

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

OFFICERS AND EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT, LOUIS MARSHALL.

VICE-PRESIDENTS, { CYRUS ADLER.
 { JULIUS ROSENWALD.

TREASURER, ISAAC W. BERNHEIM.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

MAYER SULZBERGER, Honorary Member....Philadelphia, Pa.
CYRUS ADLER (1922), Chairman.....Philadelphia, Pa.
ISAAC W. BERNHEIM (1924).....Louisville, Ky.
SAMUEL DORF (1924).....New York, N. Y.
ABRAM I. ELKUS (1922).....New York, N. Y.
ALBERT D. LASKER (1922).....Chicago, Ill.
IRVING LEHMAN (1923).....New York, N. Y.
LOUIS MARSHALL (1923).....New York, N. Y.
A. C. RATSCHESKY (1923).....Boston, Mass.
JULIUS ROSENWALD (1924).....Chicago, Ill.
HORACE STERN (1924).....Philadelphia, Pa.
OSCAR S. STRAUS (1924).....New York, N. Y.
CYRUS L. SULZBERGER (1924).....New York, N. Y.
ISAAC M. ULLMAN (1923).....New Haven, Conn.
A. LEO WEIL (1922).....Pittsburgh, Pa.

ASSISTANT SECRETARY

HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN, 171 Madison Ave., N. E. Cor. 33rd St., New
York City.

Cable Address, "WISHCOM, New York."

MEMBERS AND DISTRICTS

Dist. I: Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina. 4 members: Leonard Haas, Atlanta, Ga. (1922); Lionel Weil, Goldsboro, N. C. (1921); Montague Triest, Charleston, S. C. (1923).

Dist. II: Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee. 3 members: Otto Marx, Birmingham, Ala. (1923); Levi Rothenberg, Meridian, Miss. (1925); Nathan Cohn, Nashville, Tenn. (1923).

Dist. III: Arizona, Louisiana, New Mexico, Oklahoma, Texas, 6 members: Max Heller, New Orleans, La. (1924); Ivan Grunsfeld, Albuquerque, N. Mex. (1923); Marion M. Travis, Tulsa, Okla. (1922); J. K. Hexter, Dallas, Tex. (1923); Isaac H. Kempner, Galveston, Tex. (1921).

Dist. IV: Arkansas, Colorado, Kansas, Missouri. 6 members: Chas. Jacobson, Little Rock, Ark. (1924); C. D. Spivak, Denver, Colo. (1923); Henry Wallenstein, Wichita, Kan. (1923); Alfred Benjamin, Kansas City, Mo. (1924); Harry Block, St. Joseph, Mo. (1922); Aaron Waldheim, St. Louis, Mo. (1921).

Dist. V: California, Idaho, Nevada, Oregon, Utah, Washington. 8 members: Louis M. Cole, Los Angeles, Cal. (1923); Max C. Sloss, San Francisco, Cal. (1921); Ben Selling, Portland, Ore. (1922); Daniel Alexander, Salt Lake City, Utah (1923); Emanuel Rosenberg, Seattle, Wash. (1924).

Dist. VI: Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, Wisconsin, Wyoming. 13 members: David A. Brown, Detroit, Mich. (1921); Henry M. Butzel, Detroit, Mich. (1924); Meyer S. May, Grand Rapids, Mich. (1921); Isaac Summerfield, St. Paul, Minn. (1922); Victor Rosewater, Omaha, Neb. (1924); Nat. Stone, Milwaukee, Wis. (1922).

Dist. VII: Illinois. 8 members: A. G. Becker (1923); James Davis (1924); M. E. Greenebaum (1923); B. Horwich (1922); Julian W. Mack (1923); Julius Rosenwald (1925); Joseph Stolz (1924), all of Chicago, Ill.; W. B. Woolner, Peoria, Ill. (1921).

Dist. VIII: Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio, West Virginia. 11 members: Samuel E. Rauh, Indianapolis, Ind. (1925); Isaac D. Straus, Ligonier, Ind. (1924); Isaac W. Bernheim, Louisville, Ky. (1922); *J. Walter Freiberg, Cincinnati, O. (1921); David Philipson, Cincinnati, O. (1924); Edward M. Baker, Cleveland, O. (1923); Sigmond Sanger, Toledo, O. (1923); Otto Kaufman, Youngstown, O. (1924); Louis Horkheimer, Wheeling, W. Va. (1925).

Dist. IX: City of Philadelphia. 6 members: Cyrus Adler (1923); Wm. Gerstley (1924); Ephraim Lederer (1922); B. L. Levinthal (1925); M. Rosenbaum (1925); Mayer Sulzberger (1923).

* Deceased.

Dist. X: Delaware, District of Columbia, Maryland, Virginia. 6 members: David Snellenburg, Wilmington, Del. (1924); Fulton Brylawski, Washington, D. C. (1925); Jacob H. Hollander, Baltimore, Md. (1925); Julius Levy, Baltimore, Md. (1921); Siegmund B. Sonneborn, Baltimore, Md. (1925); E. N. Calisch, Richmond, Va. (1922).

Dist. XI: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, Vermont. 20 members: Louis M. Raffel, Waterbury, Conn. (1922); Chas. H. Shapiro, Bridgeport, Conn. (1921); Isaac M. Ullman, New Haven, Conn. (1921); Jacob Asher, Worcester, Mass. (1921); Louis Baer, Boston, Mass. (1924); David A. Ellis, Boston, Mass. (1923); Lewis Goldberg, Boston, Mass. (1923); Henry Lasker, Springfield, Mass. (1922); David A. Lourie, Boston, Mass. (1921); A. C. Ratshesky, Boston, Mass. (1922); Felix Vorenberg, Boston, Mass. (1924); Isidore Wise, Hartford, Conn. (1925).

Dist. XII: ** New York City, 36 members: Isaac Allen (1920); S. Benderly (1920); B. B. Berkowitz (1921); Louis Borgenicht (1920); Elias A. Cohen (1919); Isaac Cohen (1919); Julius J. Dukas (1919); H. J. Epstein (1921); Harry Fischel (1920); William Fischman (1920); Henry M. Goldfogle (1921); Isidore Hershsfield (1921); S. L. Hurwitz (1921); Jacob Kohn (1920); David Kornbluch (1920); Israel Lack (1921); Leo Lerner (1921); Adolph Lewisoohn (1921); William Lieberman (1919); Judah L. Magnes (1921); Louis Marshall (1920); H. Masliansky (1921); Jacob Masael (1921); H. Pereira Mendes (1921); Eugene Meyer, Jr. (1919); S. Neumann (1920); A. E. Rothstein (1919); S. Rottenberg (1920); Leon Sanders (1920); Bernard Semel (1919); P. A. Siegelstein (1921); Joseph Silverman (1920); I. M. Stettenheim (1920); Cyrus L. Sulzberger (1920); Israel Unterberg (1919); Felix M. Warburg (1921).

Dist. XIII: New York (exclusive of the City). 8 members: Mortimer Adler, Rochester (1924); Simon Fleischmann, Buffalo (1925); Louis J. Kopald, Buffalo (1921); Benjamin M. Marcus, Olean (1921); Benjamin Stolz, Syracuse (1924); Eugene Warner, Buffalo (1922); Horace J. Wolf, Rochester (1923).

Dist. XIV: New Jersey and Pennsylvania (exclusive of Philadelphia). 18 members: Felix Fuld, Newark, N. J. (1924); A. J. Dimond, East Orange, N. J. (1923); Joseph B. Perskie, Atlantic City, N. J. (1921); Lewis Straus, Newark, N. J. (1922); Sigmund Eisner, Red Bank, N. J. (1923); Isaac W. Frank, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1922); A. L. Luria, Reading, Pa. (1923); Isaiah Scheeline, Altoona, Pa. (1924); Isador Sobel, Erie, Pa. (1921); A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1924).

** Successors to members whose terms expired in 1919 and 1920 have not been chosen as no Convention of the Kehillah was held since.

Members-at-Large for 1921: Herman Bernstein, Nathan Bijur, Samuel Dorf, Abram I. Elkus, Lee K. Frankel, Max J. Kohler, Irving Lehman, Oscar S. Straus, Lewis Strauss, Jr., all of New York City; Louis E. Kirstein, Boston, Mass.; Abel Davis, Chicago, Ill.; Albert D. Lasker, Chicago, Ill.; Jacob M. Loeb, Chicago, Ill.; S. Marcus Fechheimer, Cincinnati, O.; Chas. Eisenman, Cleveland, O.; Henry Sachs, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Horace Stern, Philadelphia, Pa.; Herbert Friedenwald, Washington, D. C.

DELEGATES FROM ORGANIZATIONS

Fred M. Butzel, National Conference of Jewish Charities. Samuel C. Lamport, United Synagogue of America. Solon J. Liebeskind, Independent Order Free Sons of Israel.

FOURTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING

NOVEMBER 14, 1920

The Fourteenth Annual Meeting of the American Jewish Committee was held at the Hotel Astor, New York City, on Sunday, November 14, 1920. Louis Marshall, Esq., presided, and the following members were present: Cyrus Adler, Isaac Allen, Jacob Asher, S. Benderly, B. B. Berkowitz, Isaac W. Bernheim, Herman Bernstein, Nathan Bijur, Louis Borgenicht, David A. Brown, Edward N. Calisch, Isaac Cohen, James Davis, A. J. Dimond, Samuel Dorf, Harry Fischel, William Fischman, Simon Fleischmann, Isaac W. Frank, Lee K. Frankel, Herbert Friedenwald, Felix Fuld, William Gerstley, Lewis Goldberg, Henry M. Goldfogle, Otto Kaufman, Max J. Kohler, Jacob Kohn, Samuel C. Lamport, Henry Lasker, Ephraim Lederer, Irving Lehman, B. L. Levinthal, William Lieberman, Jacob M. Loeb, A. L. Luria, Julian W. Mack, H. Masliansky, S. Neumann, Joseph B. Perskie, Louis M. Raffel, A. C. Ratschesky, Morris Rosenbaum, Julius Rosenwald, Charles H. Shapiro, P. A. Siegelstein, Joseph Silverman, Benjamin Stolz, Isaac D. Straus, Lewis Straus (Newark), Oscar S. Straus, Lewis Strauss, Jr. (New York), Cyrus L. Sulzberger, Isaac M. Ullman, Israel Unterberg, Felix Vorenberg, A. Leo Weil, and Horace J. Wolf.

Regrets at their inability to attend were received from: Mortimer Adler, Daniel Alexander, Louis Baer, Alfred Benjamin, Harry Block, Fulton Brylawski, Fred M. Butzel, Nathan Cohn, Louis M. Cole, Abel Davis, Sigmund Eisner, Abram

I. Elkus, S. Marcus Fechheimer, J. Walter Freiberg,* M. E. Greenbaum, Leonard Haas, Isidore Hershfield, J. K. Hexter, Bernard Horwich, Isaac H. Kempner, Louis E. Kirstein, Benj. M. Marcus, Meyer S. May, David Philipson, Samuel E. Rauh, Emanuel Rosenberg, Victor Rosewater, Isaiah Scheeline, Ben Selling, Max C. Sloss, Isador Sobel, Siegmund B. Sonnenborn, C. D. Spivak, Joseph Stolz, Mayer Sulzberger, Isaac Summerfield, Montague Triest, Aaron Waldheim, Jacob Wertheim, and W. B. Woolner.

The following representatives of national Jewish organizations who had been invited to attend this meeting were also present: Adolph Kraus, Felix A. Levy, A. B. Seelenfreund, Jacob Singer and Charles Hartman for the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith; Leo M. Franklin, William Rosenau, and Samuel Schulman for the Central Conference of American Rabbis; Elias L. Solomon, Louis Ginzberg, and Alexander Marx for the United Synagogue of America. Mr. Isaac Allen represented the Provisional Organization for an American Jewish Congress.

APPOINTMENTS OF COMMITTEES

The President appointed the following Committee on Nominations: Messrs. Nathan Bijur, Felix Fuld, and Ephraim Lederer; and the following Auditing Committee: Messrs. Samuel C. Lamport, Morris Rosenbaum, and Isaac W. Frank.

PRESENTATION OF REPORTS

The Executive Committee presented its report for the past year.

* Deceased.

Upon motion, the report of the Executive Committee was received and ordered printed.

Doctor Cyrus Adler presented the report of the Office of Jewish War Records of the Committee for the past year. Upon motion, this report was received and ordered printed.

Upon motion, it was resolved that a sub-committee be appointed to ascertain the sum necessary to bring the work of the Office of War Records to a satisfactory conclusion and the feasibility of procuring the required funds.

The report of Joseph L. Kun, Esq., President of the Jewish Community of Philadelphia, was also presented and ordered printed.

ELECTIONS

The Committee on Nominations made the following recommendations:

For officers:

For President: Louis Marshall.

For Vice-Presidents: Cyrus Adler and Julius Rosenwald.

For Treasurer: Isaac W. Bernheim.

For Honorary Member of the Executive Committee:
Mayer Sulzberger.

For Members of the Executive Committee to serve for three years from January 1, 1921.

Isaac W. Bernheim

Horace Stern

Samuel Dorf

Oscar S. Straus

Julius Rosenwald

Cyrus L. Sulzberger

and Isaac M. Ullman, to succeed the late Harry Cutler, whose term expires January, 1923.

To fill expired terms or vacancies :

- District II. Levi Rothenberg, Meridian, Miss., to be reelected for term expiring 1925.
- District VII. Julius Rosenwald, Chicago, Ill., to be reelected for term expiring 1925.
- District VIII. Samuel E. Rauh, Indianapolis; Louis Horkheimer, Wheeling, W. Va., to be reelected for term expiring 1925.
- District IX. B. L. Levinthal and M. Rosenbaum, Philadelphia, Pa., to be reelected for term expiring 1925.
- District X. Fulton Brylawski, Washington, D. C.; Jacob H. Hollander and Siegmund B. Sonneborn, Baltimore, Md., to be reelected for term expiring 1925.
- District XI. Isidore Wise, Hartford, Conn., to succeed the late Harry Cutler for term expiring 1925.
- District XIII. Simon Fleischmann, Buffalo, N. Y., to be reelected for term expiring 1925.
- At Large Herman Bernstein, Nathan Bijur, Abel Davis, Samuel Dorf, Charles Eisenman, Abram I. Elkus, S. Marcus Fechheimer, Lee K. Frankel, Herbert Friedenwald, Louis E. Kirstein, Max J. Kohler, Albert D. Lasker, Irving Lehman, Jacob M. Loeb, Henry Sachs, Horace Stern, Oscar S. Straus, and Lewis Strauss, Jr.

There being no other nominations, the Assistant Secretary was requested to cast one ballot for the nominees of the Committee on Nominations, which he did, and announced the election of the several nominees.

The Committee on Auditing the Accounts of the Treasurer reported that it had duly audited these accounts and found them correct.

ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA

The afternoon session was devoted to a discussion of the anti-Jewish propaganda referred to in the report of the Executive Committee (see p. 313). The President of the Committee presented the draft of a memorial to the American people in which the so-called "Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," now being circulated by various agencies, are declared a forgery, and the charge that Bolshevism is part of a conspiracy of Jews and Freemasons to secure world domination is denounced as a malicious invention inspired by foreign reactionary forces for the purpose of breeding suspicion and hatred against sections of our citizenry in order to discredit "free government in the eyes of the European masses and thus facilitate the restoration of absolutism in government."

Discussion as to methods of combating the propaganda was had and was participated in by representatives of national organizations who had offered their co-operation to the Committee.

A motion was made and unanimously carried that the memorial prepared by the President be adopted and made public with the signatures of such national Jewish organizations as the Executive Committee may deem it advisable to invite.*

* The memorial was made public on December 1, 1920. It is reprinted on pp. 367-377 of this volume.

VOTE OF THANKS TO PRESIDENT

At the conclusion of the meeting, upon motion, a rising vote of confidence, respect, and thanks was tendered to the President of the Committee.

Upon motion, the meeting adjourned.

HARRY SCHNEIDERMAN,

Assistant Secretary.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE
COMMITTEE

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE:

We meet this year, the fourteenth of the Committee's existence, bereft of two members of your Executive Committee; that exalted leader in Israel, our beloved friend, Jacob H. Schiff, who died on September 25, 1920, and that fine example of Jewish manhood, Colonel Harry Cutler, who passed away on August 27, 1920, both of whom had served on your Committee ever since its inception. At the meeting of the Executive Committee held October 10, 1920, the following minutes were adopted:

JACOB H. SCHIFF

The American Jewish Committee records its deep sorrow and profound sense of loss at the death of Jacob H. Schiff which occurred on September 25 of this year. Among his countless activities in behalf of humanity and of the Jewish people, there was none which commanded his more devoted interest than the purposes to which this Committee is dedicated. Inspired by a profound sense of obligation he had

held it from early manhood to be a sacred duty to take such steps as were in his power to alleviate unequal conditions and to mitigate the sufferings to which our brethren in Russia, in Roumania, and other lands were subjected. Sometimes he acted alone; sometimes in hurried consultation with a few friends who gathered upon his initiative when the emergency arose. It was but natural, therefore, that he became one of the first to favor the plan projected in 1906, to bring together the representatives of various national Jewish organizations in the United States with a view to forming a body having for its objects those for which this Committee was finally created. From the organizing session until the very week of his death, the labors to which we were dedicated were constantly in Mr. Schiff's mind. He gave to them his unremitting devotion. To the solution of the problems involved his remarkable intellectual and moral powers were ever available. He never wearied of doing good and his helping hand and his loving heart were never withheld. No one was more punctual in his attendance at our meetings than he. No duty that was imposed upon him or that he voluntarily assumed was ever unfulfilled. He was always staunch in the demand for the equal rights of the Jews everywhere. He always set his face against special privilege and never ceased to insist that with equal rights of citizenship, there came the equal duties and obligations of citizenship.

It is not for this Committee to portray the character or recite the deeds of this our colleague who spent the fulness of his life in works of humanity and in furthering the elevation of his fellow-men, but we may hold him up as a noble exemplar of an American and a Jew, jealous for his country

and zealous for his faith and always prepared to do what was in his power to secure justice for his brethren and for all men wheresoever it was denied them and to add to the justice which he thus demanded, that goodness and mercy to which the weak are entitled at the hands of the strong.

The members of this Committee have lost a courteous and considerate associate and a loyal and cherished friend and in recording his services and glorying in his memory, they unite in presenting to his family their deep and heartfelt sympathy.

HARRY CUTLER

The American Jewish Committee, in common with the Jewish Welfare Board of which he was Chairman, and many other organizations have suffered a grievous loss in the untimely death of Colonel Harry Cutler, who was a member of the Committee since its inception and served on the Executive Committee until he was taken from us. Colonel Cutler was earnest and conscientious in the performance of his duties and could always be relied on to devote his great energy and his boundless enthusiasm to whatever activities were undertaken by the Committee. His important contribution to the success of the movement for the abrogation of the treaty of 1832 with the Russian Empire, and his services in connection with the American Jewish Congress and the Peace Conference at Paris are on record. He served America and American Jewry in countless ways. He was an ardent, loyal, and public-spirited citizen who enjoyed the confidence of all who came in contact with him. The Committee has lost a sincere, zealous, and generous supporter, an indefatigable worker, and an enthusiastic and great-hearted

friend. The Committee extends to his aged mother its deepest sympathy in her bereavement.

The Committee has also lost by death five members of the General body, two of whom had been members for many years: Israel Friedlaender, of New York City, who was murdered on July 5, 1920, by Bolshevik soldiers in the Ukraine while on a mission for the Joint Distribution Committee; Emanuel Cohen, of Minneapolis, whose death occurred on April 9, 1920; and three who had but recently become members: Isaiah W. Hellman, Jr., of San Francisco, who died on May 10, 1920; Albert Hessberg of Albany, who died July 25; Henry N. Wessel, of Philadelphia, who died on March 6, 1920. The following minutes respecting these deceased members were adopted by the Executive Committee:

ISRAEL FRIEDLAENDER

The Committee is deeply grieved and inexpressibly shocked at the tragic death of Israel Friedlaender, a Professor in the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, a Commissioner to the Ukraine on behalf of the Joint Distribution Committee, and a member of the American Jewish Committee since 1909. Professor Friedlaender cherished a deep interest in the Committee, as he did in numerous other Jewish activities, participating actively in its councils. He contributed much of the large fund of his knowledge toward the elucidation of many questions affecting our sorely tried co-religionists in Europe in whose service he lost his life. The Committee extends to his family its heart-felt sympathy in their sorrow which is shared by the Jewish communities the world over.

HENRY N. WESSEL

The Executive Committee has learned with sorrow of the death of the Hon. Henry N. Wessel, a representative of the Jewish Community of Philadelphia in the Committee, and extends its sympathetic condolence to the family of the deceased, a distinguished jurist and a public-spirited Jew.

EMANUEL COHEN

The Executive Committee of the American Jewish Committee received with profound sorrow the report of the death on April 9, 1920, of Emanuel Cohen, a member of the Committee from Minneapolis since November, 1908. The Committee gives expression to the esteem in which Mr. Cohen was held by the Jewish community in the United States, and to its recognition of his loyalty and devotion to this organization.

ISAIAH W. HELLMAN, JR., AND ALBERT HESSBERG

The Executive Committee has learned with sorrow of the death of Isaiah W. Hellman, Jr., of San Francisco, Cal., and of Albert Hessberg of Albany, N. Y., and extends its sympathetic condolence to the families of the deceased.

A. ANTI-JEWISH PROPAGANDA

This year, your Committee deems it proper to begin its report of the matters which engaged its attention during the past twelve months, with a statement as to the widespread anti-Jewish propaganda now being artificially stimulated. It is a concerted movement conducted in Great Britain, Germany, Austria, Hungary, France, and even our own country, to fasten upon the Jews, as a people, the odium of having

brought about the world war and with being the mainspring of all the evils that accompanied and followed it. The sponsors of this movement base their attacks upon the alleged preponderance of Jews in the government of Soviet Russia. These anti-Jewish agitators pretend that they fear that Bolshevist revolutions are menacing the countries of Western Europe and America, and charge that Bolshevism is a purely Jewish movement and part of a plan arranged by an international group of Jews to acquire world domination. In their eagerness to spread their ideas, they have seized upon a spurious "document" entitled "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," first published in Russia in 1905 by one Nilus, whose very identity is a matter of mystery, who from statements attributed to him by his sponsors was an agent of the Czaristic bureaucracy. This forgery, for such it undoubtedly is, is being circulated broadcast by various secret cabals with autocratic antecedents or sympathies. In Germany it is furthered by the Junkers under the leadership of Count Reventlow; in France by those prominent in the Dreyfus episode; in this country by a group of Russians who were among the leaders of the Black Hundreds; in England by a circle that laments the passing of the Romanoffs. For some time past members of your Committee have known of the existence of this "document"; in fact, the manuscript was offered to your Committee with the erroneous idea that a round sum would be paid for its suppression. Under the title of "The Jewish Peril" it was anonymously published in England in February, 1920, and editions of it have appeared in Germany, France, and, we are informed, also in Denmark, Italy, and Spain. Authorities on Russian literature and history have shown that the Protocols are mere fabrications invented for the purpose

of counter-revolutionary propaganda in Russia in 1905, and that they were employed by the officers of General Denikine in order to recruit volunteers for his army by stigmatizing the Bolshevik revolution as a purely Jewish movement to gain control of Russia as part of the larger program of securing world dominion. Though the Protocols were so thoroughly discredited, an American edition of this forgery appeared recently, embellished with an introduction and an epilogue replete with misstatements, half truths, and quotations bearing entirely false appearances due to their isolation from their contexts. We are informed that copies of this scurrilous invention are being extensively circulated as propaganda intended to poison the minds of the American public against the Jewish population of the United States. Increased impetus and currency has been given to this propaganda through the medium of a series of anonymous articles which have been appearing weekly since May 22, in the *Dearborn Independent*, a publication which, it was believed, was owned or controlled by Henry Ford of Detroit. Immediately after the publication of these articles began, the attention of your President was called to them by a member of your Executive Committee, who deemed it important to ascertain whether they had the sanction of Mr. Ford. Doubting that Mr. Ford knew or approved of this publication, a telegram was sent to him personally on June 3, 1920, as follows:

June 3, 1920.

HENRY FORD (Personal),
Detroit, Michigan.

In the issues of May twenty-second and twenty-ninth of the *Dearborn Independent* which is understood to be your property or under your control there have appeared two

articles which are disseminating antisemitism in its most insidious and pernicious form. The statements which they contain are palpable fabrications and the insinuations with which they abound are the emanations of hatred and prejudice. They constitute a libel upon an entire people who had hoped that at least in America they might be spared the insult the humiliation and the obloquy which these articles are scattering throughout the land and which are echoes from the dark middle ages. Your agencies are said to be engaged in circulating this mischief-breeding sheet. On behalf of my brethren I ask you from whom we had believed that justice might be expected whether these offensive articles have your sanction whether further publications of this nature are to be continued and whether you shall remain silent when your failure to disavow them will be regarded by the general public as an endorsement of them. Three million of deeply wounded Americans are awaiting your answer.

LOUIS MARSHALL

President American Jewish Committee.

On June 5, 1920, the following telegraphic answer was received from the Dearborn Publishing Company:

Detroit, Mich., June 5, 1920.

LOUIS MARSHALL,

President, American Jewish Committee,

120 Broadway, New York City.

We regret the words in which you have seen fit to characterize the *Dearborn Independent's* articles. Your terms "insidious" "fabrications" "insinuation" "pernicious" "hatred" "prejudice" "libel" "insult" "humiliation" "obloquy" "mischief-making" we resent and deny. Your rhetoric is that of a Bolshevik orator. You mistake our intention. You misrepresent the tone of our articles. You evidently much mistake the persons whom you are addressing. Incidentally you cruelly overwork your most useful term which is "antizemitism." These articles shall continue and we hope you will

continue to read them and when you have attained a more tolerable state of mind we shall be glad to discuss them with you.

THE DEARBORN PUBLISHING CO.

Immediately upon its receipt the following reply was made:

June 5, 1920.

DEARBORN PUBLISHING COMPANY,
Detroit, Michigan.

Your telegram in answer to my personal message to Henry Ford has just been received from which I infer that your answer is authorized by him and betokens his sanction of the articles in the *Dearborn Independent* to which I have taken exception in words that I shall be able to justify.

LOUIS MARSHALL.

Mr. Ford has thus accepted full responsibility for this rancorous attack upon the Jews, which has grown in mendacity, bitterness, and stupidity with every issue.

Concurrently there appeared in the *London Morning Post* a series of anonymous articles in which the Jews are alleged to be united with the Freemasons in a conspiracy against civilization. These articles have been published in England in book form under the title "The Cause of the World Unrest." This in spite of the fact that a competent authority on Freemasonry has branded as rubbish, imbecility, and a "recrudescence of mendacities," the anti-Masonic propaganda on which a great part of the articles is based, and despite the fact also that the most convincing proofs of the spurious character of the Protocols, that constitute the foundation of the articles, have been presented by competent experts.

In the early part of October, the firm of G. P. Putnam's Sons, of New York and London, published an American edition of "The Cause of the World Unrest," with an introduction

by H. A. Gwynne, the editor of the *London Morning Post*, and a publisher's note disavowing responsibility for the contents of the book. Accompanying this publication was an announcement by G. P. Putnam's Sons that an edition of *The Protocols* would shortly be issued by them. This led to the following correspondence between your President and Major George Haven Putnam, the head of the publishing firm:

1. FROM MR. MARSHALL TO MAJOR
GEORGE HAVEN PUTNAM

October 13, 1920.

MY DEAR SIR:

As one who believes in those qualities that constitute the true American spirit, I have been greatly disturbed by the accounts given by the newspapers of the outrage to which you were subjected at the meeting held at Erasmus High School in Brooklyn the other evening. Knowing your patriotism, I can only regard the alleged cause, namely, that you had condemned the Declaration of Independence and were of the opinion that we owed an apology to England for severing our relations with her, as a slander, born of prejudice and ignorance.

I had scarcely finished reading of this episode which had thus aroused my indignation, when I found upon my table a book, bearing the imprint of your firm, entitled "The Cause of the World Unrest," bound in flaming red and purporting to be a republication of articles that have recently appeared in the *London Morning Post* with which I had become familiar. To say that I was shocked that your honored name should be made the vehicle of disseminating among the American people these outpourings of malice, intolerance and hatred, this witches' broth of virulent poison, is merely to confess the poverty of my vocabulary. On opening the book I turned to the publishers' note, which was apologetic and disclaimed responsibility for the publication. It was followed by an intro-

duction which made it absolutely clear that the purpose of the book was to charge the Jews with an age-long conspiracy to destroy civilization in order that they might absorb the wealth and the power of the world. Thus proclaimed, at length came the stupid drivel intended to support this thesis and calculated to make the Jew repulsive in the eyes of his fellow-men and to exterminate him, not figuratively, but literally, appealing, as it does, to the lowest passions and proceeding upon the same processes that were employed in the Middle Ages for the same object. Then it was the blood accusation, the charge of poisoning wells, of spreading plagues and pestilence, of the desecration of the Host. Now it is a pretended conspiracy to overturn the economic system of the world by inciting warfare and revolution.

The slightest knowledge of history, the most elementary capacity for analysis, or even a minute inkling as to what the Jew is and has been, would suffice to stamp this book and the forged Protocols on which it is based as the most stupendous libels in history. These writings are the work of a band of conspirators who are seeking to continue to make the Jew, as he has been in all the centuries, the scapegoat of autocracy. The Protocols bear the hall-mark of the secret agents of the dethroned Russian bureaucracy, and the book which you have published is a mere babbling reiteration of what the murderers of the Ukraine, of Poland, and of Hungary are urging as a justification for the holocausts of the Jews in which they have been engaged. It has been intimated, and there is much to sustain the theory, that the real purpose of these publications in the United States and England is to arouse sufficient hostility against the Jews to subject them to mob violence and thus to give justification to those who have incited pogroms in Eastern Europe.

I have also observed that, upon the cover of the book to which I am now referring, you are advertising the publication of The Protocols, which I unhesitatingly denounce as on their face palpable forgeries. If you were called upon to circulate counterfeit money or forged bonds, you would shrink in horror

at the suggestion. What you have done and what you propose to do is, however, in morals, incalculably worse. You are assisting in spreading falsehoods, in uttering libels, the effect of which will be felt for decades to come. You are giving them respectability, whilst the name of the author is shrouded in secrecy. Even Mr. Gwynne does not avow paternity for the book which he has heralded. Much as you may desire to shake off responsibility therefor, the real responsibility for hurling this bomb, for such it is, prepared though it has been by others, rests upon you. Whoever may read this book and is of such a low type of intelligence as to be influenced by it will not be apt to draw the fine ethical distinctions with which you are seeking to salve your conscience. As a patriotic American, do you believe that you are contributing to the creation of that spirit of justice and fair-play, of unity and harmony, which is the very foundation of that Americanism for which every good citizen has yearned, when you stimulate hatred and passion by the publication of these dreadful falsehoods? If there should occur in this country in consequence of your publications and those of Henry Ford what is earnestly desired by the anti-Semites with whom you have arrayed yourself, do you suppose that, when the Almighty calls you to a reckoning and asks you whether you have ever borne false witness against your neighbor, you will be guiltless in His eyes because of your publishers' note disavowing responsibility?

I knew that you must have been pained, as I was when I read of the treatment to which you were subjected because of lying accusations directed against you. Are you able to appreciate the pain, the grief, the agony, that you are causing to three millions of your fellow-countrymen, and to millions of men, women and children in other parts of the world, by your participation in the disgraceful and inhuman persecution which is now being insidiously carried on by means of publications in the distribution of which you are now actively engaged? I look upon this as a tragedy. Yours, in sadness,

LOUIS MARSHALL.

2. MAJOR PUTNAM'S REPLY

New York, October 15, 1920.

DEAR MR. MARSHALL:

Your letter of the 13th inst., which has to do with the publication of the volume entitled *The World Unrest* and the announcement of the companion volume *The Protocols*, has been read before the members of our Publishing Board and has received the respectful consideration to which any communication from a citizen of your standing and reputation is assuredly entitled. I am asked by my associates to make report as follows as to our own understanding of the matters in question:

1. We are not prepared to accept your view of the responsibility that attaches to a publishing imprint, or to the association of such imprint with one volume or another. We believe that our own policy in this matter is in accord with that of the leading publishing Houses on both sides of the Atlantic. It would be impossible to carry on the business of publishing books of opinion, whether the opinions have to do with issues of today or with matters of the past, if the publisher was assumed to be in accord with the conclusions arrived at by one author or another. It is the intention to bring into print only such volumes as may present on such issues information that is understood to make an addition to the knowledge of the subject, or conclusions which appear to be entitled to consideration, to analysis, or possibly to refutation.

2. We have on our own catalogue, for instance, volumes expressing almost every phase of theological or religious belief. The list includes some books accepted by the Christian Scientists as fairly representative of their doctrines. In publishing such books, we have, of course, no intention of announcing ourselves as upholding the theories of the Christian Scientists any more than in the publication of a volume by a Presbyterian divine we have expressed our acceptance of the Westminster catechism, or in printing a book by an Episcopal friend, we have been prepared to approve the reasonableness of the Thirty-Nine Articles.

3. The volume, *The World Unrest*, was, as you will have noted, brought into publication in London at the instance of Mr. Gwynne, the scholarly editor of the *Morning Post*. You doubtless have knowledge of the journals of England and will realize that the *Post* does not belong to the sensation-monger journals like Bottomley's *John Bull* or Hearst's *American*. It is a conservative paper which has the reputation of avoiding sensational material.

Mr. Gwynne had convinced himself that the papers brought into print in the *Post*, and later published under his direction in book form, were deserving of consideration. As we have stated in the Publishers' Note, we are not prepared to express any opinion whatsoever in regard to the value of the so-called information presented, or as to the weight of the conclusions arrived at by the writer and endorsed by Mr. Gwynne. The recommendation came to us that as the Gwynne volume used as a large part of its text the document entitled *The Protocols*, the readers of *The World Unrest* would be interested in having an opportunity of examining the full text of the *Protocols*. You have already knowledge of this curious document. It has, it seems, been in print since 1905, and possibly earlier. An edition was published some months back by Eyre & Spottiswoode, conservative law publishers of London. An edition has also for some time been in print in Boston. The text that was brought to us is a translation freshly made from the Russian and is accompanied by a record of what is known of the original document.

It is evident that the document has, as you point out, no voucher for authenticity, and it is quite possible that it will be found to possess no historic importance. Attention has again been directed to it during the past year simply on the ground, according at least to the understanding of Mr. Gwynne's author and of himself, that certain of the instructions given and policies recommended in *The Protocols* appear to have been carried out by the Bolshevik government in Russia. Certain suggestions in *The Protocols* have also been connected with the policies of the Zionists, policies which,

according to Mr. Gwynne and some other writers, are causing serious unrest in Palestine, Syria, and Arabia.

In presenting *The Protocols* to American readers in a carefully printed edition, we have not the least intention of expressing the view that the documents are authentic, or that they will in the end be considered as possessing historic authority.

Mr. Gwynne takes the ground that neither *The World Unrest* or *The Protocols* themselves present charges against the Jews as a whole. They emphasize certain things that have been done, or are alleged to have been done, by certain groups of Jews. It would be as fair to say that a record of lynching in Texas or Arkansas, or a record of the attempt of the Bryan group to secure the payment of debts 50 cents on the dollar, was to be considered as a charge against the whole American people.

Mr. Gwynne's associates take the ground that the leading Jews on both sides of the Atlantic, men whose patriotism is unquestioned, ought not to put these documents to one side as of trifling importance. The time may very properly have come at which the charges made, as said, only against certain groups of Jews should be analyzed by the Jews whose judgments would be accepted as authoritative by English and American readers. If the charge is unfounded that Bolshevism as carried on in Russia has been conducted largely under Jewish direction, the statement ought to be refuted.

I received only yesterday copy of a monthly entitled *The Brooklyn Anti-Bolshevist*. The magazine undertakes to make "defense of American institutions against the Jewish Bolshevist doctrines of Morris Hillquit and Leon Trotsky." It seems to me that American citizens of the Jewish race (and the group comprises some of the best citizens that we have) might properly interest themselves in making clear to the public that there is no foundation for any general charge against the world's patriotism of the Jewish race.

I wish very much that you might yourself be interested in preparing a volume that should give consideration to the whole subject matter, and particularly, of course, to these publications

which have come into print as a result of the world's indignation against the Moscow government.

G. P. Putnam's Sons would be well pleased to associate the imprint of their New York and London Houses with such a volume from the pen of a distinguished jurist like yourself.

One further thought occurs to me: You and I are believers in freedom of speech. We recognize that in war times certain reservations are in order for the sake of the nation, but we hold that, with the necessary reservations as to the rights of an individual, or as to a possible libel upon an individual, it is in order, and from the point of view of the community wise, to allow full freedom for platform utterances. If, however, this be true for the spoken word, it should logically be applicable also to the word that comes into print.

In case you may be interested in considering the suggestion of a monograph from your pen to be prepared by yourself, or by some competent authority whom you might be able to interest, I should be ready to keep an appointment for a personal word at such time and place as you might find convenient.

Submitting the suggestion for your consideration, I am with cordial regards,

Yours faithfully,

GEO. HAVEN PUTNAM.

3. MR. MARSHALL TO MAJOR PUTMAN

New York City, October 29, 1920.

MY DEAR SIR:

Absence from the city and professional engagements have prevented me from replying earlier to yours of the 15th inst., in which you define your policy regarding the publication of *The Cause of the World Unrest* and your announcement of your intended publication of *The Protocols*.

I cannot accept the theories on which you seek to justify acts which, in all moderation, I sought to characterize in my letter of the 13th inst. You disregard entirely the proposition on which my criticism is based. Nobody can go farther than

I do in upholding the freedom of the press and freedom of speech. It has been my privilege to aid in the creation of important precedents in furtherance of these fundamentals of liberty. Libel and slander, however, have always been looked upon in American law as abuses of a free press and of free speech and as attacks upon the integrity of the constitutional guaranties that you invoke. Nor do I question the right of any publisher to issue "books of opinion," to whatever subject the opinions may relate. They may be polemical or they may attack the soundness of scientific, political or theological theories or doctrines. No fair-minded man would for a moment venture to find fault because of strictures directed against his cherished doxy.

The Protocols and *The Cause of the World Unrest* are not, however, books of opinion. They assume to deal with facts. *The Protocols* purport to be the pronouncements of so-called "Wise Men of Zion." *The Cause of the World Unrest* undertakes to charge that the Jews and the Freemasons are together engaged in a conspiracy for the overthrow of civilization and the arrogation by them of world domination. It is these alleged facts that I denounce as falsehoods and as libels criminal in intent and criminal in their operation. *The Protocols*, which are made the basis of the *Cause of the World Unrest*, and which you properly describe as companion volumes, are so intrinsically false that even Mr. Gwynne concedes that he himself has a serious doubt as to their genuineness. That *The Protocols* are a fabrication similar to those that have appeared in every period of history, appears from every line of that document. I am credibly informed that the manuscript was offered for publication to seven different publishing houses in this country, who refused to have their names connected with it, before Small, Maynard & Co. undertook to issue it to the American public. The author of the *Cause of the World Unrest* hides behind anonymity. You yourself speak of the author as being "Mr. Gwynne's author." Apparently even you do not know the pedigree of this incendiary book. Yet you have, I repeat, given it your endorsement by publishing it, even

though you disavow responsibility. Your position is that of one who endorses a note to give it currency and at the same time makes a mental reservation against meeting his obligation.

No, Major Putnam, the principle which you seek to establish will not work. Whoever touches pitch is defiled. Whoever retails falsehoods and spreads them, whether it be orally or through the medium of the press, is responsible for those falsehoods in the eyes of God and man. The law of libel utterly disregards the sophistries by which you are seeking to justify this terrible attack upon your fellow-citizens. It will not do to say that you have many friends among the Jews whom you respect and that these books are not intended to reflect upon all Jews. The world is not so discriminating. People whose passions are aroused do not differentiate. The forger of *The Protocols* and the mysterious author of *The Cause of the World Unrest* make no distinctions. Neither did their prototypes of the Middle Ages nor the Black Hundreds of modern Russia indulge in such refinements. Troy and Tyre were alike to them.

Do not for a moment misunderstand me. I contend that there are no Jews who are now engaged or who have ever been engaged in a conspiracy such as that charged by you as existing in these books which emerge smoking from your presses. The cry of Bolshevism will not suffice. Your reference to the *Brooklyn Anti-Bolshevist* shows what a sad pass you have reached. To shelter yourself behind the bulwarks of an infamous pasquinade of the guttersnipe variety and to insinuate that because that sheet pretends to defend American institutions "against the Jewish Bolshevik doctrines of Morris Hillquit and Leon Trotsky" you may therefore descend to the same depths, is a revelation to me. I had not believed that any real, true American would thus lend himself to the creation of ill-will and malevolence. The fact that out of the mass of Russian Jews there is an infinitesimal percentage who are Bolsheviks, affords no justification for laying the sins of Bolshevism at the door of the Jewish people. To say that Bolshevism is a Jewish movement is as ridiculous as to say that the Jews are responsible for capitalism, or, because

there are Jewish musicians, actors and poets, that music, the drama and poetry are Jewish movements.

I am not a Zionist, and yet I regard the slurs that these books are attempting to make against Zionism to be unworthy. The very Zionists whom these books are attacking have been persecuted by the Bolshevists and have been denounced as counter-revolutionists, just as the mass of the Jews of Russia have been pursued as members of the bourgeoisie. I am not a member of the Masonic or of any other secret order, but the attempt in these books to charge Freemasonry with participation in such a conspiracy as is proclaimed, almost argues the existence of a pathological condition on the part of the author that betokens mental aberration. When one remembers that fifteen of the Presidents of the United States, including George Washington, have been Freemasons, it is unnecessary to go further in condemnation of these volumes which you are pleased to denominate "books of opinion."

I had not believed that a Jew in this country would ever be called upon to occupy the humiliating position of defending his people against charges such as those which are being spread broadcast through your agency. If ever the time comes when it shall be desirable to answer such books, I am quite sure that it will be unnecessary for me to avail myself of your invitation to make use of the services of your firm, as publishers.

Very truly yours,

LOUIS MARSHALL.

4. MAJOR PUTNAM TO MR. MARSHALL

November 1, 1920.

DEAR MR. MARSHALL:

Mr. Gwynne, at whose instance we brought into print the American edition of his volume on *The World Unrest*, had taken the ground that the publication of the document known as *The Protocols* might throw light upon the organization of the Bolshevists. Their operations have caused grave concern throughout the world and they are, therefore, a matter of legitimate public discussion.

It was his opinion that if it had not been for the apprehension aroused by Bolshevism, the document would probably have been permitted to rest in obscurity.

An edition of *The Protocols* was, therefore, published in London by Eyre & Spottiswoode, law publishers of high standing.

It had seemed to us that the readers of *The World Unrest* were entitled to have the opportunity of examining the complete document (to which frequent references are made in Mr. Gwynne's volume) and we had, therefore, undertaken the publication of a carefully prepared translation of *The Protocols*.

The production of the edition announced by us, which is now nearly in readiness, has involved a considerable outlay.

We now find, however, that an edition printed in Boston is being distributed as a regular publication. There is no necessity for bringing into print another volume containing substantially the same material. We have decided, therefore, in deference to the objections raised by yourself, and by my valued friend, Oscar Straus, *not* to proceed with the publication. I am,

Yours very truly,

GEO. HAVEN PUTNAM.

In the meantime your Committee has been engaged in giving intensive study to the problem. It was aware of the use that had been made of the manuscript of "The Protocols" during the war and subsequently. It was impossible, however, to inaugurate any practical action that would prevent the secret circulation of this infamous document; nor was it anticipated that any reputable publisher would be willing to put it into print or that any responsible person would stand sponsor for it. When, however, this expectation was not realized, your Committee proceeded to encourage experts to prepare a reasoned answer to these infamous charges against the Jewish people, with the thought that they might find it desirable to issue it in book form and

thus counteract the efforts of unscrupulous men to malign the Jews. The manuscript of such a book is now practically completed, and it is expected that the author will publish the book at an early day.

Believing, however, that this subject is one in which all Jews are equally interested, invitations have been extended to the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the United Synagogue, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Independent Order of B'nai B'rith, the Provisional Committee of the American Jewish Congress, the Zionist Organization of America, and other Jewish bodies, to confer with the Committee for the purpose of taking joint action and of dealing with the subject in such manner as will present to the American people the answer of the Jews to the assault that has been made upon their honor.

B. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

In the report which was presented to you on the occasion of the Thirteenth Annual Meeting, a brief survey was given of the conditions of our brethren in the countries of Europe as affected by the world war and by the minor racial and national conflicts which followed it. Your Committee is unable to report any considerable improvement in the deplorable situation set forth in that survey with the exception of that in Roumania. On the contrary, the sanguinary war between Poland and Russia which was waged until a few weeks ago has cast the population of Eastern Europe into even lower depths of misery, and the millions of Jews in that region have borne as usual more than their proportionate share of suffering.

1. POLAND

Details of the present condition of the Jews of Poland indicate that it is just as pitiable as it was following the conclusion of the world war. The reports of the American and British Commissions to investigate the situation show that there exists between the different classes of the population a mutual distrust and antagonism. This condition, in a greater or less degree, obtains also in other parts of the former Russian Empire, with the exception of Lithuania, and the history of the Jews of these regions will, no doubt, for some time to come, exhibit a series of struggles on the part of the Jews and the liberal elements in the general population to overcome the racial animosities bequeathed by Czardom.

In July last, during the crisis in the Russo-Polish war, your Committee received information from reliable sources that attempts were being made by the Polish press and anti-Jewish agitators to incite riots against the Jewish population of several large centers by seeking to identify the Jews with the Bolsheviki. Your Committee immediately transmitted this information to our Government with the prayer that it employ its good offices to prevent threatened outbreaks. Happily the crisis passed without any concerted attacks, although sporadic disorders continued to occur.

The President of your Committee, while in Washington, called on Prince Lubomirski, the Polish Minister, and discussed with him at some length the relations of the Poles and the Jews. It was arranged that Mr. Berenson, the Secretary of the Polish Legation, was to take up the matter in all of its details at an early date. After some delay such a conference took place, Mr. Berenson being then on the eve of

his departure for Poland. He requested that the substance of the interview be reduced to writing, so that it might be presented to the Polish Government. That was done, and a copy of the letter was transmitted to Prince Lubomirski, who duly acknowledged it. A copy of the correspondence follows:

October 29, 1920.

YOUR EXCELLENCY:

You will recollect that when I called on you some months ago to discuss Polish conditions, at which time we had a very pleasant interview, you stated that you would at an early opportunity request the Secretary of your Legation, Mr. Berenson, to call on me to take up the general subject of the relation of the Jews in Poland to their fellow-citizens and to consider the attitude of the Jews of the United States toward Poland. I had hoped that he would have had an opportunity to call on me much sooner than he did. He recently paid me a visit, informing me that he was about to return to Poland. We discussed the subject which I had previously taken up with you, at considerable length. At his request I reduced to writing the substance of what I had said to him concerning the attitude of the American Jews toward Poland, and sent the same to him to the Hotel Lafayette, in this city, as requested, and a copy to him in care of the Polish Legation. I do not know whether he has as yet returned to Poland, or, if he has, whether he had an opportunity to communicate to you the contents of my letter. Believing that it would be helpful for you personally to be in possession of my views I now take the liberty of handing you a copy of that communication.

With much esteem, I am

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS MARSHALL.

October 16, 1920.

MY DEAR MR. BERENSON:

Pursuant to my promise that I would make a full statement to you as to the attitude of the American Jews toward Poland,

in order that you may on your return to your native country be enabled to speak with authority, I take this opportunity of summarizing what I said to you at our very pleasant conference on Thursday.

The Jews of this country are not and never have been hostile to the people of Poland. Not only have they been without the slightest desire to injure Poland, but because of the fact that several millions of their brethren now live there and will continue to dwell in Poland, they have every desire to see Poland prosperous and happy. They have, however, been deeply grieved at the manner in which the Jews of Poland have been treated during the last ten years. It has been the avowed policy of an important political party of Poland to drive the Jews out of Poland, so far as that could be accomplished by means of a widespread and deliberate economic boycott, the persistent infliction of indignities, humiliation and insult upon and the deprivation of the Jews of Poland of the enjoyment of those rights of citizenship that are possessed by Poles who are not of Jewish extraction. This course of procedure was initiated prior to the outbreak of the World War and was in no manner due to war conditions. Mr. Dmowski avowed to me on several occasions in the fall of 1918, that he himself had initiated this movement and that its purpose was precisely what I have stated it to be. Immediately after my first interview with him I made a record of what he had said. It will be found on pages 48-53 of the pamphlet narrating the proceedings of the concluding session of the American Jewish Congress, which I hand you herewith. He subsequently reiterated what he had said to me, in the presence of at least a dozen other gentlemen at a dinner given to Mr. Paderewski shortly before his departure for Paris, just before the convening of the Peace Conference there.

At that time the Jews who were present with me at this interview, among whom were the Honorable Oscar S. Straus, the Honorable Julian W. Mack and Rev. Dr. Stephen S. Wise, sought to obtain from Mr. Paderewski and Mr. Dmowski assurances that the boycott would cease and that the Jews would receive equality of treatment with all other Poles. To our

great regret no such assurances were forthcoming. We were only regaled with statements that consisted of mere generalities and that referred to the remote future. At this time there had occurred the attacks upon the Jews at Lemberg, and we asked for assurances that similar occurrences would be prevented. We were merely told that there had never been a pogrom in Poland, and were unable to obtain the slightest satisfaction.

Instead of improving, conditions grew from bad to worse. The Jews continued to be humiliated and were discriminated against in every way—they were attacked upon the streets and in public places. They were not protected against these aggressions. There occurred in at least a dozen cities and towns what euphemistically have been termed "excesses," the occurrence of which was denied but has been established by uncontradicted evidence, as shown by the report of the American Mission of which the Honorable Henry Morgenthau was the Chairman and of the English Mission which was headed by Sir Stuart Samuel. The existence of these outrages was also recognized in the proclamations of Generals Pilsudski and Haller and by the official action of the Seim.

The reports that come from Poland from disinterested observers, not Jewish, satisfy me that, notwithstanding the acceptance by Poland of the terms of the Minority Treaty signed by its representatives, Mr. Paderewski and Mr. Dmowski, at Versailles on June 28, 1919, the letter and spirit of this treaty have not been observed, and that the Jews continue to be subjected to all manner of hostility and discrimination.

After the signing of this treaty I had the honor to call on Mr. Paderewski in Paris, in company with Mr. Nahum Sokolow, a Polish citizen and a man who is esteemed throughout Europe. We acted as the representatives of the Comite des Delegations Juives, of which I had the honor to be the President, to congratulate Poland, through him, upon the attainment of her long-sought restoration to independence and sovereignty, and at the same time we expressed our appreciation of what we looked upon as an act of magnanimity, that of the acceptance of the principles laid down in the Minority Treaty in the hour of

Poland's glory. We discussed with him fully the tragic situation of the Jews of Poland and expressed the desire that the past should be forgotten and that the Poles and the Jews should in the future strive together to make of Poland a happy and prosperous nation. Mr. Paderewski expressed great satisfaction with what we had said and asked us to communicate to him in a letter the substance of our oral remarks, which he believed would be helpful in bringing about the accomplishment of what we so ardently desired. We at once complied with his wishes and transmitted to him our written statement. To the same end I took it upon myself to communicate with the leading Jews of Poland, with the desire that they should join hands with the political leaders of Poland in bringing about an era of friendship, conciliation and good feeling. From what I have learned I am confident that this expresses the cherished desire of the Jews of Poland.

I am aware of the fact that the feeling has been aroused that there are some Jews in Poland who have sympathized with the Bolsheviks and that that fact has been made the pretext for the harsh treatment that has been accorded to the Jews and for such massacres as occurred in Pinsk. It is, however, not the fact that the Jews, as such, are inclined to Bolshevism. The great mass of them are opposed to it. Their interest, their education, their natural disposition, would lead them to oppose any form of communism. They are individualists. They belong to the bourgeoisie or the middle classes. They are in the main devout followers of religion. They believe in the sanctity of the family and of the home. They are believers in the economic system that has prevailed in all civilized States. The fact, however, that some of them, goaded to desperation by the brutality to which they have been subjected, may have been driven into the ranks of the Bolsheviks, and that when the Bolshevik hordes entered the towns in which they lived they remained there because they could not flee, and were obliged to hold converse with those in occupancy, just as they were compelled to do when the Germans invaded Poland, has been

the cause for singling them out for condign punishment and for making them the target of anti-Semitic propaganda.

Nobody who knows the psychology of the Jew, his unfortunate situation during the Russian régime, the oppression and discrimination of which he was the victim in consequence of the multitude of laws and decisions by which he was sought to be made the scapegoat of autocracy, can honestly believe the slanders that have been uttered against the Jews of Poland and that have been reiterated in the Polish press with unexampled virulence. So far as I know there has been no effort made to suppress this cruel propaganda, to prevent the publication of these libels, to indicate a desire by the Government that the Jews shall be treated as human beings and as on a parity with all Poles. Although the Jews have served in the Polish army and have been willing to render military service, just as they did before Poland achieved her independence, they have not only been looked upon with suspicion, but they have been treated contemptuously and have suffered from discrimination of the most pronounced character by their officers and at the hands of their companions in arms, who have been permitted to make them the butts of their hatred.

Now, my dear Mr. Berenson, you certainly know that these are the facts. It is quite possible that there may have been at times exaggerations, just as we find exaggerations in the newspapers of the United States, of England, of France, and of every other country. That does not, however, justify one in disregarding actual occurrences which have been so numerous, so persistent and so universal as to make it impossible to ignore them. The admissions of the Polish authorities make it unnecessary to establish the existence of the facts which they themselves have officially recognized. This being the case, is it surprising that the Jews of America, many of whom are of kin to those who are thus suffering in Poland—sons, brothers, sisters, cousins and nephews—should be aroused by these conditions, especially when they had hoped for better things after the downfall of the Russian bureaucracy? Is it to be wondered at if, in their agony and despair, they should occasionally sound

a note of protest and of indignation, or, if you will, of unfriendliness? Have not the Poles, to their great honor, be it said, indicated a like attitude for more than a century toward the treatment that their brethren had received at the hands of Russia, Prussia and Austria? Would it have been possible for Poland to regain her freedom if that passion for liberty and equality had not been kept alive in the breasts of all Poles, even during the darkest days of Poland's history? You know how loyal the Jews of Poland were to their native land in the revolution of 1863, and at all times when an effort was made for the regaining of Polish independence. My personal sympathy with Poland was aroused in my childhood by Polish Jews with whom I became acquainted and who evinced a spirit of patriotism which was inspiring. I can assure you that, if the Polish Government and the Polish people should put an end to the boycott and to the hatred of the Jew of which they have of late given evidence, if the Jew were treated in Poland as he is in the United States, Poland would at once gain three million advocates here, and all of the influence at their command would be cast in the scales in favor of the Polish Government.

You have been in this country long enough to know what a valuable asset the Polish and Russian Jews who have come hither have been to the United States. They have become an important factor in our industrial and commercial life. In fact they have created new industries. They are producers, engaged in every form of manufacture, in all the trades, as well as in the professions. In the great majority of instances they arrived here without financial means, and yet, through their industry, perseverance, intelligence and strict attention to their duties, they have added to the wealth of the Nation. They have not been drones. They have not become public charges. They have not created a political or social problem. They are respected by the great mass of the American people. The Jews who have remained in Poland are of the same flesh and blood. They have the same innate qualities. Their misery and misfortunes have, to outward appearance, made them the objects of ridicule and of repulsion to those who do not know and un-

derstand the inner man. All that they require is an opportunity, the advantages of liberty and equality, a friendly word, kindness instead of harshness, and it will inevitably follow that they will do for Poland what those who have come here have done for America. What Poland needs is the establishment of industries, the development of her great resources and of her commerce. Give the Jew half a chance and he will make the present industrial desert blossom as the rose. If the Jews of Poland obtain that recognition for which I appeal, there is not the slightest doubt but that the Jews of America will be prepared to help in the industrial development of Poland and to throw the weight of their influence in favor of any movement looking in that direction.

The Jews of Poland and of America have, however, begun to despair. They feel that the Polish Government is unwilling to carry out the spirit of the Minority Treaty or to give the Jew the rights to which he is entitled as a citizen of Poland and as a human being. It is not, however, too late to bring about a different state of mind. The initiative must come from the Polish Government and from the Polish people. They must give evidence of a change of heart. They must instill confidence in those who have been broken and bruised and indicate to them that a new epoch is dawning and that henceforth the misunderstandings, differences and animosities of the past are to be forever buried in oblivion. Let the Jews know that they are to have a part and lot in the restoration of Poland and in its development and that they are no longer to be despised and contemned, and I can assure you that there will be none so happy to aid in the accomplishment of all that the most loyal and patriotic Pole can pray for, as the Jews of America.

Very cordially yours,

LOUIS MARSHALL.

LEON BERENSON, Esq.,

Hotel Lafayette,

University Place and 9th Street, New York City.

LEGATION OF POLAND
WASHINGTON

October 30, 1920.

MR. LOUIS MARSHALL,
120 Broadway, New York City.

MY DEAR MR. MARSHALL:

Thank you very much for your letter of October 20th and a copy of your letter to Mr. Berenson, which I read with interest.

As perhaps you know, I am deeply interested in the bringing about of better understanding between Christian and Jewish populations of my country. I think that fundamentally the root of whatever trouble has occurred in Poland is economic, and I am endeavoring to bring about better conditions on that basis. In the interest of mutual understanding, I have consented to a conference with representatives of the American Jewish Congress, which will take place some time in the near future.

I have pleasant remembrances of our last meeting, and I look forward to seeing you again some time soon with much pleasure.

With all best wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

CASIMIR LUBOMIRSKI,
Minister of Poland.

Shortly after this correspondence had been interchanged, Prince Lubomirski indicated his willingness to meet a delegation of the Provisional Committee of the Jewish Congress to discuss the same subject, and at the request of this Committee your President attended the conference, and addressed Prince Lubomirski on the lines of the Berenson letter. At the same time a formal Memorial was presented to him which is as follows:

We have gathered for the purpose of considering what may be done for the relief of our brethren in Eastern Europe, and

particularly to put an end to the indignities, brutalities and persecution which they continue to be subjected to in the Ukraine, in Hungary, in Poland and other territories.

So far as Poland is concerned we desire to place upon record that the Jews of the United States are not now and never have been hostile to that land. On the contrary, they have at all times sympathized with the aspiration of the Polish people for a restoration of their freedom. Because of that fact and because of our anxiety to promote the welfare of the millions of our brethren who now live and will continue to live in Poland, whose ancestors have for centuries lived there and regarded it as their home, we are deeply interested in the perpetuation of the present free and independent Republic of Poland. We regard that whatever tends to make the Republic happy, peaceful and prosperous at the same time contributes to the happiness of the Jews of that land, and it is equally true that whatever tends to the amelioration of the condition of the Jews of Poland, inevitably will lead to the prosperity of Poland. We, therefore, view with satisfaction the cessation of the warfare in which the Republic of Poland has so long been engaged and we rejoice in the assurance that peace may henceforth be maintained within her borders.

In giving utterance to these sentiments we would, however, be lacking in candor if we failed to voice our grave concern at the treatment to which our brethren have been subjected in Poland for some time past. With every desire to foster amity it is apparent that so long as the Jews of Poland are compelled to suffer from the unhappy conditions to which we have adverted, those who are of kin to them in America must certainly do all that lies legitimately within their power to bring about amelioration. While the Jews of America stand ready and willing to aid in the creation of a prosperous Poland, they feel justified in entertaining the expectation that Poland shall remove all obstacles that stand in the way of co-operation by the Jews of Poland in the attainment of what should be the united purpose of all of the inhabitants of Poland—its social, economic, civic and political development. In order to speed

the realization of this purpose, it is our earnest hope that the Polish Government may proceed at once to carry out in letter and spirit the terms of the so-called Minority Treaty which was promulgated on June 28, 1919, and which was thereafter confirmed by the Polish Diet. To do this the following action is deemed necessary:

(1) To issue immediate orders addressed to the Polish Army forbidding attacks upon the persons or interference with the property of the Jewish inhabitants of Poland.

(2) To take the necessary steps to bring such orders to the attention of all of the officers and soldiers of the Polish Army.

(3) To issue similar proclamations addressed to all civilians and to take such measures as shall bring the same to the attention of the entire public.

(4) To prohibit the display or dissemination of all posters, signs and placards and the circulation of all newspapers and other publications that may incite or tend to provoke attacks upon the Jews or that may in any way tend to subject them to violence, contempt or ridicule.

(5) To take such measures as shall be necessary to enforce the several provisions of the Minority Treaty, and especially such as guarantee the racial, religious and linguistic minorities of Poland, freedom from political or economic discrimination.

(6) To take especial precautions during the period of the demobilization of the Army to prevent excesses against the Jews.

At the close of the conference Prince Lubomirski made the following statement:

I have endeavored to make clear to the conference that for nearly two years, owing to the war with Soviet Russia, an abnormal state of affairs had obtained in Poland and that such things as those of which these gentlemen complained were held by my government in deepest reprobation. Now that peace has come to Poland, my government in accordance with

its traditional good-will toward its Jewish citizens is sure to put forth every endeavor in order to prevent any excesses and indignities against Jews such as are inspired in largest part by the excitement incident to a state of war.

In this spirit, Poland in good faith became a party to the treaty for the protection and equal rights of racial, religious, and linguistic minorities and by an overwhelming vote of the Polish Diet, ratified and confirmed that Minorities Treaty, and needless to say, will carry out its provisions.

I know that my government has already taken steps severely and exemplarily to punish those who have been found guilty of violence against the person or property of Jews. I have read to the conference a report I recently received from my government, which detailed the execution of death penalties upon Polish soldiers who were taken committing excesses upon Jews.

The Minister of War, moreover, issued on October 24, 1920, the most stringent regulations in order to prohibit officers or soldiers of the army from committing acts of violence against the Jews of Poland and these regulations, of special importance during the period of demobilization, are, if occasion demands, to be strictly and inexorably enforced by court-martial.

I have no doubt that with the beginning of the régime of peace the state of affairs, called by the gentlemen "the economic boycott" but which seems to me to have been only an ordinary consequence of war, will cease, and that concerning provocative and inflammatory anti-Jewish articles in Polish newspapers, the Government will use its whole power to prevent them.

I have heard with much satisfaction the assurances given by Messrs. Marshall, Mack, Wise, Rothenberg and their colleagues that they deeply rejoice in the reparation of the crime done Poland by the partitions, and that they have been and continue to be the sincerest well-wishers of the Polish Republic. They understand as I do that in a free and enlightened republic such as Poland, all elements of the population must work together for the well-being of their common country in the spirit of good will and mutual respect and that the Jews of Poland can

and will loyally serve Poland, which is resolved upon such a course of justice toward all its peoples as alone are worthy of its spirit and traditions.

My government has resumed a series of meetings, interrupted by the war, with the leaders of the Jewish people of Poland, and from these meetings will undoubtedly come the longed-for harmony of spirit and unity of action between the various elements of the country essential to its permanent peace and well-being. I shall have pleasure in forwarding to my government the resolutions submitted to me by the gentlemen, together with an expression of my earnest hope that the conference which I have summoned may be helpful toward the end desired by all of us—the permanent betterment of relations between the Polish Government and its Jewish citizens.

The documents referred to by Prince Lubomirski follow:

On the 14th of October, the Attorney General of the Army addressed to the War Minister the following report:

In view of numerous complaints and grievances in connection with the pretended non-application of reprisals and penalties to those guilty of crimes committed against the Jews, crimes belonging to the competence of the military tribunals, it must be stated that these cases, unsupported by concrete evidence, do not at all correspond to the real state of affairs.

Every criminal brought to justice was treated with all the severity imposed by the law.

According to accounts still incomplete, mention should be made of the following verdicts pronouncing sentence of death for brigandage or pillage of the Jews, which verdicts were executed:

1. Boleslas Kowlewski, former Bolshevik police agent.
2. Borys Low.
3. Gregory Wowczak.
4. Gregory Romanowski.

These four were condemned for having robbed Jewel Goldman in Minsk.

The verdict was pronounced by the Court Martial of the military command of the region of White Ruthenia.

5. Antony Woysznarowicz, lancer.

6. Nicholas Prokopczyk, lancer.

Both of them for having robbed Berek Owsiejew in Dejdu-lowicze.

Sentence was pronounced by the Court Martial of the military command of White Ruthenia.

7. Frank Bielski, soldier, for having robbed Szenwitz. Sentenced by Court Martial at Plock.

8. Stanislas Czyk.

9. Stanislas Kosciolek, N-C Officer.

10. Frank Chwiela, soldier.

11. Stanislas Slomka.

All four condemned for crime against Feiga Weingarten in Nasielsk. Sentence was pronounced by the Court Martial of the 11th Division.

12. Joseph Szalapowski, soldier, for mortally wounding Herz Rotenstein. Sentenced by the Court Martial of the region of Lublin.

13. Jacob Zygoski, soldier, for robbery in Chelm. Sentenced by the Court Martial of the zone of the 3rd Army.

14. Theophile Blaskiewicz, for having robbed Wolf Rosenstein and Mayer Kohn near Zambow. Sentenced by the ambulant Court Martial at Lomza.

In the last-named case, by the pardon of the Chief of the State (decision of the 18th September) the sentence was commuted to eight years' imprisonment.

In addition, in a number of affairs where the parties wronged were Jews, the delinquents were sentenced to periods of imprisonment up to 15 years. Accounts of these sentences will be published.

Order by the Polish Minister of War Against Anti-Jewish Excesses:

Anti-Jewish excess still constantly occur on the railroads and in the railroad stations. They are becoming more violent,

being frequently accompanied by the persecution of aged people, and show a lack of discipline and of the feeling of honor on the part of the Polish soldier.

An end must be put to this once for all. I therefore order:

The Chief of the fourth section and the general district commanders are to deliver orders to all subordinate formations instructing soldiers and officers that there must be an end to the constant anti-Jewish excesses, and that all reserve battalions, batteries, and squadrons in issuing their marching orders must each and every time instruct the departing soldiers as to their behavior during the journey. Commanders of transports, on their own responsibility, must appoint special guards whose duty it will be to keep order during the journey. After the arrival of the transport at the appointed place, the commander of the transport must present a written report on the journey. Neither soldiers nor officers will be allowed to leave stations arrived at during the journey or quit the precincts of such stations, for instance, in order to buy provisions, etc. Soldiers leaving separately must be instructed as to their behavior during the journey by their officer in command, who must give such soldiers written instructions for the route.

Station commanders must call the attention of commanders of transports to the present order and in case of disorders arising, must use all means at their disposition to put a stop to them, and must report such incidents immediately, giving the name of the commander of the transport in question and the number of the transport to the presidential bureau of the War Ministry.

All disorders must be severely punished, while officers who tolerate anti-Jewish excesses must be held responsible, no matter what the consequences. Active participants in excesses will be liable to disciplinary and judicial punishment and those guilty of inflicting grievous bodily harm, of robbery, violence, arson, etc., will be punished by Court Martial. Officers who quietly look upon soldiers persecuting defenseless Jews I do not consider worthy to wear the uniform of a Polish officer.

The above is to be made known to the whole army.

Minister of War,

POLEXTERNE.

2. SOVIET RUSSIA

There has been little change in the condition of the Jews of Soviet Russia. Very little reliable information is at hand, but the most trustworthy reports indicate that the bulk of the Jews there, while not victims of pogroms, are nevertheless in a wretched plight. Their economic situation has been described as desperate. There is no place in the Bolshevik scheme of things for a middle, a mercantile class, to which the bulk of the Jews of Russia belonged. Besides this, the Soviet Government is continually placing obstacles in the path of Jewish educational and spiritual effort, notably against Hebrew education, the use of the Hebrew tongue, and the Zionist movement. It has been stated that while there is a comparatively small number of the younger Jews who are adapting themselves to the new order, the great mass of the Jews are longing for a way out of a life for which they are totally unfitted, their only hope lying in a gradual restoration of normal economic life under a stable democratic government recognized by the other civilized governments of the world.

3. LITHUANIA

The Jews of Lithuania would be in a position of comparative ease and comfort, were it not for the recent war between Russia and Poland and the present difficulties which have resulted from the capture of Vilna by a Polish army and which are now the subject of consideration by the League of Nations Council.

The Jews co-operated cordially with other elements in the struggle for the independence of Lithuania, and though it is not unnatural that in this as in other parts of the former

Russian Empire traces of anti-Semitism should survive, it is authoritatively stated by the representatives of the Jews that the general population cherishes nothing but good-will towards the Jews. A ministry has been established for the purpose of looking after Jewish educational and cultural interests.

The economic situation of the Jews has been considerably altered by the war. While a considerable part of them were formerly engaged in mercantile pursuits, a large number followed industrial and professional callings. The war, with the attendant uprooting of many Jews from their homes, has greatly altered the situation, and has thrown most of the Jews into mercantile lines. Active measures are being taken to restore industry and to assist professional men to reestablish themselves.

4. THE UKRAINE

There are insistent reports of the continuation of anarchy in the Ukraine. Conditions are such as to make it extremely difficult to secure much reliable information. The Jewish community of America has had tragic evidence in the murder of the two martyrs, Israel Friedlaender and Bernard Cantor, the former a member of the Committee. At the present moment there does not seem to be any indication that conditions are likely to improve in the near future, and the only hope for the restoration of order and civilized life in South-western Russia lies in the setting up of a constitutional government, amenable to the influence of the public opinion of the rest of the world.

On November 24, 1919, there was held in New York City a mass-meeting to protest against the maltreatment of the

Jews of the Ukraine. Similar mass-meetings were held on various dates in other parts of the country. A combined delegation, representing the various Jewish communities and led by the President of your Committee, thereupon waited upon the Hon. Robert Lansing, then Secretary of State, and presented to him such information as had been received respecting the pogroms, together with a petition praying that our government use its good offices on behalf of the Jews of that region. Mr. Lansing replied that while the United States Government viewed with horror the outrages complained of, it was not then in position to take any official action because of the complete absence of diplomatic relations with any of the various political and military groups which were then struggling for supremacy in the Ukraine. Mr. Lansing, however, promised to take under advisement the suggestion that the United States request Great Britain, France, and Italy to join with it in sending an International Military Commission to the Ukraine to follow the various military movements there, thus affording opportunities to bring about a cessation of the prevailing atrocities. In the meantime he gave his approval to the sending of a Commission of Jews into the Ukraine to acquaint themselves with conditions there, and to extend relief to the victims of the massacres and to those suffering from famine and disease with the understanding that they would serve at their own risk and could expect no protection from our Government. Subsequently, the President of your Committee took occasion to bring these conditions to the attention of the Hon. Bainbridge Colby, Mr. Lansing's successor.

5. HUNGARY

Conditions in Hungary are unspeakably shocking. During the greater part of several centuries the Jews of that country were practically free from the discrimination from which their brethren suffered in Roumania and Russia. During the past year, however, conditions have changed to such an extent that to-day the Jews of Hungary are in a most unfortunate plight. There have been frequent outbreaks conducted by sections of what is termed the White Army, which have resulted in the murder of many Jews, in the looting of their property, and in the perpetration of the most horrible indignities. They have been humiliated and libelled, the newspapers have sought to make them responsible as a body for the actions of Bela Kun and his associates, with the result that conditions have become intolerable and the Jews have been practically driven to despair.

Your Committee has called these conditions to the attention of our Government with the suggestion that it use its good offices to bring about a cessation of these indignities and excesses. In reply the State Department gave assurance that the matter would be referred to its representatives abroad, as in fact was done.

In the early part of the present year, your Committee was approached by Mr. John Pelenyi, a delegate of the Hungarian Unitarian churches, who exhibited documents showing that there had recently been serious interference with the freedom of worship in parts of Hungary then under the military occupation of Roumanian, Czech, and Serbian troops. This condition had already been called to the attention of the British Government by an interdenominational committee

of prominent English clergymen and laymen, had been made the subject of debate in the House of Lords, of a memorial to our Government by the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and of a Memorial to the Supreme Council of the Allied and Associated Powers by the General Presbyterian Alliance, a Federation of the Presbyterian Churches of the world. Mr. Pelenyi asked that the American Jewish Committee endorse the Memorial of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ, and after due consideration your Committee resolved to unite in the petition of that body to our Government, which it did, praying that the representatives of the United States in the Supreme Council be instructed to intervene, with a view to safeguarding the religious liberty of all creeds in Hungary. Mr. Polk, as Acting Secretary of State, on March 20, 1920, replied that appropriate instructions had been sent on that subject to the Ambassador of the United States in Paris.

At the request of his family resident here, representations were also made to the Department of State concerning the arrest of Chief Rabbi Löw of Szegedin, on the charge of treason, because he had taken exception to the massacre of Jews in Hungary. Shortly thereafter he was released from imprisonment.

6. ROUMANIA

The condition of our coreligionists in Roumania has greatly improved and according to the most recent reports is considerably better than it has been since the Treaty of Berlin. This improvement has come as part of the program of a more enlightened governmental policy following closely upon the territorial enlargement of Roumania, which now has a

Jewish population of about one million. Discriminatory laws and regulations have been abolished in harmony with the terms of the treaty with the Allied and Associated Powers, and in this respect Roumania is rapidly taking its place beside the great liberal nations of the West.

In August last, the crown prince of Roumania visited New York, and an opportunity was given to representatives of your Committee to confer with him and with Mr. Nicolas Filodor, the representative of the Roumanian Foreign Office. He is officially the Roumanian Minister to Greece, but was assigned to accompany the crown prince on his tour around the world. The crown prince stated that all residents of Roumania would be treated equally irrespective of race or religion. Mr. Filodor gave every assurance that whatever may have been the policy of Roumania in the past, it had accepted whole-heartedly the Minority Treaty; that the Roumanian Parliament, which would convene shortly, would unquestionably ratify it, and that the Government would carry into execution in good faith all of its provisions. He called attention to the fact that since the signing of the Treaty a good understanding had been arrived at between the Roumanian Jews and their other fellow-citizens and that pogroms were unknown in Roumania. Reference was made by your representatives to the fact that during the war, in consequence of mistakes of fact, a considerable number of Jews had been court-martialed, some of them sentenced to death and others imprisoned for long terms; that some of these cases had been reviewed, with the result that there have been commutations and reductions in the sentences pronounced, and in other cases there had been acquittals after a retrial; that although the king of Roumania had recently issued a

humane proclamation of amnesty to political offenders, it nevertheless contained exceptions that might be interpreted as having special reference to the Jews, and the hope was expressed that at this time further grace might be extended to all who had not actually been guilty of treason. Mr. Filodor declared this request to be in harmony with the policy of his Government and was confident that action of the character indicated would be soon taken.

7. PALESTINE

On April 25, 1920, the political status of Palestine was definitely settled at a conference of the Allied Powers at San Remo, Italy. It was then announced that Great Britain would be appointed the mandatary over Palestine. Although the terms of the mandate have not yet been laid down by the League of Nations, the draft treaty with Turkey definitely states that the mandatary "will be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on November 2, 1917, by the British Government and adopted by the other Allied Powers in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

There are indications that political conditions in Palestine are rapidly improving. Now that its status has been decided, there is no doubt that racial antagonisms will be soon allayed or disappear altogether and that the progress of Palestine towards the goal set by the Powers will be orderly,

well-planned, and permanent. As stated in its resolution of April 28, 1918, this Committee stands ready to aid in the realization of this aim and to co-operate with those who, attracted by religious or historic associations, shall seek to establish in Palestine a center for Judaism, for the stimulation of our faith, for the pursuit and development of literature, science, and art in a Jewish environment, and for the rehabilitation of the land.

8. THE JEWS OF YEMEN

Following representations made by your Committee, the Joint Distribution Committee has agreed to pay out of its funds the sum of \$5,000 to the Jewish National Fund for the benefit of the Jews of Yemen and of Moroccan Jewish Refugees in Palestine.

9. RELIEF OF MENDEL BEILIS

During the past year your Committee learned that Mendel Beilis, the innocent victim of the notorious ritual murder accusation in Kiev, Russia, in 1913, was living with his family in Palestine, whither he had gone after his acquittal, in a condition of destitution. Your Committee, having signified its willingness at that time to join other Jewish organizations in aiding Beilis materially, decided to donate the sum of \$5,000 toward his support. A draft for this amount was sent to the manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank who was requested to use it in a manner which will enable Beilis to become self-supporting.

10. JEWISH ORPHAN ASYLUM, SOFIA, BULGARIA

Your Committee has completely discharged the obligation undertaken by it in 1914, when it agreed to make a contribution of \$2,500, in five annual instalments towards the maintenance of the Jewish Orphan Asylum, Queen Elenore at Sophia, Bulgaria, an institution for Jewish war orphans. Your Committee has appealed to the Joint Distribution Committee to consider extending further support to this worthy institution.

C. DOMESTIC AFFAIRS

1. OFFICE OF JEWISH WAR RECORDS

The work of collecting the records of the war service of American Jews, which the Committee has been prosecuting with the co-operation of the Jewish Welfare Board, was considerably advanced during the past year. Plans have been adopted for the conclusion of this effort by the first of February next when it is contemplated that a comprehensive report based upon the information secured up to that time will be prepared and all the original data will be confided to the custody of the American Jewish Historical Society. Mr. Julian Leavitt, the Director of the Office of Jewish War Records of the Committee, will present a detailed report of the status of the work of that office.

2. ANTI-JEWISH DISCRIMINATION

As in the past few years, the attention of your Committee has been drawn to several instances of anti-Jewish discrimination on the part of public and quasi-public bodies. Such matters have been uniformly investigated and, wherever such

action appeared desirable, called to the attention of the proper authorities. Your Committee is pleased to report that in all such instances during the past year proper action was taken by such authorities to correct the abuses complained of and to avert the recurrence of similar discrimination.

3. IMMIGRATION

Your Committee was represented at the National Conference on Immigration held in the city of New York on April 7, 1920, under the auspices of the Inter-Racial Council, convened "for the purpose of considering the various phases of immigration, the present laws applicable thereto, and the desirability of establishing a policy that will redound alike to the welfare of the country and of the immigrant who seeks to make his home here." This Conference adopted a series of resolutions containing suggestions for legislation on the subjects of the assimilation, the admission, the stabilization, and the naturalization of immigrants. These resolutions have been presented to the Committees on Immigration of the Senate and of the House of Representatives. Copies thereof have been sent to all the members of the Committee for their information.

Your President appeared before the House Committee on Immigration and Naturalization in May last, for the purpose of discussing the essentials of a sound immigration policy on the lines of these resolutions and a protracted hearing followed. No action has thus far been taken by Congress on the subject. There are, however, indications that the opponents of a liberal policy will at the coming session make a determined effort to suspend immigration for a term of years

or to enact a series of restrictive measures. As in the past, this Committee will continue to advocate the retention of the humane system that has contributed greatly to the development of our country and has afforded an opportunity for worthy men and women to enjoy the blessings of freedom.

4. THE FALASHAS

Shortly after our Thirteenth Annual Meeting last November, Doctor Jacques Faitlovitch left the United States for Abyssinia for the purpose of prosecuting there, under the auspices of this Committee, the work of establishing a system of Jewish and secular education among the Falashas, the Jews of that country. We have been informed by Doctor Faitlovitch that he has secured promises of co-operation and assistance from the Italian Government and that he hoped to enlist the sympathetic aid of the Abyssinian authorities. It will be his aim, with the aid of several natives who have received European education, to revive among the Falashas a knowledge of the traditions and observances of Judaism, and to help the Falashas to improve their material and economic conditions.

Your Committee has taken steps to secure the co-operation of other Jewish organizations in this country.

5. THE AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

On May 30-31, last, The American Jewish Congress with which your Committee was affiliated held its final session. A detailed report of the work of the Congress delegation to the Peace Conference was presented by Mr. Marshall and was accepted by the Congress. It has been published by that

organization. After the completion of other necessary business, the Congress was adjourned *sine die*, in accordance with the agreement on the basis of which it was called.

6. THE AMERICAN JEWISH YEAR BOOK

The American Jewish Year Book for 5681, the 22nd volume of that publication, was, like previous issues since 5669, prepared in the office of your Committee, under the direction of the Assistant Secretary. The current volume contains articles on Jewish Social Research in the United States, by Mr. Hyman Kaplan, Assistant Executive Director of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research; the Jews of Alsace-Lorraine by M. Sylvain Halff of Paris; the Falashas by Doctor Jacques Faitlovitch; and the Peace Conference and Rights of Minorities, a compilation of excerpts from the various treaties dealing with the protection of the rights of racial, religious and linguistic minorities in the countries of Eastern Europe. The Year Book contains also, in the section on Jewish Statistics, new estimates of the Jewish population of the various countries in the world, prepared by the Bureau of Jewish Social Research. This is probably the first attempt to cast up the figures of Jewish population as affected by the recent changes in Europe. These figures are full of significance. Whereas, before 1918, almost one-half of the Jews of the world were under the domination of the despotism of the czars, and the great Russian-Jewish question loomed so large that it eclipsed all others in the eyes of the Jewries of other countries, we are to-day compelled to distribute our attention among the Jewish questions of Poland, Ukraina, Czecho-Slovakia, Lithuania, Hungary, Roumania, and other countries. The

partition of the great Russian-Jewish community has rendered the Jewry of the United States practically the largest in the world. The Bureau of Jewish Social Research also prepared for the Year Book tables showing the professional tendencies of Jewish students in American colleges and universities.

As usual, the Year Book contains useful calendars, directories, and lists, and the Thirteenth Annual Report of the American Jewish Committee.

D. ORGANIZATION MATTERS

1. MEETINGS

Your Executive Committee has held meetings on the following dates: December 14, 1919, and January 25, March 14, April 11, June 23, October 10, and November 13, 1920.

2. MEMBERSHIP

Your Committee begs leave to report that the following gentlemen who were elected to membership at your last annual meeting, have agreed to serve:

- District III. Max Heller, New Orleans, La.
- District IV. Charles Jacobson, Little Rock, Ark.
- District V. Emanuel Rosenberg, Seattle, Wash.
- District VI. Henry M. Butzel, Detroit, Mich.; Victor Rosewater, Omaha, Nebr.
- District VII. James Davis, Joseph Stolz, Chicago, Ill.
- District VIII. David Philipson, Cincinnati, O.
- District X. David Snellenburg, Wilmington, Del.
- District XIV. Felix Fuld, Newark, N. J.; A. Leo Weil, Pittsburgh, Pa.

AT LARGE. Herman Bernstein, Nathan Bijur, Abel Davis, Charles Eisenman, Abram I. Elkus, S. Marcus Fechheimer, Lee K. Frankel, Herbert Friedenwald, Louis E. Kirstein, Max J. Kohler, Albert D. Lasker, Irving Lehman, Jacob M. Loeb, Oscar S. Straus, Lewis Strauss, Jr., Aaron Waldheim.

Your Executive Committee has elected the following gentlemen to fill vacancies in the Committee:

- District I. Lionel Weil, Goldsboro, N. C.
- District III. Ivan Grunsfeld, Albuquerque, N. Mex.; J. K. Hexter, Dallas, Texas.
- District IV. Alfred Benjamin, Kansas City, Mo.; Aaron Waldheim, St. Louis, Mo.; Harry Block, St. Joseph, Mo.
- District V. Daniel Alexander, Salt Lake City, Utah; Louis M. Cole, Los Angeles, Cal.
- District VI. David A. Brown, Detroit, Mich.; Meyer S. May, Grand Rapids, Mich.; Isaac Summerfield, St. Paul, Minn.
- District VIII. Isaac D. Strauss, Ligonier, Indiana; Sigmond Sanger, Toledo, Ohio; Otto Kaufman, Youngstown, Ohio.
- District X. Julius Levy, Baltimore, Md.
- District XI. Charles H. Shapiro, Bridgeport, Conn.; Louis M. Raffel, Waterbury, Conn.; David A. Ellis, Boston, Mass.; Louis Baer, Boston, Mass.; Felix Vorenberg, Boston; Louis Goldberg, Boston; David A. Lourie, Chelsea, Jacob Asher, Worcester; Henry Lasker, Springfield, Mass.

- District XIII. Albert Hessberg, Albany, N. Y.; Benjamin Stolz, Syracuse, N. Y.; Mortimer Adler, Rochester, N. Y.; Louis J. Kopald and Eugene Warner, Buffalo, N. Y.
- District XIV. A. L. Luria, Reading, Pa.; Isaiah Scheeline, Altoona, Pa.; Joseph B. Perskie, Atlantic City, N. J.; Sigmund Eisner, Red Bank, N. J.; A. J. Dimond, East Orange, N. J.; and Lewis Straus, Newark, N. J.

The Jewish community of Philadelphia elected Mr. William Gerstley to succeed the late Henry N. Wessel as a member of District IX.

The terms of the following members expire this year:

- District II. Levi Rothenberg, Meridian, Miss.
- District V. I. W. Hellman, Jr., San Francisco (Deceased).
- District VI. Emanuel Cohen, Minneapolis (Deceased).
- District VII. Julius Rosenwald, Chicago.
- District VIII. Samuel E. Rauh, Indianapolis; Louis Horkheimer, Wheeling.
- District IX. B. L. Levinthal and M. Rosenbaum, Philadelphia.
- District X. Fulton Brylawski, Washington; Jacob H. Hollander and Siegmund B. Sonneborn, Baltimore.
- District XI. Harry Cutler, Providence (Deceased).
- District XIII. Albert Hessberg, Albany (Deceased).
Simon Fleischmann, Buffalo.

Successors are also to be chosen at this meeting to the following members of the Executive Committee whose terms expire on January 1, 1921:

Isaac W. Bernheim, Samuel Dorf, Julius Rosenwald, Oscar S. Straus, Cyrus L. Sulzberger, and Mayer Sulzberger. Successors are also to be chosen to complete the unexpired terms on the Executive Committee of the late Harry Cutler and Jacob H. Schiff.

Your Committee recommends the election of the following to membership at large:

Herman Bernstein, New York, Nathan Bijur, New York, Abel Davis, Chicago, Samuel Dorf, New York, Charles Eisenman, Cleveland, Abram I. Elkus, New York, S. Marcus Fechter, Cincinnati, Lee K. Frankel, New York, Herbert Friedenwald, New York, Louis E. Kirstein, Boston, Max J. Kohler, New York, Albert D. Lasker, Chicago, Irving Lehman, New York, Jacob M. Loeb, Chicago, Henry Sachs, Colorado Springs, Horace Stern, Philadelphia, Oscar S. Straus, New York, Lewis Strauss, Jr., New York.

Your Executive Committee has reached the conclusion that the present methods of electing members to the General Committee are no longer suited to our type of organization. It believes that in view of the fact that the Committee now has a considerable body of contributors, whose numbers are steadily increasing, these persons with the representatives of national organizations actually form the constituency of the organization and should have a voice in selecting members to the General Committee, whenever vacancies occur or terms expire. It is suggested that your Committee be empowered to amend the By-laws with a view to bringing about this change.

3. FINANCES

The amount of contributions received during the past fiscal year has been \$21,040.40, as compared with \$20,530.36, contributed a year ago. A statement of receipts from the various Districts as compared with last year follows:

CONTRIBUTIONS RECEIVED DURING YEAR 1920

District	Contributions Received for Fiscal Year End- ing Nov. 1, 1920	Contributions Received from Nov. 1, 1920, to Dec. 31, 1920
I.....	\$315.00	\$25.00
II.....	463.00	27.00
III.....	521.00	17.00
IV.....	436.00	
V.....	548.00	10.00
VI.....	574.00	65.00
VII.....	3,093.00	1,166.00
VIII.....	940.40	224.00
IX.....	1,385.50	804.00
X.....	670.00	2.00
XI.....	582.00	216.00
XII.....	10,168.00	478.25
XIII.....	473.00	8.00
XIV.....	829.50	15.00
Alaska.....	25.00	
Canada.....	10.00	
Miscellaneous.....	7.00	
Totals.....	<u>\$21,040.40</u>	<u>\$3,057.25</u>

The report of the auditor of the Committee's accounts follows:

NEW YORK, NOVEMBER 11, 1920.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE,
31 Union Square,
New York City.

GENTLEMEN:

We have audited the accounts of the American Jewish Committee for the fiscal year November 1, 1919 to October 31, 1920, and present our findings in the form of the following exhibits and schedules:

Exhibit A—Balance Sheet—October 31, 1920.

Exhibit B—Statement of Income and Expense for the fiscal year ended October 31, 1920.

Schedule—Analysis of the Surplus Account.

We verified the cash on hand by actual count, the cash on deposit by reconciling with bank statements, reappraised and set up on the books, the office furniture on the basis of cost less a reasonable allowance for wear and tear; also verified the income and expense items by independent vouchers.

We Hereby Certify that the balance sheet and the accompanying statement of income and expense are in agreement with the books of the Committee and in our opinion reflect the true financial condition at October 31, 1920, and its activities for the fiscal year then ended.

Respectfully submitted,

ZABELLE & GOLINKO.

By MAXWELL ZABELLE,

Certified Public Accountant.

BALANCE SHEET AS AT OCTOBER 31, 1920

EXHIBIT "A"

ASSETS

CASH ON DEPOSIT:

Fifth National Bank.....	\$7,361.08	
Union Exchange National Bank.....	486.06	
		\$7,847.14

CASH ON HAND..... 50.00

OFFICE FURNITURE..... 1,483.38

DEFERRED CHARGES TO EXPENSE:

Salaries and Authors' Fees in ad-

vance.....\$150.00

Inventory of Stationery..... 173.70

Inventory of Postage..... 20.00

Total Deferred Assets..... 343.70

Total Assets.....

\$9,724.22

LIABILITIES AND SURPLUS

LIABILITIES.....NONE

SURPLUS:

Balance, November 1, 1920, as adjusted..... \$5,551.23

Unexpended Income for Fiscal Year..... 4,172.99

Total Surplus (see Schedule).....

\$9,724.22

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSE FOR THE
FISCAL YEAR ENDED OCTOBER 31, 1920

EXHIBIT " B "

INCOME FORM

Members:

Contributing Members.....	\$1,058.25	
Sustaining Members.....	19,982.15	
		\$21,040.40

Other Sources:

Interest on Bank Balances.....	28.43	

Total Income from all Sources..... \$21,068.83

EXPENSES:

Maintenance Expenses:

Office and Secretarial Salaries.....	\$5,858.00
Rent of Office.....	1,150.02
Printing of 13th Annual Report.....	897.65
Printing of Bulletin and Pamphlets.....	250.05
Clippings.....	337.86
Books, Periodicals and Newspapers.....	175.21
Stationery.....	556.22
Postage.....	405.92
Miscellaneous Expenses.....	402.51
Auditing Fees.....	100.00
General Meetings.....	345.70
Executive Meetings.....	18.00
Telephone and Telegraph.....	132.48
Engrossing.....	50.00
Janitor's Services.....	70.00
Bank Exchange.....	7.62

Total Maintenance Expenses..... \$10,757.24

Income Available for Other Purposes..... \$10,311.59

EXPENDITURES FOR OTHER PURPOSES:

Appropriated to Bureau of Social Research. \$2,500.00*Preparation and Issue of American Jewish Year Book:*

Salary of Editorial Staff.....	\$2,960.00
Authors' Fees.....	87.88
Salary of Temporary Help.....	211.25
Clippings.....	150.00
Stationery.....	101.47
Subscription to Periodicals and Newspapers.....	22.00
Calendars	60.00
Postage.....	40.00
Translations.....	6.00
	\$3,638.60

Total Expenditures on Other Purposes..... \$6,138.60

Unexpended Income Transferred to General

Surplus..... \$4,172.99

ANALYSIS OF SURPLUS ACCOUNT OCTOBER 31, 1920

SCHEDULE

BALANCE—October 31, 1920 (as per Books)..... \$4,690.07

Add:

Fair Value of Furniture and Fixtures on hand, October 31, 1919, and not shown as asset on books.....	944.50
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\$5,634.57*Deduct:*

Rent of Office for October, 1919, not considered in report for that year.....	83.34
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Surplus as Adjusted, November 1, 1919..... \$5,551.23

Add:

Unexpected Income for the year ended October 31, 1920	\$4,172.99
Surplus—October 31, 1920.....	\$9,724.22

4. BUREAU OF JEWISH SOCIAL RESEARCH

The Committee has continued to contribute toward the support of the Bureau of Jewish Social Research which, it will be recalled, has taken over the statistical and information work formerly done by the Bureau of Jewish Statistics and Research of the Committee.

5. REMOVAL OF OFFICES

On February 1, 1921, the offices of the Committee will be removed from 31 Union Square, W., to 171 Madison Avenue, New York City.

Respectfully submitted,

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

THE "PROTOCOLS," BOLSHEVISM, AND
THE JEWSAN ADDRESS TO THEIR FELLOW-CITIZENS BY AMERICAN
JEWISH ORGANIZATIONS, PUBLISHED
DECEMBER 1, 1920

TO OUR FELLOW CITIZENS:

During the war, by secret agencies, a document variously called "The Procotols of the Elders of Zion," "The Protocols of the Meetings of the Zionist Men of Wisdom," and "The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion," was clandestinely circulated, in typewritten form, among public officials and carefully selected civilians, for the purpose of giving rise to the belief that the Jews, in conjunction with Freemasons, had been for centuries engaged in a conspiracy to produce revolution and anarchy, by means of which they hoped to obtain the control of the world by the establishment of some sort of despotic rule. Some months ago this document was published in England. More recently it has appeared in ~~print~~ in the United States, and thousands of copies have been circulated with an air of mystery among legislators, journalists, clergymen and teachers, members of clubs, and indiscriminately to the general public. The London *Morning Post* has given out a series of articles as a commentary upon The Protocols, in which the charge of an unholy conspiracy between Jews and Freemasons is elaborated, and Bolshevism is characterized as a movement of, for, and by the Jews, and is declared to be a fulfilment of The Protocols. These articles, whose authorship is not disclosed, have now appeared in book form under the title "The Cause of World Unrest." During the past six

months there have been sent forth weekly in Henry Ford's organ, *The Dearborn Independent*, attacks of extraordinary virulence upon the Jews. These assaults upon the honor of the Jewish people are all founded on The Protocols and on the discredited literature of Russian and German anti-Semitism, inspired by the minions of autocracy. Parrot-like they repeat the abominable charges that can only appeal to the credulity of a stunted intelligence—charges long since conceded to be unfounded by all fair-minded men. Ford is employing his great wealth in scattering broadcast his fulminations, regardless of consequences.

When the Jews of the United States first learned of these malevolent prints, they deemed it beneath their dignity to take notice of them because they regarded them as a mere recrudescence of medieval bigotry and stupidity showing upon their face their utter worthlessness. These publications have, however, been put in circulation to such an extent that it is believed that the time has come, humiliating though it be to them, for the Jews to make answer to these libels and to the unworthy insinuations and innuendoes that have been whispered against them.

Speaking as representatives of the Jewish people, familiar with the history of Judaism in its various phases and with the movements, past and present, in Jewish life, we say with all solemnity:

(1) The Protocols are a base forgery. There has never been an organization of Jews known as The Elders of Zion, or The Zionist Men of Wisdom, or The Wise Men of Zion, or bearing any other similar name. There has never existed a secret or other Jewish body organized for any purpose such as that implied in The Protocols. The Jewish people have never

dreamed of a Jewish dictatorship, of a destruction of religion, of an interference with industrial prosperity, or of an overthrow of civilization. The Jews have never conspired with the Freemasons, or with any other body, for any purpose.

From the time of the destruction of the Temple at Jerusalem by Titus, the Jews have had no political state. For centuries they were forced to wander from land to land, to flee for refuge wherever they might find it against bitter persecution. They were pent up in ghettos, were deprived of even the shadow of civil or political rights, and were made the objects of every possible form of discrimination. It is little more than fifty years since the Jews of Western Europe became politically emancipated. Until the outbreak of the World War the Jews of Eastern Europe, constituting a majority of all of the Jews of the world, were not even permitted to exercise the rights of citizenship in lands where they and their ancestors had dwelt for generations. The great mass of the Jews were hampered in every way in their efforts to earn a livelihood. Far from desiring to govern the world, they were content with the opportunity to live. Numerically they constitute less than one per cent of the population of the earth; and more than one-half of them are on the verge of starvation. The suggestion that, in their feebleness, they have been planning in secret conclave to seize absolute power and to dominate the ninety-nine per cent of non-Jews upon the globe is a ridiculous invention than which even madness can conjure nothing more preposterous.

Where is the habitat of these so-called Elders of Zion, by whatever name they may be called? Who are these hidden sages? Whence do they come? What is the nature of their organization? The distributors of The Protocols are silent on

that subject. Whence come these pretended Protocols? There have been various versions. One Serge Nilus, of whose identity little is known, a Russian mystic and an ardent supporter of Czarism, claims to have received them in Russia, in 1901, in manuscript form, from a Russian office-holder, who stated that the manuscript had been originally obtained by a lady, whose name is not given, and who, he said, obtained them in a mysterious way. In what language they were written is not stated. Where that manuscript now is does not appear. Nilus asserts that he submitted The Protocols to one of the Russian grand dukes, who, after examination, returned them with the despairing message: "Too late." Apparently there was no room for them in the Russian archives, and they suggested no task for the Czar's ubiquitous police to perform. In 1905, Nilus published at Tsarskoye Selo a second edition of a mystical book entitled "The Great in the Little," the first edition having been published in 1901. Into this later edition he incorporated for the first time The Protocols, which he claimed to have had in his possession for four years. In January, 1917, he published another book under the title "It is Near, at the Door," purporting to foretell "the coming of the Anti-Christ and the Kingdom of the Devil on Earth." In this book he announces that he had only then learned authoritatively from Jewish sources (what they were is not explained) that these Protocols were nothing other than a strategic plan for the conquest of the world, of putting it under the yoke of Israel, "the struggler-against-God," a plan worked out by the leaders of the Jewish people during the many centuries of their dispersion, and finally presented to the Council of Elders by the Prince of Exile, Theodor Herzl, at the time of the first Zionist Congress summoned by him at Basle in August, 1897. He de-

clared that The Protocols were signed by the Zionist representatives of the thirty-third degree of initiation; that they were secretly removed from the complete file of Protocols that pertained to the first Zionist Congress; that they were taken from the secret vaults at the main Zionist office, which, it is said, "at present is located in French territory."

The Protocols as published bear no signatures. The identity of the Zionist representatives by whom they are claimed to have been signed is left untold. The location of the main Zionist office and of the secret vaults from which The Protocols were secretly removed remains a secret. It is, however, a matter of history that the first Zionist Congress was publicly held by Jews who came from various parts of Europe for the purpose of considering the misery of their brethren in Eastern Europe and of enabling them to find shelter in the Holy Land. Theodor Herzl was a distinguished journalist, a man of true nobility of character. He presided at the Congress, all of whose deliberations were held in the light of day. The insinuation that there was a thirty-third, or any other, degree of initiation in this organization is merely a malicious effort to bring the Jews into parallelism with the Freemasons and thus to subject them to all the fanciful and fantastic charges that have from time to time been laid at the door of Freemasonry, oblivious of the fact that fifteen Presidents of the United States, including Washington, and many of the leading statesmen of Europe and America, have been members of that order.

Nilus and his associates belonged to the Russian bureaucracy. In 1905, through the Black Hundreds, that body sought in every way to crush the Jews and to prevent the liberalization of the government. The time was propitious for the perpetration of a political forgery by a government that

habitually resorted to the employment of *agents provocateurs*, a government which only a few years later, against the protest of the enlightened clergy of the world, ineffectually sought to convict Mendel Beilis on the charge of ritual murder. It is significant that one of his prosecutors has been active in distributing manuscript copies of The Protocols throughout the United States.

Irrespective of this history, bristling with suspicion, an analysis of The Protocols shows that on their face they are a fabrication and that they must have emanated from the bitter opponents of democracy. They are replete with cynical references to the French Revolution, and to the conceptions of liberty, equality, and fraternity. They uphold privilege and autocracy. They belittle education. They condemn religious liberty. They assert that political freedom is an idea and not a fact, and that the doctrine that a government is nothing but a steward of the people is a mere phrase. These are the very doctrines that one would expect from the protagonists of autocracy. Nothing can be more foreign to Jewish thought and aspiration than these brutal theories of reaction. That the Jews, whose very life has been a prayer for the blessings of liberty and equality, should hold them in contempt is unthinkable.

The document throughout is farcical in its absurdities. In the Russian original there is a passage, significantly omitted from the translation, to the effect that the English are the descendants of the Lost Tribes of Israel, and the British Government is violently attacked for its liberalism. If climax there be to all this folly, it lies in the idea set forth in The Protocols that "the world ruler is to spring from the dynastic roots of King David" and that "the King of Israel will become

the real Pope of the Universe and the Patriarch of the International Church," whatever that may mean.

It is needless, however, to elaborate, when one considers that the editor of the London *Morning Post*, in his introduction to "The Cause of the World Unrest," himself doubts the genuineness of The Protocols, and that the anonymous author of that book, after using them as his text, is unable to give them any higher certificate than that they may or may not be genuine. Indeed, he goes so far as to say:

"We have said that this document flashes a blaze of light, and so it does, but whether this document is genuine or not, whether the blaze of light is true or false, can only be judged by internal evidence and probabilities. We may say at once that Nilus advances nothing in the nature of real evidence to prove the document, and that his account of how it came into his hands consists of assertion only, without evidence to support it."

And yet a document, thus discredited by its sponsors, is made the basis of an indictment against an entire people.

(2) The contention that the genuineness of The Protocols is established by the outbreak of Bolshevism in Russia twelve years after their publication, and that Bolshevism is a Jewish movement, is absurd in theory and absolutely untrue in fact. As well might it be said that a forged deed is genuine because twenty years after its date a relative of the person whose name is forged is falsely charged with being a disturber of the peace.

To say that the Jews are responsible for Bolshevism is a deliberate falsehood. The originators of Bolshevism were exclusively non-Jews. While it is true that there are Jews among the Bolsheviks, notably Trotsky, they represent a small

fraction of the Jews and of the followers of Bolshevism. Lenine, who belonged to the Russian aristocracy and has not a drop of Jewish blood in his veins, was the creator as he has been the motive power of the Soviets. Tchicherin, who has conducted their foreign affairs, Bucharin, Krassin, and Kalinin, all non-Jews, are, with Lenine, the brains of the Communist Party.

The Bolshevik cabinet, known as the People's Commissars, consists of twenty members, of whom Trotsky and Sverdlov are the only Jews, and they are Jews merely by birth. Of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, including Trotsky, there are four Jews out of thirteen. The so-called Extraordinary Commission, whose function it is to suppress opposition to the Bolshevik régime from within, is directed by a triumvirate consisting of a Pole and two Letts, none of whom is of Jewish origin. Although Trotsky is the head of the War Department, his General Staff is composed exclusively of non-Jews.

In "The Cause of World Unrest" a list of fifty names is given, most of whom are classified as Jews and Bolsheviks, in order to establish the thesis that "nearly all of the Bolshevik leaders are Jews." An examination of the list shows that ten of the Jews included in the list are the leaders of the anti-Bolshevik movement in Russia; that a number of those who are classified in the list as Jews are not Jews at all; that a large proportion of those classified as Jews are men who are so obscure and hold positions so inconspicuous that whether or not they are Jews is not only uncertain but unimportant. They are certainly not leaders.

On the other hand, the leaders of the Mensheviks, who are the sworn foes of Bolshevism, are to a large extent Jews.

Among the chiefs of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Russia, who are strongly opposed to the Soviets, are Vinaver, Sliosberg, Pasmanik, Kaminka, Landau, and Friedman, all prominent Jews. Among the leaders of the People's Socialist, the Socialist Revolutionary, and the Menshevik section of the Social Democratic parties, bitter opponents of the Bolsheviks, are a large number of Jews. The leading anti-Bolshevist newspapers, which of necessity are published outside of Russia, have Jews upon their editorial staffs. An overwhelming majority of Russian Jews have been ruined by the coercive measures of the Soviets. They have submitted to the confiscation of their property and are undergoing unspeakable hardships. The Orthodox Jews, whose numbers preponderate, remaining loyal to the faith of their fathers, regard the Bolsheviks as the enemies of all religion, and, therefore, hold the doctrines of Bolshevism in abhorrence. With comparatively few exceptions, the Jews are looked upon by the Bolsheviks as belonging to the hated bourgeoisie and as favoring capitalism. The Zionists, who constitute a numerous and important element of the Jews of Russia, have been denounced by the Soviets as counter-revolutionary, and many of them have been cast into prison and threatened with death—Zionists, we repeat, who are the followers of Herzl.

If the Jews are to be condemned because of a Trotsky, who has never in the slightest degree concerned himself with Judaism or the welfare of the Jews, then there is not a people that has ever lived that might not with equal right be condemned because in its membership there were men who are alleged to have advocated hateful doctrines. The Jew has traditionally stood for religion, law, order, the family, and the right of property. It is, therefore, the height of cruelty to charge him

with responsibility for Bolshevism, when its doctrines, should they prevail, would inevitably lead to the destruction of Judaism. It is especially a brutal charge when one considers all that the Jew has suffered from the oppressive and discriminatory laws of Russian autocracy and from its effort to suppress every aspiration that the Jew had for freedom. It is a great tribute to the patriotism of the Russian Jews that, in spite of the indignities that they had to undergo, hundreds of thousands of them fought under the banner of the Czar, loyally and gallantly, and in large numbers laid down their lives in the Allied cause. The rosters of the army and navy of the United States contain the names of tens of thousands of Jews born in Russia who served so faithfully under our colors that they gained the unqualified approval of their officers, and proportionately many of them were awarded decorations of honor by a grateful country.

We have refrained from commenting on the libels contained in *The Dearborn Independent*. Ford, in the fulness of his knowledge, unqualifiedly declares The Protocols to be genuine, and argues that practically every Jew is a Bolshevik. We have dealt sufficiently with both of these falsehoods. It is useless in a serious document to analyze the puerile and venomous drivel that he has derived from the concoctions of professional agitators. He is merely a dupe.

What is the motive of those who have set in motion this new onslaught of anti-Semitism? It is the motive that again and again has actuated autocracy and its adroit supporters—that of seeking a scapegoat for their own sins, so that they may be enabled under the cover of a false issue to deceive the public.

It is an attempt to drive into the solidarity of the citizenry of our country that has been its pride and its strength the

wedge of discord, by arousing suspicion and inciting overt acts not only against those of Jewish origin but also against Freemasons, in the hope of discrediting free government in the eyes of the European masses and thus facilitate the restoration of absolutism in government.

The Protocols were manufactured in Russia under the bureaucracy, and the ammunition with which the campaign is conducted has been furnished out of the arsenal of imperialistic Germany and by those who are seeking to restore the Hapsburgs, the Hohenzollerns, and the Romanoffs on their former thrones. Ancient hatred and unreasoning prejudice and a failure to understand and know what the Jew really is, are likewise responsible for the readiness with which these falsehoods have been accepted by those who are ever willing to believe evil of their fellow-men.

We have an abiding confidence in the spirit of justice and fairness that permeates the true American, and we are satisfied that our fellow-citizens will not permit the campaign of slander and libel that has been launched against us to go unreproved. There is enough for all of us to do in the great task of building up our common country and of developing the principles on which it is founded. Let not hatred and misunderstanding arise where peace and harmony, unity and brotherliness, are required to perpetuate all that America represents and to enable all men to know that within her wide boundaries there is no room for injustice and intolerance.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE

By LOUIS MARSHALL, *President*CYRUS ADLER AND JULIUS ROSENWALD, *Vice-Presidents*ISAAC W. BERNHEIM, *Treasurer**Executive Committee*

SAMUEL DORF

OSCAR S. STRAUS

ABRAM I. ELKUS

CYRUS L. SULZBERGER

ALBERT D. LASKER

MAYER SULZBERGER

IRVING LEHMAN

ISAAC M. ULLMAN

A. C. RATSHESKY

A. LEO WEIL

HORACE STERN

THE ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

By JULIAN W. MACK, *President*JACOB DE HAAS, *Secretary*THE UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW
CONGREGATIONSBy J. WALTER FREIBERG, *President*GEORGE ZEPIN, *Secretary*THE UNION OF ORTHODOX JEWISH
CONGREGATIONSBy HERBERT S. GOLDSTEIN, *Secretary*

THE UNITED SYNAGOGUE OF AMERICA

By ELIAS L. SOLOMAN, *President*CHARLES I. HOFFMAN, *Secretary*

THE PROVISIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR
AMERICAN JEWISH CONGRESS

By NATHAN STRAUS, *President*
MORRIS ROTHENBERG, *Chairman*, Executive Committee
STEPHEN S. WISE
BERNARD G. RICHARDS, *Secretary*

THE INDEPENDENT ORDER OF B'NAI B'RITH
AND THE ANTI-DEFAMATION LEAGUE

By ADOLF KRAUS, *President*

THE CENTRAL CONFERENCE OF
AMERICAN RABBIS

By LEO M. FRANKLIN, *President*
FELIX A. LEVY, *Secretary*

THE RABBINICAL ASSEMBLY OF THE JEWISH
THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

By MAX D. KLEIN, *President*
SAMUEL FREDMAN, *Secretary*

THE UNION OF ORTHODOX RABBIS OF
UNITED STATES AND CANADA

By M. S. MARGOLIES, *President*