

Dhananjayrao Gadgil Library



GIPE-PUNE-008394

**POLAND AND THE
MINORITY RACES**

8394

POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

BY

ARTHUR L. GOODHART

*Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge
Late Captain, United States Army*



LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD.
RUSKIN HOUSE, 40 MUSEUM STREET, W.C.1.
NEW YORK: BRENTANO'S

First published in 1920

V 525: 48. N2
Fo

8324

(All rights reserved)

83 94

1 MAR 19

TO
MY PARENTS

PREFACE

IN May 1919 meetings were held in many of the larger cities of the United States at which resolutions were adopted protesting against the reported wholesale killing of Jews in Poland. The Polish Government thereupon issued a statement denying that any excesses had taken place. In June, after further agitation in America, M. Paderewski, President of the Council of Ministers of Poland, asked President Wilson to appoint an American Commission to ascertain the facts. In accordance with this request a Mission consisting of Mr. Henry Morgenthau, late American Ambassador to Turkey, and Brigadier-General Edgar Jadwin, U.S.A., was sent to Poland on July 10, 1919. Mr. Homer H. Johnson, the third member of the Mission, joined them three weeks later in Warsaw.

At the suggestion of Mr. Morgenthau I was appointed counsel to the Mission, being temporarily transferred from the Army for this purpose. During the nine weeks which we spent in Poland I kept daily personal notes in addition to the official testimony taken down by our stenographers. This diary has now been edited and put into a readable form, chiefly by the elimination of immaterial details. It attempts to give a more intimate picture of conditions in Poland than could be done in the formal report of

8 POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

the Mission which is on file with the State Department, Washington, D.C. A synopsis of that report appeared in the *New York Times* of January 19, 1920.

Although the Mission was primarily charged with investigating the condition of the Jews, it also heard Lithuanians, White Russians, and Ruthenians concerning their relations with the new Polish State. In this way a more accurate understanding of the policy of the Government and of the attitude of the people at large to the minority races could be obtained.

For the convenience of the general reader I have added an appendix in which the history of Poland and that of the Polish Jews is briefly sketched. An outline of the aims of the various Jewish political parties has also been included.

My sincere thanks are due to Mr. Harry A. Hollond, of Trinity College, Cambridge; Sir Geoffrey Butler, of Corpus Christi College; Judge Irving Lehman, of the New York Supreme Court; and to my brother Howard, for the valuable suggestions they have given me.

ARTHUR L. GOODHART.

CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE,

CAMBRIDGE.

May 7, 1920.

CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE	7
CHAPTER	
I. VIENNA AND WARSAW	11
II. INVESTIGATING THE POGROMS	42
III. MINSK AND THE BOLSHEVIKS	70
IV. THE KINGDOM OF POLAND AND GALICIA	109
V. POSEN AND THE LAST WEEK	159
APPENDIX	177

APPENDIX

A SYNOPSIS OF POLISH HISTORY

A THOUSAND years ago the Poles lived among the forests and morasses of the upper waters of the Oder and Vistula. It was only in 965, when Mieczyslaw, the first King of Poland, became converted to Christianity, that this country came into relations with Western Europe. After the Tatar invasions of 1241, foreign immigrants—chiefly Germans—were invited to Poland, where they built strong cities and developed trade and commerce.

In 1333 Casimir III the Great ascended the throne. He introduced a whole series of administrative and economic reforms—especially protecting the cities and the peasants. During his reign Poland acquired the greater part of Red Russia or Galicia. At this time Cracow was the capital of the country and one of the wealthiest cities of Europe. The trade route from the East ran past it.

Casimir left his throne to his nephew, Louis of Hungary, who was succeeded by his daughter Jadwiga. Greatly against her will, the young princess was married to Jagiello, Grand Duke of Lithuania, who was crowned King of Poland, under the title of Wladislaus II, in 1386. The Lithuanians whom he ruled dwelt in the forests of the Upper Niemen, north-east of Poland proper. They were a brave but savage race, carrying on a long war against the Teutonic Knights who tried to convert them by force.

Jagiello did not remain Duke of Lithuania, as this country was too strong and independent to be ruled by Poland. He surrendered it to Witowt on the understanding that the two countries should have a common policy.

178 POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

On July 15, 1410, the united armies of these two countries met the Teutonic Knights, who were ravaging the northern districts, on the field of Tannenberg or Grünewald, and won an overwhelming victory.

During the succeeding reigns Poland fell into anarchy. The kings surrendered most of their authority to the incapable aristocracy, whose sole idea of ruling was systematically to oppress and humiliate the lower classes. In 1506, fortunately for Poland, Sigismund I became King. He struggled to restore the country, but was handicapped by the selfishness of the magnates and the *szlachta* (the lesser nobility).

During the reign of his successor, Sigismund II, the Protestant Reformation commenced in Poland. Calvinism became popular among the higher classes. Lutheranism and the doctrines of the "Bohemian Brethren" also spread. The success of the Protestant propaganda was due chiefly to the scandalous state of the Catholic Church. Despite her immense wealth, the Church claimed exemption from all public burdens, although her prelates exercised a disproportionate political influence. The King, however, supported the Church, which after 1560 started a counter reformation. The chief cause of the Protestant collapse was the division among the reformers themselves, for the two principal Protestant sects, the Lutherans and the Calvinists, carried on a fratricidal war. In 1565 the King consented to the introduction of the Jesuits, whose establishments became the centres of a vigorous and victorious propaganda.

On July 1, 1569, Poland and Lithuania entered into the Union of Lublin. Henceforth the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were to constitute one inseparable body politic under one sovereign, elected in common, with one Diet and one currency. This union was unpopular in Lithuania, which desired to remain independent.

In 1572 Sigismund II died and the Jagiellonic Period came to an end. In 1573 a national convention, composed of representatives from all parts of the country, met at

Warsaw. The French Ambassador, by bribing the leading magnates, brought about the election of Henry of Valois. Before the election, the "Henrican Articles" were adopted by the Convention, which converted Poland from a limited monarchy into a republic with an elective chief magistrate. The King was not to use the word "haeres," not being an hereditary sovereign, nor was he to have any voice in the choice of his successor.

In 1574 Henry fled secretly from Poland to become King of France, and Stephen Batory was elected to succeed him. He defeated the Russians who were beginning to threaten Poland, and also tried to organize a permanent border defence. The University of Wilno was founded by him in an attempt to raise the low culture of the country.

In 1647 the great Cossack rebellion broke out in the Ukraine. The Cossacks lived along the Dnieper River, where they had for years been used by the Poles as a guard against the Tatars and the Turks. They were mostly of Lithuanian origin and belonged to the Greek Catholic Church. The prime mover of the great rebellion was the Cossack Hetman Bogdan Khmelnitzki. On May 19, 1648, he annihilated a small Polish corps and seven days later he crushed a Polish army, massacring 8,500 men. All through the Ukraine the serfs rose, murdering the Polish gentry, the priests and the Jews. Meanwhile, the Polish Army, 40,000 strong, consisting almost entirely of noble militia, approached. On September 23rd the two armies met near Pildawa and the Polish forces were scattered. All Poland lay at the hetman's feet, but he delayed advancing. In the meanwhile, John II Casimir was elected King. He finally succeeded in 1649 in negotiating a peace with Khmelnitzki, who became the virtual ruler of the Ukraine.

In 1654 the Russians invaded weakened Poland, and in 1655 Charles X of Sweden forced a war upon the reluctant country. King John Casimir, betrayed by his own subjects, fled to Silesia. Only the monastery of Czestochowa, defended by Prior Kordecki, held out against the

180 POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

Swedes. Finally a new Polish army was created by Stephen Czarniecki, and the Swedes were driven out. After some fighting, peace was concluded with Muscovy by the surrender of Kiev and other towns.

In 1676 John III Sobieski, a Polish nobleman, was elected King. His victory over the Turks at the gates of Vienna in 1683 was the one brilliant feature of his reign. His attempts to reform the Constitution of bankrupt Poland were defeated by the nobles, who clung to the *liberum veto*. This veto was based on the assumption of the absolute political equality of every Polish gentleman. Any single Deputy could arise in the Diet and exclaim "*Nie pzwalam*"—"I disapprove"—when the measure in question at once failed. Before the end of the seventeenth century it was used so frequently that all business was virtually brought to a standstill.

Sobieski was followed in 1697 by Frederick Augustus (Augustus II), Elector of Saxony, who was elected because he arrived in Warsaw after the agents of his rivals had spent all their money. Soon Augustus joined Denmark and Peter of Russia, for the purpose of despoiling Sweden, and for the next twenty years Swedes, Russians and Saxons lived on unfortunate Poland.

In 1733 Stanislaus Leszczyński was elected King, but a Russian army appeared before Warsaw and compelled the Diet to proclaim Augustus III. He was too indolent to do anything, and permitted the great nobles to quarrel among themselves. Another attempt was made to do away with the *liberum veto*, but it failed.

In 1763 Augustus III died. The Russian troops again entered Poland and forced the election of Stanislaus Poniatowski, a good-looking, inefficient young Pole who had been a former lover of Catherine II. The Czartoryskis, a Polish noble family, tried to introduce necessary reforms, but some of the malcontent nobles who clung to their special privileges formed a confederation at Radom. They sent a deputation to St. Petersburg, asking Catherine to guarantee the liberties of the Republic. The *liberum veto* and all the other ancient abuses were

now declared unalterable parts of the Polish Constitution and placed under the guarantee of Russia. A patriotic uprising, known as the Confederation of Bar, followed, but it never had a chance of success, and was finally suppressed in 1772. Poland was now so weak that she could do nothing. Thereupon the three Empires of Russia, Prussia and Austria determined to seize part of her territory. The first partition followed in 1772, Poland losing about one-fifth of her population and one-fourth of her territory.

The shock of the first partition awoke the public conscience and stimulated the younger generation to extraordinary patriotic efforts. As a result, on May 3, 1791, a new Constitution was accepted by the Polish Diet. It converted Poland into a hereditary limited monarchy and abolished the *liberum veto*. The franchise was extended to the towns and serfdom was mitigated. The Constitution had scarce been signed when three Polish nobles hastened to St. Petersburg. They entered into a convention with the Empress by which she undertook to restore the old Constitution. After three useless battles the Polish reformers fled abroad and the Russians poured into Eastern Poland. The second partition of Poland was then carried out in September 1793. Poland was reduced to one-third of her original dimensions, with a population of 3,500,000. In April 1794 the Poles rose in revolution. Led by Kosciuszko, the Polish troops at first were successful. Then their inveterate lawlessness asserted itself. These dissensions were followed by the defeat of Maciejowice (October 10th), at which Kosciuszko was captured, and the slaughter of Praga (October 29th). The third partition followed, and in 1796 Poland finally ceased to exist.

During the Napoleonic era the Poles sided with Napoleon, and for a brief period the Grand Duchy of Warsaw was once more independent. It perished, however, with the retreat of the Grand Army from Moscow in 1812.

By the Congress of Vienna, 1813, Poland was redivided between Prussia, Russia and Austria. Only Cracow,

182 POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

with a population of 61,000, became a separate republic. Posen and Gnesen were given to Prussia; Galicia went to Austria, while the rest of Poland, now known as the Congress Kingdom, was incorporated with Russia. Alexander of Russia gave the Poles a Constitution by which Poland was declared to be united to Russia in the person of the Czar as a separate political entity; Lithuania and Ruthenia were separately incorporated as the Western Provinces. Poland was to retain its flag and a national army. The Czar and the Polish Diet soon quarrelled, however, as the Poles agitated for the full restoration of their former freedom.

The outbreak of the French Revolution in 1830 created great excitement in Poland. The Poles believed that their army was about to be used in the West against Belgium and France. On November 29, 1830, a military revolt took place in Warsaw. The Poles at first were successful, but they were weakened by lack of discipline. Finally, in September 1831, the Russians crushed the revolution, and the Congress Kingdom of Poland was reduced to a Russian province.

In 1848 the last vestige of Polish freedom was crushed out when Austria occupied the Republic of Cracow.

Russia now attempted to destroy the nationality and language of Poland. The Polish Universities of Warsaw and Wilno were suppressed and the Polish recruits were distributed in Russian regiments. A hostile policy also was adopted against the Roman Catholic Church.

Finally, in 1863, the Poles broke into revolt. The movement was badly planned, and was soon crushed. The only result of the revolution was the further destruction of Polish liberty. Henceforth all teaching, both in the Universities and in the schools, had to be in the Russian language. A strict censorship was also established.

In 1905 a revolution broke out in Russia. Only a few of the Poles took part in it, as it was Socialistic in character. As a result of the rising, however, Poland was given more freedom.

In 1914, when the Great War broke out, Poland became

the battlefield for the Russian and German armies. By 1915 the Germans had captured the whole country. They gave the Poles a considerable amount of self-government, as they wished them to fight on their side. Some Poles did side with the Central Empires, but the majority remained neutral.

In November 1918 the Germans left the country, and General Pilsudski became the Chief of State, with a Socialist and peasant Government, headed by Moraczewski. When Paderewski reached Poland, some time later, Moraczewski resigned, and a new Coalition Government of Conservative tendencies was formed.

The new Republic of Poland is a country of about 700,000 square kilometres, being almost as large in area as Germany. It has a population of 28,000,000 people, of whom nearly 4,000,000 are Jews, 3,500,000 Ruthenians, 2,000,000 Lithuanians, 2,000,000 White Russians, and 1,000,000 Germans. Poland as now constituted is made up of three separate parts—Russian, German, and Austrian Poland. The German part is known as Posen. Before the war it had a population of over 2,100,000, of whom about 26,000 were Jews. Austrian Poland is known as Galicia. Before the war it had a population of about 8,000,000, of whom 3,700,000 were Poles, 3,300,000 were Ruthenians, and 1,000,000 were Jews. Russian Poland as it exists at present (its boundaries are not yet fixed) can be divided into three parts—Poland proper, known as the former Kingdom of Poland, the Lithuanian District and the White Russian District. The total population of these three districts is about 18,000,000, of whom about 14 per cent. are Jews.

THE JEWS IN POLAND

The original Jewish settlements in Poland were almost entirely founded by immigrants from Western Europe. It is probable that during the tenth century some Jews from Kiev and the Crimea visited the country for trading purposes, but there is no record of their having remained permanently. The first Western Jews who dealt with the Slavs along the Vistula were merchants who came from Germany in the ninth century. It was not, however, until the eleventh century that large numbers of Jews entered Poland. They fled here from Prague in 1096 because the Crusaders, while passing through that city, had attacked them. In the twelfth century there was a steady flow from Germany owing to the persecutions in that country. Most of these Jews settled in the border cities of Cracow, Posen and Kalisch. These immigrants brought with them their language, a German dialect. With the admixture of Hebrew, Polish and Russian words, this original root has become the modern Yiddish.

When the Jews first entered Poland there were only two fixed classes in that country—the owners or nobles, and tillers or peasants of the soil. The Jews therefore acted as pioneers of trade and finance, and some of their leaders even became administrators of the Royal Mint. The kings looked with favour on this new class, and in 1264 Boleslav gave the Jews a charter of privileges.

During the fourteenth century there was increased immigration of Jews from Germany, and King Casimir the Great (1333-1370), who was trying to develop the economic life of his country, welcomed their advent. He granted them new privileges, and also protected them

against the growing hostility of the clergy and the municipalities. The Polish cities at this time were chiefly inhabited by German merchants and artisans who had been encouraged to settle in Poland. They objected to the competition of the Jews, and began the race war which has been carried on to the present day. Casimir's favour to the Jews is said to have been due in part to his love for a beautiful Jewess, called Esther, who lived in the royal palace near Cracow.

During the reign of the next King, Louis of Hungary, the Jews were persecuted, and Esther was killed. It was not until 1407, however, that the first of the excesses against the Jews took place. In that year a priest in Cracow suddenly announced to his congregation that the Jews had committed a ritual murder, i.e. had killed a Christian so as to use his blood for religious purposes. The people thereupon attacked the Jewish houses, killing and plundering the inhabitants.

During the succeeding reigns the position of the Jews throughout the kingdom became steadily more unfavourable. Finally, in November 1454, the clergy and nobility forced King Casimir IV to accept the Statute of Nyeshava which rescinded the former Jewish privileges as "being equally opposed to Divine right and earthly laws." In 1538, at the Piotrkov Diet, the Jews were required to wear yellow hats to distinguish them from the Christians.

The Jews at this time enjoyed considerable self-government, not being treated as regular members of the municipalities. The Kahals, the elders of the Jewish Community, had courts in which Biblical and Talmudic law was applied as between Jews. Cases between Jews and Christians were tried in the royal, as distinguished from the more prejudiced municipal, courts.

In 1576 Stephen Batory was elected King, and during his ten-year reign the Jews were well treated. He issued an edict forbidding the impeachment of Jews on the charge of ritual murder, as such trials were always the signal for excesses. Batory was followed by weak kings, under whom the nobles increased their power. The

Catholic reaction which followed a brief reformation period reduced the Jews virtually to the standing of outlaws. In 1598 a series of ritual murder trials began, followed, as usual, by riots.

The growing division between the Jews and the Catholics in Poland increased the autonomy of the Jewish Kahal during the seventeenth century. The Jewish Community became a civil entity forming a separate Jewish city within the Christian one, with its own administrative, religious, judicial and charitable institutions. The Kahal collected the Jewish taxes and paid them over to the Government. It was also in charge of education, which it limited strictly to religious and ritual lines. In only a few schools was simple arithmetic taught. Knowledge of the Talmud was the aim and end of all learning. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the golden age of Talmudic study in Poland, for the two great Rabbis and commentators, Moses Isserles (1520-1572) and Solomon Luria (1510-1573), lived during this period.

The Jewish Community, although suffering from a great number of disabilities, continued to increase until the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was struck a series of terrible blows. In 1647 the south-eastern border province of Poland—the Ukraine—rose in revolt. Led by the Cossack hetman, Bogdan Khmelnitzki, the Cossacks and the peasants ravaged the country, killing the Polish nobles and the Jews with equal fury. After a year of massacres the new King of Poland, John Casimir, finally made peace in 1649 with the Cossacks. Five years later, in 1654, the Muscovites invaded North-Eastern Poland—Lithuania. They were hardly less cruel than the Cossacks, killing large numbers of the Jews in Wilno and Moghilev. In 1655 the Swedes, in their turn, invaded Western Poland. They spared the Jews, but when they retreated from the country the Polish soldiers themselves, under General Czarniecki, instead of fighting the Swedes, fell upon the Jews and murdered and robbed them. The Poles destroyed nearly all the Jewish Communities in the province of Posen, excepting the city of Posen itself. It was not

until 1658, when Poland made peace with Russia and Sweden, that the Jewish massacres were finally stopped. During the decade from 1648 to 1658 the Jewish Community lost over 100,000 killed. Those Jews who remained alive were financially ruined and, in most cases, were also homeless.

Hardly had conditions begun to settle down when, in 1664, pupils of the Jesuit school in Lemberg stormed the Jewish quarter and killed about 100 Jews. In 1670 the Diet of Warsaw passed a law forbidding the Jews to keep Christian servants. For a few brief years, after 1674, John Sobieski, the hero of Vienna, protected the Jews, but his reign was followed by new ritual murder trials.

In 1772 began the Partition of Poland. From that date on the history of the Jews in Galicia and of those in Posen is primarily like that of the other citizens in these districts. Only in Russian Poland was a sharp line drawn between the Jews and the Christians.

Russia, or the Empire of Muscovy, before the seventeenth century, had refused to admit any Jews within her borders. This was partly due to the prejudice which the Russian people felt against foreigners as such, and partly to the religious hatred against non-Christians. In 1667 a small group of Jewish prisoners of war, captured in Poland, were allowed for the first time to settle in Moscow. It was not until the partition of 1772, however, that a great number of Jews became the subjects of Russia. At the end of the partitional period Russia found herself the ruler of 900,000 of the people to whom she had previously refused admission. The problem of what to do with these Jews was settled by the Imperial ukase of December 23, 1791, creating the Pale of Settlement. It was decreed that "the Jews have no right to enrol in the merchant corporations in the inner Russian cities or ports of entry, and are permitted to enjoy only the rights of townsmen and burghers of White Russia." After the second and third partitions the Pale was necessarily increased in size by the seized territory. The Jews in all these new Russian provinces were strictly forbidden to

188 POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

enter Central and Eastern Russia. The result of these rules was that the Jews were concentrated along the western frontier, where they formed about 14 per cent. of the population.

In 1795 an Imperial ukase was issued decreeing that endeavours be made to transfer the Jews of the Pale from the villages to the towns and cities. This policy of the Government, carried out steadily for many years, increased the overcrowding of the Jews in the cities. In the same year the Government deprived the Kahals of their social and judicial functions, limiting them to religious questions.

Under the fairly liberal Czar Alexander I, Jewish conditions changed little. A few of the younger Jews, during his reign, began to break away from the old customs. Some of them shaved their beards and wore short coats. The older Jews fought this Western influence, and in most cases proved victorious. They also defeated the attempt to teach the Jews Russian or Polish, preferring their Yiddish language.

Alexander was followed by Nicholas I, who instituted a reactionary despotic régime. In 1827 he imposed military service on the Jews. The real purpose of this measure was to force the conversion to the Christian faith of the young Jews. In 1835 the "Statute concerning the Jews" was enacted, by which the Jewish disabilities were codified.

In 1841 the Russian Government changed its methods, and began an attempt to enlighten the Jewish masses. It was planned to establish more modern schools in place of the Jewish Heders. As the Jews felt that the purpose of this reform was to convert their children, they opposed it, and finally succeeded in defeating it.

In 1846 Sir Moses Montefiore, the English philanthropist, travelled through the Pale. He was everywhere met with great enthusiasm by the Jewish masses. His audience with the Czar did not, however, bring about an improvement in their condition.

In 1850, a further attempt to modernize the Jews was made by the Imperial ukase which prohibited the use of

a distinct Jewish form of dress. The Jewish masses refused to submit to this order, and in time it became a dead letter.

In 1856 Alexander II became Czar, and a more liberal era followed. During his reign Jewish first guild merchants were permitted to settle permanently in the interior of Russia, together with their families. This right was also extended to University graduates, and later to Jewish artisans and mechanics.

In 1881 Alexander II was assassinated by Russian Terrorists. He was followed by the reactionary Alexander III. Taking their cue from the Government, the Russian newspapers began to attack the Jews. There soon followed numerous riots near Kiev, with the result that a number of Jews were killed. On May 3, 1881, a riot broke out in Odessa, and many Jewish houses were sacked. In December 1881 an outbreak occurred in Warsaw, during which 1,500 Jewish houses were pillaged.

On May 3, 1882, the Czar sanctioned the famous "Temporary Rules." The purport of these rules was to drive the Jews from the villages into the towns and cities. The Jews were also forbidden to carry on business on Sundays.

The result of the excesses and the new restrictive laws was to check the progress towards assimilation which had been going on in Jewish circles during the reign of Alexander II. The Jews began to look for new hope in emigration. Lilienblum preached "Love of Zion," and in 1882 Pinsker published a book, *Auto-emancipation*, urging the re-establishment of the Jewish people upon a territory of its own.

The Government continued its policy of restriction. In 1887 admission of Jews to schools and colleges was limited to a minimum, and in 1889 no more Jewish lawyers were called to the Bar. By 1888 there were over 650 restrictive laws directed against the Jews in the Russian Code.

In March 1891 over 20,000 Jews who had been permitted to settle in Moscow were suddenly expelled and forced into the overcrowded Pale of Settlement.

190 POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

In 1894 Nicholas II succeeded Alexander III. He soon made it clear to the Jews that he would follow the reactionary steps of his predecessor. In 1894 the liquor trade was put under Government control. By this step thousands of Jews who had kept inns in the country were thrown out of work.

In 1903 occurred the famous Kishinev pogrom. On the eve of the Easter holiday rumours spread through the town that the Jews had killed a Christian girl. Excitement grew, and on Sunday, April 6th, bands of men broke into the Jewish houses. They continued to rob and murder the Jews until the next day. Forty-five Jews were killed in this excess, and over 500 were wounded.

In 1905 the famous workers' revolution spread through Russia. It was carried on chiefly by strikes and individual terrorist acts. In this attempt for freedom the Jews played a prominent part. To defeat this liberal movement the reactionary Government stirred up the ignorant masses against the Jews. A number of massacres followed, in which the mobs were led by the "Black Hundred."

The revolution was followed by a few liberal concessions. A Duma, or Parliament, was created, and the Jews were allowed to vote for representatives. There were twelve Jewish Deputies in the first 1906 Duma.

In 1906 a pogrom broke out in Bialystock, in which 80 Jews were killed and over 100 wounded. In 1911 there followed the notorious Beilis case. The body of a murdered Russian boy was found near a brick-kiln owned by Beilis. He was indicted on the charge of having committed a ritual crime, but, after a protracted trial, he was finally acquitted.

In 1912 elections to the fourth Duma took place. The Polish National Democratic Party, in Warsaw, nominated the anti-Semite Kukhazhevski. The Jews refused to vote for him, and instead supported the Polish Socialist candidate, Yagiello, who was elected. This action of the Jews aroused the hatred of the National Democrats. Their leader, Roman Dmowski, preached an economic boycott

urging the Poles not to deal with the Jews. This campaign was at its height when war broke out in 1914.

During the first year of the war, in which Poland was a battleground, the Jews suffered great hardships, many being exiled from their homes by the Russians. After 1915 their history is the same as that of the Poles, for the Germans, who were occupying the country, made no distinction between the two races.

JEWISH POLITICAL PARTIES IN POLAND

THE ORTHODOX PARTY

The majority of the Polish Jews belong to the Orthodox Party. This party publishes a newspaper in Yiddish, *The Jewish World* (*Das Judische Wort*), which has a big circulation. The Orthodox believe that the Jewish question is only a religious one, and they are opposed to the political demands of the Nationalists and Zionists. They consider Palestine to be the Holy Land, and are in favour of Jewish colonization there, but do not support the founding of a political Jewish state. The idea of an immediate regeneration is contrary to the Orthodox belief that the Jews will be regenerated through a Messiah. The Orthodox are fundamentally Conservative, being in constant opposition to every new movement.

THE ZIONISTS

The Zionist Party is controlled by the "Central Committee of the Zionistic Organization in Warsaw." This Committee, which is composed of twenty-five persons, is divided into a number of smaller commissions, which are very efficiently managed. The Zionistic Party also runs schools, gymnasiums and clubs. The Zionistic movement rose in Poland towards the end of the nineteenth century, but it has become much more powerful since the beginning of the Great War. The official newspaper organ of the Zionistic Party is *Dos Yiddishe Folk*. The Zionists desire a Jewish state in Palestine which shall form the Jewish national centre. They also have a new programme which is based on the principle of self-determination for national minorities. According to this principle the Jews

in Poland should have special rights as a distinct national group. They desire that the Jewish Community be changed from a purely religious one into a distinctly political group. The Zionists demand separate schools, which shall be governed by freely elected representatives of the Jewish population. "The self-government of the schools is the foundation of social and political freedom, and as such is the first condition of a free national development." The official Zionist body considers Hebrew to be the national language of the Jews. In the Zionist Board Schools the teaching is done in Hebrew as soon as the pupils are sufficiently advanced.

There are a number of other independent Zionist parties, the most important of which are the Poale Zion and the Mizrachi. Poale Zion means "the workers of Zion." This party is in strong opposition to the Central Committee, which it considers a bourgeois and reactionary group. It operates only in the sphere of Jewish workmen, and is steadily growing in importance. Its political ideal is a Socialistic state in Palestine. The party also demands full rights for the Jewish national minority in Poland. It considers Yiddish the principal language.

The Mizrachi are a group of Orthodox who have joined Zionism. They consider old Jewish national and religious traditions as the most important factor in the future regeneration of the Jewish people. The Torah is to be taken as the basis in all educational matters. This party is small but quite active.

NATIONAL OR POPULAR JEWISH PARTY

The Popular Jewish Party was formed in July 1916, and was at first grouped around the newspaper *Moment*. It demands guarantees for national minorities, with a right to separate schools. It considers Yiddish as the national Jewish language, and demands for this language full rights in Poland. It is opposed to Socialism. This party is particularly audible in its demands, but is not as powerful or as well organized as the Zionists.

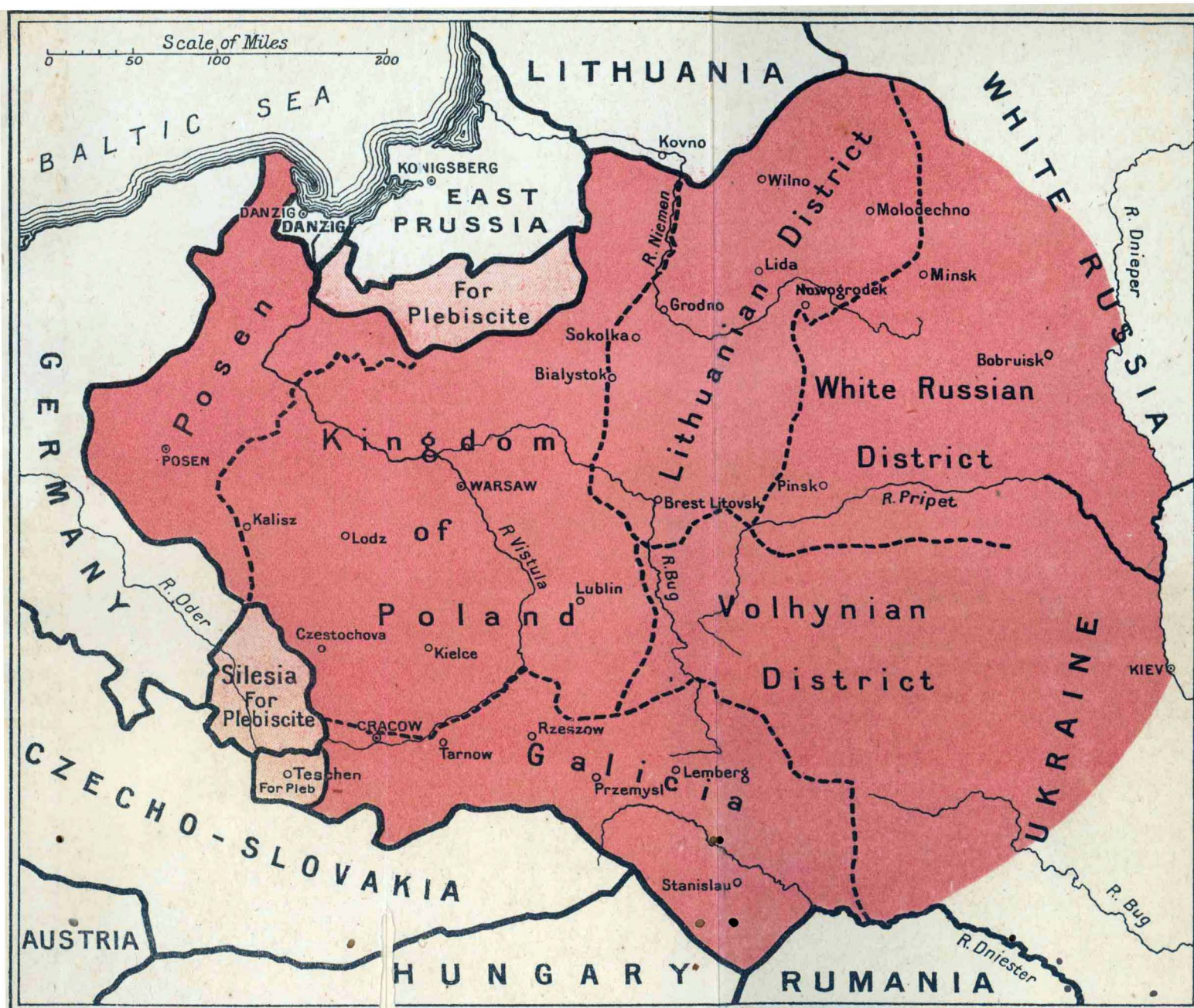
194 POLAND AND THE MINORITY RACES

THE BUND

The Bund is the party of the Jewish Socialists. It was formed in 1897, being called the Universal Jewish Workmen's Union. The Bund stands on the platform of class-struggle. It took an active part in the revolutionary movement in Russia in the years 1905 and 1906. It is in opposition to all the other Jewish parties, accusing them of being either "Clerical Conservative" or bourgeois. The Bund does not care about the interests of the Jewish people as such, and is opposed to all varieties of Zionism. In its meetings and publications Yiddish is used.

THE ASSIMILATORS

The Assimilators in the middle of the nineteenth century were for a time the only cultured element among the Jews, and took a leading part in all social and charitable work. When the Zionistic and Nationalistic ideas took root in the Kingdom of Poland, at the end of the eighties, the influence of the Assimilators began to diminish. They consider the propaganda of Polish culture their most important mission. They believe that Judaism is only a matter of religion, and strongly oppose emphasizing the question of nationality. They have no political programme at all, most of them belonging to different Polish political parties; they consider themselves Poles, and oppose the Jewish Nationalists. Most of the wealthy and professional Jews belong to this group.



Stem, Praed & Co Ltd., St. James' St. London S.W.

T, territory coloured pink is at present under Polish control.
 • T eastern borders of Poland have not been fixed definitely