THE BEILIS AFFAIR

While the Russian Government was setting the stage in Kieff for the medieval trial of Mendel Beilis, an obscure laborer, on the charge of having murdered Andrey Yuschinsky for ritual purposes, the entire civilized world expressed abhorrence of the hideous libel. The foremost statesmen, scientists, authors, and clergymen of many lands, and the enlightened press of the world denounced Russia for reviving this ancient and exploded superstition for the purpose of arousing race prejudice and inciting the Russian masses to massacres of the Jews. Powerful appeals to the Russian authorities, to desist from the shameful proceeding, were issued by the most distinguished men in England, France, Germany, and the United States. In Russia, too, a memorial of like character was signed by the leading lawyers, authors, and publicists. The liberal organs of public opinion criticised the Government for permitting the indictment presented against the accused to contain even a suggestion of the absurd charge.

The case divided Russia into two camps. The reactionaries, led by the Department of Justice, employed every disreputable device to discredit the Jewish people, by charging that they practised this unspeakable crime. The progressive elements of Russia, who are genuinely concerned in the welfare of the Russian people, humiliated by the dreadful spectacle that the Russian Government presented to the eyes of the world, repudiated this vile attack as vigorously as the censor would permit. There were some Russians whose protests were so energetic that they paid dearly for giving voice to their consciences.
Many arrests were made in various parts of the Empire, hundreds of newspapers and magazines were confiscated and suppressed, and their editors and contributors were in some instances imprisoned, in others heavily fined. Even now that the trial is ended, the heroic and patriotic men who sought to defend the honor of their country are relentlessly pursued by the baffled bureaucrats whom a gleam of civilization frightened from their prey.

The Beilis case presented the most extraordinary spectacle to be found in the annals of a civilized state. It is unique even among the ritual murder trials in history. There was not a shred even of circumstantial evidence against the accused, not the semblance of a fact that would justify even the suspicion of the slightest infraction by him of law or morals. While he was confined in prison and during the progress of his trial, practically all intelligent Russians felt, as now they are convinced, that the Government knew from the outset who the murderers of Andrey Yuschinsky were, and it was thoroughly understood that in its efforts for political purposes to convict a Jew on the charge of ritual murder, the Government was deliberately shielding the actual criminals. From the beginning, the indictment of Beilis was recognized as an absurdly clumsy fabrication, but the immediate exigencies of the most powerful political elements in Russia demanded the concoction of this conspiracy against the Jewish people, and thus reason, justice, and humanity were defied with unblushing brutality.

Because it was such a conspiracy, which fortunately failed of accomplishment, and which affords a remarkable illustration of the shameless methods to which Russian bureaucracy resorts to attain its objects, it is deemed important to give a more detailed account of the case than has been generally accessible.
It is largely based upon the careful investigations and reports made by the former chief of police of Kieff, M. Nicholas Kra-
sovsky, and by M. Brazul-Brushkovsky, a leading journalist of
the same city that aided him in his work.

On March 11, 1911, Andrey Yuschinsky, twelve years of
age, a pupil of the Kievo-Sofievsky Theological Seminary, left
for school at about six o'clock in the morning. Asked by his
grandmother why he started at so early an hour, he said that
he intended to call on a friend to procure some powder for his
toy gun. Half an hour later, the boy was seen on the Tsepny
bridge leading to Kieff. He never returned. His mother and
his stepfather were not uneasy because of his failure to return
on that day, for he had often remained overnight in the city,
with an aunt who resided there. But when he failed to return
after three days, his mother, Alexandra Prikhodko, went to the
newspaper offices and asked that an announcement be made of
the disappearance of her son, and she also notified the police.

On March 20, the body of Andrey Yuschinsky was found
about five miles from his home, in a suburb known as Lukya-
novka, a rather picturesque locality. There are numerous
caves there, around which many strange legends have been
woven, and few people venture into the vicinity at night.
While two gymnasium pupils were playing there at one o'clock
in the afternoon of that day, they came upon the body of the
murdered boy in one of these caves. It was a bright Sunday
in spring. A large crowd gathered near the cave, and the news
spread rapidly throughout the district. About an hour later, a
policeman appeared on the scene. He crawled into the cave to
see the body. When he emerged, he sent for the janitor of the
neighboring house. While the crowd waited impatiently for

\^ All the dates used in this article are old style.
the arrival of the police authorities, the janitor cleared the snow away from the mouth of the cave. The police officials arrived only towards evening. It was so dark that they had to use lanterns in their examination of the cave. During the following three days the affair was regarded as an ordinary murder.

On March 23, an autopsy was performed on the body by a coroner, I. N. Karpinsky, in the presence of a special investigator, Fenenko.

The examination showed that the boy's hands were tied behind his back with a rope, that he was brutally mutilated, and that his underclothing was covered with stains of dried blood.

Suddenly the "ritual murder" legend began to spread like wildfire among the Christian population of Kieff. It was repeated from mouth to mouth that on March 18, two days before Yuschinsky's body had been discovered, Zhenya (Eugene) Cheberiak, a boy of about twelve, a playmate of Andrey, met Fedor Nezhinsky, an uncle of the murdered boy, and said to him, "I am sorry for Andryusha—the dirty Jews have killed him." It was later related by a witness that a dark-complexioned man in a fur cap had told the crowd near the cave that the boy had been murdered by Jews.

On March 24, a day after the first autopsy, the mother of the boy received a letter signed "A Christian," the post office stamp on the envelope indicating that it had been sent from Kherson, a day's journey from Kieff, stating that Yuschinsky had been killed by "Jewish slaughterers who need Christian blood for Passover." The stamp showed that it was posted on March 21, one day after the body had been found, before the newspapers had published the account of the finding of the body, and before the autopsy. To this day no one has
explained how this "Christian" could have been aware of the condition of the body of the murdered boy even before the police were supposed to know it.

Shortly before the murder, a bill had been introduced in the Duma by the progressive elements advocating the abolition of the Pale of Jewish Settlement. The reactionaries by every means at their command sought to discredit the Jews in order to defeat this bill, which would unquestionably have resulted in the amelioration of the condition of the Russian Jews. To accomplish this end, Markoff II, a reactionary Deputy of the Duma, proceeded to Kieff, and forthwith seized upon the Yuschinsky murder as campaign material to stir the passions and prejudices of the Russian people against the Jews. The Black Hundred organization of Kieff simultaneously began to circulate reports that the Christian boy had been murdered by the Jews for ritual purposes.

A second examination of the body was ordered by the police. Professors Obolonsky and Tufanoff performed this autopsy, and it was then for the first time that ritual murder was hinted at officially. A second funeral of Andrey Yuschinsky took place, at which the Black Hundred organization was strongly represented. Proclamations were distributed declaring that the Yuschinsky boy had been murdered by the Jews for his blood, and calling upon the populace to avenge the blood of the "martyr."

The police at first suspected the mother and stepfather of the boy of the murder. They were arrested, but on April 5 were released by Fenenko, and freed from all suspicion of complicity. This served as a new signal for the Black Hundreds to resume their campaign against the Jews. The Zemstchina, a St. Petersburg organ of the Black Hundreds, on the
The eve of Easter, published correspondence from Kieff, entitled "A Ritual Murder," in which it was declared categorically that "all the facts in connection with this murder show without doubt that we have here a case of ritual murder committed by the Jewish sect of the Hasidim." This accusation was taken up by other Black Hundred organs, the Russkoe Znamya and the Kolokol. Soon the Novoe Vremya joined these newspapers in accusing the Jewish people of the crime.

The reactionaries introduced an interpellation in the Duma inquiring whether the Government knew of the existence of ritual murders in general, and whether the Jews had killed the Yuschinsky boy in Kieff for religious purposes. But the interpellation was defeated by an overwhelming majority.

Under the pressure of the growing sentiment among the reactionaries, the authorities submitted to Professor Sikorsky and Father Ambrosius a series of questions concerning ritual murders. The answers of these men fortified the position of the reactionaries in their campaign against the Jews. Thus the ritual murder theory became injected into the Yuschinsky case.

As soon as the body of the murdered boy was identified, Mistchuk, the chief of the secret police of Kieff, examined the relatives of Yuschinsky. In his investigations he learned that Andrey was an illegitimate son of Alexandra Prikhodko, that he was hated by his stepfather, Luka Prikhodko, was treated cruelly at home, and often ran away and stayed overnight at his aunt's house. Mistchuk ordered the arrest of the mother and stepfather. The home of the Prikhodkos was searched. It was first the theory of the police that the murder had been committed there, and the body removed and placed in the cave. But within a week the Prikhodkos were released, and the
special investigator Fenenko declared that there was not sufficient evidence against them, and that it was therefore necessary to look in another direction for the murderers. As Mistchuk insisted that his theory was correct, Fenenko recommended that some one else be intrusted with the conduct of the case. For some time the investigations were continued, along different lines, by Mistchuk and Fenenko. Finally, Mistchuk himself realized that he had erred in his conclusions, and that he was following wrong clues.

The agitation of the Black Hundreds continued with ever greater intensity. Dissatisfaction was openly expressed with Mistchuk's methods of investigation, and the Kieff prosecutors, under the chairmanship of the vice-director of the Department of Justice, Lyadoff, after a series of conferences, decided to enlist the services of Krasovsky, the former chief of the secret police of Kieff, who had established a reputation as an able detective, by his success in solving a number of murder mysteries, which had thrown Kieff and the neighboring cities into a state of terror.

Krasovsky at first declined to undertake the case, but when he was informed by his superiors that the Czar was personally interested, he consented.

The law-abiding residents of Kieff felt relieved when Krasovsky entered upon the investigation, for they had confidence in his ability and ingenuity as a detective. At first he turned to the relatives of the murdered boy. He also ordered the arrest of the stepfather. This aroused the ire of the Black Hundreds, who sent petitions to the Governor of Kieff demanding his release. A campaign of slander was at once begun against Krasovsky and Fenenko. These officers were accused of being bribed by the Jews. Krasovsky, how-
ever, continued his investigations and traced every possible clue. He made exhaustive inquiries at the Zaitseff brickworks, which were located in the vicinity of the cave where the body of the murdered boy had been hidden, scrutinized the people employed there, studied their mode of life, and finally came to the conclusion that the murder had been committed in the house of Vera Cheberiak, a notorious den of criminals.

When Krasovsky informed the Department of Justice that he had at last found the murderers and submitted his evidence, he was told:

"That is all very well, but why don't you find a Jew? Find a Jew!"

Krasovsky, a conscientious official, was astounded when thus urged to manufacture a case against "a Jew," and he refused to obey instructions. He was ordered to resign. His reputation being thus at stake, and his interest in the case having been earnestly aroused, he became eager to bring the real murderers to justice, and resumed his investigations privately, the Government having meanwhile commenced to work openly on the ritual murder theory.

On the night of July 22, Colonel Kulyabko, the chief of the political police department, accompanied by Prosecutors Chaplinsky and Brandoff, entered the house of Mendel Beilis, a Jewish clerk in the brickworks of Zaitseff. They cross-examined him and searched his home, the brickworks, and the neighborhood. Although the search revealed nothing suspicious, Beilis was arrested and imprisoned as a political offender. It was not until two weeks later that he learned for the first time that he was charged with the murder of Yuschinsky.
The prosecutor and the police, fixed in their purpose to implicate a Jew, continued to direct their attention to the Zaitseff brickworks and to those who lived near-by. Among the latter was a lamp-lighter named Kazimir Shakhovsky, who testified that at eight o'clock in the morning of March 12, the day of the disappearance of Andrey Yuschinsky, he saw him playing with Zhenya Cheberiak. That was the extent of his statement at his first examination. At the second examination, he testified that Cheberiak's house was near the Zaitseff brickworks; that it was easy to climb over the fence, a part of which was missing; that Mendel Beilis was in charge of the Zaitseff brickworks and was on friendly terms with Vera Cheberiak. He added that he knew nothing more about the whole affair. During the third examination, however, he stated that he now recalled that when he met Zhenya Cheberiak, the son of Vera Cheberiak, and asked him whether he had taken a walk with Andrey Yuschinsky, the boy replied that he did not take a walk with him, because a man with a black beard had scared them in the Zaitseff brickyards, that the man had shouted at them, and they had run away. He added: "When the body was found, I did not speak to Zhenya, but I know that Zhenya was ordered by his mother not to tell the truth. I am also convinced that the murder of the Yuschinsky boy was committed at the Zaitseff kiln. At that time Beilis was the only man with a black beard who lived at the brickworks. That is why I think that Mendel participated in this murder."

Shakhovsky's wife told the same story about the man with a black beard. On cross-examination she testified that she was intoxicated when she gave testimony to the effect that the man with the black beard had dragged the boy to the kiln, and
Shakhovsky himself denied that he had said that Beilis was the man who dragged the boy to the kiln. One Nakonetchny testified that Shakhovsky had said to him, "I am going to drag Beilis into this case, because he complained to the detective that I stole wood at the brickyard."

On the strength of this flimsy evidence, given by irresponsible and dissolute people concerning "a man with a black beard," Mendel Beilis was, on August 3, officially charged with the murder of Andrey Yuschinsky.

At about the same time, Vera Cheberiak, the notorious leader of a band of thieves, was also arrested in connection with the case, but was released three days later. While she was in jail, her three children fell ill with dysentery. Zhenya, twelve years old, and Valya, aged nine, were removed to the hospital. As soon as the mother returned home, she hurried to the hospital, and demanded that her boy be given back to her. She made no inquiry for her little girl, who was at the same hospital. The physicians declared that the boy was in a serious condition, and could not be moved. Nevertheless she insisted, took him home, and kept constant watch over him. Secret agents of the police were placed in her home for the purpose of securing a statement from the boy, but she checked every attempt that he made to speak, and watched the detectives closely. When, on one occasion, one of them tried to separate her from the boy in order to question him, she rushed at the detective, crying that no one had a right to keep her away from her sick son. On August 9, the boy died.

In the meantime, the former Chief of Police, Krasovsky, aided by Brazul-Brushkovsky and others, continued his investigations, and on January 18, 1912, Brazul-Brushkovsky sub-
mitted a report giving the names of the actual murderers of
Yuschinsky, and in which the following facts were set forth:

During February, 1911, a number of daring thefts had been
committed in Kieff. Among them was one which occurred at
the hardware store of Budovitch and Kurovsky, where a con-
siderable quantity of firearms were stolen. A large number
of stolen revolvers were hidden by the thieves in the house of
Vera Cheberiak, who was regarded as the central figure of the
underworld of Kieff. Her husband was a postal and telegraph
official, who worked at night. In his absence she turned her
house into a meeting-place for all kinds of criminals. From
time to time orgies were held at her house while her husband
was at work. Unusually clever, she exerted a strong influence
on many of the younger professional criminals, and inspired
numerous crimes.

The success of the thieves who conducted their operations
under her direction was so great that in the early part of 1911
they lived in luxury. It was her custom to dispose of the stolen
goods herself. Usually she went out early in the morning
after a theft had taken place, to sell the stolen property to
various shopkeepers. She thus managed to dispose of the booty
before the newspapers gave any information concerning the
crimes by which it was acquired. She was unusually successful
in her operations. Her first mishap occurred on February 18,
on the day following a robbery at the house of one Yankovsky.
On that morning, Cheberiak sold some of the stolen jewelry
to a shopkeeper named Gusina. To her she gave her name as
Ivanova. Through a strange coincidence, Gusina's son recog-
nized the jewels, and the police compelled the shopkeeper to
return them to the owner. Then Gusina set out in search of
Cheberiak, and on March 8 met her and caused her arrest.
She was taken to the police station, but succeeded in escaping before her identity had been established.

On March 19, four professional thieves were arrested. In connection with this arrest, the secret police department ordered a search to be made in the house of Cheberiak. The thieves, with her at their head, were perplexed. They were convinced that somebody had betrayed them. One of the members of the band called Cheberiak's attention to the fact that her son Zhenya had told him that in the course of a quarrel Andrey Yuschinsky, his playmate, had threatened to inform the police that his mother was hiding a box of revolvers in her house.

They called in Zhenya Cheberiak, her twelve year old son, and questioned him. He informed them that while playing at hide-and-seek near the caves on one occasion, Andrey Yuschinsky came upon a box of revolvers that was hidden there. Zhenya told him to leave the revolvers alone, as they belonged to his mother. Later they quarreled. Zhenya threatened to tell Andrey's mother that, instead of going to school, Andrey came to his house to play; whereupon Andrey had replied, "If you tell my mother about that, I am going to tell the police that your mother is a thief, and that she is concealing stolen revolvers here."

When it is known that the concealment of stolen firearms is punishable in Russia with imprisonment for twenty years, it is not surprising that this information given by the playmate of Andrey Yuschinsky sealed the latter's fate. The members of the band, fearing lest Yuschinsky might carry out his threat of notifying the police, concluded to remove him as soon as possible. At first it was planned to drown him in a well near the cave where his body was subsequently found. But this
Plan was abandoned as too dangerous. Finally the crime was committed in the following way:

On March 11, at about one o'clock in the afternoon, Andrey Yuschinsky came to Cheberiak’s house for powder, which he often took from Cheberiak’s son, Zhenya, for his toy gun. He received no powder on that day, but was told to come for it on the following morning. Andrey Yuschinsky and Zhenya Cheberiak went out for a walk. At that time there were several people at Cheberiak’s house—her brother, Peter Singayevsky, her sister Natalia, Ivan Latisheff, and Boris Rudzinsky. At about five o’clock on the same afternoon, Vera Cheberiak sent all her children to their grandmother’s house, where they remained for three days. She had never before sent her children away for more than a day.

On March 12, at about eight o’clock in the morning, Yuschinsky came to Cheberiak’s house for the promised powder. Peter Singayevsky, Boris Rudzinsky, and Ivan Latisheff were in waiting for him. The three men seized him, and, gagging him, began to torture him, demanding that he confess whether he had given any information to the police about Cheberiak. She stood on guard at the entrance. Rudzinsky stabbed him several times, while Latisheff and Singayevsky dried the wounds with rags in readiness for that purpose. These rags were buried in the yard near by, and some time later the dogs dug them up.

On the day after the murder, Singayevsky received money from Cheberiak, and together with his two accomplices left for Moscow. In a statement to one of the investigators, Singayevsky confessed that they had blundered in placing the body so near Cheberiak’s house, that they should have thrown
the body into the Dnieper River, or taken it with them on the train in a basket and dropped it on the way.

The body of the Yuschinsky boy remained in Cheberiak's house for several days. Finally three other members of the Cheberiak gang placed it in the cave. Near the cave the police found sheets of marked and dotted writing paper. It was later discovered that Manzelevsky, a friend of Cheberiak, had brought her paper of this description for use in certain games which they were accustomed to play.

One of the witnesses submitted to Colonel Ivanoff a letter which she had received from Cheberiak. It was dictated by Cheberiak and written by Manzelevsky, and was in the same handwriting as the letter signed "A Christian" which has been mentioned.

In spite of the circumstantial character of the report of Krasovsky and Brazul-Brushkovsky, the public authorities deliberately ignored it, and the trial of Beilis was set for May 17, 1912, and elaborate preparations for it were made. This was undoubtedly due to political compulsion, for it is no longer a secret in the better-informed spheres in Russia, that when the Czar visited Kieff in 1911, and the festivities arranged in honor of the Imperial visitor were interrupted by the bullet that ended the life of Premier Stolypin at the City Theater in the very presence of his master, the Minister of Justice Scheglovitoff informed the Czar that the Yuschinsky case was a ritual murder. The Czar became deeply interested, and made continual inquiries as to its progress, and was assured by the Minister of Justice that Mendel Beilis was the murderer. Both the Czar and his minister beheld in the conviction of a Jew on a charge of ritual murder an unusual opportunity for justifying their anti-Jewish policy before the world. As time
went on and the groundwork of the case against the Jew was steadily collapsing, the Minister of Justice persisted in postponing the trial in the hope that eventually the whole affair might be hushed up, without dragging it into court and making Russian justice a laughing-stock. But the Czar inquired so persistently about the status of the case, and showed such irritation at its delay, that the Department of Justice was practically forced to proceed to trial, though satisfied that it was a ridiculous fabrication, and realizing that Russia herself was on trial in the forum of modern civilization.

An examination of the second act of indictment that was formulated showed clearly to any impartial observer that the case against Mendel Beilis was a political device invented by the rabid reactionaries for the purpose of discrediting the Jewish people. By means of false documents, by removing undesirable witnesses, by conniving at thieves and murderers, the Russian Department of Justice endeavored to justify the anti-Jewish policies brought into operation by the late Premier Stolypin.

The Minister of Justice, Scheglovitoff, who is an opportunist in politics, understood how to conduct the case so as to please the Czar. Professors, notoriously anti-Semitic, were instructed to examine the body of Yuschinsky and to submit reports. One prosecutor after another was removed, and one investigator after another discredited by the Department of Justice, because of their inability to make out a case of ritual murder. It was necessary to find somebody who could prove "scientifically" that the Jews used blood in their religious rites. The Minister of Justice soon found such a person in Professor Sikorsky, a neurologist, who had been connected with an avowedly anti-Semitic organ, the Novoe Vremya.
When the counsel for Beilis, Russia's most famous lawyers, Grusenberg, Zarudny, Karabtchevsky, and Maklakoff, in advance of the trial and in accordance with the recognized procedure, demanded that other experts be called, naming distinguished scientists, the court refused to admit the testimony of most of the experts named, upon various pretexts. In his efforts to strengthen the case of the prosecution, the Minister of Justice discovered in Tashkent a disreputable priest named Pranaitis, who had been expelled from the Roman Catholic Academy of St. Petersburg. This "authority" was ready to testify that the Jews are accustomed to employ Christian blood on Passover, and that there are references to this custom in Jewish books. When, subsequently, at the trial, counsel for the defense demanded that these books be produced by Pranaitis as evidence, the court refused their request.

But Professor Troitzky, of the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, and Professor Glagoleff, the recognized authorities on Jewish matters in Russia, testified that the Jewish religion prohibited the use of blood in any form, and they contradicted with particularity all the assertions of Pranaitis.

At the opening of the trial, the Kievlianin, a Russian reactionary newspaper, long known for its anti-Semitic tendencies, published an editorial which created a sensation throughout the world, in which it riddled the ritual murder charge. Its editor, M. Shulgin, who is also a member of the Duma, was tried and sentenced to imprisonment for his expression of opinion.

Extracts from this remarkable article follow:

In undertaking a task in which the courts of the whole world had failed throughout the ages, the Kieff Prosecution Department should have realized that it must produce an accusation so perfect and so strongly welded as to break the gigantic force of the
enormous wave which it was encountering. . . . . To engage in such a fight it was necessary to set out with a well-whetted weapon. And now that we have that "whetted weapon" before our eyes, alas, one need not be a lawyer, but merely a person of common sense, to understand that the accusation against Beilis is such claptrap that a moderately competent counsel can lightly tear it to pieces. One cannot help feeling ashamed for the Kieff Prosecution Department and for Russian justice as a whole, which has ventured to appear before the court of the whole world with such scanty equipment.

* * * * * * * * * *

It is not easy to support the ritual version of Yuschinsky's murder by facts, and the head of the Kieff Detective Department, Mistchuk, declined to see any ritual character in the atrocities perpetrated on the body of the boy Yuschinsky.

Following the recipe of Zamislovsky, who had recommended the immediate removal of the whole of the local police from the investigation of ritual murder and the dispatch of "new" men for that purpose, the Public Prosecutor Chaplinsky dismissed Mistchuk from the case. Mistchuk was committed for trial. The High Court acquitted him unanimously. Then, on the protest of the Public Prosecutor, based on formal grounds of the most trifling character, the case was quashed, and referred by the Senate to the High Court of Kharkoff for a fresh trial. We know for certain that among the persons who value and grieve for the Russian authorities the Mistchuk affair has given rise to the most serious and disconcerting reflections. Having dismissed Mistchuk, the judicial authorities called to their assistance the Lieutenant-Colonel of Gendarmerie Ivanoff, who in his turn engaged the well-known detective officer Krasovsky, the very same Krasovsky who a few years ago so cleverly detected the murderers of the Ostrovsky family. We do not know Lieutenant-Colonel Ivanoff's point of view, but Krasovsky rejected the ritual character of the murder as resolutely as did his predecessor Mistchuk, and attributed the crime to a gang of professional rogues grouped around Vera Cheberiak. Krasovsky made a serious investigation in that direction, and reported the results to the Prosecution Department. As soon as Krasovsky's point of view
became clear, he, like Mistchuk, was dismissed from the case. As has been the case with Mistchuk, a false charge was brought against Krasovsky, and he was committed for trial. After two heads of the detective department had thus been dismissed, the case went on as desired.

The whole of the police, terrorized by the peculiar conduct of the High Court, realized that whoever let fall an untimely word—that is to say, one not in accordance with the desires of the authorities—would immediately be deprived of his living and sent to prison into the bargain. Naturally, under such conditions, everything went on quietly and silently, and the Beilis version now reigns supreme, "against reason and in opposition to the elements," but to the joy of the Public Prosecutor of the High Court. We shall not tire of repeating that this unjust case will not yield the desired fruit. We shall not tire of repeating that the court must be a tribunal, the refuge where one may find protection against injustices dictated by political passion. And, however advantageous and necessary it may appear from the party point of view to prove the existence of ritual murders, the Prosecution Department should not, and has no right to, undertake to supply the living object required for originating a trial of that kind. This, however, is precisely what has been done. What do we care about Beilis? The important point is to prove the ritual! As for Beilis, we do not even mind if he is acquitted! That is the way to speak about the matter. But you dare not speak like that! You dare not, because it is a monstrous theory; because, in arguing thus, you, who keep on talking of ritual, are carrying out a human sacrifice yourselves. Mendel Beilis may be insignificant; nevertheless you had no right to imprison him when you were not convinced of his guilt. It is just your conviction that matters! But, so far from being convinced of his guilt, you did not even think of him; you treated him as a rabbit on the vivisection table.

The horror of the situation lies in the fact that you have not even realized up to now how entirely inadmissible such a case is. The horror lies in your continuing to repeat, in every variety of tone—"What is Beilis to us?" Gentlemen, take care! There are things, there are temples, which one cannot destroy with impunity.
Who knows? Perhaps a time may come some day when, instead of the Public Prosecutor Chaplinsky looking for ritual murders, there will stand at the head of the prosecution a man bent on discovering the pogrom-makers. And what will you say then, when the judicial department of the day selects one of you for an operation of that kind? And how will you feel then, when across the wall of your prison will reach you such indifferent, cynical exclamations as, "What is Zamislovsky to us? What do we care about Shmakoff? For our part they may be acquitted! We are only concerned in clearing up the way in which Jewish pogroms are organized!"

The trial of Beilis, which occupied thirty-four days, was remarkable for the fact that the name of the alleged culprit was seldom mentioned. The prosecution made scarcely any attempt to implicate Beilis, but made every effort to prove that there existed a blood ritual among the Jews. The only pretense of evidence against Beilis was that a "man with a black beard" was alleged to have been seen near the Zaitseff brickworks. The most desperate attempts were made to discredit the evidence of the witnesses for the defense. While the former Chief of Police, Krasovsky, was on the witness stand, the police broke into his residence and searched it for possibly incriminating facts. Although there was overwhelming evidence of the complicity of Vera Cheberiak in the murder, she appeared in court as the leading witness against Beilis.

The trial opened on Wednesday, September 25, 1913. No less than 218 witnesses had been summoned. The jury was informed that the trial would probably last three weeks. It was drawn by ballot and consisted of seven peasants, two minor government officials, two tradesmen, and one professional man. One of the officials was chosen foreman. Immediately upon the opening of the court, the defense moved for an adjournment of the trial because of the absence of thirty-four witnesses
whose evidence was expected to be very material. M. Vipper, the Crown Prosecutor, objected to this motion, and the court decided to proceed with the trial. The witnesses were sworn in groups.

On the reassembling of the court on the second day, the indictment was read. It was a voluminous document, and took an hour and a half to read. Upon the conclusion of the reading, the President asked the prisoner if he were guilty or not guilty. Beilis replied without hesitation: "Your Excellency, I am a former soldier. My whole life long I have worked honestly, filling orders for bricks. I thought only of my family, my wife and children. I was arrested, and have now been in custody for twenty-six months. I know not why."

The examination of the witnesses began. Alexandra Prikhodko, the mother of the dead boy, stated that she saw Beilis for the first time on the previous day, and that she suspected no one of the murder of her son. The dead boy’s teacher, the next witness, testified that at Yuschinsky’s funeral handbills were distributed inciting those present to avenge the murder of Yuschinsky, "who was tortured to death by Jews."

On the third day, fourteen of Yuschinsky’s school-fellows were examined. Two of them declared that the police had threatened them with imprisonment unless they altered their testimony concerning the date on which they had last seen Yuschinsky.

On the fourth day, police officers testified regarding the finding of the body. An inspector (Pogorsky) told how he found a number of people about the cave, but was unable to tell what he saw there. He could make no definite statement regarding a piece of cloth pierced by a sharp instrument found in Yuschinsky’s pocket, to which the prosecution attached
great importance; nor could he make any definite statement as to how the snow came to be shoveled away from the mouth of the cave, thus removing footprints. Upon cross-examination, the witness stated that during his four years’ service in Kieff, he had never heard of any case of alleged ritual murder.

Another witness, a journalist named Ordinsky, testified that he heard Cheberiak, the mother of one of Yuschinsky’s playfellows, remark that the boy had been killed by her brother’s wife and one of his relations.

One of the women witnesses stated that she had heard Cheberiak instructing a boy who was about to be called to the witness stand to say that he had seen Beilis seize Yuschinsky and drag him away. The boy had refused to do so. The woman declared that six other witnesses could confirm her statement.

On the fifth day, Nakonetchny, a cobbler whom Beilis is alleged to have conspired to poison, testified that he had known the prisoner for ten years, and that it was his firm conviction that the murder charge against him was untrue. He declared also that if Beilis had been seen dragging Yuschinsky toward the brick kiln, the whole district would have known it immediately.

On the sixth day, the court inspected the cave in which the body of Yuschinsky was found. The morning was occupied with the examination of the student Golubeff, the Vice-President of the patriotic society of the Double-Headed Eagle. He testified that Eugene Cheberiak had told him that he saw Beilis dragging Yuschinsky toward the kiln. The court rejected the request of the defense to summon the locksmith Pavlovitch, who had been designated by Golubeff as the author of the handbills distributed at Yuschinsky’s funeral. It rejected also a request for the production of the anonymous
letter signed "A Christian" received by Yuschinsky's aunt from Kherson. In this letter the writer affirmed that her nephew had been seen with two Jews before the murder.

Volkivna, an old beggar woman, who was examined concerning a statement which she was alleged to have made to Juliana Shakhovsky with regard to the murder, said that she knew nothing of the affair, though possibly she might have gabbled something while under the influence of drink.

Shakhovsky's apprentice stated that he was present when the conversation took place between the two women, that he heard no mention of Beilis, and that the women were merely exchanging greetings when the detective Polistchuk approached them.

The Archimandrite Ambrosius, one of the "experts" called by the prosecution, was the next witness. He is of Jewish descent, but was baptized when ten years old, and at the time of the trial resided in a Kieff monastery. He produced two documents relating to alleged ritual murders in the eighteenth century, and asked that they be incorporated into the testimony. This request, which was supported by the prosecution, was not granted by the court. He testified that when he was a Jew he had never heard of the existence of the ritual use of Christian blood.

A Government official, Merder, testified that the Zaitseff firm had been refused permission to convert a large room at the works into a synagogue. He stated also that the commissary of police had informed him that two Zaddikim had been staying on the Zaitseff property, but that he did not know when they left.

Several workmen and officials employed at the brickworks testified that Beilis worked on Saturdays, including the day
of the disappearance of Yuschinsky, and that nothing unusual had been noticed in his bearing.

On the seventh day, several letters that had passed between Beilis and his wife were read. These letters had been written for Beilis by a fellow-prisoner. The prosecution endeavored to interpret "conventional signs in the form of crosses and zeros" as a secret code.

On the eighth day, Schneyerson, who was alleged to have been seen on the hillside near the brickworks on the day of the murder, testified that he knew many Jews at the works; that he did not know Yuschinsky; that he never walked about the brick fields; and that he learned of the murder from the newspapers. He denied the evidence of Cheberiak's daughter Ludmilla, that children used to go to Beilis to get milk, stating that Beilis had no cows in 1911, and bought his milk elsewhere. This statement was confirmed by Beilis' brother Aaron, who testified that Beilis had been compelled to sell his cows in order to pay debts.

The manager of the brickworks testified that work was carried on as usual on Saturday, March 12, 1911, the day of Yuschinsky's disappearance, and that Beilis had signed the driver's checks as usual on that day.

The president of the works explained the story of the "strangely clad" Jews mentioned in the indictment as having been seen about the works at the time of the murder. He said that they were his relatives, named Ettinger and Landau, who were paying him a visit at the time.

The detective Polistchuk described his inquiries into the murder, and virtually charged Krasovsky, the former head of the Kieff detective service, with having poisoned Eugene and Valentine Cheberiak, who, he said, he believed had both died.
from eating cakes given them by Krasovsky. Polistchuk's evidence included stories about Jews of princely blood residing in the lodging of Beilis.

The next witness was Vera Cheberiak, the mother of Yuschinsky's playfellow. She testified that the journalist Brazul-Brushkovsky and the lawyer Margolin had attempted to bribe her to assume the guilt for the murder, and had offered her 40,000 roubles if she would do so.

On the ninth day, a priest, Sinkievitch, who administered the last rites to Eugene Cheberiak, testified that on his deathbed Eugene indicated a desire to make a statement, but on being asked what he wanted made no reply. The priest could not say whether Vera Cheberiak warned the child by a sign not to speak.

The package containing the articles alleged to have been found near the cave where Yuschinsky’s body was discovered was opened.

On the tenth day, Zarutsky, an eleven year old boy, testified that, while in the witness room on the first day of the trial, Vera Cheberiak attempted to persuade him to testify that he had seen Beilis dragging Yuschinsky to the brick kiln. Although Vera Cheberiak denied the story, the boy persisted in his statement.

Yuschinsky's grandmother stated that her grandson often went to Schneyerson’s store to buy hay. Schneyerson denied that he knew Yuschinsky, and that the grandmother had been in his store for the past four years.

Two Jews underwent a long examination regarding the difference between Hasidim and Misnagdim.

On the eleventh day, Ettinger and Landau, the two men who had visited Zaitseff about the time of the murder, appeared
on the witness stand, and were effectually cleared of any connection with the crime.

Mark Zaitseff, one of the proprietors of the brickworks, proved that the foundation stone of the home built by the firm for superannuated employees was laid some days before the murder of Yuschinsky, and thus disposed of the insinuation made by the official Merder, at a previous hearing, that the blood might have been required for the rites connected with the laying of the corner stone.

On the twelfth day, Vishimirsky, an old neighbor of the Cheberiaks, stated that two or three months after the murder his friend Ravitch told him that Mme. Ravitch saw Yuschinsky’s body wrapped up in a carpet in a bath-tub in Cheberiak’s house.

The proprietor of the Zaitseff brickworks testified that the laying of the corner stone of the home which he was establishing for his aged employees was held in the open air and that the police were present. On being asked what he understood by the word “Hasid,” he replied, “one strictly fulfilling all observances and traditions of religion, including even the outward appearance, such as the rules relating to the wearing of the hair, beard, and costume; one keeping all fasts and Sabbaths, and devoting much time to prayer.”

On the thirteenth day, Vera Cheberiak and a woman named Gaevsky, a former servant of hers, were confronted. Gaevsky spoke of mysterious happenings in the Cheberiak home, which, she alleged, was visited by men in disguise.

The principal witness of the day was Brazul-Brushkovsky, of the staff of the Kievskaya Misl, a daily newspaper. He described his investigation of the case, and explained the incident on which Vera Cheberiak had based her accusation of
bribery against him and the lawyer Margolin. He told how Krasovsky, upon leaving Kieff in August, 1911, had said to him: "I know nothing. It is all guesswork. Vera Cheberiak is the key to the enigma." This statement led Brushkovsky to make Vera's acquaintance. She told him that Yuschinsky's mother and stepfather had killed the boy, and promised to reveal everything to him. Brushkovsky then arranged an interview between Cheberiak and Margolin, which was to take place at Kharkoff. But Vera did not keep her promise. This was the meeting at Kharkoff at which Cheberiak alleged she was offered 40,000 roubles if she would assume the guilt for the murder. Brushkovsky's statement was corroborated by Margolin, the lawyer.

On the fourteenth day, Margolin continued his testimony. He stated that Vera, when asked how she explained the systematic character of Yuschinsky's many wounds, answered that the boy's stepfather had studied medicine. Upon being confronted with Margolin, Vera Cheberiak said she could not identify him. Margolin said also that the only reward of which he had heard for the discovery of the murderer was one of three thousand roubles offered by a certain M. Kulischer. Cheberiak, however, reiterated her statement that she was promised 40,000 roubles and a foreign passport for taking the guilt upon her own shoulders.

Nicholas Krasovsky, the former Commissioner of Police, was the next witness. He was examined for four hours. He testified that he was Commissioner of Police in the Skvira District when he learned of the Yuschinsky murder from the newspapers. In May, 1911, he was summoned to Kieff by the prosecutor of the District Court and reluctantly allowed himself to be persuaded by Lyadoff, the assistant director of the
Department of Justice, to conduct the investigation into the death of the boy, as a specialist making an independent inquiry. In carrying out this task, he encountered great difficulty at the outset, because neither the Governor nor the Prosecutor informed Mistchuk, the chief of the detective force, of Krasovsky's co-operation in the affair, and obstacles were constantly placed in his way by detectives. He found that the information in the possession of the examining magistrate gave no definite indication of the motive or character of the murder. The information Krasovsky obtained led him to conclude that the murder had been committed by a band of robbers.

He reported his findings to the Governor, and was informed that the lines of inquiry thitherto pursued had proved unsuccessful, and he was asked to investigate whether it was not a case of ritual murder.

Obeying these instructions, Krasovsky followed all available clues. He began to devote much attention to the Jewish shohetim, or cattle-slaughterers, and especially to one Homelsky, who, it was rumored, was taking steps to obtain a passport. Upon investigation, however, he found that it was Homelsky's son, who was going abroad to study.

Krasovsky next turned his attention to Prikhodko, the stepfather of the boy, but his suspicions against Prikhodko were soon followed by the discovery of clues that led to Vera Cheberiak, whose flat was known to be the headquarters of malefactors.

At this point Krasovsky began to be accused of following up false clues, of being bribed and otherwise influenced, and the Black Hundreds started an agitation against him. He was so disheartened by these intrigues that he asked to be relieved of
further service in connection with the case. His resignation was accepted at the end of 1911. Thereafter he acted on his own initiative and responsibility.

On the fifteenth day, Krasovsky continued his testimony. He stated that he had found no evidence against Beilis. The only tangible clue in the cave where the boy was found was the imprint of an overshoe on a bit of cloth. But this impression differed entirely from the imprint of Beilis' overshoes. Krasovsky soon concluded that there was no truth in the ritual murder theory. All he had heard and all the evidence he had collected pointed to the guilt of Vera Cheberiak and her accomplices.

He made the acquaintance of Vera Cheberiak's friend Catherine Dianokoff, a seamstress, on the pretext that he was a Moscow journalist who was gathering material about the case for his newspaper. He learned from her that Vera Cheberiak's house was a den of thieves, and that during the anti-Jewish pogroms of 1905 it had served as a depot for goods taken from the pillaged stores and homes of the Jews.

Catherine told Krasovsky that on March 12, the day on which the murder was alleged to have taken place, she visited Vera Cheberiak in the afternoon, and was received by the latter in the kitchen. Catherine said that upon entering the flat she saw three young men run from one room to another, and Vera Cheberiak frequently left the kitchen to join them. Vera was agitated during the entire stay of the Dianokoff woman.

On the following day, Vera Cheberiak slept with Catherine Dianokoff and her sister at their house. On March 14, Vera came to the home of the Dianokoff sisters again and begged them to come to her house to sleep. They refused, but Vera persuaded Catherine to come over, saying that supper was
prepared. Catherine saw in the corner of one of Vera’s rooms a large bundle and asked what it contained. Vera replied, “Oh, all sorts of things.”

Later, when Vera learned that Catherine Dianokoff had been summoned to give evidence in the case, she begged her to say nothing about seeing the men in the flat, and declared she would not be taken alive.

Krasovsky intrusted his assistant Karavayeff with the task of establishing relations with Singayevsky, one of the gang suspected of being the accomplices of Vera in the murder. Karavayeff tried to draw Singayevsky out by inventing a story about being summoned to the police station and overhearing a conversation in which the names of Singayevsky and of his two companions, Rudzinsky and Latisheff, were mentioned. Singayevsky was frightened and said, “It’s those cursed Dianokoffs; they must be killed at once.” Later Singayevsky became suspicious and said nothing more on the subject.

Krasovsky’s testimony at the trial of Beilis was so disquieting to the prosecution that desperate efforts were made to discredit his reputation. Krasovsky admitted that he had been proceeded against five times during his official career. On three occasions the proceedings were dropped during the preliminary stages. Once he was charged with falsifying documents, and was acquitted, and once he was reprimanded for not observing the prescribed formalities in the arrest of a political prisoner.

Krasovsky repudiated the suggestion that he had confined his investigations in one direction, and that he had avoided the brickworks where Beilis had been employed. He described how, disguised as a workman, he listened to the talk of the men employed at the brickyard with regard to the mystery of
Yuschinsky's murder. He learned that the general opinion among them was that it had been perpetrated by thieves, who feared that if the boy were not done away with disclosures might be made regarding themselves.

Catherine Dianokoff, the seamstress referred to in Krasovsky's testimony, confirmed the latter's statement with respect to her visit to Cheberiak on the afternoon of March 12, the day on which Yuschinsky disappeared. She found the flat in disorder and saw a number of Vera's gang in the house. On the fourteenth, at Vera's earnest solicitation, she slept with Cheberiak. In taking off her shoes, her feet kicked against a sack containing an object resembling a body in shape. She woke Vera, who told her not to be frightened, it was only rags. Shortly before adjournment, one of the counsel for the defense asked to have recorded in the minutes of the trial that the name of Beilis was not once mentioned during the entire day's trial. The court allowed this request.

On the sixteenth day, Catherine Dianokoff and her sister Xenia testified. Catherine persisted in her allegations of the previous day, and proved indisputably that she was acquainted with Vera and her gang, and that she had at a preliminary inquiry identified two of the members who are alleged to have been implicated in the murder. She was able to pick out photographs of these men from a number shown to her. Vera Cheberiak denied that Catherine had visited her on March 11, 12, and 13, 1911, and that Catherine had slept at her flat on March 14. Pieces of perforated paper found near the cave were identified by Catherine as being similar to those with which the game of post had been played at Vera's house. She maintained despite Vera's denials that she visited the latter on the day named, and that Vera's children were at their
grandmother's at the time. Xenia Dianokoff identified a piece of pillow case found near the cave as belonging to one of four pillow cases she had made for Vera. She also recounted that at the end of March, 1911, Vera had complained of being haunted by ghosts, and that she was afraid to sleep alone. Vera, on confronting Xenia, denied that the latter had made any pillow cases for her, but Xenia persisted in her statement, adding that the pillow cases had been made for Easter at Vera's flat.

In the course of the day's trial, Beilis gave way to his emotions, and the sitting was suspended for a short time in order to allow him to recover his composure.

On the seventeenth day, the sitting was occupied by the reading of the depositions of Karavayeff, undergoing sentence of exile in Siberia. His evidence added nothing essential to that of Krasovsky.

On the eighteenth day, Cheberiak's convict brother, Singayevsky, and his accomplice Rudzinsky, who had been brought from Siberia to give evidence at the trial, testified. The former denied that he had ever seen Yuschinsky, and Rudzinsky denied any knowledge of Vera Cheberiak. Both explained that they had confessed of their own accord to a robbery perpetrated on the evening of March 12, because they wished to avert any suspicion of having been connected with the murder. They were at a loss to reply, however, when the defense asked them how the robbery necessarily precluded the murder. Singayevsky was confronted with Makhalin, a student who had assisted Krasovsky in his investigations, and who had averred that Singayevsky had confessed the crime in conversation with him. The convict hesitatingly agreed that he
knew Makhalin, but denied having confessed the murder. Makhalin adhered to his evidence to that effect.

On the nineteenth day, several officials who had been engaged in the preliminary inquiry testified. Lieutenant-Colonel Ivanoff, the deputy chief of the gendarmerie, testified that the father of Schneyerson stayed with Beilis from March 12 to April 7, 1911, and that Yuschinsky had been followed by a red-haired Jew.

On the twentieth day, the examination of the ecclesiastical and medical experts began. The deposition of the Archimandrite Ambrosius, who was absent, was read. He stated that he had heard of the practice of ritual murder among Jews from several baptized Jews who had become orthodox monks. The rest of his evidence was similarly based on hearsay.

On the twenty-first day, the President of the court read a list of twenty-three questions to be answered by medical experts. The minutes of the preliminary inquiry were read.

On the twenty-second day, several medical experts testified in answer to the questions propounded to them on the previous day by the court. They differed on essential points in their replies, but agreed that there were at least two murderers, and that there was no indication that either of them had any knowledge of anatomy.

On the twenty-third day, the examination of the medical experts was continued. The evidence of the doctors differed even more than on the previous day. It was mainly concerned with the number of wounds on the body and with the methods of slaughtering animals employed by Jews and by non-Jews. At the conclusion of the evidence, additional questions were submitted to the experts.
On the twenty-fourth day, the mental experts were heard. Professor Sikorsky indulged in an anti-Semitic diatribe. He stated that, after a conference with two other experts, he had decided to submit his conclusion separately to the court because of the divergence of opinion between them. He styled the murder "a crime of fanatics." Professor Sikorsky was frequently interrupted by the president, who asked him to speak to the point.

On the twenty-fifth day, Dr. Bechtereff testified that in his opinion the murder was probably perpetrated by alcoholics or epileptics, and that it was impossible to attribute any religious character to the crime.

Long extracts from a century old book by Neophyte, a Greek monk, who had been a rabbi, were read. It contained fanciful and extravagant statements with regard to the use of blood by Jews at various ceremonies and for a variety of purposes.

On the twenty-sixth day, the ecclesiastical experts testified. Pranaitis alone upheld the views of the prosecution. The other experts were Professor Kokovtsoff, a member of the Academy of Sciences, Professor at the St. Petersburg University, and a relative of the former Premier; Dr. Troitzky, Professor at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy; Professor Tihomiroff, of the Nejin Historico-Philological Institute; and Rabbi Mase, of Moscow. They all contradicted Pranaitis, but were required to answer abstruse questions incomprehensible to the members of the jury.

On the twenty-seventh day, Pranaitis was again examined, and continued to give hearsay evidence mixed with allusions to, and quotations from, pseudo-historical literature. The president interrupted him, reminding him that he was appearing as an expert, and begged him to speak only of verified facts.
Professor Troitzky, who occupies the chair of Hebrew and Biblical Archeology at the St. Petersburg Theological Academy, rejected the ritual murder theory, pointing out that the Jews are absolutely forbidden by their law to make use of blood. He also expressed the opinion that there was nothing to show that the murder in question was in any way connected with Jewish ritual practices.

On the twenty-eighth day, the theological experts were cross-examined. Pranaitis was unable to answer many of the questions put to him or to sustain with proofs any of his extravagant and mythical accusations. Professors Troitzky and Kokovtsoff explained the passages in the Talmud upon which Pranaitis based much of his testimony, and showed them to be harmless and innocent. Professor Kokovtsoff said that the Cabala was only a philosophical commentary on the Talmud; adding, "I might have believed any other nonsense, but cannot concur in the assertion that the Jewish religion requires human blood."

Rabbi Mase, of Moscow, was then called. He referred to the charge which had been brought against the Jewish people, but was interrupted by the president, who said, "No one is accusing the Jewish people." The president also took exception to the rabbi's reference to "the charge against the Jewish religious doctrine," saying, that the question consisted in ascertaining whether, through a misrepresentation of that doctrine, fanatical conclusions might be drawn from it. Rabbi Mase upheld the testimony of Professors Troitzky and Kokovtsoff. He explained the meaning of Hasidism and of the word Zaddik, to which the prosecution had attached occult significance. He also removed the mystery surrounding the name Schneyerson, which had been injected into the proceedings, by explaining
that Salman Schneyerson was at one time head of the sect of Hasidim, that he had rendered valuable services to Russia during the Napoleonic wars, and was rewarded for his patriotism by Czar Alexander I. He further declared that practically everything could be found in the Talmud, except commands to use blood and permission to kill human beings; for, on the contrary, the Talmud taught, "Who sheds human blood, let his blood be shed."

Father Pranaitis was recalled and exposed himself to much criticism and derision. He revealed astounding ignorance. He could not even translate the titles of treatises which he had quoted himself. With regard to one of these treatises, he did not remember whether it actually existed. His constant use of the answer "I do not remember" provoked great laughter. The defense proved conclusively that he had copied and quoted mistranslations.

On the twenty-ninth day, the summing up speeches of counsel began. Vipper, the public prosecutor, occupied this day and a part of the next. In the course of his speech, he said:

The Jews are afraid that in the event of Beilis' conviction, there will be a stain upon all Jewry. They are afraid of excesses. But you, gentlemen of the jury, know that the Government protects all its subjects alike and that measures will be taken to prevent pogroms. . . .

A monument is now being erected in Kieff to Stolypin—a monument which should remind you of the firmness with which that man guarded the interests of Russia, performing the duties for which he paid with his blood. We must now show the same firmness, and no matter what society may say of your verdict, do not be afraid.
Now that you are about to render your verdict, you must have the picture of the murdered Yuschinsky before your eyes. Even if Beilis is innocent in the eyes of the Jews, in the eyes of the whole world, even if Beilis' name remain sacred (his name will of course not remain sacred to the Russian people, who will try to forget it as soon as possible)—if you bring in a verdict of guilty, the Russian people will show him mercy, they will treat him as a blind fanatic; but do not permit Yuschinsky's name to be obstructed by that of Beilis. Two years ago no one knew the name of Andrey Yuschinsky, now it is on everybody's lips. It is the name of a martyr upon whose grave the people will come to pray. Gentlemen of the jury, if you will bear in mind this martyr, and if you will look upon this fanatic who murdered him, you must render the verdict which the latter deserves. We have no fear of such a verdict, even if it should lead to terrible consequences, but I am convinced that there will be no terrible consequences, and your verdict of guilty will be received by many honest people with gratification. May God help you!

On the thirtieth day, Zamislovsky, in a long address, analyzed the evidence, and, like Vipper, accused the Jews of wholesale bribery of witnesses, officials, and the press.

On the thirty-first day, Shmakoff concluded the speeches for the prosecution. He divided the witnesses for the defense into three classes—those intimidated, those bribed, and those mistaken. The three speakers for the prosecution employed the greater part of their time in dwelling on ritual murder in theory, and had very little to say about Beilis' implication in the murder of Yuschinsky.

Maklakoff, one of the leaders of the Cadet Party in the Duma, and a brother of the Minister of the Interior, began to sum up for the defense. He dwelt at length on the evidence against Vera Cheberiak, and expressed his astonishment at her being still at large. With regard to Beilis, it was simply idiotic to maintain that he could have carried off the boy in a
factory in full activity and before the eyes of a large number of children. If such an outrage had occurred, the inhabitants of the quarter would have heard of it at once, and by the next day the Zaitseff brickworks would have been razed to the ground, and Beilis and his fellow-workmen lynched. Maklakoff demonstrated the ridiculous character of the evidence of Father Pranaitis, and said that it was an outrage for the Government to have called him as an expert. Maklakoff's speech made a profound impression, not only in the court, but throughout the Empire.

On the thirty-second day, Grusenberg dwelt on the injurious effect that the trial would have upon the Empire, how it would deepen the existing antagonism between races, and how it was holding Russia up to ridicule throughout the civilized world.

Grusenberg was followed by Karabtchevsky and Zarudny. Karabtchevsky pointed out that one of the questions put to the jury, namely, "Was the murder committed for ritual purposes?" contained the seeds of a great social danger, leaving the question of the existence of ritual murder still open and unsettled. He appealed to the jury to refrain from being influenced by their political opinions, reminding them that they were there to try Beilis, and for nothing else.

At the conclusion of the speeches of counsel, the president asked Beilis if he desired to make any statement. Beilis rose and said simply: "I should like to say many things, but I am too ill and tired. I want to go home to my wife and children. You see for yourselves that I am innocent."

The court then charged the jury, and instructed them to answer the following two questions, cunningly framed with the evident design of bringing about a verdict containing the
ritual murder insinuation against the Jewish people even if Beilis were acquitted.

It was on the demand of Zamislovsky, the Black Hundred advocate, that these questions were thus formulated. In acceding to this demand, the presiding judge, M. Boldyreff, overruled the objections of Grusenberg and Zarudny of the defense against the phraseology and form of the questions submitted.

First.—Was it proved that on the twelfth of March, 1911, in Kieff, on Lukyanovka and Yurkovskaya streets, in one of the buildings of the brickyards belonging to the Jewish Hospital and under the management of the merchant Mark Jonoff Zaitseff, the thirteen year old Andrey Yuschinsky had wounds inflicted upon him with a sharp tool on the forehead, the head, the temples, and also on the neck; that the veins and arteries on the left temple were pierced, thus causing an abundant loss of blood; that after five glasses of blood had come out, new wounds with the same tool were inflicted on the body, piercing the lungs, the liver, the right kidney, the heart, where the last blow was struck; and that such wounds, numbering forty-seven, caused painful suffering to Yuschinsky, led to almost complete loss of blood, and to his death?

Second.—If the incidents described in the first question were proved to have occurred, is the accused Menahem Mendel Tevyeff Beilis, thirty-nine years old, of the city of Vasilkoff, the Government of Kieff, guilty of having premeditated and conspired with other unknown persons, because of religious perversion, to take the life of the boy, Andrey Yuschinsky, thirteen years old, on March 12, 1911, in Kieff, on Lukyanovka and Yurkovskaya streets, in one of the brickyards belonging to the Jewish Hospital and under the management of the merchant Mark Jonoff Zaitseff; that the accused, for the purpose of carrying out his intentions, seized Yuschinsky, who was there, and carried him to one of the buildings of the brick works, where his accomplices, whose identities
have not been disclosed, with the knowledge and consent of Beilis, closed Yuschinsky’s mouth, and inflicted, with a sharp weapon, wounds upon his forehead, head, temples, and neck, pierced the veins and arteries on his left temple, causing an abundant flow of blood; that after five glasses of blood had been drawn, new wounds with the same tool were inflicted on the body, piercing the lungs, the liver, the right kidney, and the heart, where the last blow was struck; and that such wounds, numbering forty-seven, caused painful suffering to Yuschinsky, led to almost complete loss of blood, and to his death?

On the thirty-third day, the jury, having deliberated during the whole of Sunday, brought in its verdict on Monday, October 28. Its answer to the first question was, “Yes, it was proved”; to the second, “No, it was not proved.”

While the jury was deliberating, memorial services were held in the neighboring cathedrals for the murdered boy, Andrey Yuschinsky. The cathedrals were thronged with members of the Black Hundred organization. The priests dwelt on the awful crime and the mob was prepared to attack the Jews in the event of a verdict against Beilis. But the peasants on the jury, though urged by threats and intimidation to render an adverse verdict, refused to condemn a fellow-being for an odious crime upon such flimsy evidence as that manufactured against Beilis. By their verdict a new series of massacres was unquestionably averted.

Upon his acquittal Beilis was permitted to return to his family. For a time the Government considered the advisability of taking an appeal from the judgment, but it finally concluded to acquiesce in the verdict which had been rendered at the bar of universal public opinion, and Beilis, declining the tempting offers of large sums of money made to him by
theatrical managers and entrepreneurs from all parts of the world to permit his exploitation on the stage and otherwise, left Russia with his family, and now lives modestly at Tel-Abib, near Jaffa, in Palestine. He has, however, publicly indicated his readiness to return to Russia, should the authorities manifest any intention to reopen the case.

In April, 1914, M. Krasovsky, the former chief of police of Kieff, visited the United States in search of the Ravitch family. At the trial, Vishimirsky, a friend of the Ravitches, had, as has been shown, testified that Mme. Ravitch had said that she had seen the body of the murdered boy rolled up in a rug in the Cheberiak flat. M. Krasovsky spent several weeks in the United States. On the eve of his return to Russia, he made the following statement:

Although the trial of Mendel Beilis, who was accused of ritual murder, ended in the acquittal of Beilis, nevertheless the real murderers of the Yuschinsky boy not only remain unpunished to this day, but as yet no charges even have been made against them.

As the former chief of the secret police of Kieff, having conducted an investigation in connection with this case, first officially and later privately, I have believed, and now am convinced on the strength of important new evidence, that this murder was committed by a band of thieves, headed by Vera Cheberiak.

At the end of the Beilis trial I set myself the task of clearing up, once for all, this extraordinary case, so that there shall be no doubt of any kind as to the identity of the murderers, and for the purpose of bringing these murderers to justice.

I came six weeks ago to this country, where I have found witnesses who are intimately connected with the circumstances surrounding the murder of the Yuschinsky boy. I have succeeded in establishing here facts and circumstances which, when officially presented in Russia, will impel a reopening of the case, and this
time the real murderers will be brought to trial, and not Beilis, who had absolutely nothing to do with the crime.¹

This article cannot be more fittingly closed than by a reference to the decision by M. Maklakoff, a leader of the Constitutional Democratic Party, criticising the Department of Justice in the Duma on May 25, 1914, for its participation in this disgraceful proceeding. He declared that just as there could be no Constitution where administrative rowdyism prevailed locally, so there could be no justice in the country when the law was held in general mockery.

"The trial of Beilis at Kieff," said he, "was not the mistake of a provincial court, for the members of the Right openly prided themselves on it. It had been engineered by the Minister of Justice himself. On the very eve of the trial consultations were held with the Minister of Justice. During its proceedings congratulatory telegrams were showered by the Right upon the judges and the Administration, and the judges returned thanks for the praises lavished upon them. They even received rewards for their services. In that trial everything that disgraces Russian justice was focused. By rewarding the judges who had managed the case in accordance with ministerial instructions, the Minister of Justice has brought down the judges to the level of disciplined, administrative subordinates, who received advancement for the proper execution of orders. It would be a daring act for a judge to refuse such a reward, but the Minister of Justice should hold the credit of his department sufficiently dear not to subject it to such scandal and temptation."

¹ On June 19, 1914, Peter Singayevsky, a brother of Vera Cheberiak, was arrested and charged with the murder. A few days later, Rudzinsky, another member of Cheberiak's gang, was also arrested.
Another feature of the general system reflected by the trial was the complete absorption of the Court and the Administration by political considerations. From the point of view of justice, which consists in discovering and punishing offenders, the Russian courts had never before exhibited so striking a fiasco.

"Who, then," exclaimed M. Maklakoff, "is the murderer of Yuschinsky? Who has been punished for that signally atrocious crime? Nobody! Are you not ashamed of such a finale, after having directed all your energy against the innocent? Are we not entitled to say to the Russian court, 'You have let the real criminal go, while you kept an innocent man in prison for two years? '" The peculiarity of the trial consisted not so much in keeping an innocent man in prison as in shielding the guilty party, who was ready to hand. It has now become public property that the examining magistrate who had conducted the inquiry was convinced all along of Cheberiak's guilt.

"Why," asked the speaker, "do you not seek out the guilty party? You are building a shrine over the grave of Yuschinsky; then surely members of the Orthodox Faith should find the criminal. Why do you not search for him? Why do you forget all about him—you who have been juggling with the names of so many Jews? Why are no new searches made? Simply because you cannot move a step without stumbling upon Cheberiak, whom you dare not touch, because she knows too much. She would tell the court which were the Government offices in which the plaints which she subsequently lodged were drawn up."

Scarcely less shameful than the trial was the subsequent distribution of rewards and the infliction of punishments upon the participants. If any further illustration were required of the
barbarity of the Government, its complete disregard of decency and propriety, its contempt for justice and humanity, the chapter of the aftermath of the trial is incontrovertible. It affords a demonstration of the shameless iniquity of Russian methods and the relentless tyranny under which her unfortunate people are gasping.

Of those rewarded but a few can be particularized:

Count Paschenko-Razvodovsky, who drew up the first indictment against Beilis, was promoted to the presidency of the Kieff District Court.

Kislitchny, who presided at the proceedings preliminary to the trial of Shulgin, the editor of the Kievlianin, who criticised the prosecution, was made president of the Ooman District Court.

Judge Boldyreff, who presided at the Beilis trial, was promoted. Chaplinsky, the public prosecutor during the preliminary stages of the trial, was elevated to the rank of Senator, was made an Actual Councillor of State, and awarded the decoration of the First Class of the Order of St. Ann.

The Government also made determined attempts to influence the promotion of the priest Pranaitis to a bishopric, but without success, owing to the opposition of the Roman Catholic Metropolitan, Bishop Kluczynski.

Golubeff, the student leader of the Black Hundreds, has been granted the freedom of the city of Kieff, and has become a virtual dictator feared by the local authorities. In one of his speeches, he declared that it was his intention to "effect the wholesale slaughter of the Jews of Kieff."

With the sanction of the Government a movement is on foot to erect a cathedral in perpetuation of the memory of Yuschina-sky, who is to be canonized as a martyr.
The list of those who have been punished because of the displeasure of the Government for their defense of Beilis and the cause of civilization is even more formidable.

Grusenberg, the leading lawyer for Beilis, during the trial declared: “I do not know witnesses for the defense or for the prosecution. I know only trustworthy or untrustworthy, honest or dishonest witnesses.” For this he was tried for contempt of court, and, though acquitted, was dismissed with a reprimand.

Less fortunate was Arnold Margolin, another prominent member of counsel for Beilis. He was tried on the charge of attempting to bribe Vera Cheberiak in order to get her to assume the guilt for the crime. Though there was not a shred of evidence to substantiate Cheberiak’s allegation, Margolin was disbarred. An appeal against the sentence of the Kieff court was dismissed by a higher court.

Nicholas Krasovsky, former chief of police of Kieff, was thrown into prison for declaring that he did not believe the ritual murder theory. Every effort was made to discredit him. After twenty years of loyal service he was removed from office, because he refused to manufacture a ritual murder case against a Jew.

Mistchuk, another chief of police of Kieff, who failed to make out a ritual murder case against Beilis, was also tried and sentenced to imprisonment.

Shulgin, the editor of the Kievlianin, was sentenced to imprisonment for his pro-Beilis articles.

Brazul-Brushkovsky, the Kieff journalist who assisted in the preliminary investigations and told the truth on the witness stand, was sentenced to imprisonment, on the pretext that he
did not rise when the Russian national hymn was sung in a café.

The Tver Medical Society was dissolved by the Government because it had adopted resolutions protesting against the ritual murder charge.

The Medical Society of Kharkoff, which had rendered great service during its existence of fifty years, was dissolved by public official order, because it criticised the testimony of Professor Sikorsky, the prosecution’s expert.

Police Inspector Kiritchenko, who testified to the suspicious conduct of Vera Cheberiak, and whose evidence agreed on various points with that of M. Krasovsky, was removed from his post.

V. Maklakoff, member of the Duma, a brother of the Minister of the Interior, and Vladimir Nabokoff, a member of the first Duma, were prosecuted for the publication of pro-Beilis articles.

Professor Troitzky, who, as a theological expert, had fearlessly upheld the purity of the Jewish religion, was forced to resign from his post as Professor of Hebrew at the St. Petersburg Theological Seminary.

The Minister of Education refused to sanction the election of Professor Bechtereoff, another pro-Beilis expert, as the president of the Psycho-Neurological Institute of St. Petersburg.

To cap the climax, one hundred and twenty members of the St. Petersburg bar association, who had signed a protest against the methods employed by the prosecution in the Beilis case, were prosecuted by the Government. A large number of them were disbarred.

Twenty-five of these lawyers were sentenced to imprisonment and deprived of their political rights, because they had
united in a protest to the Department of Justice against the ritual murder charge.

Upon this immortal roll of honor of noble men who were sentenced to imprisonment for terms ranging from six to eight months, solely because of their unselfish devotion to law, reason, and justice, appear the names of N. D. Sokoloff, A. F. Keren-
sky, P. N. Pereverzeff, F. A. Wolkenstein, M. E. Feodosyeff, A. V. Bobrishchev-Pushkin, M. M. Mogilyansky, V. V. Isa-
sky, I. S. Rosen and A. M. Chienken.

Once again the world has been enabled to obtain a glimpse of the inner workings of the Russian bureaucratic system; of its corruption; of its disregard of the elementary principles of right and justice; of its depravity and its policy to appeal to the worst passions of an ignorant and superstitious populace to attain its base political ends. Once again civilization has thundered its condemnation of the Government that has stooped to such infamy as has been disclosed in these judicial proceedings.
APPENDIX A

PROTESTS AGAINST THE BLOOD LIBEL IN RUSSIA

BRITISH PROTEST

We desire to associate ourselves with the protests signed in Russia, France and Germany by leading Christian Theologians, Men of Letters, Scientists, Politicians and others against the attempt made in the City of Kieff to revive the hideous charge of Ritual Murder—known as the “Blood Accusation”—against Judaism and the Jewish people.

Animated by the sincerest friendship for Russia, we can have no idea of meddling with the domestic concerns of that country. Much less do we wish to prejudice in the slightest degree the course of the criminal trial with which this accusation has become identified. In the terms of the published protest of our Russian colleagues and friends and in their intimation that they welcome support from other countries, we have the best assurances that our motives will not be misinterpreted.

The question is one of humanity, civilization and truth. The “Blood Accusation” is a relic of the days of Witchcraft and Blood Magic, a cruel and utterly baseless libel on Judaism, an insult to Western culture and a dishonor to the Churches in whose name it has been falsely formulated by ignorant fanatics. Religious minorities other than the Jews, such as the Early Christians, the Quakers, and Christian Missionaries in China, have been victimized by it. It has been denounced by the best men of all ages and creeds. The Popes, the Founders of the Reformation, the Khalif of Islam, Statesmen of every country, together with all the great seats of learning in Europe, have publicly repudiated it.

It is the more necessary that these testimonies should be renewed because, among the ignorant and inflammable populace of Eastern Europe, the “Blood Accusation” has often given rise to terrible outbreaks of mob violence against the Jews, and there is grave reason to fear that its present resuscitation may endanger many innocent lives in the crowded Jewries of the Russian Empire.

Randall: Cantuar; Cosmo: Ebor; John B.: Armagh, Archbishop and Primate of All Ireland; Francis, Cardinal Bourne, Archbishop of Westminster; Norfolk; Northumberland; Rosebery; Selborne; Halsbury; Roberts, F.-M.; Cromer; Llandaff; Milner; A. F. London; Edw: Winton; G. W. Bath: and Well;

**GERMAN PROTEST**

On the 12th March, 1911, the boy Andrew Yuschinsky was murdered at Kieff. In spite of every effort, no convincing evidence of the authorship of the crime has yet been discovered. A Jew has, however, been arrested and charged, and the inquiry against him is now in progress.

Whether this Jew is the murderer we cannot judge. It would not be proper to anticipate a judicial decision in a case which is still pending, especially when it is being tried in another country.

But there is one aspect of the case which compels us in accordance with our consciences to adopt a certain attitude.

Mob agitators have eagerly seized on the crime, and have boldly asserted that the boy Yuschinsky was slaughtered by Jews in order to drain his blood and use it for ritual purposes, in obedience to an alleged Jewish religious law. This unscrupulous fiction, spread among the people, has from the Middle Ages until recent times led to terrible consequences. It has incited the ignorant masses to outrage and massacre, and has driven misguided crowds to pollute themselves with the innocent blood of their Jewish fellow-men. And yet not a shadow of proof has ever been ad-
duced to justify this crazy belief. The most esteemed Christian authorities on Jewish literature have proved incontrovertibly that the Jews have never been exhorted by their religion to murder their fellow-men.

We deem it the duty of everyone to whose heart the moral progress of mankind is dear to raise his voice against such deplorable absurdities. We thus join in the protest of the most esteemed Russian scholars, authors, and artists, believing that such a protest should not be limited by frontiers, but should concern the heart of the whole civilized world.

19th March, 1912.

Johann Andreae, President, Chamber of Commerce, Frankfort; Dr. Otto Bach, Under-Secretary of State and President of the First Chamber for Alsace-Lorraine; Dr. L. v. Bar, Professor, Göttingen; Ernst Bassermann, Member of the Reichstag and Leader of the National Liberal Party; Albert Basserman, Actor, Berlin; Beer, Commercial Councillor; Dr. Karl Bezold, Professor, Heidelberg University; Dr. A. E. Berger, Professor, Technical High School, Darmstadt; Dr. A. Binz, Rector, Commercial High School, Berlin; Dr. Blumberger, School Councillor, Cologne; Dr. Gerhart Bollert, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Nathanael Bonwetsch, Professor of Theology, Göttingen University; Dr. Eugen Bormann, Professor, Vienna University; Dr. Wilhelm Bornemann, Pastor, St. Nikolai, Frankfort; Dr. Wilhelm Bousset, Professor of Theology, Göttingen University; Dr. Karl Brand, Member of the Reichstag; Brasel, Municipal Councillor, Stettin; Arthur Brausewetter, Archdeacon, St. Marien, Danzig; Dr. Lujo Brentano, Privy Councillor and Professor, Munich; Dr. Carl Brockhausen, Imperial Councillor and Professor, Vienna University; Dr. Eduard Bruckner, Professor, Vienna University; Dr. Arthur Buchenau, High School, Berlin; Dr. C. H. Cornill, Professor, Halle University; Dr. Crusemann, Pastor, Berlin; Dr. Friedrich Curtius, President of the Consistory of the Augsburg Churches in Alsace-Lorraine; Richard Dehmel, Hamburg; Dr. Friedrich Delitzsch, Privy Councillor and University Professor, Berlin; Dr. Deubner, University Professor, Königsberg; Dr. August Doehring, University Professor, Berlin; Professor Dr. Karl Doormann, Member of the Reichstag; Heinrich Dove, Vice-President of the Reichstag; Dr. Victor Ebner (Ritter von Rofenstein), University Professor, Vienna; Professor Dr. Ehwald, Director, Grand Ducal Library, Gotha; Dr. Paul Eltzucker, Professor, Commercial High School, Berlin; Julius Engel, President of the Municipality, Hamburg; Dr. Adolf Erman, Professor, Royal Museum, Berlin; Dr. Rudolf Eucken, Professor, Jena University; Dr. Herbert Euleenberg, Author, Berlin; Dr. Julius Euting, Pro-
professor, Strassburg University; Dr. von Falke, Director, Arts and Crafts Museum, Berlin; Paul Fiebig, Theological Licentiate, Gotha; Otto Fischbeck, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Fischer, Municipal School Councillor, Berlin; Alfred Fischer, Pastor, Jerusalem Church, Berlin; Professor Dr. B. Fischer, Director, Pathological Anatomical Institute, Frankfort; Dr. M. Fischer, Pastor, St. Marcus, Berlin; Dr. Paul D. Fischer, Privy Councillor, Berlin; Heinrich Flinsch, Municipal Councillor, Frankfort; Flob, Pastor, Berlin; Flugge, Pastor, Berlin; Dr. Erich Forster, Pastor, Frankfort; Dr. Richard Forster, Professor, Breslau University; Dr. Wilhelm Forster, Berlin University; H. Francke, Pastor, Holy Cross Church, Berlin; Frommhagen, Pastor, Stephanus Church, Berlin; Dr. Paul Furbringer, Medical Councillor, Professor, Berlin University; Karl Funck, Member of the Reichstag; Professor August Gaul, Member, Academy of Arts, Berlin; Hellmuth v. Gerlach, Political Essayist, Berlin; Karl Alexander Baron von Gleichen-Rubwurm, Royal Bavarian Chamberlain; Gohrke, Pastor, St. Nikolai, Berlin; George Gothein, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Walter de Gruyter, Publisher, Berlin; Hugo Baron von Habermann, Member of Bavarian Academy of Arts; K. Habicht, Pastor, St. Peter's, Berlin; Dr. Hacks, Municipal School Councillor, Breslau; Dr. Bernard Hagen, Director, Municipal Museums, Frankfort; Ernst Hardt, Author, Weimar; Dr. Ludo M. Hartmann, Lecturer, Vienna University; Dr. Martin Hartmann, Professor, Royal Oriental Seminary, Berlin; Gerhart Hauptmann, Author; Professor D. Hausmann, Sculptor; E. Hedinger, Artist; Dr. Ernst Heilborn, Author; Theodor Held, Member of the Reichstag; Immanuel Heyn, Member of the Reichstag, and Pastor; Hintze, Architect, Stettin; Dr. Hirsekorn, Municipal Syndic; Dora Hitz, Artist; Dr. Ludwig Hoffmann, Member, Royal Academy of Architecture; Admiral von Hollmann; Dr. Hollmann, Pastor; Dr. M. Th. Houtsma, Professor, Utrecht University; Dr. Humser, Municipal Councillor, Frankfort; Dr. Friedrich Jodl, Professor, Vienna University; Dr. Juncker, Professor, Königsberg University; Junghans, Judicial Council, Stettin; Count Leopold von Kalckreuth, Royal Württemberg Chamberlain; Dr. Johannes Kaempf, President of the Reichstag; Arthur Kampf, President, Royal Academy of Arts, Berlin; Dr. Kaufmann, Professor, Breslau University; Albert Ritter von Keller, Member of the Royal Bavarian Academy of Arts; Dr. Georg Kerschensteiner, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Rudolf Kittel, Professor, Leipzig University; Fritz Klimesch, Member, Royal Academy of Arts, Berlin; S. Knief, Pastor; Hans Knoll, Commercial Councillor; Karl Koepping, Member, Royal Academy of Arts, Berlin; Hermann Kohler, Commercial Councillor; Dr. Theodore Korner, Breslau; Erich Korner, Portrait Painter; Koerte, Burgomaster,
Königsberg; Wilhelm Kraatz, Pastor; Dr. Krauskie, Rector, Königsberg University; Wilhelm Kroesing, Professor, Cologne; Krohne, Municipal Councillor, Königsberg; Professor Max Kruse, Sculptor; Gotthardt Kuehl, Member of the Senate, Royal Academy of Arts, Dresden; Dr. Kuttner, Professor, Breslau University; Dr. Laband, Privy Councillor and Professor, Strassburg University; Dr. Viktor Edler von Lang, Emeritus Professor, Vienna University; Dr. A. Lasson, Professor, Berlin University; Lehmpfuhl, Pastor; Dr. Alfred Lichtwarck, Art Director, Hamburg; Lieberich, Royal State Councillor; Lilienthal, Pastor, Berlin; Dr. Franz von Liszt, Member of the Reichstag; Max Lohr, Professor, Königsberg University; Dr. Walter Lotz, Professor, Munich University; Karl Lutzel, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Felix von Luschan, Director, Royal Museum, Berlin; Dr. Ernst Mach, Emeritus Professor, Vienna University; Thomas Mann, Author; Masloch, Pastor; Matthes, Town Councillor, Breslau; Dr. Georg von Mayr, Under-Secretary of State, Munich; Dr. B. Mettenheimer, Advocate, Frankfort; Dr. Eduard Meyer, University Professor, and Member Royal Academy of Sciences, Berlin; Dr. Carl Michaelis, Municipal School Councillor, Berlin; Paul Michelet, President, Municipal Council, Berlin; Dr. Mittermaier, Medical Councillor, Heidelberg; Dr. Martin Moebius, Director of the Botanical Gardens, Frankfort; Dr. Nikolaus Muller, Director of the Christian Archeological Collections of the Berlin University; Muller, Pastor, Luther Church, Berlin; Dr. Ernst Muller-Meningen, Member of the Reichstag; Oskar Muser, Member of the Second Chamber, Baden; Dr. Friedrich Naumann, Berlin; Dr. Adolf Neumann-Hofer, Member of the Reichstag; Niedlich, Pastor, Berlin; Dr. Theodor Niemeyer, University Professor, Kiel; Dr. Theodor Nöldeke, Professor, Strassburg University; Dr. Wilhelm Nowack, Professor, Strassburg University; Rudolf Oeser, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Julius Ofner, Vienna; Marie von Olfers, Artist; Professor Dr. J. Orth, Director, Pathological Institute, Berlin; Professor Dr. Ortmann, Member of the Reichstag; Professor Dr. Hermann Paasche, First Vice-President of the Reichstag; Friedrich von Payer, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Pfeiffer, Professor, Breslau University; Rector Piella, Oppeln; Dr. Piepenbrink, President of the Synod and Consistory of the Reform Churches, Strassburg; Posche, Pastor; Pohlmann, Pastor; Dr. Felix Poppenberg, Author; Count Arthur von Posadowsky-Wehner, late Prussian Minister of State; Dr. Puppe, Professor, Königsberg University; Dr. Ludwig Quidde, Member, Bavarian Academy of Sciences; Dr. Georg Ricke, Burgomaster of Berlin; Gabrielle Reuter, Authoress; R. Rhode, Pastor; Dr. Max Roediger, Professor, Berlin University; Rohde, Chief Pastor, Hamburg; Dr. Sasse, Chief Physician, Frankfort Hospital; Dr. Friedrich M. Schiele, Pastor and Lecturer at
Tübingen University; Eugen Schiffer, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Paul Schlenther, Court Councillor; Dr. Scholz, Preacher, Berlin; Henry, Prince of Schonaich-Carolath, Member of the Prussian House of Peers and Member of the Reichstag; Karl Schrader, President of the German Protestant Union; Eduard Schrammen, Professor, Cologne; Dr. Leopold von Schroeder, Professor, Vienna University; Dr. C. Schuchhardt, Director of the Royal Museum, Berlin; Dr. G. von Schulze-Gaevernitz, Member of the Reichstag; Felix Schwabach, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. Moritz Schwale, Pastor, Strassburg; Dr. Schwander, Burgomaster of Strassburg; Dr. A. Schwenkenbecher, Director, Municipal Hospital, Frankfurt; Dr. Eduard Seeler, Professor, Berlin University; Pastor Seydel, Archdeacon, St. Nikolai, Berlin; Arthur Siebert, President of the Central German Credit Bank; Fritz Siems, Pastor, Charlottenburg; Rudolf Sieverts, Manufacturer, Hamburg; Professor Dr. Slaby, Member of the Prussian Upper House; Dr. Julius Smend, Professor, Strassburg University; Dr. Werner Sombart, Professor, Commercial High School, Berlin; Dr. Staeck, Professor, Jena University; Dr. Fr. Staudinger, Professor, Darmstadt; Steiniger, Pastor, Berlin; Ff. Steudel, Pastor, Bremen; Hermann Sudermann; Dr. Eduard Suess, President, Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vienna; Dr. Thinius, Bank Director, Breslau; Dr. Ludwig Thoma, Author; Dr. A. Titius, Professor, Göttingen University; Dr. Ferdinand Tonnis, University Professor, Kiel; Dr. Torge, Pastor; Traub, Pastor; Dr. Trentin, Burgomaster of Breslau; Dr. Louis Tuaillon, Member, Royal Academy of Arts, Berlin; Umfrid, Town Pastor, Stuttgart; Dr. A. Varrentrapp, late Burgomaster, Frankfort; A. Vensky, Commercial Councillor, Berlin; Clara Viebig, Authoress; Wahn, Superintendent, Oppeln; Dr. W. Waldeyer, Director of the Anatomical Institute, Berlin University; Dr. Wendorf Toitz, Member of the Reichstag; Dr. A. J. Wensinck, Professor, Leyden University; Witt, Pastor and Inspector of Missions; Georg Wolf, Vice-President of the Second Chamber, Alsace-Lorraine; Dr. Wünsche, Professor, Königsberg University; August Wünsche, Professor and Doctor of Philosophy and Theology; Dr. Theobald Ziegler, Professor, Frankfort; Ziemer, Pastor.

Signatures from Denmark.—The Theological Faculty of the University of Copenhagen, consisting of Professor C. Henrik Scharling; Professor I. C. Jacobsen; Professor Waldemar Ammundsen; Professor Frederik Torm; Professor I. P. Bang; Professor Dr. Fr. Buhl, Rector of the Copenhagen University; Dr. Harald Hoffding, Professor, Copenhagen University; H. Ostenfeld, Bishop of Seeland; Wilhelm Thomsen, Professor, Copenhagen University.
THE BEILIS AFFAIR

FRENCH PROTEST

The undersigned, friends of Russia and strangers to Judaism, denounce to public opinion the absurd accusation of ritual murder brought against the Jew Beilis, of Kieff.

They affirm as follows:

1. That, so far from requiring blood for its rites, the religion of Israel prohibits its use both for ceremonial purposes and for food, and that this absolute prohibition is rigorously respected by all the Jewish sects.

2. That in all ages and in all countries religious minorities have been victims of this same calumny—the early Christians under the Roman Emperors, as well as quite recently the missionaries in China.

They express the hope that such accusations may no longer find credence in any civilized country.

Académie Française: Anatole France, Henry de Regnier; Members of the Institute: Bouche-Leclercq, Alfred Croiset, Delbos, Havet, Henneguy, Pottier, Antoine Thomas; Professors at the College de France: Bedier, Fossey, Gley, Langevin, Abel Lefranc, Alfred Loisy, Meillet; Professors, Assistant Professors, Supervisors, and Lecturers at the Sorbonne: Andler, Auger, Aulard, Barrau-Dihigo, Borel, Bougle, Bourguet, Brunot, Cayamian, Cotton, Delacroix, Demangeon, Denis, Dumas, Rene Durand, Galliot, Gallois, Guignebert, Haug, Hauvette, Jeanroy, Lalande, F. Lot, Mariejol, De Martonne, Perrin, Pfister, Seailles, Seignobos, Urbain, Nendryes; Ecole Normale Supérieure: Paul Dupuy, General Secretary; Lucien Herr, Librarian; Maurette, Superintendent; Professors at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes: Berard, Gauthiot, Guéysse, Moret, Poupardin, Rod, Reuss, Roy, Serruyes, Simland, Gillieron, LeLong, Bremont; Professors at the Ecole des Langues Orientales Vivantes: Paul Boyer, Director, Godefroy-Demombynes, Professor, Mario Roques, Professor; George Duruy, Professor at the Ecole Polytechnique; Laisant, former Examiner at the Ecole Polytechnique; Lapique, Professor at the Natural History Museum; Dr. Sicard de Plauzolles, Paul Lecene, Hospital Surgeons; Charles Gide, Professor of the Law Faculty of Paris; Charmont and Rist, Professors of the Law Faculty, Montpellier; Cesar-Bru and Ebren, Professors of the Law Faculty of Toulouse; Jules Negre, counsel at the Court of Appeal of Montpellier; Eydoux, Raoul Fabre, Raymond Laporte, Advocates at the Court of Appeal of Toulouse; Bonnet, Honorary Professor; Babut, Beaulard de Lenaivan Bonnet, Meslin, Planchon, Professors at the University of Montpellier; Tibal, Lecturer at the University of Nancy; Abelous, Buhl, Butel, Camichel, Fauconnet, Giraud, Professors at the University of Toulouse; Canon Ignace Simon; Aime Palliere, Professor of the Catholic Faculty of Lyon; L. A. Gervais, Honorary
Pastor; G. Dupont, A. Long, Pastors; Frantz Jourdain, President of the Salon d'Automne; Roll, President of the Société Nationale des Beaux-Arts; Signac, President of the Artistes Indépendants; Agache, Artist-Painter; Ajalbert, Conservator of the Malmaison; Jules Bois, St. Georges de Bouhelier, J. H. Rosny Aine, Octave Mirbeau, A. Ferdinand Herold, Guy de Termond, Henry Vianat, Jean Loredan, Ernest Gaubert; Paul Depuy, Director of the Imprimerie Nationale; Jean Reymond; Gustave Geffory, Director of the Gobelins; Paul Reboux, Literary Director of the Journal; Henry D. Davray; Jeannine de Villers; Horace Thivet, Director and Founder of the Ecole de la Paix; Maurice Le Blond; Sebastien-Ch. Leconte; Armand Dayot, Inspector of Fine Arts; Leandre, Artist-Painter; A. Vallette, Director of the Mercure de France; Monteil; Raffaelli, Maximilien Luce, G. and A. Chanteau, Artist-Painters; Henry Paulin, Editor; Mary Gill; Freesance; Bulant; André Fontainas; Charles Quillard; Maurice Peyrol; Bazaine, Catelot, Lieutenants; Dr. Th. Vincens, formerly Chief Physician at the Military Hospital of Oran; Bourgin, Professor at the Lycée Louis-le-Grand; Gustave Monod, Professor at the Ecole des Rochos; Arolle, Cayron, Cazals, Chabrier, Filhal, Professors at the Lycée de Toulouse; Legaret, Professor at the Lycée de Montpellier; Saumade, Clerk to the Académie at Montpellier; Rognon, Tutor at Toulouse; Guyot, Director of the Ecole Francaise de Bruxelles; Henri Bel, Head Librarian of the University of Montpellier; Marie Bonnet, Directress of the Maison des Etudiantes; Gillot, Honorary Professor at Oran; Escoffier, Assistant-Professor at the Lycée de Nice; Koessler, Feignoux, Bouniol, Professors at the Lycée Janson de Sailly; Albert Monod, Professor at the Lycée de Montpellier; Milon, Civil Engineer; A. Gibaud, Principal Clerk, Girardey, Official, and Leon Martin, Honorary Director, at the Préfecture of the Seine; Vergnes, Assistant to the Mayor of Toulouse; Felix Michel, Municipal Councillor of Montpellier; Paul Viollet, Member of the Institute.

RUSSIAN PROTEST
TO THE RUSSIAN PUBLIC

In the name of justice, reason, and humanity we raise our voices against this new outbreak of fanaticism and black mendacity.

The eternal struggle of humanity on behalf of liberty, legal equality, and fraternity, and against slavery, hate, and social discord, has been with us from ancient times. And in our time, as always, the same persons who uphold the outlawed condition of their own people are the most persistent to excite among them the spirit of religious and racial enmity. While they have no consid-
eration for popular opinion, or popular rights, which they are ready to suppress by the severest measures, they flatter popular prejudices, fan the flames of superstition, and incite to deeds of violence against their countrymen of other races.

In connection with the still uninvestigated murder of the boy Yuschinsky at Kieff, the false story of the use of Christian blood by Jews has been sown broadcast once more among the people. This is a familiar device of ancient fanaticism. In the early ages A. D. the pagan priests used to accuse the Christians of partaking of the Communion with the blood and flesh of a pagan infant killed for the purpose, and in that way explained the mystery of the Eucharist. Thus it was that this dark and malicious legend arose. The first blood shed on its account, by the prejudiced sentences of Roman judges, and amid the shouts of the ignorant pagan crowd, was the blood of Christians. And the first to disprove it were the Fathers and the teachers of the Christian Church. "Be ashamed"—wrote St. Justin the Martyr in his address to the Roman Senate—"be ashamed to attribute such crimes to men who are not concerned in them. Stay! Come to your senses!"

"But where are your proofs?" indignantly asked another teacher of the Christian Church—Tertullian. "Mere rumor. But everyone knows the nature of rumor. It is nearly always false. It only lives by lies. Who, then, believes rumor?"

By this time the falsity of the legend which accused the early Christians is as clear as noonday. But, invented by hate, adopted by blind ignorance, the absurd invention did not die out. It has become an instrument of enmity and dissension even among Christians themselves. It has gone so far that in some places a Roman Catholic majority will cast the accusation upon the Lutherans, while a majority of the latter will brand with it the Roman Catholics.

But the greatest sufferers from this fiction are the Jews, who are scattered among other nations. The pogroms caused by it have drawn a trail of blood through the dark history of the Middle Ages. At all times murders happen the motives and authorship of which are a source of perplexity. Where there is a Jewish population it is a simple matter to explain such crimes by the alleged ritual use of blood. Such a thing excites ignorant superstition, and thus influences the evidence of witnesses, deprives the judges of calmness and impartiality, and leads to judicial errors and pogroms.

Frequently the truth has eventually come to light, though too late. Sensible and just men would then be seized by shame and indignation. Many Popes and spiritual and secular rulers have branded the malicious superstition and forbidden the authorities to lend to its investigation a religious meaning. Among us such
A ukase was issued on March 18, 1817, by the Emperor Alexander I, and was confirmed on January 30, 1835, in the reign of the Emperor Nicholas I. In 1870 the Greek Patriarch Gregory also condemned the blood legend applied to the Jews, and declared it to be a "disgusting prejudice of men infirm in their faith."

But ukases are mouldering in State archives, while superstitions skulk abroad, and now the old lie, fraught with violence and pogroms, is being circulated again, even from the tribune of the State Duma.

In this lie there is the ring of the same malice which once incited the blind pagan crowd against the early followers of the Christian doctrine. Not long ago in China, where the same fable about the use of infant blood was circulated by Chinese priests against the missionaries, it cost the lives of hundreds of Christians and Europeans. Dark and criminal passions always follow in its train, while it always tends to blind the populace and pervert justice.

But sentiments of love and truth must always combat it. The words of Justin the Martyr do not apply to the Roman Senate alone: "Be ashamed; be ashamed to ascribe such a crime to men who are not concerned in it. Stay! Come to your senses!"

We join our voices to this holy Christian voice, whose appeal to love and reason rings through the depth of ages.

Fear those who sow falsely. Believe not the black lie which has so often made itself red with blood, killing some, and covering others with sin and shame.

The Beilis Affair


American Protest

[The American protest took the form of an appeal to the Czar for the withdrawal of the ritual murder charge against Beilis. The appeal was forwarded to the Russian Ambassador at Washing ton, D. C.]

To His Imperial Majesty, Nicholas II, the Czar of all the Russias:

Sire: As the representatives of various Christian denominations of the United States of America, irrespective of creed, we unite, in the name of our sacred faith, in an appeal to you, that the charge of ritual murder against the Jew Mendel Beilis, now on trial at Kieff, be withdrawn, because of the untold evils to the cause of humanity which may follow from its further prosecution.

We are convinced that the blood accusation against the Jews, which has been made sporadically, is as unfounded as was the same accusation which, as history shows, was frequently directed against the early Christians. It has been subjected to the most careful investigation for centuries, and no evidence warranting the slightest credence has ever been discovered, and it has been rejected as unworthy of serious consideration both by Church and by State. Bulls were issued by four Popes—Innocent IV, Paul III, Gregory X and Clement XIV—which formally declared this superstition to be a baseless and wicked invention. The genuineness of these pronouncements has been recently officially certified by Cardinal Merry del Val, the Secretary of the Holy See.
Many Sovereigns have in the past forbidden the attribution of religious significance to such accusations, among them the German Emperors Frederick II (1236), Rudolph of Hapsburg (1275), Frederick III (1470) and Charles V (1544); the Bohemian King Ottocar II (1254); the Polish Kings, Boleslaw V (1264), Casimir III (1334), Casimir IV (1453) and Stephen Bathori (1576).

Emperor Alexander I of Russia issued a ukase on March 18, 1817, by which he prohibited the prosecution of so-called ritual murder cases, for the proclaimed purpose of ending the superstition that the Jews employed Christian blood for ritual purposes. This ukase was confirmed by Emperor Nicholas I on January 13, 1835.

Prince Obolensky, the former head of the Holy Synod of the Russian Empire, has recently declared: "On the strength of all historical and literary materials concerning ritual murders I can say that this accusation against the Jews is just as ill-founded as were the accusations of the same nature directed against the Christians long ago. You must remember that the use of blood is contrary to all the teachings of the Jewish religion."

For centuries, numerous authoritative theological, scientific, and historical writers, who have carefully studied the subject, have united in reaching the same conclusion.

Believing that the continuance of the pending prosecution may give rise to acts of violence, as a result of the passions aroused by fanaticism and religious hatred stimulated thereby—consequences which would be deplorable from the standpoint of true religion, of humanity and of civilization, and abhorrent to the spirit of Christianity—as Christians and for the advancement of our holy cause, we pray that you may avert this grave peril, and that you may forestall the possibility of the imposition of injustice, not only upon the individual who is now on trial, but upon the entire Jewish people, and that to that end you may confirm the ukase of your glorious ancestor, Alexander I, by which he sought for all time to destroy the hideous imputation that the Jews require Christian blood for ritual purposes.

In full confidence that this appeal will be favorably received by Your Imperial Majesty, and that the motives which have prompted us in presenting it will not be misunderstood, with the utmost esteem and respect we have subscribed these presents, this thirty-first day of October, 1913.

David H. Greer, Bishop of New York.
William T. Manning, rector Trinity Church, New York.
Charles S. MacFarland, Secretary Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
Frank Mason North, Chairman Executive Committee Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America.
Howard Melish, Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y.
John Haynes Holmes, Church of the Messiah, New York.
John F. Carson, pastor Central Presbyterian Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., and ex-Moderator Presbyterian Church, United States of America.
Nehemiah Boynton, minister Clinton Avenue Congregational Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., and ex-Moderator National Council of Congregational Churches of America.
Shailer Matthews, President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America.
Frank Oliver Hall, Church of the Divine Paternity in New York (Universalist).
Charles G. Herbermann, Editor-in-Chief, Catholic Encyclopedia.
William Burt, Methodist Episcopal Bishop of Buffalo, N. Y.
Thomas J. Garland, Bishop Suffragan of Pennsylvania.
John Scarborough, Bishop of New Jersey.
Thomas A. Burke, Bishop of Albany.
M. J. Hoban, Bishop of Scranton.
Eugene A. Garvey, Bishop of Altoona.
John J. O'Connor, Bishop of Newark.
Benjamin J. Keiley, Bishop of Savannah.
John E. Fitzmaurice, Bishop of Erie.
William Woodruff Niles, Bishop of New Hampshire.
John Nilan, Bishop of Hartford.
James A. McFaul, Bishop of Trenton.
Regis Canevin, Bishop of Pittsburgh.
Chauncey B. Brewster, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Connecticut.
James R. Day, Chancellor, Syracuse University.
C. K. Nelson, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Atlanta.
Cortlandt Whitehead, Bishop of Pittsburgh.
W. A. Candler, Methodist Episcopal Bishop of Atlanta.
Charles B. Colton, Bishop of Buffalo.
John J. Monaghan, Bishop of Wilmington.
Maurice Francis Burke, Bishop of St. Joseph, Mo.
Edward W. Osborne, Protestant Episcopal Bishop, Springfield, Ill.
Patrick A. McGovern, Bishop of Cheyenne, Wyo.
Theodore Meerschaert, Bishop of Oklahoma.
Joseph J. Fox, Bishop of Green Bay, Wis.
James Ryan, Bishop of Alton, Ill.
Vincent Wehrle, Bishop of Bismarck, N. D.
Sebastian G. Messmer, Archbishop of Milwaukee, Wis.
Frederick F. Reese, Bishop of Georgia.
Philip Mercer Rhinelander, Bishop of Pennsylvania.
Boyd Vincent, Bishop of Southern Ohio.
William A. Leonard, Bishop of Ohio.
D. J. O'Connell, Bishop of Richmond, Va.
Charles Tyler Olmsted, Bishop of Central New York.
Lewis W. Burton, Bishop of Lexington, Ky.
Richard Scannell, Bishop of Omaha.
Thomas F. Gailor, Bishop of Tennessee.
Alfred Harding, Bishop of Washington, D. C.
Frank R. Millspaugh, Bishop of Kansas.
N. C. Matz, Roman Catholic Bishop of Denver, Colo.
Joseph F. Busch, Bishop of Lead, Rapid City, S. D.
Frederick D. Leete, Bishop of Atlanta, Ga.
Joseph Schrembs, Bishop of Toledo, O.
Edward Fawcett, Bishop of Quincy.
Francis K. Brooke, Bishop of Oklahoma.
J. S. Flipper, Bishop African Methodist Church, Georgia.
P. J. Donahue, Bishop of Wheeling, W. Va.
Edward P. Allen, Bishop of Mobile, Ala.
James McGolrick, Bishop of Duluth, Minn.
A. J. Glorieux, Bishop of Boise, Idaho.
Ethelbert Talbot, Bishop of South Bethlehem, Pa.
Collins Denny, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Richmond, Va.
Edw. O'Dea, Bishop of Seattle, Wash.
H. C. Morrison, Bishop of Birmingham, Ala.
Charles D. Williams, Bishop of Michigan.
Thomas Grace, Bishop of Sacramento, Calif.
John J. Hennessy, Bishop of Wichita, Kan.

APPENDIX B

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN LORD ROTHSCILD AND CARDINAL MERRY DEL VAL

[The documents referred to, and enclosed in Lord Rothschild's letter, are copies of an Encyclical issued by Pope Innocent IV., 1247, and quoted from Raynal'd's "Annales Ecclesiasticl", and of an elaborate report on all known cases of alleged ritual murder, drawn up by Cardinal Ganganelli, who became Pope Clement XIV., in 1758.]
The Encyclical emphatically declares the charge against the Jews to be false, and the belief that it is warranted by Jewish teaching to be totally unfounded. The report of Cardinal Ganganelli, which was occasioned by a trial very similar to the Beilis case, not only decided against the prosecution in that case, but reviewed many other cases, and expressed the opinion that in all except two there was absolutely no evidence of Jews being guilty of the crime upon which the ritual murder allegation had been founded. In regard to the two exceptions, the Cardinal's opinion was doubtful, and he declared that in any case they could have no compromising bearing on Jewish teaching.

7th October, 1913.

To His Eminence Raphael, Cardinal Palatine Merry del Val, Pontifical Secretary of State, etc., etc.

MY LORD CARDINAL.—It is probably not unknown to your Eminence that in the city of Kieff, in the Empire of Russia, certain evil-disposed persons have recently revived, against the Jews, the atrocious accusation of ritual murder, which has more than once been denounced by the wisdom and catholic solicitude of the Sovereign Pontiffs, and which, during the past year, has evoked indignant protests from many of the most illustrious men of Western Europe, including members of the Sacred College of which your Eminence is so distinguished an ornament.

This superstitious revival, which is fraught with serious danger to the lives of the large community of Jews inhabiting the Russian Empire, has arisen out of a criminal case in which a Jew stands charged with murder. Whether this Jew is guilty or not is, of course, a question for the Russian tribunals to determine, and it would obviously be improper for me to anticipate or discuss in any way their action in the matter.

But my coreligionists have observed with alarm that efforts are being made on the part of the prosecution to explain the case as one of ritual murder, governed by an alleged secret teaching of Judaism, and thus to fasten upon the Jewish religion and the whole Jewish people the responsibility for this hideous crime.

With the evidence it is proposed to submit to the court on this aspect of the case the defense will have no difficulty in dealing, but there is one affidavit on which the testimony of the Curia Romana will be useful, and is, indeed, necessary, and it is in order to prevail upon your Eminence to supply that testimony that I now venture to approach you.

The affidavit to which I allude has been sworn by one Justinus Elisejovich Pranaitis, who describes himself as a Magister of Theology and Roman Catholic Diocesan of the Turkestan Province. It reiterates the familiar arguments by which similar
charges of ritual murder have been supported in past times, and which have as often been refuted by great theologians and jurists, and perhaps by none more circumstantially than by the illustrious Pontiff, Pope Clement XIV, when, as the Reverend Father Ganganelli, he was acting as Consultor of the Tribunal of the Holy Office. With these arguments it is unnecessary for me to trouble your Eminence, but, in the course of his deposition, the said Pranaitis expresses an opinion on a question of fact which directly challenges the testimony of the Holy See.

It will be within the knowledge of your Eminence that many of the Sovereign Pontiffs have on various occasions extended their merciful protection to my persecuted coreligionists, and that at least one of them, His Holiness Pope Innocent IV, issued an encyclical or letter specifically declaring the charge of ritual murder, as applied to Judaism, to be a baseless and wicked invention. Other great Pontifical authorities have taken a similar course, notably Giovanni Battista de Martinis, General of the Dominican Order, in 1664, and Cardinal Lorenzo Ganganelli, whose elaborate report on the subject, addressed to the Tribunal of the Holy Office and entitled "Polonia," was drawn up at the instance of His Holiness Pope Benedict XIV, in 1758, and acted upon by his venerable successor, Pope Clement XIII. Now, in the affidavit of the witness Pranaitis there is a reference to these testimonies, and it is stated by the deponent that he has been unable to find them in the usual works of reference. He consequently expresses the opinion that they have no authentic existence, and that the published texts are probably forgeries.

It is upon this point that I desire to invoke the gracious intervention of your Eminence. The question is one of authenticating the published texts of the letter of His Holiness Pope Innocent IV, and of the report of Cardinal Ganganelli, the originals or official records of which are no doubt in your Eminence's custody. Of the texts so far as they are known to me I have the honor to enclose copies herewith.

I do not doubt that following in the enlightened and generous traditions of the Holy See, which has so often raised its voice in defense of the oppressed and in vindication of truth and justice, your Eminence will graciously favor me at an early date with the testimony I require, and which I am empowered to seek of your Eminence by my Jewish coreligionists.

I have the honor to subscribe myself,

Of your Eminence,

The most humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) Rothschild.
THE BEILIS AFFAIR

SEGRETERIA DI STATO
DI SUA SANTITA
18th October, 1913.

MY LORD.—In reply to your letter of October 7, I am in a position to certify that the typewritten copy of Ganganelli's Report to the Consultors of the Holy Office is substantially authentic. I am able to give you this assurance after inquiries made at the Holy Office, where the original document is kept. As to the extract of Innocent IVth's letter, there can be no doubt of the accuracy of Raynald's quotation, which is confirmed by the fact of Ganganelli citing it in his Report.

Trusting that this declaration may serve your purpose,

I have the honor to be, my Lord,
Your obedient servant,
(Signed) R. Card, MERRY DEL VAL.

The Right Hon. Lord Rothschild.

APPENDIX C

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE CZAR OF RUSSIA

[Under this title, The Independent, New York, published on September 11, 1913, the following striking arraignment of Russian misgovernment which had its culmination in the Beilis affair. The article attracted worldwide attention and elicited widespread editorial comment.]

SIRE—When you ascended the throne of the Russian Empire the expectations of your people ran high. They looked forward to a more humane reign than that which had just ended. They were yearning for reforms, for a sympathetic bond between the palace and the huts of the hungry and the homes of the oppressed. You were regarded as a young man of liberal tendencies, of advanced views. After your father's reactionary reign the Russian people longed for relief. But, alas, what an awakening was theirs!

Little by little the vision of a better day faded. Your people began to despair. Your supposed idealism failed to manifest itself in any of your acts. The evil genius of Pobyedonostseff, of the Holy Synod, reigned supreme while he lived, and still rules Russia from his grave. A long list of charlatans and mad monks and illiterate fortune-tellers, beginning with Philippe, the barber of Marseilles, and ending with the Monk Iliodor and Rasputin, have been in the ascendency and have exerted a baneful influence at your court. Those who have counseled reform and have advocated liberal tendencies have become discredited and have been driven away.
The condition of the longsuffering nationalities of your Empire instead of ameliorating has become ever more tragic. Though you have special cause to be lenient with your Polish subjects, Poland has been bent under added burdens. Finland has become an autonomous government without autonomy, and it is gradually becoming converted into a Russian province. The Baptists and the Roman Catholics have suffered oppression. The Jews have experienced during your reign persecutions far more cruel than those which prevailed during the Middle Ages. New restrictions and new policies of hatred have been devised and directed against them. They have been driven from pillar to post. When the ghastly Kishineff massacres raged, the world was shocked. The civilized nations protested. It is no longer a secret that these massacres were staged, planned, organized and executed by the aid of your Government. Your former director of the Secret Police Department of the Russian Empire, M. Alexander Lopukhin, who investigated the cause of the massacres, reported to the late Premier Stolypin that the anti-Jewish proclamations inciting the populace against the Jews were printed on presses owned by the Police Department and were distributed by members of the Police Department.

Then you were drawn into a war with Japan by Admiral Alexeyeff and others of your advisers—men who sought the personal gain of power and wealth, and who led Russia headlong to ruin. The army and navy proved so demoralized by graft and debauchery that in her struggle Russia revealed herself as a colossus upon feet of clay. Humiliated on land and sea, it was only by the ingenious statesmanship of Count Witte at Portsmouth that Russia was saved from utter disgrace.

On October 17 (Russian style), 1905, you signed the manifesto granting a constitution to Russia. You signed that document under pressure. You were frightened by the sweeping wave of revolution that was rising over the Russian land. You were informed that only such a measure could save your throne. By adopting it your throne has, for a time, been saved. On the day after the manifesto was issued, a counter-revolution was organized. Massacres broke out in hundreds of towns in various parts of Russia at the same hour and upon the same signal. Jews and intellectuals were attacked, plundered and killed. The gallows was revived in Russia. Men, women and children were hanged for offenses punishable in civilized countries by a few months' imprisonment only. The prisons became overcrowded. The best of the Russian people were thrown into dungeons, or exiled to forsaken and pest-ridden regions to die there of starvation.

The story of the first and second Dumas is well known to the whole world. Every aspiration for liberty and justice that found
vent in those national assemblies was withered in the bud. Every manifestation of independence was penalized. The voice of the people was silenced. The causes of the dispersion of the Russian parliaments, and of the falling of the ceiling where the Duma assembled upon the seats of the opposition deputies, the imprisonment of the signers of the Viborg manifesto, the murder of the distinguished Jewish Duma deputies, Professor Herzenstein and M. Yollos, by the Black Hundred organization, with the aid of Dr. Dubrovин, who is still one of your favorites—all these are no longer secrets to the outside world.

The restrictions directed against the Jews of Russia assumed shocking forms. Jewish soldiers who fought bravely in the Russo-Japanese war were driven from Moscow upon their return from the battlefield as soon as they could leave the hospital. They had no rights of domicile there. The Governor-General of Moscow, Hershelman, ordered the expulsion of a twelve-month-old Jewish boy, stating in his official order that "the boy may be dangerous to the constituted regime of the Russian Empire."

Your father, Alexander III, once said to Count Sergius Witte: "Is it true that you are so fond of the Jews?"

Count Witte replied:
"Permit me to answer you by another question. Suppose that you gather all the Jews of Russia, place them in ships on the Black Sea and then sink the ships. You would not do that, would you? The Jews must live among us, with us. Therefore we must give them the opportunity to live as we do. In my opinion, the only way of solving the Jewish question is to give the Jews equal rights."

Alexander III was silent for a while and then remarked:
"Perhaps you are right."

You have gone much further than your father in your anti-Jewish policies. If you do not know, you should know that the Jews have contributed much to the development of Russia. Rubinstein may be said to have founded the Russian school of music. Antokolsky has made Russian sculpture to rank high. Levitan, a Jewish landscape painter, has taught the Russian people how to admire the landscapes of their own country. Prof. Elie Metchnikoff, head of the Pasteur Institute in Paris, the greatest living biologist, who exiled himself from Russia, ascribes his love for science to the influence of his Jewish mother. He has declared that Russia has lost through the persecution of the Jews some of the greatest scientists. The literature, art and music of Russia have been popularized and made accessible in many lands outside of Russia by Jews.

Many of the Jews whom you have cruelly oppressed have come to America. They have adapted themselves here to the American
conditions. They are making remarkable progress in every field of human activity. They have added to the wealth of the nation by their manufactures, their skill in innumerable trades which they practise here but were forbidden to practise in their native land. They have widened the spheres of commerce. They have become patriotic and law-abiding citizens. They and their adopted land have profited marvelously by the avidity with which they have availed themselves of the educational opportunities extended to them. Russia has lost and is suppressing forces which, if utilized, would develop her tremendous resources beyond the power of belief. How the Jews are regarded in this country may be surmised from the impressive manner in which Congress expressed its protest against the dishonor by Russia of American passports when borne by Jews. The violation of the Treaty of 1832 by Russia, by her discrimination against Jews, was regarded an affront to the American people. The unanimous voice of America should have convinced you that the Jews have made good as American citizens.

Your advisers are misleading you with regard to the Jews in Russia. That is the most charitable view to take. To divert your attention from their own incompetency, they are pointing to the Jews as the cause of all the troubles that exist in Russia. To divert the attention of the Russian people from their real enemies, the officials are inciting the bestial passions of the mob against the Jews.

The best Jews of Russia are either in exile, in prison, or have been stifled into stupefaction. Though you prevent the best of them from serving Russia, you are employing the worst to serve you. You have engaged Jewish outcasts as spies and provocateurs. You have chosen as your agents the Azeffs and the Bogrovs, the assassins of your uncle, the Grand Duke Sergius, of Von Plehve and of the late Premier Stolypin.

Your advisers have misled you and you are now drifting to your ruin, and plunging Russia into anarchy. You have become known as the “Pardoning Czar,” but you have limited your pardons to those who have participated in the massacres of the Jews. You are now striking a new blow at the Jews of your Empire by depriving them of the last opportunity to secure an education, and are attempting to carry out the diabolical plans of your reactionary advisers. Your laws are being so cunningly administered that the Jewish prostitute enjoys extensive rights, while the Jewish student girl has none. The yellow passport of prostitution gives a Jewish girl the right to live in your capital. The Jewish girl with the highest aspirations who seeks an education in St. Petersburg is driven out by the police.

And now, to add the crown of infamy, your Minister of Justice has staged a “ritual murder” case. Russia is here moving back-
ward. Your own great-grandfather, Alexander I, by an official decree prohibited ritual murder accusations against the Jews. But that was a hundred years ago. Papal bulls have been issued against them. The entire civilized world has declared their falsity. The Pogrom policy can no longer be pursued effectively. The civilized nations have but recently protested against it in thunder-tones. Hence your advisers have revived an ancient and exploded falsehood to discredit the Jews, to stir the passions of the unthinking mob against them.

A Christian boy was murdered in Kieff. A Jew, Mendel Beilis, was found in the neighborhood and arrested, and has been imprisoned now for more than two years, awaiting trial. He is charged with having killed the boy to secure his blood for ritual purposes. For more than two years the manufacture of the most absurd evidence against him has been in progress. The head of the Kieff Detective Bureau, M. Mistchuk, who reported that he could find no incriminating evidence and that he was convinced it was not a case of ritual murder, has been cast into prison for weakening the case of the Government against the Jew. All sorts of difficulties are being placed in the way of the defense. Beilis is denied the privilege of calling witnesses. It seems as though Russia is determined to strike at all the Jews through this infamous proceeding. She has closed her ears to the verdict of science. The impressive protest of the International Medical Congress, which has just concluded its session in London, passes unobserved.

This is not the letter of one who hates Russia, but of one who admires the Russia that has produced a great literature, that has given birth to great men and women, that is struggling for emancipation, that possesses marvelous possibilities in her industries and natural resources. It is the expression of one who, though he loves the land, shudders at these manifestations of medieval bigotry and cruelty for which you are responsible in the eyes of the world and before God's throne.

How can you, the man who suggested the establishment of universal peace at The Hague, tolerate, in the land in which you hold absolute sway, such refinement of barbarity and brutality, and yet venture to face the rulers of civilized powers as their equal? How can you permit the revival of long-explored myths and superstitions? How, in short, do you expect to meet your Maker with such a burden upon your soul? Open your eyes! Observe the fruits that freedom bears under other skies! Drive from your land the dark spirits of intolerance and despotism which have made of it a charnel-house and a prison! Then a new light will dawn upon your vast domain and you can yet bring to its millions happiness and prosperity.
In the more thorough organization of the Jewish communities in the United States, the problem of religious education naturally occupies a prominent position. It is a problem both of adjustment and self-preservation. It affects the relation of the Jew to the rest of the population, but more vitally the maintenance of the peculiar traits and ideals, life and habits, that go to make up his Jewishness. It is true that the problem existed from the moment the first Jewish family settled in this land, and attempts at its solution were made by all successive generations. The instinct of self-preservation, so highly developed in the Jewish people, asserted itself in the lives of our forefathers, and received more or less adequate attention in private endeavor as well as in communal action. It is only now, however, when the Jewish population has increased to large proportions, when the several communities have become more firmly established, and the consciousness of mutual responsibility and helpfulness has thereby been more keenly stirred, that the problem assumes extensive scope, and becomes the object of serious consideration and concerted action. Sporadic efforts, temporary makeshifts, may save the situation for a time, but they cannot be tolerated by a settled community with ideals to guard, with a glorious past to maintain, and with a strong desire to perpetuate itself. More comprehensive measures must be devised, more permanent institutions established, and a more thorough system of Jewish education organized, to suit the peculiar needs and require-
ments of Jewish life in America, in order to preserve our identity and to carry on, in this land, the great work God has imposed upon us. The interest evinced in the problem of Jewish education, the zeal with which the Jewish communities of this land are approaching it, and the generosity displayed in the various attempts at its solution, are perhaps the most gratifying and encouraging signs in our present-day life.

Jewish education should aim primarily at the rearing of a generation of Jews conscious of their descent and past glory, permeated with the feeling of loyalty to the demands of their religion and their history, and actuated by a great hope for a more glorious future for Israel. To inculcate and foster such emotions and make them the permanent possession of the rising generation, it is essential that the future Jew and Jewess should be familiarized with the events that have made Israel a great people and with the literature wherein the record of Israel's greatness is embodied. Throughout our history the greatest source of the pride and stability of the Jew has been the fact that knowledge was universal and ignorance the most shunned disgrace. Jewish history in the Diaspora knows of no aristocracy except that of learning, an aristocracy that constantly seeks to extend its limits and widen its circle. We must have an intelligent laity if we would continue existence along natural lines of development. We must allow our children to drink deep of the springs of Jewish learning if we would develop in them an appreciation of their past, a dignified feeling of pride in their descent, and a strong attachment to their people and their God. Living in close relationship with a highly civilized group of humanity, confronted at every step with institutions and habits of life that are foreign and often hostile to their own, constantly surrounded by an
atmosphere that breeds the germs of assimilation tending to destroy all racial and national distinctiveness, the Jewish youth in this land must be provided with a large fund of knowledge, he must be trained with great care, and inoculated with the efficacious serum of Jewish learning and Jewish feeling, which has always been the most potent means of withstanding the dangers of epidemics of all kinds. The problem with which American Jewry is now confronted is nothing less than the problem of self-preservation—the problem of preserving the Jewish people in Judaism in the new environment.

It was therefore regarded appropriate, at this time, when efforts are being put forth everywhere to cope with this problem, to present, in brief form, a résumé of conditions as they exist, of the forces that brought them into being, and of the number and nature of the agencies now engaged in the instruction of our youth. The following pages will thus, in a measure, serve the purpose of stock-taking of our resources. Beginning with an historical sketch of the development of the various Jewish educational institutions in this country, we proceed to give an analysis of their respective places in our system of education, touching upon the various phases of the problem as we proceed in the discussion, and quoting reliable data, where such were obtainable. For the sake of completeness, a short sketch is given also of the history of our institutions for higher Jewish learning, although the main purpose of this article is to discuss the problem of Jewish elementary education.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

EARLY BEGINNINGS

There is no mention of educational institutions maintained by the Jews in this country until the early part of the eight-
teenth century. Although Jews were settled here by the middle of the seventeenth century, their number was small, and they were probably scattered in various communities, so that there could hardly have been any thought of organized effort. The oldest Jewish congregation, the Shearith Israel of New York, organized as early as 1656, had no house of worship at first, and the education of the children was probably confined to religious training at home. One year after its first synagogue was formally consecrated (1730), a school was opened for the use of the congregation, undoubtedly one of the earliest schools in the land. The following entry in the minutes of this congregation, dated April 15, 1747, will give us an idea of the character of that school: “Agreed that Mr. David Mendez Machado shall attend at the Hebra to Teach Children Hebrew from Nine to Twelve Each morning and from Two until Five Thursday Afternoon to receive Eight Shillings pr quarter from Each child that comes to said school weekly. Also, that said Mr. Machado shall teach such children Gratis that Cannot afford Payment.” A later entry, dated December 7, 1755, provides that the Hazan open a school at his own house, and teach Hebrew, Spanish, English, Writing, and Arithmetic, in the summer from nine to twelve and from two to five, and in the winter from ten to twelve and from two to four. It also provides that poor children be taught gratis on showing an order from the Parnas. This school is later (1762) designated as a public school, the teacher having been engaged at an annual salary (twenty pounds), with the privilege of having offerings made in his behalf in the synagogue. He was to teach gratis all children that could not afford to pay. All others were to be paid for quarterly. It appears that the school was still in existence at the begin-
ning of the nineteenth century, when the teacher was paid the sum of $700 per annum for teaching six hours each day. The Polonies Talmud Torah, opened in 1803, is still in existence, although now it has sessions only on Sundays.¹

Other congregations that existed in various communities during the eighteenth century apparently made no organized provision for the instruction of their children. The beginning of the nineteenth century witnessed the organization of most of the German Jewish congregations; but then the public school system had already been introduced in many of the larger cities, in which the Jews congregated, gradually supplanting the denominational school of colonial times. The Jews were quick to avail themselves of the new opportunities, and sent their children to the public schools for their secular training, while their religious education was intrusted to private teachers, and later to the schools established in connection with the newly-organized congregations. There are sporadic cases of Jews maintaining regular day schools as late as the third quarter of the last century. Thus Kehillat Anshe Maariv of Chicago established such a school in 1853, and kept it up for twenty years. In Lyons and de Solla's Jewish Calendar for 1854, we find mention of several schools that appear to have been conducted as regular day schools, English branches being taught together with the regular Hebrew subjects. Among these was one in Albany, connected with Congregation Anshe Emeth; one in Boston, connected with Congregation Ohabe Shalome; two in Cincinnati, and possibly one or two in New York. In Baltimore, a school for the study of Hebrew as well as of English subjects was opened in 1851 by the Reverend

¹ See Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, xx1, 14, 54, 72, 75, 84, 85, 149, 161.
Solomon Jacobs, and it had fifty-three pupils in 1853 (see the Occident, x. 171).

We also find that Congregation Rodeph Shalom of Philadelphia, one of the earliest Ashkenazic congregations in this country, which had a Hebrew and German school in connection with its synagogue, wished to include public school branches in its curriculum as late as 1852, because “the children attend the public school and afterwards ours, so that they have no time for recreation.” The attempt, however, was not realized, probably because of the large expense involved (see David Sulzberger, Fifty Years of the Hebrew Education Society of Philadelphia, 1899, pp. 27-30). A fervent appeal, made in 1866 by the Reverend B. Felsenthal for the establishment of such schools in Chicago, met with no response (see Felsenthal, Jüdisches Schulwesen in Amerika, Chicago, 1866).

In 1848 the first independent Jewish school was established in Philadelphia. The Hebrew Education Society, the creation of the genius of Isaac Leeser, opened its first school, with State authority, in 1851, for the instruction of the Jewish youth in all branches of study. Its scholastic standing was regarded so highly that the graduates were, by an act of legislature (1866), admitted to the city high schools without examination. The society maintained its school as a day school for nearly thirty years, when new conditions arose to induce changes in its policy. The public school system, which had become widely extended and perfected, became too strong a factor for the society to compete with, and, on the other hand, the congregations, which constantly increased in number, put forth every effort to have their children attend their schools. In 1878 the society abandoned its secular branches, but ex-
tended its activity in the establishment of Hebrew as well as trade schools, which had become necessary with the influx of a new stream of immigrants.

**Congregational Schools**

The origin of the Jewish elementary school is closely identified with the origin of the synagogue, both having their source in the tendency inaugurated by Ezra and his followers, the popularization of religious observances and of religious knowledge. The school was originally housed in the synagogue building and formed part of it. In later times, indeed, the school was frequently detached from the synagogue, becoming either a communal institution or a private undertaking. Hence, we have the Talmud Torah and the Heder of the Middle Ages and of modern times. This, however, was the case only when the community superseded the congregation, and undertook to care for all Jewish institutions, including the school and the synagogue.

Early congregational growth in this country demanded a return to the old order, so that the school again became an integral part of synagogue life. While the Heder and the private teacher always existed, most of the congregations organized in the first half of the past century found it necessary to establish schools for the children of their members. Hebrew naturally formed the chief subject of instruction, although in many of these schools the study of German was given considerable prominence in the curriculum. The sessions were held in the afternoon three to four times a week and also on Sunday mornings. The school rooms were in many cases situated in the basement of the synagogue building, and lacked the comfort and conveniences to which the
pupils were accustomed in the public schools, where they spent the greater portion of their time.

The most serious drawback to the healthy development of these schools was the lack of properly equipped teachers. Many were recent immigrants unfamiliar with the language and the life of the American child, and consequently unable to establish a bond of sympathy between themselves and their pupils. Some possessed but a rudimentary knowledge of the subjects they were expected to teach, and many were entirely ignorant of the most elementary principles of pedagogy. The compensation offered the teacher was very small, so that few competent persons were attracted to the profession. There were some notable exceptions, and in every community the names of these exceptional teachers, who not only imparted knowledge, but inspired respect and reverence for themselves and for the religion they endeavored to foster, are mentioned with affection and love to the present day. In general, however, the teacher in the congregational school rarely succeeded in his efforts, although he had the assistance of the rabbi and in many cases also of the parents of the children.

With the spread of the Reform movement, which permitted the use of the vernacular in the service, and with the increase of the number of English-speaking rabbis, these schools assumed a somewhat different character. The study of German was little by little discarded, the study of Hebrew was given a secondary position, and the main subjects of study were Bible History and the elements of the Jewish Religion and of Jewish Ethics. The number of sessions was also gradually reduced, so that at present most of these schools meet only once a week, on Sunday mornings. In many of these schools Hebrew is not taught at all. There are, however, a number of congre-
gational schools even now, especially such as are connected with synagogues established in more recent years, which still maintain the older system, having three or four or more sessions a week, and laying the greatest stress on the study of Hebrew.

**Sunday Schools**

The Heder, the congregational school, and the private teacher soon proved inadequate to the needs of the constantly growing communities. Outside of the fact that they were in large measure foreign in their methods and unable to adjust themselves to the new environment in which the Jews were placed in this land, they were also too expensive and made too many demands upon the children's time. The result of the heavy tax these institutions imposed on parents and children alike was that many children remained without religious training. Furthermore, these agencies provided education mainly for the boys, while the girls grew up without any knowledge of their religion.

The need of free communal schools unattached to any congregation was realized early in the nineteenth century. The first attempt at supplying it was made in Philadelphia by a band of women, mostly members of the Mikve Israel Congregation, who were under the influence of Isaac Leeser, the dominant spirit in American Jewry in that period. The first free Sunday school was established in that city in 1838, under the immediate guidance and direction of Miss Rebecca Gratz. A similar school was opened the same year in Charleston, S. C., and the following year in Richmond, Va. Soon after similar institutions were established in Cincinnati, New York, and other communities. The movement proved successful from the very beginning, and these schools attracted large
numbers of children, who were taught by volunteer teachers, mostly young women. The course of instruction usually included Bible History and catechism, and text-books were soon provided by several authors. The language of instruction in these schools was English instead of the German used in the congregational schools, and the teachers were for the most part young people who had had the advantages of the American public school system, and were familiar with the conditions that surrounded the children under their care. Many of them were deficient in their knowledge of Jewish matters, but they possessed zeal and enthusiasm for their religion and the ability to influence those with whom they came in close contact.

Some of the wealthier congregations in the larger cities also realized their obligations to the general community and opened free or mission schools in the poorer sections. Others made their own schools free, admitting children of non-members on a par with the members' children.

TALMUD TORAHS

The free public school has been an important element in the system of Jewish education from the remotest antiquity. The origin of this institution is ascribed to Rabbi Simon ben Shatah, and its further extension to Rabbi Joshua ben Gamla, who flourished during the last years of Israel's national existence. The Jewish parent is responsible for the education of his children, and if he is unable to bestow it, he is obliged to engage the services of a teacher. The fatherless child or the child of poor parents must also be provided with religious training, and the duty to do this rests upon the community at large. There was hardly a Jewish community in the Middle Ages in which there did not exist an organization for the
support of free schools, in which the children of the poor might receive a thorough training in Hebrew and the Bible. These organizations were known as Talmud Torah Societies, and the schools under their charge as Talmud Torahs.

The Talmud Torah as well as the private school (Heder) were not religious schools in the sense in which the term is understood to-day, except insofar as the whole life of the Jew was religious. Religious tenets and practices were supposed to have been learnt by the child in the home and in the synagogue. The atmosphere of Jewish life was surcharged with religion, so that there was no need of making it a subject of special study. In the Heder and Talmud Torah, the emphasis was laid on a thorough knowledge of the Hebrew language and of Jewish literature and law. Bible and Talmud were studied, not as guide books to religious practice or to a knowledge of Jewish history, but for their intrinsic value. The study was an end in itself. The sessions were held during the whole day, in the winter time also part of the evening, and extended throughout the year, with the exception of short vacations during the months of Nisan and Tishri. The teachers in these institutions were not always necessarily learned men, nor even specially trained for the profession. Indeed, in every community there were some teachers that possessed native aptitude for imparting knowledge, who were therefore highly successful in their work. There were many, however, whose only qualification for teaching was their inability to make a living in any other way, so that the term teacher (Melammed) and ne'er-do-well (Shlemiel) became synonymous in the Jewish vernacular. The method of instruction was primitive, and the hygienic conditions in the school rooms were rarely wholesome. Still, both the Heder and the Talmud Torah produced excel-
lent results, and were the only educational agencies in most lands in the pre-emancipation period. Both institutions, however, had to undergo considerable modification and reform in places where the doors of the secular schools were opened to the Jews, and although they still exist in many lands, their nature and purpose are quite different from their ancient prototypes, the former giving way to the congregational school and the latter to the free Sunday school.

The largest influx of German Jews to this country occurred at a time when their hope for emancipation in their native land was beginning to be realized, and when the struggle for religious reform there was at its height. By that time, the Heder was almost obsolete there, and the Talmud Torah, where it still existed, was given a more modern aspect. The congregational school became the unit of Jewish education, and therefore it was also the most common educational agency among the new settlers in this land.

In Russia, the Heder and Talmud Torah are still in vogue, although slightly modified, due to the influence of the Haskalah movement and to the spread of general culture among Jews, in spite of the many obstacles placed in their way by the Government. The congregational school is practically unknown there; and because the elementary secular school is not widely spread, and is difficult of access to the Jew, the old types of Jewish schools have been preserved. Hence these two classes of schools became predominant in this country with the large immigration of Russian Jews subsequent to 1882.

The first Talmud Torah society was established in New York in 1883, under the name of Machzike Talmud Torah, and a school very much after the type of the old Talmud Torah was opened soon after. This was followed by the organi-
ization of similar institutions wherever Russian Jews settled in large numbers, while the Heder continued to exist everywhere, even in very small communities. In but few of these Talmud Torahs, as, for instance, in the Yeshibat Jacob Joseph in New York, the attempt was made to introduce the study of secular subjects. In the vast majority sessions are held every afternoon except Friday, and in some also in the evenings, while on Sunday instruction is given in the morning. The study of the Hebrew language and of the Bible is the main content of their curricula; in some Jewish history is added. On the average, every child in these schools receives instruction about twelve hours a week. Many are housed in buildings of their own, although these are not always adapted to school uses. Synagogues are attached to many of these schools, not so much for the benefit of the children attending them, as for the revenue they might yield.

The financial condition of most of these institutions is very precarious and uncertain, so that improvements and reforms that involve any considerable monetary outlay are out of the question. The main sources of income of most of the Talmud Torahs are the dues collected from monthly or weekly subscribers, the tuition fees of the children, and the uncertain proceeds of balls, parties, raffles, and other such expedients to make both ends meet. They are governed as a rule by large and unwieldy boards, the members of which sacrifice much time and energy to collect the necessary funds to maintain the institutions. It has been estimated that the cost of collection in many of these amounts to nearly one-third of the income, an index to the absolute lack of organization and co-operation in their management.
The method of instruction, although greatly improved in recent years, is still far from satisfactory. Most of the teachers are not specially trained for their profession, although many are well versed in the subjects they teach. In many of these schools the language employed is still the Yiddish, a language that is only imperfectly understood by the children, who spend most of the day in the secular schools; and the system of grading and the manner of instruction are still in a primitive stage. In almost all of them the lack of proper textbooks is felt.

**Higher Education**

Time and again attempts have been made by individuals as well as by organizations to establish institutions of higher Jewish learning in various communities. As early as 1840, Mordecai M. Noah proposed the establishment of a Jewish college in America. In 1852 Mr. Sampson Simson, the founder and first president of the Mount Sinai Hospital of New York, organized there the Jewish Theological Seminary and Scientific Institute, which was chartered by the State in the following year, with the specific object, among other things, “of training rabbis and teachers for the Jewish congregations in North America, conformably to their law, ancient doctrines, and traditions, confided to them by the sages of Israel, etc.” He also deeded a tract of land in Yonkers, N. Y., to the institution, which in 1888 became the property of the newly-organized Jewish Theological Seminary, and is still owned by the Seminary corporation. Although the institution had a Board of Trustees, who held the land in Yonkers, it was never organized for purposes of instruction. (See Marshall, Argument for the North American Relief Society, in the Court of
Appeals, etc., Syracuse, 1889; Second Biennial Report of the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, 1890, p. 15.)

In 1854 Doctor Isaac M. Wise urged the establishment of a college in Cincinnati under the name of Zion College, but this plan also remained unrealized. The first successful attempt to organize a college for Jewish learning was made in Philadelphia, in 1867. Through the efforts of Isaac Leeser, the Hebrew Education Society of that city established Maimonides College, with a very imposing program and with an efficient staff. The Reverend Isaac Leeser, its first provost, died soon after the college was opened, and he was succeeded in office by the Reverend Doctor Marcus Jastrow. For six years the college maintained its existence, but it had to be closed on account of lack of support.

In 1875 the Union of American Hebrew Congregations established the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati with the Reverend Doctor Isaac M. Wise as its president. The college, which has been in existence for forty years, has graduated a large number of rabbis, who occupy the pulpits of many of the important Reform Congregations in the land.

The Jewish Theological Seminary was organized in New York by the Reverend Doctor Sabato Morais in 1886, with the purpose of training rabbis for the more conservative element of Jewry. In 1902 this seminary was reorganized under the name of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, under more favorable conditions, when Doctor Solomon Schechter became president of the institution.

Besides these two special theological schools, there have been established within recent years several schools for the training of Jewish teachers. Gratz College, which was established in Philadelphia in 1895, was the first school to make the training
of teachers its special object. During the twenty years of its existence it has sent forth about seventy-five graduates, many of whom have made teaching in Jewish schools their vocation. A School of Observation and Practice is now being conducted by the college for the practical training of its students. The two seminaries maintained courses in pedagogy, which, through the generosity of several donors, were recently established special departments of their respective institutions. Thus we now have in this country three Jewish normal schools, one in Philadelphia, one in New York, and one in Cincinnati, besides the several local organizations conducted by various congregations for the benefit of their own teachers.

Through the efforts of the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, there have been organized, in several of the larger communities, Yeshibot, or high schools, for the study of the Talmud and other Rabbinic subjects. These are intended mainly for boys that have been graduated from the Talmud Torahs and wish to continue their studies along the lines laid down in those institutions. In the main, these are not vocational schools. Those who go there for study wish to perfect themselves in the subjects offered. One Yeshibah in New York (Yeshibat Rabbi Isaac Elchanan) has an ambitious program of studies, the completion of which entitles the graduate to officiate as rabbi in an orthodox community.

Through a munificent bequest made by Moses A. Dropsie of Philadelphia, who died in 1905, the Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning was founded in that city in 1908. The purpose of this institution, according to the will of the testator, is “the promotion of and instruction in the Hebrew and Cognate languages and their respective literatures, and in the Rabbinical learning and literature.” By the
charter granted it in 1907, the college has authority to maintain a school for higher learning in the branches indicated in its name and to confer upon its graduates the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

Almost all of the more important congregations endeavor to hold their young people attached to the synagogue by means of auxiliary societies and clubs, in many of which Jewish studies are pursued, usually under the guidance of the rabbis. There are also a large number of independent societies that devote their time to the study and discussion of subjects of Jewish interest. Notable among these are the Young Men's Hebrew associations, the various sections of the Council of Jewish Women, and the lodges of the beneficial orders, all of which, though having other purposes and objects, maintain and conduct classes and circles with Jewish educational purposes. The Jewish Chautauqua Society, which was organized in 1893, with branches all over the country, has as its primary object the popularization of Jewish learning. Through the publication of manuals and course books and the establishment of study circles, the society has done much towards the spread of a knowledge of Jewish literature and Jewish history, especially in the smaller communities. The work of the society in behalf of the teaching profession will be referred to later.

Some of the larger congregational schools maintain circulating libraries in connection with their work, in which books of Jewish interest are given special prominence. Some of these are also open to the public. A number of public libraries have, within recent years, established Jewish sections for their Jewish readers; and in several libraries connected with higher institutions of learning, there are special divisions for Judaica
and Hebraica. The Jewish Publication Society of America has been an important factor in the spread of Jewish knowledge through the large number of books it has published and distributed. The Jewish Press serves a similar purpose. Besides the many weeklies which, though serving primarily as newspapers, occasionally have articles and essays of scientific value, there are also a few monthlies in English, Hebrew, and Yiddish. Since 1910, the Jewish Quarterly Review, a strictly scientific journal, is being issued in this country under the auspices of Dropsie College.

ATTEMPTS AT REFORM

Organized efforts to improve and extend the system of Jewish education and standardize our schools have been made by various organizations. The Hebrew Sabbath School Union, established in 1886, set for itself the object of providing "a uniform system for all Hebrew Sabbath Schools in the United States by promulgating uniform courses of instruction and by training competent teachers." This object was never entirely realized, but the Union published several text-books and leaflets, prepared a manual for teachers, and helped in various ways to improve the general tone of the Sunday School. Since it has become part of the Central Conference of American Rabbis (1905), the subject of Jewish education has received frequent attention and discussion at the annual meetings of that body. The Synagogue and School Extension movement of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations has accomplished much in the organization of schools in smaller communities through its traveling agents and in the publication of text-books and aids for teachers. In a smaller degree, the Council of Jewish Women, the Zionist organizations, the fra-
ternal orders, and other societies have from time to time endeavored to help in the solution of this problem by establishing schools wherever such were needed and by raising the standard of Jewish education as much as lay in their power. The problem has received consideration and attention at the gatherings of our national and local bodies, and several of them have made it part of their regular course of business. Such bodies as the Union of Orthodox Congregations, the Union of Orthodox Rabbis, and the more recently organized United Synagogue have standing committees on education. All these efforts, however, have thus far met with limited success, because of a lack of concerted action and general public sympathy.

The Jewish Chautauqua Society, in its efforts to popularize Jewish knowledge, naturally appealed first to those who were engaged in the work of teaching in the Jewish schools. The society, realizing that, made its courses especially helpful to teachers. An important feature of the work of this society for a number of years was its Summer Assembly, which attracted large numbers of teachers from various parts of the country for the discussion of problems of particular interest to them. Recently the society inaugurated, with the help of a special fund established by Mr. Jacob H. Schiff of New York, who has done so much in behalf of Jewish education, a Correspondence School for Teachers. This is to serve the teacher or the prospective teacher in the smaller communities the same purpose that is served by the normal schools in the larger communities. The society, with the assistance of other organizations, has recently endeavored to organize Jewish educational institutions in the Jewish agricultural colonies, and the work is meeting with considerable success. The Syna-
JEWISH EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

gogue and School Extension movement is making efforts in
the same direction.

The most comprehensive plan for reform in our present
educational system was inaugurated by the New York Kehillah
in the establishment of its Bureau of Education in 1910.
Though it is primarily a local organization, dealing mainly
with local problems, its work has already had a tremendous
influence on the general progress of Jewish education through-
out the land, so that it is proper to give here a brief sketch of
its purpose and accomplishments.

The Bureau of Jewish Education was established by the
New York Kehillah soon after its first annual meeting, through
the generosity of the far-sighted philanthropist whose interest
in the great cause of Jewish education has been unflagging.
Later the fund was considerably augmented by several other
donors and also by popular subscription. Doctor S. Benderly,
formerly of Baltimore, was appointed Director, and the objects
of the Bureau were formulated as follows:

(1) To study sympathetically and at close range all the Jewish
educational forces in New York City, including alike those that
restrict themselves to religious instruction and those that look
primarily to the Americanization of our youth, with a view to
coopération and the elimination of waste and overlapping.

(2) To become intimately acquainted with the best teachers
and workers who are the mainstay of these institutions, and
organize them for both their material and their spiritual ad-
vancement.

(3) To make propaganda through the Jewish press and other-
wise, in order to acquaint parents with the problem before them
and with the means for solving it.

(4) To operate one or two model schools for elementary pupils,
for the purpose of working out the various phases of primary
education, these schools to act also as concrete examples and
guides to now existing Hebrew schools, which will undoubtedly avail themselves of the text-books, methods, appliances, etc., worked out in the model schools, as soon as public opinion shall have ripened.

During the three and a half years of its existence, the Bureau has striven to serve these objects, and, to a large extent, has met with success in its endeavors. It has made a thoroughly systematic study of conditions of Jewish education in New York City, and has published the results, with illuminating comments, in several pamphlets. It has succeeded in establishing friendly relations with several of the larger educational institutions of that city and in introducing reforms in their management. It has endeavored to bring order into the teaching profession by supplying the peculiar needs of the various classes of teachers and by issuing licenses to those who were regarded, by an authoritative committee, as competent to teach. It has encouraged and assisted in the formation of an association of Talmud Torah superintendents, who, after a long series of meetings, set forth the purposes and objects of the religious school and formulated its curriculum. It has published a series of graded, illustrated text-books for the study of Hebrew and a number of slides and maps for the study of Jewish history. It has taken over from the Talmud Torahs the collection of their finances from their pupils and members, and, by introducing more efficient methods and a more systematic organization, has considerably increased their income. It has opened several extension schools for girls between the ages of eight and eleven, where, by a novel system, large groups of children are taught the rudiments of Hebrew and Jewish history by competent teachers. It has organized a number of high school girls, judiciously and carefully
selected, for the purpose of doing Jewish work, so that in the course of time many of them may take up Jewish teaching as a profession. It has succeeded in interesting, in the problem of Jewish education, a number of college men, some of whom have become so enthusiastic about it that they have determined to make it their life work. More important perhaps than all these activities is the part the Bureau has taken in arousing the conscience of New York Jewry and, through them, that of the Jews of the whole country to the gravity of the situation and to the need of concerted efforts in providing a solution of the problem at the earliest possible date.

While it has a definite policy and definite principles with regard to the aim and methods of Jewish education, the Bureau has, in a measure, become the clearing house of all educational ideas and plans, and through its established machinery has rendered assistance to all kinds of schools that have sought its aid. The study of Hebrew is regarded by the Bureau an essential in the curriculum of any Jewish religious school, and provision is made for its study even in those schools that meet only once a week. One of its principles is that larger school units are better able to maintain themselves under present conditions, and consequently it has extended its financial and moral aid only to several of the largest Talmud Torahs, which have their own buildings. Recently its influence has been extended to several congregational schools and even to Sunday schools, and its methods and to some extent its text-books have been adopted by a number of institutions, even outside of New York City. Education is a slow process, and many years will pass before the actual results of the work of this Bureau can become patent to all. It may, however, be fairly assumed that the establishment of this Bureau under the guidance of
its resourceful and enthusiastic Director will mark an important epoch in the history of Jewish education in America.

In some localities, where Kehillahs were established within recent years, the status of Jewish education was one of the first considerations of these bodies, and in some of them special boards were organized to deal with the problem. In other places, the subject received serious attention at the hands of special committees, representative of the different shades of thought in the community. The interest of the people at large has been aroused, and the investigations undertaken in some towns have helped to open the eyes of the people to the gravity of the situation and the necessity of devising a remedy. Special studies of the status of Jewish education in separate localities were prosecuted in several of the larger Eastern cities, to which reference will be made later, and these, together with the publicity given to the matter by the Jewish press, have helped greatly in arousing public sentiment in behalf of this weighty problem, the most serious with which American Jewry is now confronted.

PRESENT CONDITIONS

SCHOOLS

The various types of schools found in almost every large Jewish community in this land may conveniently be divided into two main classes: the Sunday School and the Talmud Torah, or Day School. The former may either be attached to a congregation or directed by some society or lodge; the latter is, as a rule, maintained by a society, although several of the day schools connected with some of the more conservative congregations may well be included in this category. The most conspicuous distinction between these
two types of schools is the number of sessions devoted to Jewish studies, but their real differences are much more vital, affecting the subjects of instruction, the methods of teaching, the system of organization, and sometimes even the very aim of the school. The institutional schools connected with our orphan asylums and settlement houses, which provide instruction for their wards only, as a rule partake of the nature of one or the other of these two classes. Besides these, there are still the private school (Heder) and the itinerant teacher, who imparts instruction to his pupils at their homes.

There are two main considerations in favor of the Sunday School, which will guarantee its existence among us for some time to come. It is the most inexpensive of institutions, and it is most in harmony with present conditions in this country. The congregational Sunday School, housed in the synagogue building and supervised by the rabbi, has but little expense outside of the salaries of its teachers. In a number of congregations, the teachers are volunteers, and even those who receive payment are satisfied with a very small amount, since they are expected to give but little of their time to this work. In other Sunday Schools, where rents and superintendents' salaries have to be considered, the majority of the teachers receive no remuneration. It is safe to assume that the average cost per capita of a Sunday School Jewish education does not exceed three dollars a year. On the other hand, the demands made upon the time and the energy of the pupil in these schools is insignificant as compared with the demands made upon the pupils of the Talmud Torah. The management of most of these schools differs but little from that to which the child is accustomed in the secular school, and very often the teachers in these schools also teach in the public schools, bringing to
the Sunday School all their pedagogic training and teaching experience, which help to hold the respect and affection of the child for the school. The Sunday School is not something foreign to the pupil, out of harmony with his surroundings. His Christian friend also goes to a Sunday School. It fits in more closely with the mode of life which he sees around him. It is more attractive to the child because it makes less demands upon him, and is in harmony with his environment. It is cheaper and more easily established, and will therefore continue to appeal to communal leaders, who aim at the extension of Jewish education at the smallest possible outlay. It is for these reasons that the Sunday School will maintain itself in this land.

If, however, the study of Hebrew is considered essential in the curriculum of a Jewish religious school—and it is still so considered by most Jews—the Sunday School cannot be regarded as adequate for the educational needs of the community. A knowledge of Hebrew, sufficient to enable one to read the prayers intelligently and to understand the Bible in its original tongue, cannot be imparted in one session a week, thirty sessions a year. Even if the organization of the school is perfect, the teachers most efficient, and the method most modern, satisfactory results can hardly be expected. Many of the Sunday Schools that have abandoned the study of Hebrew did so more because of their discouragement at the meager results obtained than out of a conviction that the study of Hebrew is unnecessary. They are conscious of the anomaly of maintaining the use of Hebrew in their service and yet failing to prepare their own children to understand the service. They admit that their position is untenable, but regard themselves helpless in the face of conditions. The Sunday School is thus
tacitly admitted to be a makeshift, necessary under present conditions, but certainly an insecure foundation upon which to build the future of American Israel. Realizing, however, that for a large number of children it is the only source from which they obtain a knowledge of Judaism, those who still give to Hebrew a prominent position in the curriculum act wisely and well. If a sufficient familiarity with the language cannot be obtained in the short time given to its study, that is no reason for abolishing it altogether. Under competent teaching, even in this short period some acquaintance with the language can be gained. Besides, Hebrew gives a Jewish tone to the school to a degree that can be secured through no other subject in the curriculum.

The Talmud Torah, whether congregational or communal, contains within itself the elements that may, in the course of time, make it an efficient agency for Jewish education. The communal Talmud Torahs have, in most cases, their own buildings, some of which are provided with all modern school appliances. The more progressive of these have competent superintendents and able teachers, and their curricula, if carried out successfully, furnish a satisfactory course of studies. The congregational school that meets several times a week and gives a prominent place to the study of Hebrew also has a more or less adequate course, given by competent teachers under the supervision of the rabbi. The school rooms are not always satisfactory, but nearly all synagogues established within recent years either have separate buildings for school use or make the lower part of the synagogue suitable for the purpose. Both the Talmud Torah and the congregational school, however, impose a heavy tax upon child and parent or upon the community, and are as yet not en-
tirely in harmony with the life of the American Jewish child. The average cost per capita in the congregational school is about $12, and in the Talmud Torahs about $8, a year. In the latter, the child is expected to attend school for two or three hours every afternoon, when he is wearied after a day's work in the public school. His teachers are not always in sympathy with him, often do not understand him, and are themselves worn out from other work in which they are occupied in the forenoon. Similar conditions, although to a smaller degree, exist also in the congregational day school. Sessions are held there only two or three times during the week, outside of Sunday, and the teachers, in many of them, are of the Americanized type, who are able to establish a more cordial relationship between themselves and their pupils. Though extensive reforms are needed in both these classes of schools, which still have many drawbacks and defects, they can be relied upon to produce the best results.

That both these types of schools are necessary is due to the peculiar composition and development of our communities. The ideal condition would be for all Jews to be members of congregations and their children members of their schools. The synagogue is and should be the natural center of all religious activities and especially of religious education. In it the principles and teachings of the school are put into practice, and forming an attachment to the synagogue in the Jewish child is a most invaluable aid to its religious training, especially now when the Jewish home has ceased to be intensely Jewish. For this reason alone, the congregational school should be looked upon as the most important unit in an educational system that might be established. There are, however, a number of considerations that
assure a certain degree of permanence to the Talmud Torah. Only a small fraction of the Jews in this country are affiliated with congregations, and many of the more recently organized congregations, not realizing the important asset a school would be in the upbuilding of their institution and in assuring its future, have no schools attached to them. The question of economy also enters into this problem. It is by far more economical to conduct a large school than a small school, and the congregational school is of necessity a much smaller school than the Talmud Torah. Hence the Talmud Torah is an absolute necessity under present conditions, and of the two it is also the cheaper to maintain.

The institutional school contains splendid possibilities for reform and progress. Since the mother institutions have also other than educational purposes in view, it can hardly be expected that the initiative for extensive reform will be taken by them. Nevertheless, in a reorganization of the educational system, these schools can be relied upon to improve and extend their facilities without much difficulty.

The Heder is the most expensive and the most unsatisfactory educational agency we have. The average cost per pupil in the Heder probably exceeds the sum of $20 per annum. The data on this point are not absolutely reliable. Since it is entirely a private enterprise, it does not allow of any considerable improvement, unless it happens to agree with the interests of the parties concerned. A more perfect organization will eventually eliminate a great many of these schools, and others will have to fall in with the new standards set up by the public institutions.

A new agency, the most recently developed, is the National Radical School, established within the past few years in sev-
eral of the large cities. These schools do not claim to be religious institutions; in some of them anti-religious teachings are inculcated. They are Jewish only insofar as they are conducted by Jews for Jewish children, and make Yiddish the language of instruction. Since their tendencies are opposed to the strivings of the great majority of Jews, they have no place in this inquiry.

Pupils

What proportion of the Jewish child population is reached by these several educational agencies? This question is difficult to answer as long as adequate statistical data are not obtainable. Several communities, notably those of New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Newark, have recently made investigations with a view to determining the number of children reached by the various schools, and the results proved staggering to all who love their people, and are concerned for its future. It appears that on the average not more than twenty-five or thirty per cent of the Jewish children of school age in this country are provided with any kind of Jewish training—an appalling condition, unparalleled in any other Jewish community in the Diaspora.

In 1889 the Hebrew Sunday School Union endeavored to take a census of Jewish schools. About 200 schools were addressed, of which only 114 gave more or less adequate replies. According to the tables published in the report of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations for that year (reprinted in a report on Sunday Schools, by James A. Blodgett, issued by the United States Bureau of Education, 1898, p. 413), these 114 schools had an enrolment of 13,406 pupils, who were taught by 563 teachers, of whom 186 were paid, and 377 were
JEWISH EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES

volunteers. Hebrew was taught in most of the schools, and the length of the sessions varied from one to ten hours per week. The Jewish population of the United States in 1888 was estimated at about 400,000, which would give us a child population of school age of about 80,000. The data given in this report are obviously incomplete. None of the Talmud Torahs which had been established in the few preceding years are included in the inquiry, and not a few of the more important congregational schools of the time failed to make returns. Nor is any reference made to the Hadarim or the private teachers, of whom there must have been a considerable number even then.

In a Summary of Jewish Organizations in the United States, prepared by Doctor Charles S. Bernheimer and published in the American Jewish Year Book for 5661 (1900-1901), p. 506, mention is made of 415 educational organizations, of which 291 were religious schools attached to congregations, with an attendance of about 25,000 pupils, taught by 1127 teachers. To this number should be added about 27 free religious or Hebrew schools, with about 11,000 pupils and 142 teachers. The Jewish population of the United States in that year is given in the same volume, p. 624, as 1,058,135, so that of an estimated child population of over 200,000, only 36,000 were provided with any sort of systematic Jewish education. These data are much more accurate, and are quoted by Doctor Cyrus Adler in his article "America," in the first volume of the Jewish Encyclopedia.

The American Jewish Year Book for 5668 (1907-1908) contains a full directory of local and national organizations then existing in the United States. The number of Jews in this country in that year was estimated at 1,800,000, giving
us a Jewish child population of school age, i.e. between the ages of six and sixteen, of about 360,000, counting children of school age to be one-fifth of the total population. Doctor S. Benderly, who made a study of the statistics given in that volume, came to the following conclusions: There were then 235 one-session Sunday Schools, with 1277 teachers and an enrolment of 26,500 pupils; 92 two-session Sunday Schools, with 444 teachers and 9551 pupils; 236 daily schools, with 705 teachers and 26,216 pupils; total, 563 schools, with 2426 teachers and 62,327 pupils (see Jewish Exponent, January, 17, 1908). Doctor Benderly estimated that about 40,000 boys, not included in this number, were being taught in Hadarim and by private tutors, while the remaining 260,000 children, of whom there were probably about 170,000 girls and 90,000 boys, received no Jewish education whatsoever. In other words, nearly three-fourths of the rising generation were allowed to grow up without any Jewish training or influence.

This estimate, made six years ago, is probably as near the actual state of affairs as could be made under present conditions, and is borne out by the figures now obtainable in several of the larger Jewish communities. In Greater New York, where there is probably a Jewish child population of school age of about 200,000, only 41,404 were enrolled in the various educational institutions in 1911. Similarly, in Philadelphia, with an estimated Jewish child population of 41,322, only 10,189 were enrolled in its schools in 1912. Newark, with an estimated Jewish child population of 12,466, has had during the present year (1913-1914) 2355 children in its various schools. A somewhat better showing is made by Baltimore, where, of an estimated child population of 7000, 4373 are provided with some kind of religious instruction.
In the Western cities, for which data are not available, conditions are probably not much better. In the smaller communities the status of Jewish education is no doubt worse than in the larger communities, although within recent years efforts are being made, by various organizations, to provide schools for them.

We are thus confronted with a tremendous problem, requiring for its solution the combined ingenuity and effort of all who are concerned for the welfare of their people. More than two-thirds of the future American Jews are now allowed to grow up outside the sphere of any religious influence and guidance. Such conditions should not be tolerated by a self-respecting community, which seeks to establish itself in this land. Comparing our own with some of the older Jewish communities of Europe, we should feel not only anxious about our future, but thoroughly ashamed of our negligence in this matter. London, with an estimated Jewish population of 150,000, provides instruction, through various agencies, for 24,234 children (Jewish Year Book, London, 1914). This means that more than four-fifths of the entire Jewish child population of London are getting some Jewish training, while in New York only one-fifth is so provided.

Of course, this estimated proportion of children provided with religious education to children not so provided applies only to the number of children actually enrolled in our various schools at a given time. There are many Jewish children who attend a religious school only one or two years during their public school career. Many boys who have not been taught in

---

1 In "A Brief Summary of Jewish Religious Education in Cincinnati," published after this article was set up, it appears that out of an estimated Jewish child population of 6000 in that city, only 1740 children are provided with a systematic Jewish training.
their early years are given, for a few months preceding their Bar-Mizwah, a Hebrew teacher to prepare them for the ceremony. Including these children, the real proportion of children who have at one time or another received some Jewish education will probably be somewhat higher than that here assumed. It is not necessary to comment on the value and efficacy of such an education. All persons who are sincere in their desire to have their children grow up as Jews, and who know the prevailing conditions, agree that we ought to aim to have our children under some Jewish religious influence at least during the period of their school life.

Nearly one-half of the total number of children in our various schools are taught at one weekly session, extending over one or two hours, when Bible history and religion are imparted under unfavorable conditions. About fifteen per cent of the remainder are taught by private teachers, without any authoritative supervision, in unsatisfactory surroundings and by primitive methods. Due to an old notion that obtained among the Jews, that girls need have no regular religious training, the great majority of those who do not receive any religious training are girls. Modern conditions demand that the education of our girls receive attention equal to, if not greater than, that of our boys. In recent years some of the more progressive Talmud Torahs have made provision for girls, either by opening separate schools for them or by having them taught together with the boys.

**Teachers**

In the endeavor to find a solution of the problem of Jewish education, we are constantly confronted with the lack of competent teachers to whom this work may confidently be in-
trusted. So much is expected of a teacher in a Jewish school, and the remuneration is so meager, that a very small number of efficient men and women has been attracted to the profession. The teacher in the Jewish school must be possessed of a strong faith and deep love for Jewish ideals and for the Jewish people. He must be fully conversant with Jewish literature and with the Hebrew language, so that his religious sentiments may have a firm foundation. But even if he possesses faith and knowledge, he will not succeed as a teacher unless he understands the psychology of the American child, and is familiar with its environment. It is not merely a question of English or Yiddish. Unless the teacher is fully cognizant of the conditions that surround the child, in the home, in the street, and in the public school, and appreciates these conditions at their full value, his efforts will meet with but scanty response. The teacher who succeeds best in Jewish religious schools is he who has himself had the experience and the training the child under his charge is undergoing. Such teachers, combining a thorough knowledge of Jewish lore and a deep faith in Jewish ideals with a sympathetic attitude towards child life, are very rare; and to raise such a school of men and women should be the initial step and the chief aim in the attempt to solve the question of Jewish education.

The 2500 or more teachers engaged in Jewish schools at present may easily be divided into two classes. The larger number of young men and women brought up in the atmosphere of the American public school system and inspired with zeal and devotion to their religion, who make the successful teachers in many of the congregational and free Sunday Schools, are as a rule not adequately conversant with the sub-
ject they teach. The great majority undertake the work without expectation of revenue, and it can hardly be supposed that they will devote much time and energy to preparing themselves for their profession. The other class, consisting mainly of men and women who have received their Jewish training abroad, and are entirely familiar with the subject of instruction, are those who teach in the Talmud Torahs and the Hadarim. In most cases these lack the sympathy with American conditions and the appreciation of American institutions under which their pupils live. Fortunately, with the establishment of our normal schools and other agencies for higher Jewish learning, a new class of teachers is rising into prominence—teachers who come up more closely to the required standard. Most of these young men and women, brought up in this country under our school system, are possessed of great love for their work and of much enthusiasm, and have also acquired adequate familiarity with Jewish subjects under the guidance of men who are awake to the needs and requirements of our schools.

In order to make this new class of teachers extensive and permanent, it is essential that teaching in Jewish religious schools become an honorable profession, commanding the respect and the appreciation of the community expressed in adequate remuneration. The salaries of the Jewish religious school teachers should be proportionately higher than those of the secular school teacher, because the qualifications demanded of the former are greater.

CONCLUSION

The Jewish community of the United States is thus faced by a tremendous problem, which it must proceed to solve at
the earliest date. It will require the combined wisdom and ingenuity of all our communal leaders and the deepest interest and co-operation of all the people to make adequate provision for the Jewish education of our 400,000 or more Jewish children. Large funds, much energy, and self-sacrificing devotion, and, above all, concerted action on the part of all the various elements in Jewry will be demanded to cope with the situation. Organization is needed as much as money in the present crisis. If Doctor Benderly is correct in his summary of the conditions existing in 1907 referred to above, more than one-half of the entire financial outlay for Jewish education goes to maintain the Hadarim, or private schools, the least organized and least satisfactory of our educational agencies. This is corroborated also in the summary made of New York institutions, in 1911, and in other cities subsequently. What a sad commentary on the chaotic conditions existing to-day! Is it not possible that at least twice the number of children could be reached if these sums had been expended on organized schools, under communal or congregational supervision? A more modern system in the management of our various institutions will help to increase their respective budgets, and will probably save hundreds of souls to Judaism.

The financial status of our educational agencies will, however, have to be considerably improved in order to make the organization enduring. The present annual expenditure for elementary Jewish education in the United States is probably in excess of a million dollars. Even at the minimum rate of $8 per child, we shall need an annual budget of $3,200,000, if we are to reach all the children of school age. This sum will have to be increased every year, with the increase in the population; it does not include the cost of new buildings and
of the maintenance of the normal schools required to raise a staff of teachers for this army of children. These figures may appear enormous, impossible of realization. But the greater part of this outlay will undoubtedly be provided by the parents of the children themselves, after organization is effected, and the schools are opened. If we would have truly democratic schools, the element of charity should be eliminated from Jewish education as much as possible. It is only the initial cost of organization and the first outlay in the erection of new schools that will have to be supplied by the communities. This may be accomplished, through wise management, without imposing too great a burden on the communal treasury. Public-spirited Jews will be found in every community ready to make the investment, which should serve as the foundation upon which our future system of education may be erected. When this foundation is laid firmly and well, the work of improving the course of Jewish education and extending the usefulness of the institutions, so that they reach as many of our children as possible, will commence.

The conscience of the whole community, irrespective of religious profession or party affiliation, must be stirred to the seriousness of the present situation. Communal leaders must be made to realize that no expense is too large, when applied to the cause of Jewish education, when the future of Israel, of our own children, is concerned. Poverty, sickness, and want make a direct and immediate appeal to the most primitive of men, influencing him to contribute his mite. It requires a much wider outlook to have a concern for education, the results of which can be perceived only after a number of years. It is time that our Jewish communities threw off their swaddling clothes, and approached the problems that beset
them with a broad mind and a clear vision. We dare not wait until the results of the present state become too apparent and stare us in the face with their ghastly forebodings. We have already waited too long, much too long.

We are building not only for the present, but also for the future; not for American Israel only, but for all Israel. It is obvious even to the most superficial observer that the immediate future of Israel will be in this glorious land, that hither the center of Jewish activity will soon be shifted if it is not here already. What that future is to be depends largely on us of the present generation. The form and content of Judaism and Jewish culture in this land will depend largely on the system of education with which we provide the rising generation of Jews. This is a great responsibility and also a glorious opportunity. To realize this opportunity to its fullest extent and to set to work to discharge the responsibility to the best of our abilities is the duty of American Israel at the present time.