yahudim that Brandeis shall withdraw from the Zionist and Congress movements.

Does the "Times" really believe that a Judge of the United States Supreme Court must be a recluse and have no concern with the world? That seems to us doubtful. In case Louis Marshall were to be Supreme Court Judge and were attacked as Brandeis was last Sunday the "Times" would not have maligned Marshall, but would have attacked Marshall's maligners and would have called them to book for their lack of Americanism and of decency.

Mr. Brandeis is not a man of the "Times" type, nor are the people whom Brandeis represented at Hotel Astor liked by the "Times." The "Times" is the organ of the men who attacked Brandeis last Sunday with precisely the motive of driving him out of the Congress movement and that's why the "Times" came out with its libel against Brandeis and advised that he should leave all these movements to others.

It would be in place here to pause at the fact that the Jewish organ of the Yahudim, "The Day" came out with the same libel against Brandeis and gave the same advice as the "Times." But we should not stop to deal with an internal traitor when we have to meet foreign enemies.

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July 21, 1916 --

News Item, New York Times,
July 25, 1916, p. 1:2

BRANDEIS RESIGNS FROM EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Justice Louis D. Brandeis of the United States Supreme Court has resigned from the Executive Committees of the American Jewish Relief Organization and the Jewish Congress Organization, according to a message received last night from Boston. The American Jewish Relief

Organization is composed of prominent Jews of the United States who have been collecting funds for the relief of Jewish war sufferers in Europe. The Jewish Congress Organization is the association that has been urging a national gathering of Jews at Washington in the campaign to demand equal rights for Jews in lands where they are being discriminated against.

The announcement from Boston that Justice Brandeis had resigned from these organizations came through his secretary, Jacob de Haas, who said the Justice's official duties would not permit him to give the organizations the time they demanded. The message was preceded by a rumor in New York City that Justice Brandeis had decided to withdraw from all Jewish activities, but this was denied by his secretary.

According to the rumor circulated in New York City, Justice Brandeis had not been pleased by his reception when he and other members of a committee representing the Jewish Congress Organization appeared before the Conference of American National Jewish Organizations at the Hotel Astor on July 16 last. Louis Marshall was Chairman of the conference. Justice Brandeis accompanied by ex-Judge Leon Sanders and Judge Hugo Pam of the Appellate Court of Chicago, appeared before the conference by invitation to urge united action by Jews in the demand for equal rights.

There had been for months a sharp division between the Jewish Congress Organization and some of the other organizations as to the advisability of holding a congress of Jews while the war was in progress, and the meeting at the Hotel Astor had been called in an effort to heal up these differences.

Eight national organizations of Jews in the United States sent delegates and nearly thirty other associations were represented.

Resentment developed when Justice Brandeis informed the conference after it had adopted a resolution favoring a congress, that the delegates at the Hotel Astor would have to join the movement on the terms laid down at a preliminary meeting at Philadelphia last March.

The members of the Conference were of the belief that they should an opportunity of voting on all of the arrangements for the proposed Congress, but Justice Brandeis resisted this.

Dr. Magnes, Mr. Marshall, Oscar S. Straus, Dr. Cyrus Adler and other prominent Jews took issue with Justice Brandeis, and the latter retired after there had been much plain speaking.

The Conference of American Jewish National Organizations later empowered its Executive Committee to continue consideration of the Congress movement, and a committee of five was selected by it the next day to confer with a committee of the Jewish Congress Organization on the plans for the proposed meeting at Washington.

Justice Brandeis did not take part in the deliberations of these two committees, but it was explained that this was not because his attitude before the conference had not been indorsed.

Justice Brandeis informed the members of the committee while they were still deliberating that his official duties demanded that he go to Washington, and he was not present, therefore, when the representatives of the two organizations recently reached an agreement.

The report that Justice Brandeis had considered that he had been

rebuked at the conference at the Hotel Astor came from the office of the American Jewish Chronicle, a Jewish weekly, published in the Aeolian Building, where is situated, also, the office of the Committee of the Jewish Congress Organization.

It was announced from the office of the weekly that Justice Brandeis did not consider it wise "to expose himself and his high office to the sort of criticism with which he met at the Hotel Astor." Justice Brandeis thoroughly resented the treatment he had received, it was said, and told a "friend and a former co-worker" that he was "through with Jewish activities."

When this report was communicated to associates of Justice Brandeis in the Jewish Congress Organization they refused to believe it had any foundation. Justice Brandeis was not the sort of man, they said, to ignore his own organization on such an important bit of news and permit the news of his resignation to come through a weekly publication.

Later when official confirmation of Justice Brandeis's resignation from the two committees came from Boston, ex-Judge Sanders said that "that settled it."

"If Justice Brandeis's Secretary has given it out, there can be no further question," he said.

Judge Sanders said Justice Brandeis's resignation had probably reached Bernard Richards, Secretary of the Jewish Congress Organization, and Mr. Marshall, head of the American Jewish Relief Committee, but that it had not become generally known. Mr. Marshall left on a trip to the Adirondack Mountains several days ago and could not be reached.

Justice Brandeis has been a prominent worker in Jewish affairs for many years. He has been an active advocate of the Zionist movement, as well as of the Congress. He withdrew as an active leaders of some of the organizations with which he was affiliated when he was appointed to the Supreme Court bench, but, contrary to the convictions of some of his friends, he still took part in the deliberations connected with the Congress movement.

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News Item, American Hebrew,
July 28, 1916, p.365

JUSTICE BRANDEIS RESIGNS FROM CONGRESS AND RELIEF COMMITTEES

Justice Louis D. Brandeis has tendered his resignation to the Congress Organization Committee and to the American Jewish Relief Committee. In explanation, his secretary Jacob deHaas, said that Mr. Brandeis' judicial duties prevented him from giving the necessary time to the work of these committees. It is understood that the Justice will retain his interest in other Jewish organization.

No reason is given by Justice Brandeis in his letter of resignation to the American Jewish Relief Committee, which he sent to Felix M. Warburg, its treasurer. The letter is dated from Boston, July 21, and reads: "My dear Mr. Warburg:

"I regret that I feel compelled to resign from the Executive Committee of the American Jewish Relief Committee and, of course, also from the Joint Distribution Committee.

"Will you please present my resignation at the next meeting of the committee.

"Yours very truly

"LOUIS D. BRANDEIS."

It was said by those prominent in the Congress movement that the Justice had been offended by remarks of speakers, at the recent Hotel Astor Conference, when a spirited debate ensued on the Congress question. It is believed that he resigned from activity in the Congress organization because he did not desire to expose himself and the office he fills to criticism.

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Editorial, American Hebrew,
July 28, 1916, p.370

JUSTICE BRANDEIS' RESIGNATION

Justice Louis D. Brandeis has resigned from the Relief Committee and from the Congress Organization. His letter of resignation, published elsewhere in this issue, does not contain the reasons which compelled him to resign. There is no doubt that the official retirement of Justice Brandeis from Jewish activities is a great blow to Jewish life in America.

At the same time, it cannot be said that it came as a complete surprise. Most people believed that the movements with which Mr. Brandeis was conspicuously identified would lost his official co-operation as soon as he was confirmed for the dignified post on the United States Supreme Court Bench. Because of tactlessness on the part of certain delegates at the Astor Conference, which was unfortunately taken up by the general press, it became necessary for Justice Brandeis to withdraw officially from participation in the activities of the Jewish organizations of which he was one of the most powerful guiding spirits.

But there is one consolation. Those who know Justice Brandeis know that he will not abandon his deep interest in the welfare of the Jewish people, and even though he has severed his connections with these organizations officially, he will continue to co-operate with all his zeal and all his energy for what he believes to be the best solution of the Jewish problem.

For a man of the type of Justice Brandeis, who has distinguished himself by his fearlessness and independence, it must have been a great sacrifice to retire from Jewish activities at this time. But he doubtless realized that any misunderstandings in this direction, especially when seized upon by the general press, may not only embarrass him as a member of the highest tribunal of justice in the world, but may also embarrass the Jewish people.

Therefore, he has made the sacrifice.

APPENDIX I

"Forerunner of the American Jewish Congress" 188

Union of American Hebrew Congregations
An American Jewish Congress
Cincinnati, May 1, 1903

To the _____

At the meeting of the Eighteenth Council of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in St. Louis, Missouri, in January, 1903, the following resolution offered by Rev. Dr. David Philipson of Cincinnati, and Rev. Dr. Joseph Stolz of Chicago, was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved, That for the purpose of furthering the higher interests of Judaism in America, by means of a closer co-operation, and of stimulating the Jews of our country to an intenser spiritual life and larger activity, through the agency of a dignified discussion of the great problems that concern Jewish life, and of bringing together representative thinkers and workers, the incoming executive board be instructed to invite our various religious, educational and philanthropic organizations of a national character to appoint delegates to an American Jewish Congress to be held under the auspices of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations within the next two years, at such time and place as may be determined hereafter."

At a meeting of the executive board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations held in Cincinnati on February 8, 1903, the following proceedings were had:

"Attention being called to the act on of the Eighteenth Council in reference to the calling of a Jewish Congress, it was resolved that Rev. Drs. David Philipson and Joseph Stolz, who proposed the subject to the council, be requested to present to this board, at the meeting to be held in April, a paper setting forth the purposes and scope of the proposed Congress and of whom the Congress is to be composed."

At the meeting of the executive board held in Cincinnati on April 19, 1903, the following paper was read:

Cincinnati, April 19, 1903

To the Executive Board of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations:

Gentlemen - in answer to your request for an explanation of our resolution offered at the St. Louis Council on the subject of the American Jewish Congress, we beg leave to submit the following statement:

Ever since the Union of American Hebrew Congregations was formed the desire for organization and united effort has been becoming more and more pronounced in our American Jewish life. Organization implies constructive work. The more effective the organization, the more assurance is there of good results. We believe that we have reached a point in the development of Judaism in the United States where there should be a permanent central organization comprising all the elements of Jewish thought and activity, at whose meetings shall be discussed any and all of those serious problems which are arising all the time in connection with Jewish interests and

Congress. It shall meet at regular intervals. It shall have as its constituent bodies all national Jewish organizations of a religious, philanthropic and educational character. The Union of American Hebrew Congregations, through its executive board, shall take the initiative in its formation. It shall invite the following national organizations to co-operate with it in the work, viz., the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Jewish Publication Society of America, American Jewish Historical Society, the Council of Jewish Women, the Hebrew Sabbath School Union of America, the Jewish Chautauqua Society, the Independent Order B'nai Brith, and other Jewish orders of a similar nature, the National Conference of Jewish Charities, the Jewish Agriculturalist Aid Society, the National Farm School, the American Federation of Zionists, the Orthodox Congregational Union of America. Each one of these organizations has its special work along special lines; no one of them represents American Jewdom in all its activities and interests. They should all be combined in a central body whereof through representation they shall be constituent elements.

At each one of the conventions of the Congress subjects of vital concern to Judaism and the Jews shall be discussed thoroughly. The Congress shall be pre-eminently a deliberative body. The following is suggested as a working plan to set the project into motion.

1. The Congress shall convene next winter at the national capital at such time as shall be determined upon at the preliminary meeting hereinafter mentioned.

2. The main topic of discussion at the first Congress shall be "The Immigration Problem."

3. The Executive Board of the Union shall appoint a special committee on Congress, consisting of seven or nine members, who shall be empowered to select their own secretary (a more important office than the chairmanship) and to add to their own number.

- (a) By inviting the co-operation of experts.

- (b) By requesting the presidents of all Jewish national bodies as enumerated above, each to appoint one person to represent their organization upon this committee.

4. A meeting of the full committee shall be held in the city of Detroit, Sunday, July 5, to organize and to consider a tentative program to be presented then and there, to determine time of meeting, select speakers, etc.

5. An appropriation shall be made by the executive board of the Union to defray preliminary expenses.

Such a central institution, touching Jewish life at all its points, and recognized as its representative organization not only by the Jews but by all others, will prove of far-reaching importance and significance. It will lend dignity to the Jewish name and to the Jewish cause. Conditions are such in the world that united efforts on the part of the Jews all over the world is becoming more and more urgent to meet such problems as the Russian Jewish question, the Rumanian Jewish question, the Galician Jewish question, the evils of overcrowding in our large cities, the immigration question, etc. The American Jewish Congress will be the first step toward a Jewish World Congress.

The time is ripe for the organization of the American Jewish Congress. The unanimity wherewith the resolution calling for its formation was passed at St. Louis and the enthusiasm it aroused showed how popular a chord it had touched. The Jewish cause must have its dignified spokesman, representing the consensus of Jewish effort and Jewish aspiration and that the

In conclusion, we wish to emphasize one point. The Congress is to be a permanent body, with a permanent organization. In some of the discussions called forth by the resolution offered at St. Louis it has been stated that the intention was to convene a Jewish Congress at the St. Louis Exposition similar to the gathering held in connection with the Chicago World's Fair. This was not the purpose of the resolution. The Jewish Congress at Chicago was an isolated phenomenon without successors. A Jewish Congress at St. Louis would be the same unless it were made the first convention of the Congress. We do not consider this desirable. There are too many distractions at a World's Fair. As stated before, we believe the proper place for the first meeting of the Congress is the city of Washington.

With assurances of high esteem, we are,

Respectfully,
DAVID PHILIPSON,
JOSEPH STOLZ.

And thereupon, I was instructed to have the foregoing paper and proceedings printed, and transmit the same to you (as well as the other organizations mentioned in the communication from Rev. Drs. Philipson and Stolz) with the request that you inform us as early a date as possible whether you will be represented at such a Congress.

Very respectfully,
LIPMAN LEVY,
Secretary.

APPENDIX II

"Why We Need National Rights"¹⁸⁹

By M. Kaz

There has been much talk among us recently about national rights. The National Workmen's Convention, which was held in New York the early part of September, adopted a resolution to demand for the Jews "civil, political and national rights." The movement for a Jewish Congress, which has grown so strong lately, considers one of its most important tasks the assurance of national rights for the Jews.

On the other hand, there are groups who emphasize only the necessity of obtaining civil and religious rights for the Jews. Several use the term "religious" because they think that religious and national rights are identical. Others use the term "religious" just because they wish to avoid using the term "national rights," which they consider most dangerous. Still others talk only of "equal rights" because they think that covers the whole question of complete rights for the Jews.

On the whole, our conception of national rights seems to be quite a hodge podge. There are certain elements among us -- particularly in the circles which have hitherto been unconcerned with Jewish nationalism -- that are under the impression that demanding national rights means becoming a Zionist. Some of these people actually become Zionists for this reason, although they have but the slightest interest in the question of a Jewish home in Palestine; and others, who are for one reason or another opposed to Zionism, consider it their duty to oppose the demand for national rights as well.

There are among the Nationalists themselves quite a number of people who think that the demand for national rights covers all the Jewish problems, that it solves the whole Jewish question. In this connection it is interesting to note that neither the advocates nor the opponents of "national rights" define what "national rights" are and in what forms they are expressed. Among the opponents one often finds the conception that the demand for "national rights" is a demand for a special privilege which others do not enjoy, whereas among the advocates one often finds the impression that "national rights" mean segregation from our neighbors, which they consider the best thing for us.

What are "national rights"? First of all, we must understand that they are a special class of rights which should, under no circumstances, be confused with civil, political or religious rights.

Political rights mean a share in the political life of the country, a share in enacting and enforcing its laws, the rights to elect and to be elected to all legislative bodies.

The Jews enjoy full political rights in every European country except Russia, where they can only take part in the elections for the central legislative bodies, the Duma and the Imperial Council, but not for the local governments, the municipalities and the Zemstvas. In Rumania, the majority of the Jews are deprived of their political rights because in theory they are considered "foreigners" and hence cannot take part in any elections whatever.

Civil rights mean protection by law on a part with all the other citizens, the right to a free choice of domicile and occupation, without any discrimination in the form of special laws which do not affect the rest of the population.

If a Jew should have the rights in Russia to choose his occupation but was restricted only in the right to become a minister or a governor, that would mean that his civil rights are limited, because all other citizens have the legal right to become ministers and governors. If the Jews were allowed to live in all the cities of Russia but one or two of the main centres, that would mean that they are restricted in their civil rights, because all other citizens of the realm have the right to live there.

That the Jews in Russia are restricted in every phase of economic and political life and that they are robbed of the majority of their civil rights there it is superfluous to mention. Wherever there exists a single insignificant special law that applies only to one nationality of a realm, there can be no question of civil equality.

In Rumania the civil rights of the Jews are as limited as in Russia. But even in Germany and in Austria the Jews are restricted in their civil rights. The fact that Jews cannot become military officers in Germany or military officers in Germany or ministers of state in Austria means that the Jews are considered in those countries citizens of a lower order, that they are limited in their rights as compared with other citizens.

National rights in the narrower sense of the term means the right of every little nation that lives in a realm composed of many nations to organize self-governing institutions to control its internal affairs and assure the maintenance of its national character to whatever extent it deems necessary.

The highest form of national rights is expressed in a national Saym, a sort of national parliament, which devotes its attention to matters which affect the given nation exclusively. The task of such a Saym is to provide for the economic and cultural needs of this nation.

The Poles and the Czechs in Austria have such Sayms. The Polish Saym in Galicia founds Polish schools and universities, provides for the needs of the Polish church and the Polish cities and strives for the economic welfare of Galicia, which is considered a Polish province. The Saym also works for better political representation for the Poles in the general legislative bodies of the land, and although there are Jews and Ruthenians living in Galicia, too, it concerns itself mainly with the interest of the Poles.

The most ordinary form of national rights is the legally guaranteed right of a nation to use its own language in official activities, the right to develop its own national culture through public schools and high schools, supported or subventioned by the realm, and the guaranteed right to a proportionate representation in the legislative bodies and to a proportionate number of officers as well.

The Jews have no national Sayms anywhere. In Poland and in Littau (when the latter still belonged to Poland) the Jews had a Saym, several hundred years ago, in the form of the Vaad Arba Arozeth (Committee of four countries) which, with the permission of the government, devoted its attention to all the internal affairs of the Jewish population. The officially recognized Jewish Kehillah were then the intermediaries between the Jewish population and the local government. They collected the taxes due the government and had the right to levy special taxes on the Jewish population

for the particular needs of the Jewish masses. And then the Jews lost their national institutions everywhere except in Turkey. In that country alone there still exists a "Medgilis Umuni," a sort of national Jewish Saym, which looks out for the interests of the Jews in the realm. In Turkey and in the countries of western Europe the officially recognized religious Kehillah has survived which has extended rights. In all the other countries of the world there are no official Jewish national institutions.

In Austria the Jewish nation is not recognized at all. When a census is taken of the population, the Jew must register as a Pole, a German, a Magyar, a Ruthenian or a Czech but not a Jew. When the mother tongues of the citizens are entered, the Jews must give their language as Polish, German, Czechish, Hungarian, but not as Yiddish, and if they enroll as Jews and state that their language is Yiddish, they are fined, because the Austrian laws recognize only the Jewish religion and not the Jewish nation.

When the government apportions money for public schools or universities, it assigns it for German, Polish, Ruthenian and Czechish schools, but not for Jewish schools. The Jew must attend the Polish school and if he wishes to pursue Jewish studies he must do so in a private Jewish school at his own expense.

When an officer is appointed in a locality, a judge, a district attorney or a police chief, he must have a knowledge of the local language, Polish, Ruthenian, Czechish, in addition to German, but he is not required to know Yiddish even if the majority of the inhabitants are Jewish.

When a Jew comes to an official institution and wishes to express himself verbally or in writing, he must use one of the officially recognized languages, but not Yiddish. If he knows no other language but Yiddish, he must resort to an interpreter, because his language has no civil recognition. It is considered "foreign." The "native" languages are only the languages of the "recognized" nations, who have succeeded in gaining national rights.

In Russia, of course, the situation is still worse than in Austria. In Austria it can happen that a Jewish official is elected on the basis of his general civil rights. In Russia, however, where the Jews are robbed of their civil rights, even such an "accident" is impossible. In Russia no official can be elected even in those districts where the Jews form one hundred per cent, of the population and the non-Jewish officials that are stationed there are practically the masters rather than the servants of the population.

If the Jews had national rights in Russia or in Rumania or in any other land where the population is largely Jewish, the Jewish cities could be ruled by Jewish representatives and officials and the Jews would be able to establish enough schools of their own where they could obtain a general and a Jewish education and the schools would be supported by a share of the taxes which the Jews pay; the Jews would be certain of a proportionate representation in all the legislative and executive bodies in the land and would play the role befitting them in consideration of their number, their culture and their economic power.

But the Jews -- and not only the Jews but all the small nations that form the minority in a land where there is a ruling people -- when a nation has no national rights, it is for the most part deprived even of the possibility of utilizing to the fullest extent its civil and political rights.

As I have explained, the various forms of rights, political, civil and national, are distinct rights which often are not connected with one another. It may happen that a nation has political rights and is deprived of its civil and national rights. In such a condition the Jews in Russia find themselves.

In this same Russia there is a nation that has full political and civil rights. This is the Ruthenian or Ukrainian people. The Ruthenians may elect and be decided to all legislatures, central and local, in the country. They may dwell where they choose, engage in any occupation they wish, become officers and even ministers of state, but still they are an oppressed people, because they are restricted in their national rights. The Ruthenians can not establish any schools where their own language may be used, are not allowed to publish books and newspapers in Ruthenian, must use a foreign language in all their institutions and suffer greatly from the attempt of the Russian government to enforce their assimilation with the ruling nation.

The Poles in Russia (not in Poland proper) have full political rights, but they are restricted in their civil and national rights. They cannot buy land in the border provinces and are not permitted to use their own language in the schools and in their official relations:

In Galicia the Jews have full political and civil rights but they have no national rights, and for this reason, they are often deprived of their political and civil rights too. Because the Jews are not recognized there as a nation and are included among the Poles, Germans or Ruthenians, the country is represented entirely by the Poles, Germans, and Ruthenians and a Jewish candidate can reach the Reichsrat, Saym or the municipal governments, only when the neighboring Christians regard him as a bad Jew and a good "Goy." In this way the Jews are robbed of their representation and cannot protect their general interests in the legislatures.

In Russia the Jews form about five per cent of the population. According to their proportion they are entitled to at least twenty-two representatives among the four hundred and fifty deputies in the Duma. The Jews in Poland form about fifteen percent, of the population and hence should send from Poland to the first two Dumas six deputies and to the third Duma three deputies. Yet they have not sent a single deputy from Poland to the first three Dumas and in the fourth Duma they have sent but one deputy from Lodz. This happened because the Poles usurped the Jewish rights and would not permit any Jewish representation. The Polish deputies represented only the interests of the Poles and in the name of the whole population of Poland, demanded restrictions for Jews.

This happened too in the representation of the Russian population. Instead of twenty-two deputies the Jews, even in the best times, had only five or six deputies. The Jewish Pale where the Jews form about twelve per cent of the population, were represented by two Russian members of the Black Hundred, who conducted pogrom politicians in the Duma. The Jewish population of Russia did not have the slightest opportunity to avail itself of its political rights and to protect its civil rights, because they were usurped by the neighboring population.

If the Jews had the right to a proportionate national representation, which is one of the important national rights, such a contingency would have been impossible.

Thus we see that although civil, political and national rights are

nation that has all these rights, political, civil and national, can consider itself endowed with complete rights.

People who are not fully acquainted with the Jewish situation in the lands where they are restricted in their rights believe that religious rights must be demanded for the Jews and they are under the impression that such rights are the same as national rights. In this they are mistaken.

Religious rights mean the unhindered opportunity to maintain one's own religion and to practice all the ceremonies which are part of it.

But in this right the Jews are nowhere restricted, not even in Russia or Rumania. There they may build synagogues, conduct services, observe the Sabbath and Holy Days, circumcise their children, build Talmud Torahs, etc. It is true the persecutions of the Jews in Russia and Rumania often assume a religious aspect. When a Jew renounces his faith and turns Christian, he receives all his rights. Therefore one may gather the impression that the persecution of the Jews is of a religious character.

But in reality this is not so. Not the Jewish religion is persecuted in Russia and Rumania but the Jew and the Jewish nation. There is no attempt to restrict the Jewish religion but every effort is made to restrict the Jewish people, the Jewish nation. The persecutions therefore bear a national character and we must demand not religious but national rights.

And this is really the demand of all the Jewish national parties in Russia, Austria and Rumania. When they demand full civil and political rights for the Jewish people they never forget to explain in detail their demand for national rights, for without national rights the Jews can have no guarantee that they will be able to avail themselves of their civil and political rights.

APPENDIX III

Chronology

July 1914 through July 1916

1914

July 28 -- World War I begins.

August 13 -- Federation of American Zionists considers transfer of Zionist activity to the United States by reason of war.

August 21 -- Jacob de Haas appeals for "conference of American Jews... to obtain justice when world peace is made."

August 30 -- Extra-ordinary conference of Federation of American Zionist founds Provisional Executive Committee For General Zionist Affairs electing Brandeis chairman. Resolution submitted "to call a convention of Jewish organizations and Jewish committees..."

August 31 -- Brandeis invites cooperation of American Jewish Committee "in calling conference of representatives of all important Jewish organizations". Marshall "accepts" for American Jewish Committee.

September 29 -- B'nai Brith organizes appeal for relief funds.

October 4 -- Orthodox elements form Central Committee for the Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War.

October 9 -- American Jewish Committee issues call to conference of national Jewish organizations to discuss relief, Temple Emanu-El, October 25, 1914.

October 25 -- Temple Emanu-El conference called by American Jewish Committee results in founding of American Jewish Relief Committee.

November 22 -- Dr. Joseph Krinsky calls meeting in interest of Jewish representation at peace conference at end of war.

November 25 -- Central Committee for Relief of Jews Suffering Through the War unites with American Jewish Relief Committee.

December 25 -- Poale Zion Convention urges convening of American Jewish Congress to consider nationality rights for Jews.

1915

February 8 -- District I, Grand Lodge, IOBB, Convention favors congress

1915 (Cont)

- March 21 -- Jewish Congress Organization Committee formed by Publick and Girsdansky. (?) Federation of Bessarabian Jews, 10,000 members, adopts resolution in favor of congress.
- March 26 -- Louis Marshall announces that he will call conference to select Jewish delegation to peace conference.
- April 18 -- National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights holds first convention to agitate for equal rights for Jews.
- April 24 and 25 -- New York Kehillah debates the matter of a congress. Postpones decision until May 23, 1915.
- May 7 -- Lusitania sunk by German submarine with loss of 100 American lives.
- May 9 -- Zionist Provisional Executive Committee adopts resolution favoring congress at proper time and on democratic basis.
- May 23 -- New York Kehillah adopts resolution favoring conference of delegates of national Jewish organizations. Independent Order Free Sons of Israel, 8,000 members, adopts resolution in favor of congress.
- May 25 -- Independent Order Sons of Israel, 4,000 members, adopt resolution in favor of congress.
- May 30 -- Independent Order Brith Sholom, 50,000 members, adopt resolution in favor of congress.
- May 31 -- Federation of Galician and Bukowinian Jews, 30,000 members, adopts resolution in favor of congress. Federation of Russian-Polish Hebrews of America, 30,000 members, adopt resolution in favor of congress.
- June 7 -- Convention of Brith Abraham calls for immediate national conference of the Jews of America.
- June 17 -- Philadelphia Kehillah adopts resolution favoring limited conference if American Jewish Committee decides to have a conference at all.
- June 20 -- Special meeting of American Jewish Committee calls Conference of delegates of national Jewish organizations for Washington, D.C., November 1, 1915.
- June 21 -- Progressive Order of the West, 17,000 members, adopts resolution in favor of congress.
- June 24 -- American Jewish Committee invites Federation of American

1915 (Cont.)

- June 26 -- Federation of Rumanian Jews, 20,000 members, adopts resolution in favor of congress.
- June 27 -- Brandeis favors congress. Provisional Executive Committee authorized to unite with other organizations to call a congress.
- July 11 -- Jewish National Workmen's Alliance, 3000 members, adopts resolution in favor of congress.
- July 12 -- Adler and Brandeis confer on matter of conference-congress.
- July 13 -- Special meeting of Executive Committee of American Jewish Committee decides it cannot alter resolutions of June 20 meeting regarding Washington Conference.
- July 21 -- Adler-Brandeis correspondence on conference-congress initiated.
- August 4 -- Executive Committee of IOBB authorizes President Adolf Kraus to call conference of conference-congress forces.
- August 5 -- National Socialists Congress Agitations Committee holds mass meeting at Cooper Union.
- August 10 -- Adler-Brandeis correspondence breaks off. Negotiations dead-locked.
- August 16 -- Jewish Congress Organization Committee re-organized. Brandeis, president.
- August 19 -- Jewish Congress Organization Committee holds mass meeting at Cooper Union.
- September 4-6 -- Convention of National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights accepts congress idea in principle. Appoints committee to consult with American Jewish Committee and Jewish Congress Organization Committee.
- October 3 -- IOBB Conference of Presidents of National Jewish Organizations makes futile attempt to reconcile conference-congress forces.
- October 10 -- American Jewish Committee abandons Washington Conference.
- October 11 -- National Workmen's Committee and Congress Organization Committee meet to plan for congress. Latter rejects proposals of former for national conference.
- November 12 -- Sub-committee of American Jewish Committee, National Workmen's Committee, and Congress Organization Committee meet. American Jewish Committee insists that congress must not be held until after the war.

1915 (Cont.)

December 19 -- Sub-committees of American Jewish Committee, National Workmen's Committee, and Congress Organization Committee meet. American Jewish Committee insists that congress be held after war. National Workmen's Committee retains right to withdraw if dissatisfied. Congress Organization Committee demands immediate congress.

December 21 -- American Jewish Relief Committee launches new drive for \$5,000,000.

December 23 -- Congress Organization Committee issues ultimatum to American Jewish Committee and National Workmen's Committee. A pre-congress conference should decide all matters. Replies due by January 15, 1916 or Congress Organization Committee will call congress independently.

1916

January 16 -- IOBB decides not to take part in any congress but will cooperate if it approves program outlined by a congress.

January 24 -- Gigantic mass meeting at Carnegie Hall staged by Congress Organization Committee is addressed by Brandeis -- "Jewish Rights and the Congress".

January 28 -- Louis D. Brandeis nominated for position of Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

February 4 -- American Jewish Committee publishes "The Jews in the Eastern War Zone".

February 7 -- Jewish Congress Organization Committee decides to call preliminary conference for Philadelphia, March 26.

February 22 -- Manhattan Congress Convention of 500 local New York organizations calls for democratic congress and homeland in Palestine.

February 27 -- Congress Organization Committee issues formal call for Preliminary Conference in Philadelphia, March 26-27, 1916.

March 26 -- National Workmen's Committee meets in New York to ratify refusal of National Workmen's Committee to take part in Philadelphia Conference. Issues "the war and the Jews in Russia".

March 26 and 27 -- Preliminary Conference held in Philadelphia.

April 9 -- Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress organized by Executive Committee elected at Philadelphia Conference. Brandeis, temporary chairman. National Workmen's Committee's Western branches meet in Chicago for same purpose as New York meeting of March 26.

- May 24 -- Nomination of Brandeis to United States Supreme Court confirmed.
- June 3 and 4 -- Annual Convention of New York Kehillah refuses to consider Congress issue.
- June 5 -- Brandeis takes oath of office.
- June 16 -- American Jewish Committee issues formal call to Hotel Astor Conference scheduled for July 16, 1916.
- June 22 -- Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress declines invitation to American Jewish Committee's Hotel Astor Conference but offers to send three delegates to present viewpoint of Congress Organization.
- June 22 and 23 -- IOBB declines American Jewish Committee's invitation and announces it will take no part in conference or congress but will work independently.
- June 30-July 5 -- Nineteenth Annual Zionist Convention hears motion to divorce Zionism from Congress issue. Proposal defeated.
- July 16 -- "Conference of National Jewish Organizations" meets at Hotel Astor. Rejects Brandeis' invitation to join Executive Organization Committee and adopts resolutions favoring a Congress for sole purpose of improving the condition of Jews in lands of oppression.
- July 21 -- Brandeis resigns from Jewish Congress Organization Committee and American Jewish Relief Committee.

Notes

1. Proceedings of the Board of Delegates of American Israelites at Their First Session Held at the Cooper Institute in the City of New York, on Sunday and Tuesday, the 1st and 3rd days of Kislev 5620 Corresponding with November 27th and 29th, 1859. New York, 1860, p.1.
2. Ibid., p.7.
3. Peter Wiernik, History of the Jews in America. New York, 1912, p.287.
4. Jewish Alliance of America, Inaugural Report. Philadelphia, 1891, p.16.
5. Ibid., pp.22-23.
6. Ibid., p.3.
7. Ibid.
8. Proceedings of a Conference Held in the City of New York at the Hebrew Institute Building on September 22, 1891. New York, 1891, pp.3-4.
9. Ibid., p.17.
10. Ibid., p.18.
11. Ibid., p.24.
12. Ibid.
13. David Philipson, My Life as an American Jew. Cincinnati, 1941, p.163.
14. A.S. Schomer, How We Can Help Ourselves, A Logical Solution of the Jewish Question Addressed to All Israel. New York, 1907, p.12.
15. Ibid., pp.13-14.
16. Cyrus Adler, "The American Jewish Committee", Lectures, Selected Papers, Addresses. Philadelphia, 1933, p.203.
17. Z. Szajkowski, "The Alliance Israelite Universelle in the United States," Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, No. 39, Part 4. New York, June 1950, pp.389-443.
18. In an interview, November 1952, Dr. Julian Morgenstern, President Emeritus of the Hebrew Union College, related Bernhard Bettmann's refusal to consider the proposal because of "local pride". Bettman was Chairman of the College's Board of Governors.
19. A.L. Sachar, Sufferance is the Badge. New York, 1939, p.510.

- 111
20. Cyrus Adler, op. cit., pp.199-218.
 " " , I Have Considered the Days. Philadelphia, 1914, pp.244-246.
 Among those who claim credit for the founding of the American Jewish Committee are David Philipson, Harry Friedenwald, (See "Leaves Jewish Committee", American Hebrew, June 16, 1916, p.179.) and Cyrus Adler who claims credit for Jacob H. Schiff directly and indirectly for himself.
 21. Nathan Schachner, The Price of Liberty. New York, 1948, p.28.
 22. American Jewish Committee, A Brief Statement of its Organization, Aims and Work. New York, 1917, pp.8-9.
 23. Ibid., pp.7-12.
 24. American Jewish Committee, First Annual Report. New York, 1908, p.4.
 25. Ibid., p.3.
 26. Ibid., pp.6-7.
 27. Cyrus Adler, Lectures, Selected Papers, Addresses. Philadelphia, 1933, p.207.
 28. American Jewish Committee, Second Annual Report. New York, 1909, p.9.
 29. " " " , Third Annual Report. New York, 1910, p.33.
 " " " , Fourth Annual Report. New York, 1911, pp.26-27.
 30. " " " , Third Annual Report. New York, 1910, p.33.
 31. American Jewish Year Book 1907-1908. Philadelphia, 1907, pp.69,115.
 32. American Jewish Committee, First Annual Report. New York, 1908, p.14.
 33. Report of the Executive Committee of the Constitution Grand Lodge I.O.B.B., New York, 1907-1908, p.89.
 34. "Will Not Cooperate", The American Israelite. Cincinnati, April 25, 1907, p.3.
 35. Ibid.
 36. American Jewish Committee, First Annual Report. New York, 1908, p.15.
 37. Proceedings of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, Vol. 7, 1907-1911, 34th Annual Report. Cincinnati, n.d., pp.5878-5879.
 38. American Hebrew, January 21, 1916, p.303.
 39. Independent Order B'nai Brith, Proceedings, Ninth General Convention,

40. Refers to suggestion of Abraham S. Schomer. See Note 14.
41. The Maccabaeon. New York, July 1907, p.26.
42. Reports on the progress and activities of the Kehillah of New York appeared in the Annual Reports of the American Jewish Committee from the year 1908 through 1920; of the Kehillah of Philadelphia, 1912 through 1921.
43. Harry Sackler, "A Brief History of the Kehillah", The Jewish Communal Register of New York City, 1917-1918. New York, 1918, pp.45-58.
44. American Jewish Committee, Second Annual Report. New York, 1909, p.12.
45. " " " , Third Annual Report. New York, 1910, p.12.
46. Cyrus Adler, I Have Considered the Days. Philadelphia, 1941, p.292.
47. Harry Sackler, "Kehillah Movement", The Universal Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. 6. New York, 1942, pp.354-356.
48. Louis Lipsky, "Thirty Years of American Zionism", Selected Works of Louis Lipsky. New York, 1927, pp.36-37.
49. American Jewish Committee, Fifth Annual Report. New York, 1912, pp.17-18,26.
50. Ibid., p.7.
51. American Jewish Committee, Sixth Annual Report. New York, 1913, p.24.
52. American Jewish Year Book 1914-1915. Philadelphia, 1914, pp.298-299.
53. American Jewish Committee, Seventh Annual Report. New York, 1914, pp.36,37-38.
54. American Jewish Year Book 1914-1915. Philadelphia, 1914, p.310.
55. American Jewish Committee, Eighth Annual Report. New York, 1915, p.51.
56. American Jewish Committee, Third Annual Report. New York, 1910, p.33.
57. " " " , Seventh Annual Report. New York, 1914, pp.8-9.
58. Ibid., p.39.
59. American Jewish Committee, Eighth Annual Report. New York, 1915, p.27.
60. " " " , Sixth Annual Report. New York, 1913, p.31.
61. American Jewish Year Book 1914-1915. Philadelphia, 1914, p.358.
62. American Jewish Committee, Eighth Annual Report. New York, 1915, pp.47-70.

64. American Jewish Year Book 1919-1920. Philadelphia, 1919, pp.327-329.
65. Chaim Weizmann, Introduction to Louis Lipsky's "Thirty Years of American Zionism", Selected Works of Louis Lipsky. New York, 1927, p.ix.
66. A.T. Mason, Brandeis -- A Free Man's Life. New York, 1946, p.329.
67. Ibid., pp.385-397.
68. Ibid., p.388.
69. Ibid., p.445.
70. Although Jewish labor was concentrated in the needle trades, Jews labored by the thousands in all crafts of the building trades, service industries, light manufacturing, and the tobacco industry where they were strongly organized. They avoided only heavy industry and mining.
71. American Jewish Committee, Eighth Annual Report. New York, 1915, pp.16-17.
72. Harry Schneiderman, "Jewish War Relief Work", American Jewish Year Book 1917-1918. Philadelphia, 1917, pp.194-226.
73. Henri F. Klein, "Balkan Wars", The Encyclopedia Americana, Vol. 3. New York, 1945 ed., pp.87-92.
74. American Jewish Committee, Seventh Annual Report. New York, 1914, p.11.
75. Ibid., p.15.
76. B'nai Brith Messenger. Los Angeles, August 7, 1914, p.9.
77. Louis Lipsky, op. cit., p.44.
78. Ibid., p.51.
79. Jewish Congress Organization Committee, To the Jews of America. New York, 1915, p.7.
80. Ibid., p.6.
81. Ibid.
82. Ibid., pp.6-7.
83. Jewish Advocate, October 2, 1914, pp.1,6.
American Hebrew. October 2, 1914, p.648.
84. B'nai Brith News. Chicago, October, 1914, p.1.
85. American Hebrew. October 16, 1914, p.703.
86. Jewish Advocate. December 18, 1914, p.1.

87. American Hebrew. November 13, 1914; pp.60-61.
88. Jewish Advocate. November 20, 1914, p.1.
89. See also B.G. Richards, "The American Jewish Congress", The Jewish Communal Register of New York City 1917-1918. New York, 1918, p.1431.
90. American Hebrew. December 18, 1914, p.209.
91. American Hebrew. December 25, 1914, pp.232-233.
92. Jewish Advocate. December 25, 1914, p.1.
93. American Hebrew. January 1, 1915, p.261.
94. Accounts of this period by B.G. Richards ("The American Jewish Congress", The Jewish Communal Register of New York City 1917-1918. New York, 1918, p.1431.) and Oscar I. Janowsky (The Jews and Minority Rights 1898-1919. New York, 1933, p.166.) maintain that the union of forces favoring a congress was engineered by Joseph Baroness who called a special meeting for that purpose March 21, 1915. The Yiddish press as well as the Anglo-Jewish press make no mention of such a meeting.
95. Louis Lipsky, op. cit., p.51.
96. F.F. Rosenblatt, "The National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights", The Jewish Communal Register of New York City 1917-1918. New York, 1918, p.1447.
97. American Hebrew. June 25, 1915, p.186.
98. Jewish Congress Organization Committee, What Rights are Denied the Jewish People. New York, n.d. (1916?), p.4.
99. American Hebrew. January 22, 1915, pp.332-333.
100. " " . February 19, 1915, pp.420,425.
101. " " . March 15, 1915, p.583.
102. " " . June 18, 1915, p.161.
103. American Jewish Committee, Ninth Annual Report. New York, 1916, p.28.
104. Jewish Congress Organization Committee, To the Jews of America. New York, 1915, p.10.
105. See The Maccabaeans. July 1915.
106. American Jewish Committee, Ninth Annual Report. New York, 1916, pp.30-31.
107. Ibid., pp.32-33.

108. On July 16, 1916 at the American Jewish Committee's Conference of National Jewish Organizations, Brandeis was to make essentially the same declaration with regard to the Congress planned by the March 26-27 Philadelphia Preliminary Conference convened by the Congress Organization Committee. But on that occasion Congress advocates deserted Brandeis in favor of unity whereas Adler at this time received the support of the entire American Jewish Committee.
109. American Hebrew. August 13, 1915, pp.355-358,362.
Jewish Advocate. August 13, 1915, pp.1,6,8.
See also American Jewish Committee, Ninth Annual Report. New York, 1916, pp.69-86 and Jewish Congress Organization Committee, To the Jews of America. New York, 1915, pp.11-12.
110. Jewish Congress Organization Committee, What Rights Are Denied the Jewish People. New York, n.d. (1916?), p.4.
111. American Jewish Year Book. 1916-1917. Philadelphia, 1916, p.88.
112. American Hebrew. July 23, 1915, p.287.
Jewish Advocate. July 30, 1915, p.1.
113. There is evidence that reconciliation was affected. Brandeis continued as president of the Jewish Congress Organization Committee but Dublick is mentioned as chairman in later notices.
114. Louis Lipsky, op. cit., pp.52-53.
115. Jewish Advocate. September 3, 1915, p.1.
116. American Hebrew. October 1, 1915, p.620.
117. New York Times. September 1, 1915, p.3:6.
118. American Hebrew. September 3, 1915, p.443.
119. Jewish Advocate. September 17, 1915, p.1.
120. American Jewish Committee, Ninth Annual Report. New York, 1916, p.29.
121. American Hebrew. August 6, 1915, p.337.
122. American Jewish Committee, Ninth Annual Report. New York, 1916, pp.29-30.
123. Jewish Advocate. September 24, 1915, p.1.
124. Jewish Advocate. September 10, 1915, p.1.
National Workmen's Committee on Jewish Rights, The War and the Jews in Russia. New York, n.d., p.5.
125. F.F. Rosenblatt, op. cit., p.1449.
126. B'nai Brith News. October 1915, p.1.

127. American Jewish Committee, Ninth Annual Report. New York, 1916, pp.35-36.
128. American Hebrew. November 5, 1915, p.754.
129. Louis Lipsky, op. cit., p.54.
130. F.F. Rosenblatt, op. cit., p.1449.
131. Oscar I. Janowsky, op. cit., p.172.
132. American Jewish Committee, Tenth Annual Report. New York, 1917, p.10.
133. Ibid.
134. American Jewish Year Book 1916-1917. Philadelphia, 1916, p.92.
135. " " " " " " " " , pp.92-93.
136. American Hebrew. December 24, 1915,
137. American Jewish Year Book 1916-1917. Philadelphia, 1916, p.91.
138. Ibid.
139. American Hebrew. January 21, 1916, p.295.
140. " " . January 7, 1916, p.253.
141. American Jewish Year Book 1916-1917. Philadelphia, 1916, p.89.
142. Jewish Advocate. January 6, 1916, p.1.
143. American Hebrew. February 4, 1916, p.369.
144. American Jewish Year Book 1916-1917. Philadelphia, 1916, p.93.
145. American Jewish Committee, Tenth Annual Report. New York, 1917, pp.10-11.
146. American Hebrew. February 25, 1916, pp.438-439, 447.
Jewish Advocate. February 25, 1916, p.1.
147. American Hebrew. February 25, 1916, p.439.
148. Ibid., p.447.
149. Jewish Advocate. February 25, 1916, p.1.
150. American Hebrew. March 10, 1916, p.508.
151. Jewish Advocate. March 16, 1916, p.8.
American Hebrew. March 17, 1916, p.537.

152. Jewish Advocate. March 16, 1916, p.8.
153. American Hebrew. March 17, 1916, p.537.
154. Ibid., March 31, 1916, p.598.
155. Jewish Advocate. March 23, 1916, p.1.
156. New York Times. March 20, 1916, p.5.
157. American Hebrew. March 31, 1916, p.593.
158. F.F. Rosenblatt, op. cit., pp.1450-1451.
159. Jewish Advocate. April 13, 1916, p.1.
160. Executive Organization Committee for an American Jewish Congress, Preliminary Conference of the American Jewish Congress, Report of Proceedings, March 27 and 28, 1916, Philadelphia, Pa. New York, 1916, p.13.
161. Jewish Advocate. March 30, 1916, p.1.
162. Executive Organization Committee, op. cit., pp.7-9.
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