Nothing can show in a more striking manner the diversity as well as the moral strength of the elements which constitute the Jewish family of France than the following fact. In July, 1914, some days before the declaration of war, there took place the final examination at the École Polytechnique, the great national institution which gives to the country its best engineers and its most distinguished artillery officers. The first three on the list of successful candidates were Jews. The first—the "major," as he is called at the school—Sasportes, was an Algerian; the second, Lévy, was a Frenchman of Alsatian origin; the third, Cherechewsky, was a son of Russia, a naturalized Frenchman. That is, in miniature, the physiognomy of French Jewry. Alsace is the cradle of the greater number of the Jews of France. The decree of October 24, 1870, made French citizens of our coreligionists in Algeria. The exodus from the countries where the Jew is oppressed—Russia, Roumania—has brought to France an important contingent of the Jews of these lands. In the atmosphere of liberty they are gradually becoming fused in the national crucible; this fusion is practically complete as regards those who have had a long sojourn among us, and the example of Cherechewsky is not an isolated one. Others, who are still aliens, will follow that example in time. Already, as will be seen further on, they have endeavored to pay their debt of
gratitude to hospitable France by rallying in their thousands
to its standard.

To estimate the participation of the Jewry of France in
the great war it is therefore necessary to examine the rôle
which each of the different elements has played in accordance
with its origin, its mentality, its intellectual, social, and
economic condition; it is necessary to study successively, as
we are about to do, how the three elements deported themselves
at the front upon the field of battle as also upon the other
fields of the struggle for the cause of justice and idealism.
The three elements to be considered are:

I. The French Jews who are descendants of those who were
emancipated by the Revolution in 1789.

II. Those who became Frenchmen but yesterday—the Jews
of Algeria—called upon for the first time to show, at the cost
of their lives, that they were worthy of the honor for which
they are indebted to their illustrious coreligionist, Adolphe
Crémieux, Minister of National Defence in 1870.

III. The Frenchmen to be, strangers from every land, estab-
lished upon the soil of France, some already assimilated and
citizens of the Republic, others but recently emerged from the
darkness of the ghetto.

I. French Jews

The great majority of the Jewish population of France lives
in Paris. To determine the number of this population in a
precise fashion is well-nigh impossible. The civil authorities
are not in a position to give us any statistical data, for the
periodical census of the population takes no account of the
religion of the inhabitants. The ecclesiastical administra-
tion is not in any better position to furnish complete ma-
terial, for the reason that participation in supporting religious institutions is optional and because a number of Jews are not inscribed upon the registers of the various congregations. The only basis for calculating the number that we have for Paris is the death rate. The number of those who die is published by the consistorial administration, only such persons being excepted—and they are relatively very few in number—as are buried without any religious rites. The general death rate is known—according to an announcement made by the Academy of Medicine in 1907, it is, for Paris, seventeen per thousand. In 1902, the number of Jewish deaths in the capital was 810. This number increased during the following years, which were marked by the arrival of numerous coreligionists from foreign countries. In 1912, it reached 1070. Assuming that the rate of mortality is the same in the Jewish as in the general population, it would appear that there are in Paris at the present time about 63,000 Jews. The general impression in authoritative circles is, however, that the total figure of the Jewish population should be a little higher, and it has been agreed to estimate it at about 70,000 souls. In this total the native element amounts to approximately 40,000.

It is relatively simpler to enumerate the Jews of the provinces of France. In the smaller settlements people know one another better, approach one another more eagerly and more voluntarily, and participate in numerically greater proportion in religious activity. There again, nevertheless, we cannot have mathematical precision. But we may surely suppose that there are at least 25,000 Jews distributed through the various French departments. We arrive, therefore, for the whole of France at a total of about 95,000 Jews, of whom
65,000 are of French origin. Redeemed Alsace and Lorraine will add more than 25,000 souls to the number of French Jews. A considerable nucleus in Paris, the rest scattered in groups of unequal importance—such is the distribution of French Jewry. Geographically considered, apart from some fairly large Sephardic communities established in Bordeaux, Bayonne, Marseilles, and Nice, which, from the standpoint of national aspirations, do not present any different aspect from their sister communities, the mass of the Jews of the provinces reside in the regions near the frontier, in the north and in the east, the principal centres of their population being Lille, Nancy, Epinal, and Belfort, and, in the south-east, Lyons. As every man who was mobilized was included in a military unit of the region in which he resided, it is not astonishing that a goodly number of our coreligionists took part in the corpus d'élite of the east, troops which were especially high-spirited and which were called upon to participate in all actions involving great shock, such as the famous units called the “iron” and the “steel” divisions of Nancy and of Toul.

The fact that the Jews reside in these regions explains also, but only in part, another phenomenon: French Jewry is not, so to say, represented in the navy. That is all the more reason for citing such Jewish officers of the navy as Marx, captain of a frigate, Diaz de Soria, lieutenant on a battleship, Valensi and Chudake, ensigns on a battleship. But the tastes of the Jews generally carry them elsewhere. On the other hand, their not being common sailors can be explained by a combination of geographical and professional reasons. The common sailors are recruited in the main from a special population, that of the fishermen on the coast and other sea-faring people. French
Jews do not engage in the fishing trade, and very few of them live in the coastal region. With rare exceptions, they do not enlist in the navy.¹

The Jews of France are essentially city-dwellers. Belonging to the middle class, they devote themselves to commerce, industry, and the liberal professions. A large number of them occupy modest positions as workingmen and office employees; but, in the true sense of the word, no proletariat exists among them. Their mentality is entirely French; they are completely assimilated, being French citizens of the Jewish faith. Their attachment to France is instinctive. In this war it was doubly so because of the feeling that France was fighting for a just cause, which satisfied their ancient, deep, religious ideal. Besides, they were full of hope that a region in which a great number of them originated, and for which they had cherished a deep tenderness, would be returned to the Motherland. During a national manifestation which took place at the Sorbonne, on March 7, 1917, and in which there took part, in the presence of the head of the Republic, all religious organizations, M. Sylvain Lévi, professor at the College de France, uttered, in the name of French Jewry, the following declaration: "Israel has received from its prophets the unshakable faith in the triumph of justice. To-day, France, the emancipator-nation, is once again the champion of righteousness. Her children of the Jewish faith will serve her without fail until the day of victory which should give back to the French communities their old birthplace, Alsace-Lorraine."

¹ The young Algerian, Léon Kalifa, should be mentioned here. He was a sailor on board the Victor Hugo, was cited and decorated with the military medal, and died from wounds at Athens on December 2, 1916.
This is truly the spirit in which the Jews of France entered the war. How many examples can be cited of Jews who, animated by this double ideal, rallied to the flag and demanded a place of honor, that is to say, of danger, at the front! Were not many among them prepossessed with the desire of destroying a legend—the anti-Semitic legend that denied to them the French virtues—wishing to help by their valor to exalt the prestige of the Jews? Although exempt from all military obligations, Captain Charles Lehmann, of Belfort, who served in the war of 1870—he was then seventeen, he is now sixty-six—entered the service. Captain René Franck also demanded his reinstatement as captain of *chasseurs à pied* at the age of fifty-six. Captain Raoul Bloch deemed that he had a double duty to perform, "as Jew and as Frenchman"; he submitted repeated petitions to be sent into action. Ah, to view, in the French uniform, the country of his dreams, Alsace! "Our poor fathers would tremble in their graves!"

All those from Alsace, German subjects by force, who could rejoin France at the time, came to her to fight under her flag. There was Georges Weil, the deputy from Metz; there was Gabriel Meyer, who escaped from Saverne and came to die as a French soldier before Arras. There was David Bloch, of Guebwiller, who, having volunteered under an assumed name lest he should fall into German hands, entered the aviation corps and was made prisoner while effecting a landing in Alsace; his accent betrayed him; the German authorities used every means in their power to make him confess his real civil status. In the presence of his father they took him, put him up against a wall, and shot him. The Alsatians of 1914, joining those of 1870, in anticipation, and across the German
trenches—there already we have the realization of the triumph of justice which was Israel's ideal!

The Jews who live in the metropolis, including those who had been cut off from them by violence, were joined by all those who were living in the most distant countries who hurriedly took the first conveyance by which they could return. The appeal to arms made these Frenchmen impatient to occupy their posts. There was, for example, the young lieutenant, Wiener, who came from Buenos Aires, participated in all actions, and fell in battle in the Champagne while leading the company, which he commanded, to the assault.

As to the number of French Jews who have fought in the war, exactitude of figures is again impossible. At the beginning of the war a Jewish commission of historical research was constituted in Paris, with the view to keeping a record of the participation of the Jews of France and of Algeria in the war. Despite its activity, it has not yet been able to establish any definite conclusion. A booklet which is not intended for publication, but which should, on the other hand, by its diffusion in Jewish circles, enable us to complete the collection of the facts already acquired, gives an alphabetical list of 2200 killed, including French, Algerian, and alien Jews. This list is very incomplete. Another memorandum of this nature, con-

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2 We will only mention for purposes of record two pamphlets: One on "The Jews and the War" (1915-16), published by a reformed anti-Semitic pamphleteer, André Vervoort, "in order to render justice to an entire category of good Frenchmen, too often calumniated," in which are given lists, entirely fragmentary and insufficiently edited, of French Jews killed or cited in despatches. Another, on "The Algerian Jews and the War," appeared in Algeria under the name of Jacques l'Hermite (the pseudonym of a Christian lawyer), but does not give any more guarantee of documentary value.
taining a list of the Jews who have been decorated or cited, is in preparation. The same difficulties, which present themselves in an attempt to estimate the Jewish population, face us again, and for the same reasons, when it is desired to compile the Golden Book of French Jewry. In the absence of the documentary statistics to supplement the statement that all the Jews from 18 to 47 years, able to bear arms, took their places in the world war, we can at least establish the military virtues of the Jews of France by means of a synthetic consideration, by which there will be placed in relief certain facts which are particularly characteristic of the patriotism of our coreligionists. All having fought in the common struggle, under one flag, for one cause, with equal valor, it would seem somewhat unjust, and in any case artificial, to proceed as we are about to do, by classes. On the other hand, this method will lead to greater clarity in our exposition, and this is the only justification for this mode of treatment. We will therefore examine successively the rôle of the professional officers and that of the civilian, temporary soldiers who abandoned, along with their family firesides, their professional chairs, their laboratories of scientific research, and their offices of juridical consultation, who left their factories, their commercial offices, or who gave up an existence without many cares, in order to be able, as one of them has written, “To fall upon the enemy who has been botching everything in the world for the last forty-four years.”

*From the correspondence to his family by Captain Raoul Bloch, killed on May 12, 1916, before Verdun, published privately in his memory. He was a great merchant and president of the Boards of Directors of six commercial organizations.*
A. REGULAR OFFICERS

Scarcely was the door of citizenship opened to them, than the Jews had occasion to distinguish themselves in the military profession. As enlisted men or commissioned officers they figured in large numbers among the combatants in the wars of the first Empire. Fifty-two Jews fell at Waterloo. Later at Sebastopol, and still later, in 1870, they won their papers of the great naturalization by their conduct under fire.*

GENERALS.—The advent of the Republic, which definitely consecrated the equality of its citizens and permitted to all, without distinction of belief, access to all posts, opened fully to the Jews of France the career of arms. A great many of them found this profession to their liking, and succeeded in attaining high rank. The generation which followed 1870 has given us the following: Lieutenant-Generals: Lévi-Alvares, Hinstin, Léopold Sée. Generals of Brigade (Brigadier-Generals): Lambert, Abraham, Brisac. Generals in the Medical Corps: Aron, Michel-Lévy, Widal. Intendant General: Lemant.

When the world war broke out, there were two Jewish generals in active service: Valabrègue, lieutenant-general, and Bloch, general of brigade; four in the reserve resumed service: Naquet-Laroque, lieutenant-general; Heymann, Dennery, and Farncoft, generals of brigade. In the course of the war, six other high officers, colonels at the beginning of the campaign, were promoted generals: Geismar, Lucien Lévy, Camille Lévy, Mayer, Alexandre, and Grumbach. To this number of Jewish generals it is proper to add two other under-inten-

dants, promoted during the war to the rank of general: Bloch and Lévy. 6

What posts did these generals occupy during the war? General Valabregue, who in peace times commanded the Ecole de Guerre and then had been at the head of the 3rd Army Corps at Rouen and had taken part in the Supreme War Council, was given the command of an army in the field. Later he was recalled to the direction of an important service in the interior, and was promoted grand officer of the Legion of Honor. General Heymann was for two years in command of the 15th Army Corps, and was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general. Having reached the age-limit for active command at the front, he was placed at the head of the 15th region at Marseilles. The general of artillery, Alexandre, at first attached to the great headquarters as colonel, later took command of the artillery of an army corps. The general of engineers, Lucien Lévy, commanded the engineers of the 4th Army Corps. He is the son of a cantor at Blâmont, in the east of France. The artillery general, Geismar, commanded the artillery of the 4th Army Corps. Brigadier-General Camille Lévi was placed at the head of a brigade and then of a division of shock troops (chasseurs à pied). Brigadier-General Dennery commanded, at the beginning, a territorial division of infantry, then was given a command in the interior by reason of his retirement from active service. Brigadier-General Grumbach commanded a brigade of active infantry. Brigadier-General Mayer, a

6 Mention may be made in this connection of the fact that little and heroic Belgium also had a loyal Jewish general, Lieutenant-General Bernheim, who went through the whole campaign and distinguished himself in a particular manner. He was born at Brussels, and he is from Lorraine by descent, being the son of a Nancy father and a Thiaucourt mother.
colonel at the beginning of the campaign, was placed in command of the expeditionary forces to French West Africa, which fought victoriously against the Germans in Kamerun. Lieutenant-general Naquet-Laroque was designated as a member of the Superior Council of Inventions at the Ministry of War. General Francfort commanded the fortress of Epinal until he was overtaken by the age limit. He died a tragic death in the course of one of the bombardments of Paris by the German long-range cannon. General Bloch is one of the chiefs of that garrison of Maubeuge which defended itself so heroically until the day when it was obliged to surrender. He was taken prisoner to Germany.

To say that these glorious soldiers exercised their commands with valor and military talent, which place them on an equal footing with all the other great chiefs, would be almost an insult to them. Besides, their distinctions and citations bear witness to this. It is impossible to relate everything within the limits of this work, and only some indications of the nature of these honors are here given.

General Geismar, then still a colonel, was cited in the army orders for his "talent of organization, his masterful manner, and his activity which are beyond all praise, which permitted him to obtain from all his subordinates, by his personal energy and example, the maximum results."

General Alexandre, as the commander of an army corps, was cited in these terms: "He is, in the most diverse situations, distinguished by the rarest valor; in 1916, at Verdun, he commanded the artillery of an army corps under the most difficult circumstances, in a most remarkable fashion; he organized field and heavy artillery groups with indefatigable activity, absolute contempt of danger, impeccable tactical
sense, and efficiency which impressed everyone; he contributed in large measure to the arrest of the German offensive."

General Grumbach "gave proof of great energy and brilliant military qualities in directing, under particularly difficult conditions, a series of attacks which have had happy results."

These high-rank officers are Alsatians by origin and even by birth. The real type among them of the glorious Jewish soldier of Alsace is General Camille Lévi, officer of a division of chasseurs à pied. Born in Ingwiller, graduated from the military school of St. Cyr, breveted at the École Supérieure de Guerre, he had a brilliant career before the war. He is, besides other things, the author of historical military works of standing. A colonel at the beginning of the war, he was soon called to the command of a brigade, promoted to general, and designated later for the command of one of the most glorious divisions. He was cited five times in the army orders. The following is the text of one of these citations, which earned for him, as colonel, promotion to the rank of officer of the Legion of Honor: "M. Lévi (Camille), colonel, commander of a brigade of infantry; superior officer of great value, whom the present campaign has permitted not only to confirm the real qualities of intelligence, of knowledge, of vigor, and of ability to command, which were recognized in him in times of peace, but also to reveal new ones. The regiment which he commanded at the beginning of the war he knew how to mould into a homogeneous unit, very spirited in advancing and steadfast under fire. As a commander of a brigade, he was able, sometimes under very difficult circumstances, not only to maintain inviolably the position which was confided to him or which he had been able to capture, but
further by vigorous action to impose great checks upon the enemy."

COLONELS.—To enumerate the colonels, chiefs of regiments, charged with the command of a brigade, or called upon to occupy other posts of honor, is more difficult, because their number is quite considerable. They were to be found in the different branches and in the most varied positions. Nevertheless, we give herewith a list of most of them.

(a) Artillery.—Colonels and lieutenant-colonels: Franck, commander of the artillery of an army corps; Hertz, commander of the artillery park of an army corps; Ulmo, assistant brigade major of an army corps; Alfred Dreyfus, the well-vindicated victim of the famous case, commander of a sector of the intrenched camp of Paris; Edmond Mayer, commander of the artillery in Algeria; Katz, commander of artillery of a fortress; Pompe, assistant brigade major of an army corps; and the following commanders of artillery regiments: Bernheim-Dennery, Braun, Carence, Créange, Carvallo, Deslaurens (seriously wounded), Hauser, Hesse, Henri Meyer, Milhaud, Adam Salomon, and Valabrégue (brother of the general).

(b) Engineers.—Franck, brigade major of an army corps; Jules Lévy, director of the engineers of the étapes of the armies (died of disease contracted at the front); Auscher, director of the engineers of étapes; Bechmann (reserve), chief engineer; I. Lévy, commander of the engineers of a division.

(c) Cavalry.—Colonel Lemant, commander of a brigade of dragoons (son of the intendant-general), died of disease contracted in the field; Lieutenant-Colonel Moog.

(d) Military Police.—Lieutenant-Colonel Lang, attached to the provost of the army.
(e) Infantry.—Lieutenant-Colonel Cahen, commander of the first regiment of colonial infantry, who, in a brilliant attack, succeeded in having his regiment capture five lines of enemy trenches, and fell in action; Lieutenant-Colonel Armand Den- nery, brigade major of a division; Colonel Gerst, commander of a regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Kahn, commander of the 36th regiment of infantry, several times cited, notably for having, in leading his troop to the assault of a village, con- served the men under his command to the extreme limit, hit by several balls, and his leg broken by a shell; Colonel Lévy, commander of the 283d regiment; Lieutenant-Colonel Lion, commander of the 221st regiment of infantry; Lieutenant- Colonel Marx, commander of a territorial regiment; Lieuten- ant-Colonel Ruef, commander of a brigade of infantry in the army of the Orient, seriously wounded, he resumed, upon his recovery, command of the 272d regiment of infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Sée (son of General Leopold Sée), commander of a battalion of chasseurs à pied, wounded several times, then placed at the head of the 327th regiment of infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Strauss, of the 175th regiment of infantry in the army of the Orient; Colonel Alphonse Weiller, commander of the 129th regiment of infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel Léon Weiller, commander of the 21st regiment, wounded.

(f) Medical Corps.—Chief physician of the first class (col- nel) : Fribourg. Chief physicians of the second class (lieu- tenant-colonels) : Edmond Blum; Ruben Job; Lucien Meyer Lévy; Spire, of the colonial army.

(g) Pharmacy.—Chief pharmacist of the first class (colo- nel) : Bloch, of the colonial army.

* [The army in the Balkans.—Translator.]
(h) **Under-Intendant.**—Of the second class (lieutenant-colonel) Charles Léon Lippman.

It will be seen from this enumeration that many of these high officers have paid with their lives for their heroism in combat; others, brave to the point of rashness, were seriously wounded in the course of action. All have unstintedly done their duty; to this the official citations bear witness. It is out of the question to quote all of these. Colonel Franck, "showing in all circumstances the greatest contempt of danger," as well as Colonel Alphonse Weiller (of the 129th), "model of personal bravery and of intelligent energy," are leaders to whom the Jews of France may point with pride. Here is another Weiller (Léon) whose conduct is eloquently described in the various citations which he successively received: At the beginning of the war he ventured out under a violent enemy fire, and brought back his wounded colonel, who would have inevitably fallen into the hands of the enemy. He was promoted commander and chevalier of the Legion of Honor after new exploits. In the night of October 7 and 8, 1915, relates a second citation, he, with fifty men, maintained the defence of a village, attacked by seven companies of the enemy, thus permitting the arrival of re-inforcements; he himself, with his fifty men, took prisoner a lieutenant-colonel and 123 soldiers. In 1916, he was made officer of the Legion of Honor and cited in these terms: "Superior officer of the first order, of rare energy, under a violent bombardment organized his pieces into a redoubt behind which he maintained his battalion for eleven days. Resisted the repeated attacks of the enemy, directing the defence with an exceptional *sang-froid*. Gave proof of great personal bravery. Was wounded in the course of the attack." Promoted to lieutenant-colonel of the 21st regiment, Weiller is really one of the finest types of French soldiers.
Commandants (Majors).—These are very numerous. As a consequence of their functions, they participated directly and continuously in the actual fighting. They therefore have a large number of losses, and the list of their deaths is very long. Among those killed, it is proper to cite: Infantry: Abraham Bentata; Debenedetti; Marcel Kahn; Julien Kauffmann; Mayer-Samuel; Pereira; Ruef; Joseph Saffar. Artillery: Godchau; Maurice Lévy; Schwab. Engineers: Lévi-Alvares.

How did these brave men die? The two official citations which follow will suffice to answer this question. Commandant Paul Mayer-Samuel “received mortal wounds during a reconnaissance,” in the course of which he showed his habitual courage and high spirit. Commandant Ruef (brother of the colonel killed in the army of the Orient) “showed great bravery by walking up and down the length of the trench occupied by his battalion, under a terrible infantry and artillery fire, for the purpose of setting to his men, by his cool attitude, an example of absolute contempt of danger.” He was mortally hit. Commandant Debenedetti was cited five times.

The others, those who survived, are not inferior to their fallen comrades. Let us only name the commandants of artillery: Bacharach; Louis Bickart; Georges Bloch; Carrus; Aron Franck; Gouguenheim; Hinstin; Weill. The chiefs of battalions of infantry: Dreyfus (cited three times); Edmond Lévy; Lantz; Mayer; Naphtali Meyer; Eugene Schmoll (cited four times and severely wounded); Weisweiler. The chief of a cavalry squadron: Jacob Gommes. The commandants of engineers: Alexandre Aron and Rheims.

We will now stop our survey of the regular army officers; many long pages would be needed in order to appraise the rôles of the many Jewish captains and lieutenants. Besides, as a
considerable number of our coreligionists, who occupy civil positions of the most divers kind, took part in the war as officers of the reserve, we can affirm that among them there obtained the military virtues to the same degree as among their comrades of the regular army. We can certify that these existed as well among all the other French Jews, men as well as officers.

B. THE NATION IN ARMS

(1) THE SONS OF OFFICERS.—Between the regular officers and the temporary military man, which every Frenchman is from 20 to 47 years of age, the sons of officers appear to constitute an intermediate category. At all times the ideal of the French officer has been to have his son embrace the career of arms. The Jewish military men feel the same way. Following the Dreyfus case, this attitude became less marked. For several years, on account of the anti-Semitic campaign, Jewish officers were somewhat snubbed by their comrades; these insults to their pride could not be borne by them; sometimes even their advancement was impeded. These discouragements could not fail to accomplish their aim. What happened? Some, fortunately very few, believed that they could avoid misfortune by forsaking Judaism; others hoped that a change of name would suffice to procure them peace. Still others, more numerous, preferred to submit their resignations as officers. And then in the young generation, which was about to make the choice of a profession, the longing for a career, where one was not in danger of being received with

*The first list of those who were killed in action issued by the Jewish Commission of Research shows, besides Algerians and aliens, about 250 French Jewish officers and 1000 men.*
malevolence, manifested itself. Despite the revision of opinion which took place after the reparation of what has rightly been called “the greatest injustice of the nineteenth century,” the number of Jewish regular officers tended to diminish. Nevertheless, amongst the sons of Jewish officers the irresistible attachment to the profession of arms persisted. Examples of the late war show this. Regular officers such as Colonel Sée, son of the general; such as the chief of battalion, Mayer-Samuel, son of the colonel; such as one of the sons of Colonel Kahn, or of Colonel Mayer, officers of the reserve; such as the sons of Colonel Dreyfus, or of the commandant Levylier—the sons like the father love the epaulettes and the honor and the danger which they symbolize; the sons like the father have the passion to make sacrifices for France. All this is the heredity of courage. It is a sacred debt. They paid it in full!

Lieutenant Heymann, the only son of the general commandant of the 15th Army Corps, was killed. Lieutenant Auscher, son of the colonel of engineers, fell mortally wounded. Lieutenant Charles Halphen, son of the commandant (deceased), member of the Academy of Sciences, was killed under conditions which are thus described in a posthumous citation: “In command of a sector of trench cannon, he showed in this dangerous post, which he had solicited as a favor, an unconquerable bravery, communicating to his men the ardor which animated him, and winning the admiration of everybody. He fell mortally wounded at the moment when he was delivering his heaviest blows against the enemy.”

Of the two sons of Lieutenant Kahn, the younger, Roger, who wished to be a regular officer, like his father, and for that reason went to the military school of St. Cyr, fell on
the field of honor at the age of nineteen years; one of his citations qualified him as "a young, most brilliant officer of remarkable ardor and bravery"; the other, reserve officer, was made chevalier of the Legion of Honor at the age of twenty-two.

Colonel Mayer lost three sons: one, Maurice, a regular officer, was killed at his post as officer of artillery, in 1914; the other, Léon, a lawyer, was wounded in the artillery, and became an officer in the aviation corps. It was he, who, after returning from Algeria after his first wound, declared to a newspaper man: "After the joys of a family, come those of war. I do not know which are the sweeter, or rather, yes, I do know it, when it is for France that one is fighting." After recovering, he was placed in the aviation corps, where he carried out reconnaissance raids, "one of which was for 900 kilometers, in the course of which he bombarded the military establishment of an important enemy group." He was killed later. A third son, Lieutenant Paul Mayer, also an aviator, fell likewise on the field of honor.

The son of Lieutenant-Colonel Dreyfus had the good fortune of escaping harm. Sub-lieutenant, later lieutenant, he was promoted captain, and is exceedingly happy to have achieved the rank in which his father was a martyr. He was cited several times for his conduct. Notably at Verdun, during the most tragic days of 1916, he was cited in the following manner in the order of the army: "At the front since the beginning of the campaign, he distinguished himself particularly during the days of the 26th, 27th, and 28th of February, 1916, by giving assurance during those three days of an observation and liaison service under the most perilous conditions, after having requested not to be relieved during that period.
in order not to risk disturbing the continuity of the service during a critical stage. During the last days of February and the first of March, 1916, he remained continually at this position with his battery, in that way assuring a particularly active service of his pieces under an almost continuous bombardment by enemy artillery."

Similar examples can be multiplied. Those which have just been given appear to be sufficiently eloquent and particularly characteristic.

(2) **The High Officials and Liberal Professions.**—In the rank as a simple soldier, in command as an officer, as well as in his research laboratory or in the assemblies directing the country, the Jew held his place with honor and fortitude. Of the eight members of the Chamber of Deputies, one, L. L. Klotz, has been twice Minister of Finance; two others, MM. Maase and Ignace, were, respectively, Under-Secretaries of State and of Military Justice. Three Jewish deputies were officers in the reserve, MM. André Hesse, Camille Picard, Maurice Bokanowski. The seventh, M. Lazare Weiller, who had passed the age at which one fights, gave to France in the person of his son, Captain Paul Weiller, one of the most audacious air pilots.¹

Lieutenant-deputy Bokanowski, attached in the beginning as officer to the general staff of one of the divisions in the East, was there cited for his bravery and for the services which he rendered by means of his reconnaissance. Subsequently he happened to be upon the *Provence*, when it was torpedoed, and this is how the dispatch in which he was cited describes his conduct: "After the torpedoing, by an enemy submarine, of

¹The eighth Jewish deputy is M. Jacques Stern who is a Jew at least by origin.
the *Provence*, he remained until the last moment upon the bridge, near the commander of the ship, encouraging the men, himself assisting in launching the life boats into the water and not claiming a place for himself upon the boats; he did not jump into the sea until the moment the ship sank."

Our savants renounced their private work in order to take their places at the front, where they found use for their special abilities. It is thus that Captain Paul Helbronner, distinguished author of geodetic studies of the Alpine glaciers, became attached to a general staff of artillery. Sub-Lieutenant Pierre-Marcel Lévi directed the photographic and cinema service of the army. The astronomer Charles Nordmann, originally a private in the artillery, later promoted to officer, "made an important improvement in the aiming of artillery and applied it under the fire of the enemy, often under perilous circumstances, giving proof of great energy and much courage." Important work was accomplished by Nordmann in order to estimate the distance of enemy artillery by sound. In a preface which General Nivelle, Generalissimo of the armies of the Republic before Marshal Foch, wrote to a book by Charles Nordmann, he renders homage to the work which this scientist accomplished under his orders (at the beginning of the campaign the general was colonel of the artillery regiment of which Nordmann was a member): "On the very day that you arrived at my post of command, I associated you with our researches of the estimation of the distance of the enemy batteries by sound. On the following day you brought me the formula which has served as the basis of solution of this problem, and which you did not delay, thanks to the extent of your

theoretical and practical resources, to translate into the domain of application. Your method has led to numerous modifications, but it remains as the basis of everything which has been done in this field."

Sub-Lieutenant Henri Abraham, professor at the Sorbonne, was made officer of the Legion of Honor for perfecting the wireless telegraph and for his services in the struggle against the submarine.

The University of France also made heavy sacrifices in the patriotism and heroism of its members. There was Henri Hayem, son of the professor of the faculty of medicine of Paris, who returned from Tokio, where he was professor of law, in order to fall gloriously in battle. There was Corporal René Weill, professor of philosophy, who was killed at his post. There was Robert Blum, professor of mathematics, who died gloriously at the age of 23; Sergeant Maurice Léon, professor at the Lycée of Marseilles; Sergeant André Lévy, professor; Maxime David, professor; Lieutenant Adolphe Reinach (son of Joseph Reinach, former deputy, who, during the whole war, wrote for the Figaro a chronicle of the operations which was always deeply appreciated). Adolphe Reinach was a former pupil of the French School at Athens, a young scientist who had already earned a great reputation. There was Sub-Lieutenant Georges Lévy, professor at the Lycée of Aix, who died at Eparges in leading his section to the assault and whose death provoked such regret at the Lycée where he had taught that his colleagues decided to place the flag of the institution at half-mast, to consecrate a commemorative tablet to him, and to place the palm of the brave upon his grave. All these heroes fell for glory, to the great loss of French letters and science.
Among their comrades, like them, pupils or former pupils of the École Normale Supérieure, that nursery in which are trained the élite of the members of the teaching staff of the country, death struck additional hard blows. Killed by the enemy, Sub-Lieutenant Roger Cahen, who "loved the first-line trenches where one enjoys life to the full," fell in the Argonne, mourned by all the men of his company. Lieutenant André Durkheim, wounded in Serbia (son of the professor of sociology at the Sorbonne, Emile Durkheim, who could not survive for a very long time the sorrow at the death of his son); Sub-Lieutenant Robert Herz, who, as he wrote to his wife, was "homesick for this region where great sacrifices are summated," and who had the feeling that, "if he fell, he would only have repaid a very small part of the debt which he owed to the country"; Sub-Lieutenant Pierre Javal, who, having scarcely recovered from typhoid fever, requested to be sent to the front and fell at the head of his section which he was leading to the attack; Lucien Ulmo, who was the sole survivor of six brothers, and who, without resources, had succeeded by his own efforts in being admitted at one and the same time to the École Normale Supérieure and the École Polytechnique.

The École Polytechnique has also a great page in the war, and a number of its pupils, the élite of the nation, have paid for their heroism with their lives; others, who have had the good fortune to return, have achieved glory and honors. In 1912, 200 pupils were admitted, nine of whom were Jews. Of these nine, three fell in the field; of the remaining six, four were cited several times; only sub-lieutenants at the beginning of the war, they returned to the school, where their studies had been interrupted, as captains. In 1914, of the 415 pupils admitted sixteen were Jews. Four of these were killed; another
succumbed to disease after having gone through an entire cam-
paign and having been cited three times. This was the son of
Colonel Braun, whose other son was killed at the front as an
officer. Eight were cited, four wounded. Among these was the
son of the grand rabbin Lévi, who was twice cited and twice
wounded.

How did these Jews die? One of them, Sub-Lieutenant
Pierre Hadamard, at the age of 20 years (son of the illustrious
mathematician Hadamard, professor at the Collège de France,
who lost his other son aged 19 years), went out one day
in the region of Verdun to endeavor to discover an obser-
vation point for his artillery battery. His mission accom-
plished, he saw, in passing through a trench of infantry, the
infantrymen endeavoring to repulse the enemy with bayonet
and cannon. The young officer stopped, coolly picked up a
rifle, and charged along with them. It was in the course of
this charge that he met his glorious death.

Magistrates and attorneys, men of the gown, became men of
the sword, and did their duty on the field of battle as in the
palace of justice; they fell valiantly. There was Sergeant
Albert Feldman, auditor of the Council of State; Sergeant
Pierre Gaston Mayer, advocate of the Council of State and at
the Court of Cassation, who, “having set out to make a recon-
aissance and being stopped by superior forces, preferred to be
killed on the spot rather than surrender”; the two brothers
Rosenfeld, Sergeant Pierre and Sub-Lieutenant André; Sub-
Lieutenant Lévy-Fleur; Sergeant René Cohen; Maurice Ernst;
Oscar Franck; André May; Robert Lowys; Oscar Kiefe; Louis
Heilbronner, lieutenant of staff—all practising in the Court of
Appeals in Paris; Messiah, lieutenant of chasseurs alpins, of
the bar of Nice; Judge Samama of the tribunal of Chateaudun.
The physicians exhibited the same spirit of devotion and self-sacrifice as the combatants. To name all those, who, under the most perilous circumstances, gave proof of calm and steadfast courage, would mean to mention all of them. Let us refer only to Doctor Zadoc-Kahn, son of the late grand rabbin, who "stationed in a village which was under a vigorous bombardment, gave proof of exemplary sang-froid and devotion by attending to the wounded under the most difficult and dangerous conditions." Doctor Louis Job, appointed chevalier of the Legion of Honor for having "at several junctures and under the well-directed fire of the enemy attempted to crawl to aid the colonel of his regiment who was seriously wounded only 50 meters from the German lines"; Doctor Fernand Netter, made chevalier of the Legion of Honor, "severely hit while ministering to the wounded under violent bombardment"; Doctor Somen, thrice wounded, cited seven times, decorated with the cross of the Legion of Honor, kept, upon his formal request, as physician of a battalion in the front lines, where he remained for three years; Doctor Kaminer, cited five times, killed while attempting, despite violent bombardment, to rescue a wounded captain.

Artists and writers toiled with the same spirit of the common destiny. Captain Halphen, musical composer, winner of the Grand Prix de Rome, died from disease contracted at the front. The two brothers, Maurice and Léon Bonneff, joint authors of the work Vie tragique des travailleurs, were killed. Henri Bernstein, the playwright, distinguished himself as an aviator. Pierre Mortier, editor of the journal Gil Blas, was several times cited on the western front, and later for "great services which he contributed to the organization of the aviation corps on the Oriental front." The actor Réynal (Lévy),
of the Comédie-Française, fell in battle; Julien Feiner of the Opéra Comique, was severely wounded.

(3) **Finance, Industry, Commerce.**—This properly includes the whole of the French Jewish middle class. It may be said that, as a general rule, French Jewish families have fewer members than the families of Algerian or Polish Jews; and it has been inferred from this that the birth-rate diminishes with the decrease in religious observance. This is quite possible. Nevertheless families may still be cited which have observed the letter of the biblical precept: "Be fruitful, and multiply."

A family of Grumbachs, of Belfort, had seven sons, two sons-in-law, and two grandsons with the colors. The Dreyfous-May family, of Paris, had eight sons mobilized. M. Aron Weill, of Gérardmer, had nine sons under arms. Of five sons and one son-in-law serving France, M. Karfan lost his son-in-law and one of his sons, a sub-lieutenant of infantry.

The loss of several children in succession was also a frequent occurrence. We have already mentioned the death in action of the three sons of Colonel Mayer and of the two sons of Professor Hadamard. Mme. Picard, a widow of Rémiremont, lost three children in succession—Private Narcisse Picard was killed in the Champagne in 1914; Sub-Lieutenant Roger Picard fell in the Champagne offensive of 1915; Sub-Lieutenant André Picard, fell at Verdun in 1916 at the head of his platoon. The two brothers, Lieutenants Guastalla, sons of the stock-broker, also fell.

All sections of the Jewish middle class, whether of high finance or of commerce, paid their debt without any stint, in the most divers forms and in the most exposed branches of the service. It is interesting, for example, to read in the list of
aviators such names as James Henri de Rothschild, Albert Cahen d’Anvers, Nissim de Camondo. The last, son of Count Moïse de Camondo, a lieutenant-aviator, was overtaken in a chase by a group of enemy fliers at the moment when he was photographing German positions; he destroyed one of his adversaries before he was mortally struck by a bullet. As staff officer of cavalry, Baron Alexis de Gunzburg, was killed in battle on the Yser. Robert de Rothschild, interpreter-officer, was cited three times in terms of highest praise.

It is not possible to enumerate all those heroes who represent so well French Jewry in noble and simple patriotism. Although it would be wrong to the others to cite a few, yet some such choice is forced upon us.

There is first Sub-Lieutenant Lucien Cahen, of the 60th Infantry, cited seven times in terms of highest praise as “a young officer of superb energy, of fine initiative, and great courage,” and as “putting to flight an enemy superior in number and already intrenched. He electrified his men by his attitude, himself sounding the charge at their head on a bugle which he had picked up from the ground. He maintained his command, though wounded.” In another citation his “remarkable bravery and rare energy” are highly praised.

Louis-Raphaël Paul Lévy, captain of artillery, was a “distinguished officer, as remarkable for his bravery and his technical attainments as for the control which he maintained over his troops in the most critical hours.”

Captain Maxime Berr, son of a counsellor at the Court of Appeals of Paris, fell gloriously in the offensive of April, 1917, in an advanced position where he went to place his pieces, and to whom a citation in the army orders renders praise in these terms: “Officer of technical value of the first order.
endowed with the finest military virtues: authority, bravery, self-sacrifice.” Upon his grave, his colonel rendered him the further praise that he was adored by his men. Another trait which should be noted is kindness. It was to be found among many of the Jewish chiefs; we will see further on the testimony of it given in a touching manner to a brave little Jewish soldier.

Sub-Lieutenant Picard, of Dunkirk, was decorated with the military medal, cited three times, and one citation presents him to us as “a veritable inspirer of men, a specialist in sudden attacks, renowned everywhere for his bravery and his audacity, who begged as an honor to be entrusted with the direction of all perilous enterprises.”

Captain Jacques Gompel, wounded while in command of his company in a night surprise attack, had his arm bandaged with the strap of a water-bottle, and remained in command for ten hours under the most violent fire.

Sub-Lieutenant Lang, of the 12th chasseurs, buried in his dug-out in the course of a bombardment, severely wounded and seeing himself lost, began to sing the Marseillaise, thus giving a magnificent example to his company who heard him. In similar circumstances, buried with his men in a dug-out which had caved in, Sub-Lieutenant Ledermann maintained his sang-froid, and sustained the morale of his men to his last breath.

Those who die utter sayings which are sublimely simple. There is Captain Maurice Cromback of the staff of a division; he had fulfilled a mission to a regiment at the moment when that regiment was engaged in counter-attacking the enemy. He personally took part in the operation, and, though severely wounded, had enough strength to say: “Come on, we must push them back still further!” Lieutenant Adolphe Hirsch,
of the engineers, was mortally struck at Craonne. "I die," he said, "but it is a consolation to know that we are victorious." Captain Paquin, of the 25th battalion of chasseurs à pied, was mortally wounded. "Forward, even so!" he cried. Lieutenant Guetschel, of the 6th regiment of unmounted artillery, was severely wounded while commanding a battery. Upon leaving the dressing station whither some of his men had come to bid him good-bye, he cried: "Cheer up, my friends; men can be replaced." He died soon after. Paul Levylier, sub-lieutenant of dragoons, son of a former officer, mortally struck, pronounced these final words: "Write to my father that I died for France."

Private Maurice Danziger, of the 41st chasseurs à pied, was killed on October 26, 1918. His brothers-in-arms clubbed together to raise a monument to him upon which they engraved the words which any commentary would weaken: "To know him was to love him."

The chasseur Joseph Calm, a young business man, also a poet who had sung in sublime verses of the war and of the unrecorded heroism of the trenches, was wounded for the first time. His captain wrote to him: "The memory of brave men like you is ineffaceable in the souls of the chiefs who have had the good fortune to command them." He recovered and resumed his place; he was again wounded, this time severely; his wound carried him off, but earned for him the military medal and this beautiful citation: "Of remarkable bravery, always ready to undertake perilous missions. Having had his arms broken by shells, he gave his comrades a magnificent example of stoicism and of self-sacrifice by refusing to be relieved until his duty as telephone operator had been done."
Bravery pushed to the extreme of pure stoicism joined with goodness, the manifest desire to set an example even unto death—these are some of the beautiful traits of character which distinguish the French Jews.

A type completely embodying all these Jewish and soldierly qualities is to be found in a man whom we have already mentioned several times, but whose beautiful ideal picture it is important to sketch, as it appears to us in the light of the intimate correspondence which his family has piously collected: it is Captain Raoul Bloch. He typifies the French Jew who by his labor had acquired a distinguished position, who lived in a family atmosphere full of tenderness, but who, upon the call to arms, left, without hesitation, his affections and his business, because he wished, as a son of Alsace and a Jew of France, to do his duty, his whole duty. His age caused him to be placed in a unit at a supply base. This made him suffer; “the voice of his ancestors told him that at his age, able-bodied and energetic, one should hunt down the enemy.” To see himself in a formation behind the lines was for him “really heart-breaking.” He supplicated his friends to intercede for him at the Ministry to enable him to go with a regiment. If need be, he would even join a regiment which had been decimated and deprived of many of its officers. “I have a tempered soul and self-possession, I am certain that I will inspire my men and that I will serve with honor and courage. At my age one should not be kept in reserve; it is a veritable humiliation at this moment” (August, 1914). His duty was to go. He had the conviction that he would come back. He wrote to his wife: “When I return, for I shall return, we will again have one another in our beloved nest, and all six of us will be peacefully proud and contented that the head of the family had simply done his duty like so many others.”
The event proved hard for his children, for his companion; but it was that “for all the women of France.” In November, 1914, his request was granted, and he was sent to the first lines; his wish was realized; he rejoiced; he depicted with enthusiasm the active life of the trenches, the soul of the poilus who were also his children. From the beginning he won the attention of his superiors. He was happy to be of those who were contributing directly to the reconquest of his native land. What joy to be able to say that one is “part of the numberless hosts that are advancing to establish peace and happiness in the world! Even if one is merely an atom in it, that one is co-operating in the great work and can re-enter his home later, and be able to say: ‘I was there.’” Despite his faith, this brave man was not to return. In May, 1916, he was killed, and his heroic end is celebrated by the following beautiful citation of General Nivelle, commander of the 2nd Army:

“Bloch (Raoul), captain of the 306th regiment of infantry, officer animated by an ardent patriotism; asked to leave service in the rear, to which he was assigned upon mobilization, in order to take command of a unit in the first line. Ordered with his company to defend a particularly exposed sector, in immediate contact with the enemy, he set about, with the greatest activity and without thinking of danger, to make of it an invulnerable redoubt. Fell at his post of command; before dying he found the strength to say to his chief of battalion, ‘I am hard hit, I regret that it should be in such circumstances; I would have been happy if it were while leading my company to victory! But we’ll get them! I made the sacrifice of my life for France.’”

It was “as Frenchman and as Jew” that Captain Raoul Bloch had wished to do his double duty. Still others have
expressed the same idea: to give honor to the Jewish name, to enhance by their conduct under fire the prestige of their coreligionists. But religion itself, did it not have any place in their thoughts? An eminent Catholic writer, who formerly coquetted with the anti-Semites, M. Maurice Barrès, has consecrated to the different “spiritual families of France” a series of articles in a great daily paper, and has praised in its pages the patriotism of the French Jews. He seems always to experience something like satisfaction in asserting that those Jews whose moral portraits he depicts had “consciences which appear void of religious tradition.”

Such, nevertheless, is not the case in a general way. The Jew of France is not always a very faithful observer of religious practices; but in him slumbers a religious being which this war has often awakened. Let us hear what Captain Maxime Berr says: “Religious morality is the truest, the best of all. I often read over and over again fragments in my little, simple prayer-book.” M. Barrès himself received from different sides very explicit declarations which ran counter to his point of view. These he has loyally reproduced in an appendix to the volume, in which he has republished his articles. There is first that of a young Jewish officer, a Lorraine manufacturer, who states: “I am a Jew, sincerely believing in, and attached to, my religion, happy to fight for my country, which I love. In the solitude at the front, my faith has intervened, and saved me morally. I remember the prayer which I used to say, when I was a little child, in the evening before I kissed my mother. I have prayed, and the Lord has sustained me and has given me peace. Each time that I must make a decision, I think of Him,

and I am at peace. Each time that I see that it is necessary to brave death, I think of Him and my duty appears natural, without merit.”

M. Barrès cites still another testimony: The father of one of the dead heroes, who bears a very prominent name, which, because of his modesty, is not divulged, makes known the sentiments which his glorious son expressed in his war letters. “I have the powerful feeling,” he writes in one place, “of the protection of God, in such a manner that I have felt no merit nor experienced any hesitation in throwing myself into the storm of shot and shell.”

Finally, we have the testimony which doubtless is most precious in the eyes of the illustrious writer, that of a Catholic priest, who was at the same time a physician to the regiment in which Lieutenant Halphen served. Writing to the mother of the latter, fallen on the field of battle, the priest says: “The friendship between me and your son has been transformed into respect and admiration upon his heroic death. And I wish to say to you also that the infinitely powerful and merciful God in whom we all believe, although of different religion, in whom your son believed—he told me so—has, I hope, taken unto Himself the righteous and loyal soul which was sacrificed for duty, and that He has given him an immortal life.”

Sustained by his religious ideals, the French Jewish fighter appears only more sublime than before.

(4) A Form of Jewish Courage: The Heroes of the Air.—Aviation was, in the course of these years of heroic struggle, a branch in which it was necessary, more than in any other, to give proof of poise, of a calm courage pushed to the extreme of almost supernatural rashness, of the constant contempt of death, which could be the result of atmospheric con-
ditions or of some accident, besides combat with the enemy or
the shrapnel from his cannon. To be admitted to it, it was
necessary to combine conditions of altogether peculiar physical
resistance and of moral stamina. We are not at all astonished
that the Jews of France combined these qualities to a high
degree and that they succeeded in showing their characteristics
here as elsewhere. But it is, nevertheless, surprising that such
a considerable number of our coreligionists figure in this
branch of the service. In the course of this article we have had
occasion already to cite some of them. We have given an
account of those who distinguished themselves in a particular
manner, and do not at all pretend to have exhausted the list.
We find in it, however, ninety-one names, among whom thirty-
five were killed in aerial combat or fell in active service. Fol-
lowing is this glorious roster, which it is interesting to
preserve:

Robert-Moïse Aaronson, sub-lieutenant; Edmond Abraham,
adjutant; Maurice Alexandre, lieutenant, killed in action; Al-
louch, captain (Algerian); Maurice Aron, captain, killed in
action; Balensi, captain (Algerian); Raymond Bamberger,
sub-lieutenant, several times cited, decorated with the Legion of
Honor; Baranovitch, captain (Russian), wounded; Paul Beer,
pilot, killed in action; Jacques Bendix, non-commissioned
officer; Benedictus, corporal; Henri Bernstein, lieutenant;
Bloch, captain, commander of the squadron which won thirty-
four aerial victories officially acknowledged; Marcel Bloch,
adjutant, several times wounded; Marcel Richard Bloch;
Pierre Richard Bloch, lieutenant; David Bloch, of Guebwiller,
executed by the Germans; Raymond Bollack, captain, made
prisoner with the dirigible “Alsace,” escaped from Germany
under peculiarly perilous conditions after a stay of several
weeks at Berlin, where, thanks to his knowledge of German, he
studied the methods of the manufacturing of war materials and was able to bring back to France very useful information which won for him, upon his return, a decoration of the Legion of Honor; Jules Brandenbourg, sub-lieutenant, died in the Orient; Robert Cahen, quartermaster, killed in action; Albert Cahen-d’Anvers, lieutenant; Nissim de Camondo, lieutenant; Pierre Carvallo, sub-lieutenant; Cohen, sergeant-pilot; Maurice Cohen, captain, commander of the dirigible "Alsace," captured by the Germans, made Chevalier of the Legion of Honor upon his return from captivity, for his numerous aerial exploits; Dalsace, captain; Debré, sub-lieutenant; Deitz, quartermaster, killed in action; Dragushin, pilot (Roumanian); Adolphe Dreyfus, sergeant-pilot; René Dreyfus, captain; Dreyfus-Raffalowich, adjutant; Drossner, sergeant, killed in action; Ehrlich, adjutant, wounded, 19 aerial victories; Ehrlich, sergeant, his brother; Enos, lieutenant, killed in action; André Faraggi, sub-lieutenant; Felix, lieutenant, killed in action; Edmond Franck, adjutant, killed in action; Pierre Franck; Georges Franckel, adjutant; Robert Geismar, sub-lieutenant; Edmond Goldschmidt, lieutenant, killed in action; Kolman Gruenblatt, sub-lieutenant, several times wounded; Gouguenheim, sergeant; Max Gouman, pilot (Russian volunteer), killed in action; Grunewald, sub-lieutenant; Charles Guggenheim, adjutant; Robert Halbronn, captain, killed in trying out a new apparatus of his invention; Halphen, killed in the course of a protective flight around Paris; Louis Heimann, pilot; Marcel Heimann, sergeant, killed in action; Hertz, lieutenant; Henri Hirsch, sub-lieutenant; Léon Jerome Kahn, captain, wounded; David Kainscop, corporal-pilot, killed in service; Paul Kauffman, sergeant; Georges Kohn, lieutenant; Albert Lellouche, lieutenant (Algerian); Lehmann, lieutenant;
Albert Lévi, sub-lieutenant, severely wounded; André Lévy, adjutant-pilot, who after having shot down an Austrian hydroplane in the upper Adriatic, was himself killed in action; Marcel Joseph Lévy, sub-lieutenant, killed in action; Robert Lévy, sub-lieutenant, killed in action; Jacques Libman, sub-lieutenant, killed in action; Georges Marcovitz (Russian volunteer), killed in action; Isaac Mark, killed by accident; Paul Mayer, lieutenant, killed in action; André Mendel; Mesguich, lieutenant (Algerian), killed in action; Misrachi, pilot (Frenchman from Salonica), killed in action; Pierre Mortier, sub-lieutenant; Reiss, corporal-pilot, killed in action; Rosenfeld, captain, commander of a squadron; James Henri de Rothschild; Pierre Rouff; René Ruf, sub-lieutenant, killed in action; Salomon, sub-lieutenant; Samama, adjutant (Tunisian), killed in action; Silberstein, pilot (Russian volunteer), killed in action; Tayeb, pilot (Tunisian); Charles Herbert Weil, sergeant-aviator; Lucien Weil, sergeant-balloonist; Eugène Weissman, sub-lieutenant, killed in action; Paul Louis Weiller, captain, cited eleven times; Armand Weyl, sergeant, severely wounded; Marcel Wolff, lieutenant, wounded; Edouard Wolff, sergeant, severely wounded; Nathan Zachman (Russian volunteer).

We have enumerated in this list of common glory, all the Jewish aviators of France—those who came from the metropolis, from French Africa, or foreign volunteers in the service. Those of them who escaped death have, like their fallen comrades, the most praiseworthy deeds of arms to their credit, each one of them having been cited several times in the army orders. There was Sergeant Gouguenheim, who put to flight six enemy aviators; there was Lieutenant Marcel Wolff, who gave battle numerous times and repeatedly took part in the destruction of enemy batteries; there was Adjutant Ehrlich, who was
made prisoner in September, 1918, after his 19th aerial victory, succeeded in escaping from Torgau, and arrived at Metz, soon after the armistice; there was Adjutant Marcel Bloch, who specialized in attacking the Drachen, and after having hit several of them, won the following citation, which relates new exploits of his: "On June 26, 1917, he left in order to attack a Drache, descended to 400 metres, and put to flight three enemy planes. On June 29, he descended to 100 metres, set fire to enemy provision dumps, and riddled with his machine gun the soldiers who wished to extinguish the fire. On July 1, he attacked successively two Drachen at 200 metres in the air, succeeded in firing them despite the intervention of two enemy aviators and of the constant fire of the machine guns and of special anti-aircraft cannon. He came back with his machine riddled with bullets."

There is finally—we greatly limit ourselves—he who embodied all the beautiful qualities of the heroes of the air, Captain Paul Louis Weiller, recently made an officer of the Legion of Honor in the following terms, as related in the Journal Officiel, after having previously won eleven citations in the army orders: "Weiller (Paul Louis), captain of reserves in the 57th regiment of artillery, pilot officer, having a very high conception of duty, and giving, since the beginning of the war, the most magnificent example of bravery and energy. Commander of a group of squadrons of long-range reconnaissance, he obtained, during the offensive of September-November, 1918, in the Champagne and in the Ardennes, the most magnificent results, bringing back to the commanding officer complete information respecting upwards of 100 kilometers of the enemy lines. On October 5, 1918, when he returned from a reconnaissance of more than four hours, executed in atmos-
pheric conditions of the worst kind and at an altitude of 6000 metres, having lost consciousness before landing and having made a drop, in the course of which he received severe wounds, he maintained his command. Four times wounded previously. Four enemy planes shot down. Chevalier of the Legion of Honor for heroic deeds in war."

After the heroes of aviation, it is necessary also to reserve a place for another category of brave men, of marvellous courage, those who led to the assault against the enemy that frightful machine which has been called the tank. In the carapace of this monster the Jews distinguished themselves as they did elsewhere. Extremely laudatory citations recognize the services rendered by Commandant Paul Bloch, of the 8th Battalion of Tanks, Captain Moyse, Lieutenant Baumann, Adjutant Edmond Rosenbaum, and Quartermaster Koppenhague, and others.

II. Jews of Northern Africa

(1) The Algerians.—The Jews of Algeria have endeavored to show in this war that they were worthy of the honor which was done to them on October 24, 1870, in recognizing them as citizens. If, for the Jews of France, the participation in the war was, so to speak, a spontaneous, instinctive thing, these sentiments, among the Jews of Algeria, were supported by reason; with them it was a matter of showing their gratitude to France. Never before had the occasion been offered to them as now, solemn and tragic, to seal with their blood their admission into the French family. Had not, on divers occasions, the legitimacy of their naturalization been questioned? Had they not been, in troubled hours, which are not so far distant, victims of hate? Therefore, they had
at heart the wish to show to France that it was not mis-
taken in welcoming them, and to give the lie to calumny by
proof of their unmistakable attachment to the Fatherland.

The most recent statistics, furnished by the governor-general
of Algeria, put the Jewish population in this great colony
as 65,000 souls. How many Jews were called under the
colors? There is no documentary evidence to establish the
number. But as they were liable for service under the same
conditions as all Frenchmen, and as it is estimated that about
sixteen per cent of the population of France was called, it may
be assumed that Algerian Jewry has furnished both for the
army in the field and for the formations in the rear more than
ten thousand soldiers.

There are other significant facts. Many of the Jewish
families have large numbers of children, because in Algeria the
biblical traditions have been conserved. Following are some
of the cases: Mme. Lelouche, of Algiers, had eight sons with
the colors; the Tordjman family, of Palikao, had twenty-
five members mobilized; M. Borak Touitou had his five sons as
soldiers; his family had thirty members under arms; in
Algiers, the venerable grandsire, Messaoud Allouche, gave his
benediction to his thirty-two children and grandchildren before
their departure.

The conduct of the Algerian Jews under fire is shown by the
following facts: In the preliminary list which has been com-
piled, twenty-nine were decorated with the Legion of Honor;
ninety-four received the military medal. About eight hun-
dred citations pay tribute to the courage of Algerian Jews.
This last figure was made public in March, 1918, by Grand
Rabbin Fridmon, in a sermon which he delivered at the great
synagogue of Algiers. Since then, additional citations have
been received by coreligionists. Thus, in the action for the recapture of Noyon in August, 1918, six Jewish soldiers of a single regiment were cited, and even now the *Journal Officiel* prints every day citations which have not previously been published. It will, therefore, be some time before a definitive account may be made up.

The first list of those killed in action, which has been drawn up by the *Commission Israélite des Recherches Historiques*, and which is equally far from being complete, has 2120 names of Jews, killed in the service of France, both Frenchmen and foreigners; 745 of these are the names of Algerians. We find, for example, six Jews of the name of Allouche, eighteen of the name of Amar; fourteen of the name of Amsellem; nine of the name of Azouley; eleven of the name of Bensoussan; eight of the name of Gozlan; twelve of the name of Zerbib.

It is not unusual to find that several children of one family were killed or wounded. The three brothers, Bensaid, of Tlemcen, were killed; the three sons of Rahamin Nahon, of Oran, were killed; of the four sons of Messaoud de Tobelem, of Oran, who were mobilized, two were killed. The four brothers Nouchy were wounded.

The extent of their losses can also be estimated from the fact that since 1917, "*l'Oeuvre des Orphelins de la Guerre*" (the society for the care of war orphans), one of the most beautiful humanitarian institutions, which grew out of the war, in the French Jewish community, was occupied with the education of 119 bereaved orphans of Algiers alone.

It must not be imagined, however, that the late war was for Algerian Jewry the first occasion of linking itself to the mass of France, or that the emancipation had not borne fruit previously. In the great schools, in the liberal professions, as in
the career of arms, the Algerian Jews have shown their mettle. We have already had occasion to note some of them. Among the Jewish regular officers, who fell on the field of honor, we have recited the names of Algerians, Commandant Abraham Bentata and Commandant Joseph Saffar—the first killed in leading his battalion to the assault, the second while assuring himself that his battalion was ready to attack. Another field officer, Commandant Oualid, commanded the engineers of a division of infantry.

Special branches of the service, like aviation, also tempted their courage. Among the best aerial fighters, there have been cited with honor: Captain Allouch, Lieutenant Albert Lelouch, decorated with the Legion of Honor, and Lieutenant Mesguich, who was drowned in the Mediterranean on October 10, 1917, and of whom the following citation speaks with exceptional praise: "Chief of a section of hydroplanes, model of energy and of leadership, despite his age (43 years); very competent in aviation. Twice wounded, four citations in the order of the day. Military medal; chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Exceptional services rendered in the aviation corps, both upon the field and on the sea in search of mines and enemy submarines. Disappeared in the sea, in the course of an aerial reconnaissance, in the performance of his military duty."

The physicians bore themselves with a devotion which won for them laudatory citations; several among them fell in accomplishing their duty; Doctor Carpanetti, killed at a dressing station, was cited three times, and was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor; Doctor Isaac Cohen Adad died from wounds; Doctor Joseph Lévy-Valensi was hit while removing the wounded, and, dying, cried: "Vive la France!" Others, again, were wounded in the performance of their duty;
all distinguished themselves by their high moral qualities in the midst of perilous conditions. Let us mention among the physicians: Maurice Abou, Henri Aboulker (decorated with the Legion of Honor); Samuel Aboulker; Allouche; Bacri (decorated with the Legion of Honor); Benhamon; Dana; Georges Fassina (decorated with the Legion of Honor); Henri Lelouch; Narboni; Pariente; Tubiana.

The intellectual élite rapidly won the chevrons of officers, in the regular army and in the reserve. There were, among others: Dana, captain of artillery; Elghozi, captain of engineers, cited "for having carried his work ahead, under the nose of the enemy"; Captain Léon Lévy, of Oran, killed in Belgium; Benichou, lieutenant of Zouaves, wounded severely while conducting his men to the assault, died six days later; Félix Benoliel, lieutenant of Zouaves, "who took, in the course of an attack, command of the company, all of whose officers had been killed or wounded, continued the action with energy and made a great number of prisoners; he was himself wounded"; Hippolyte Cohen, lieutenant of Zouaves, killed after having bravely led his platoon to the assault of the German line; El Kaim, lieutenant of Zouaves, twice cited, decorated with the Legion of Honor; Jacob Dana, lieutenant of artillery, killed while commanding his battery; the sub-lieutenants Max Adda, Pierre Amar (killed), Jacob Amsellem (killed), Bacri, Barkatz, Ceddaha, Chalom (decorated with the Legion of Honor), Mardochée Chetrit (killed), Hadjadj, Jais, Karsenty, Zaoui, Georges Zermati, Armand Zermati, and Ziza.

Taken as a whole, the Algerian Jews belong to the middle class, and are engaged in commerce and in the trades. Many of them occupy modest positions. The young men do their three years' military duty in regiments in the interior of France;
they are thus distributed among units of the most diverse kinds. The reservists, that is to say, all the men from 24 to 47, were assigned, upon mobilization, to regiments constituted in Algeria. That is why Jews are found by the hundreds in all regiments of the Zouaves, which took such a brilliant part in the operations of the war. When, in the future, the Algerian divisions, which were so often in places of honor and of peril, are spoken of, we must never lose sight of the fact that among them there was a considerable proportion of Jews. Regiments from Oran, or from Constantine, are referred to, of which a third or even a half of the members were Jews. These choice troops were the 37th, 38th, the 45th divisions; the Moroccan division, so called because it was in Morocco at the moment of declaration of war; the third Moroccan brigade and the Algerian regiments on the Near-Eastern front. On the Ourcq, on the Marne, at Ypres, on the Somme, in all the days of great action and of heavy sacrifices, these formations were to be found in the front ranks.

There was a multitude of almost unnamed persons who did their heroic duty simply, of whom many fell, especially at the beginning of the war, whom only their *Arba Kanfot* permitted to be identified, heroes modest and unknown, whose example was followed by others with the same spirit. Names can be given in multitude; acts of courage can be cited in great number. In the official citations the text is not susceptible of much variety of expression. It is always "the bravery, the contempt of danger." The names are different. Must we choose some of them? There was Corporal Adjadje, of Constantine, cited four times; Joseph Benhamon, of Oran who, wounded six times, continued the charge and was killed; Sergeant-Major Cohen-Solal, cited three times and promoted
officer; Sergeant-Major Elyahou Chouraki, a man of indomitable energy, who brought back his captain severely wounded. There was, among others, the non-commissioned officer Zemmour, who, in the course of a battle, distinguished himself by discovering the emplacement of an enemy machine gun which was holding his section in check. With one man, he crawled through the grass up to a few paces from the machine gun. He then jumped upon the Germans, who were serving it, and shot down several of them. The others fled. Zemmour turned the gun against them; later, Zemmour did still better, when, having become temporary officer, it was necessary for him one day to replace his wounded captain. The citation says: “He took command of his company under very difficult circumstances, and acquitted himself perfectly of the task. Spent himself without limit, in order to assure the occupation of the conquered terrain. Maintained on the preceding days a very fine attitude under fire. Distinguished himself again by his intrepidity and calm. Wounded in maintaining his formation on a terrain which was bombarded by a murderous fire, he cried out: ‘Is it not a shame to be made to evacuate now?’ Young, modest officer of extreme bravery. Two previous wounds.”

This simplicity of heroism, this love of France, is to be found among the most humble. There is the Zouave, Judah ben Bourak, who, severely wounded in the chest during an attack, cried out: “My skin is nothing. Vive la France!”—a saying which the general who presented him with a military medal quoted in proposing this Jew as an example to the Arabs. There was the sergeant of Zouaves, Abraham Kalfon, four times wounded, who, in receiving the military medal, said these touching words: “To serve his country, what is there more beautiful for an Algerian, for a little Oranian!”
Can we better describe the moral silhouette of so many of the brave boys than in reproducing in conclusion the terms of a letter, which was written to his family, upon his return from a perilous mission, by Corporal Jacques Nahom? "My lieutenant congratulated me and promised to propose my name for a citation in the order of the day of the army. It is the most beautiful recompense that a French soldier can desire. I am mistaken: there is that of the duty accomplished. Vive la France, and may God accord us victory."

(2) THE TUNISIANS.—It is difficult, in making a study of the Jews of Algeria, to separate them altogether in our thoughts from their brothers of Tunis, with whom they have close bonds of origin, of ancestry, of mentality. Nevertheless, their legal situation has nothing in common. Just as the political régime of Algeria, incorporated as a part of France, differs entirely from that of Tunis, which is only a French protectorate, so the status of the Algerian, a French citizen, differs from that of the Tunisian, who is a subject of the Bey.

In establishing her protectorate over Tunis, in 1881, France left to the Bey the greater part of his prerogatives. In the total population of 1,800,000 souls, there are scarcely 130,000 Europeans. These are protected by their states of origin. As for the rest, besides the Jews, who are represented by about 62,000 souls, the native element is exclusively Mohammedan.

From the special point of view of our present interests, the facts of the war, the situation of the Jews is as follows: The army of Tunis is recruited along sectarian lines, the decrees of the Beys who organized it—the latest refers to the year 1892—do not require military service of those who are not native Mohammedans. No Jew, therefore, could form part

of the contingents recruited in Tunis, which comprised in
the mobilization ten classes of about 4000 men each. (Mu-
slims of the so-called holy cities, such as Tunis, are exempted
from military service.) Up to 1897, there were in Tunis quite
a large number of Jews of Algerian origin, who, enjoying
French protection, had the same rights as Frenchmen, among
them that of serving in the French regiments. Since that date,
this protection has been withdrawn from them, and the former
French protégés have struggled in vain in order to obtain the
recognition of their original nationality. In the course of this
war, there was the case of a young Jew, Henri Bonan, who,
wishing at all costs to be a French soldier, presented himself
to the military authorities. The French resident-general had
declared that Bonan's father was a French citizen; the young
man had the resident-general subpoenaed before the tribunal
and won his case. He was recognized as a French citizen. He
volunteered, and was received as a student officer at the artillery
school of Fontainebleau; at the age of 20, having been decorated
with the Croix de Guerre, he was killed facing the enemy.¹²

A law passed by the French parliament in 1910 had in view
the naturalization of all Tunisians having rendered impor-
tant services in the economic development of the regency. But
in the four years which have preceded the war, a total of only
26 Jews had obtained their naturalization.

The situation of the Tunisian Jews is therefore altogether
special and abnormal; they may not form a regular part of
the army of the Republic, because they are subjects of the
Bey; they are not admitted into the Muslim corps of occupa-
tion of Tunis, because they are infidels. What possibility re-

¹² Archives of the Alliance Israélite Universelle. Report of
M. Ouziel, Director of the Schools of Tunis, on the "Tunisian
Jews and the War," 1917.
mained to them to serve France? There was left to them only
the right of volunteering in the corps of the Foreign Legion,
which is open to all foreigners. Although this corps consti-
tuted a special unit, which made itself illustrious on all battle-
fields, the Tunisian Jews, who in such large numbers are at-
tached to France and have French sentiments, did not wish
to have themselves voluntarily considered foreigners, to whom
this possibility alone remained to do their duty. Despite
everything, there were about 400 volunteers among these
Tunisian Jews; about sixty of them fell on the field of honor.
There would have been many more, if justice had been done
to the claim which they had been making for many years, and if
they had been admitted, like their Algerian coreligionists, into
the French family.

One is bound to affirm this all the more strongly upon con-
sideration of the attitude under fire of those of them who
were in the service; one must admit that they yielded nothing
to their comrades in the fight. Let us cite among them
Lieutenant Alexander Morali, killed on the plateau of Cra-
onne, while mounting joyously to the assault; the adjutant-
aviator Samama, whose machine exploded over Ste. Mene-
hould, causing the death of its pilot who had distinguished
himself on every occasion; Doctor Herbert Valensi (nephew
of General Valensi, chief of the Protocol of the Bey, deceased
in 1918), who, wounded during a bombardment, continued to
nurse the injured before having himself attended to; then the
volunteers, Victor Zeitoun, three times wounded; George
Samama, who took service at the age of 16; Germain Fain,
promoted sub-lieutenant for his wonderful conduct; Joseph
Seely, who fell in a charge, crying: "Vive la France!" Ser-
geant Henri-Isaac Bismuth, decorated with the military medal,
with the medal of Morocco, with the colonial medal, cited three times in the order of the day, wounded several times, who wished to return home with the chevrons of an officer and the cross of the Legion of Honor, "if he was not killed," and who did die in France, in the assault of the fort of Douaumont, on October 24, 1916, "after having," states the last citation, "led his platoon to the assault in a superb fashion and at the moment when he was trying to become master of an important part of a fortified place."

III. FOREIGN JEWS

In the ranks of the regiments of the Foreign Legion there were also several thousand Jews, "non-Frenchmen" living in France. In their capacity of unnaturalized immigrants, no obligations of any kind to undertake military service lay upon them. It is, therefore, as volunteers that they came to enroll themselves. What motives led them to do this? It suffices, in order to explain these, to read the proclamation which on August 3, 1914, the Federation of Jewish Societies, which had just been created, and which was composed exclusively of foreign Jews, caused to be affixed to the bill-boards of Paris in French and in Yiddish. It was in these terms: "France, the country of liberty, equality, and fraternity; France which has liberated humanity; France which, the first of all nations, recognized us, Jews, and gave us the rights of man and of citizen; France, where we have found, we and our families, for many years, a refuge and a shelter, is in danger! We, Jews, immigrants, what are we to do? While the whole of the French people rises as one man to the defence of the Fatherland, shall we stand by with our arms folded? No, if we are not yet Frenchmen in law, we are so in heart and in soul, and
our most sacred duty is to put ourselves at once at the disposal of that great and noble nation in order to participate in her defence. Brothers! This is the moment to pay our tribute of gratitude to the country in which we have found moral enfranchisement and material well-being. Immigrant Jews, do your duty, and vive la France!"

For the French Jew, the love of France is not a matter of reason. It is a part of his moral patrimony, it is his strict duty, absolute, as it is for all Frenchmen, and is impelled by instinct alone. But the Jewish alien, who comes to the standard of France, to him it is an act of reflection; his conscience is ruled by powerful reasons of a spiritual and ideal order. If he has contracted an engagement, it is in order to pay the obligation which he owes to France, "second country of every man who belongs to an oppressed people." It was also because France represented those ideas of Liberty, because her victory would be that of the old Jewish aspiration for justice, for a reign of righteousness.

That was the feeling of the processions of Jews who marched through Paris behind the tri-color flag, during the first days of August. That was the profound feeling of those whose enlistments were registered by the thousands at the Université populaire juive, of those lines of Jews who came to present themselves to the military authorities. Not all of them were accepted; the ghetto, where they were vegetating but yesterday, is not a school of physical vigor, and the medical commission was compelled to reject a goodly number of these people who deliberately came to offer the sacrifice of their

"Lecture delivered by M. Gabriel Seailles, professor at the University of Paris, at a celebration in honor of Jewish volunteers. See also, André Spire: Les juifs et la Guerre, Paris, Payot, 1917."
lives to a country which was not yet their own. How many among them were accepted? The most conservative estimate places the number at 4000—for a population of 30,000 souls, it will be agreed that even this number demands respect. There were among them men of every age and of every condition—physicians and students, business men who had already acquired a good position, small tradesmen of modest incomes, fathers of families, and bachelors. In the course of a lecture delivered on the *Oeuvre des Orphelins Israélites de la Guerre*, by M. Armand Feldmann, Counsellor at the Court of Appeals at Paris," we find the following remarks which characterize the situation of the volunteers: "Several names deserve to be recalled, if only by way of example: Léon Kandel had three children; he had a shoe-store which was extensively patronized; Samson Kaufmann was forty years of age, and had four children; he had been working for ten years in one house, in which he was earning a daily salary of ten francs; Max Halperin was forty-five years of age, and had five children; he was making an easy livelihood as a tailor, and was well able to maintain and bring up his little family; Israel Lopato was thirty-five years old; he had just opened a furniture establishment, in which he had invested all his savings; Janckel Wolf Mendelson was forty years of age, and had three children; Henri Najlis, who was earning ten francs a day, had four children; Isaac Sosnovitz was only thirty-eight years old, but he left behind him a wife and six children. There were many others. All of them were killed."

Russian Jews, Roumanian Jews, Oriental Jews, they all occupy the same page of glory in French annals. They were engaged in the severest combats because the regiments of the

"Published by the Society *Le Mont-Sinai*, 1916.
Legion participated in all the most bloody actions. Hundreds of them fell, notably at the Marne, then later before Carency in May, 1915, and in the Champagne offensive of September, 1915. A single regiment, which participated in this last action, had, according to the testimony of the Jewish chaplain of the division, seven hundred Jewish immigrants. The losses which the Legion had sustained in the course of these operations were such that it was necessary at that moment to reduce it from four regiments to only one. It was then that a large number of the surviving Jews had the opportunity to be sent into purely French regiments. On various occasions, they had not found in the Legion the welcome which they expected, and to which they had a right. The manner in which this corps was recruited, composed as it was of aliens of every nationality, the necessity of maintaining in it a very rigorous discipline by reason of its heterogenous composition, the fact that it had particularly strict officers and subalterns, who did not always understand the mentality of these strangers, gave rise to many untoward incidents; many of our coreligionists became embittered, not understanding why their whole-hearted devotion to France should be repaid with ingratitude, why the disinterestedness of their beautiful act was suspected, why sometimes they were insulted, even in that which they held most dear, their Judaism. Some complaints were formulated, which the French League for the Rights of Man submitted to the public authorities.

The partial dissolution of the Legion which was effected in September, 1915, remedied this sad situation. The aliens from allied countries, including Russia, were authorized to pass into French regiments, or to return to their native countries. Those of neutral countries—Roumania was at that
time among these—were to remain in the Legion. In 1916, when Roumania entered the alliance of the Powers, they were permitted to take their places in the French army, or to return to their country. The aliens from enemy countries—Ottoman subjects, for example—had the choice of going to Morocco, or of remaining in the Legion. In 1917, when the Russian Revolution broke out, the Russian Jews had the choice of returning to their country in order to volunteer in the national army. Many of them did this.

What was the attitude of these foreigners, despite the moral and other sufferings to which they were subjected?

There were, first, the Russian Jews, the most numerous. Physicians, students of medicine in the midst of their studies in the various French universities—they all wished to enroll themselves from the first day. To give the complete list is impossible. Here are some of the names: André Feit, Jacques Goldenberg, Wladimir Rosenstein, Bronislas Winaver, Venceslas Bronislawsky, Jacob Kaminer, Leon Cheuvisse, David Goldzeigner, Isser Seilienger. There were the two brothers Kopelman, of Lodz, both of whom were killed, another brother having fallen on the field in Russia; there was Doctor Chatt, "the little Russian," as he was affectionately called by the poilus of the regiment,¹⁸ who appreciated the treasure of a devotion which manifested itself even under the most violent bombardment, and who was twice cited in the order of the day, for having given proof, in the care which he lavished upon the wounded, of "the most absolute contempt of danger," having been wounded in the exercise of his duty and having refused to be removed. There was Doctor

Mendel Cemach, of Radom, who, braving a rain of steel and fire, in order to take care of the wounded, was cited several times, and was killed at his post. Others were killed under the same conditions: Pines, Bortmann, and others, always in giving proof of the same bravery. Let us cite also Doctor Aisik Liber, who was wounded nine times, had a foot amputated, was decorated with the military medal, and who, states a citation, “assured the removal of the wounded without any attention to his own suffering.”

The intellectual Russian was symbolized by the beautiful figure of Amédée Rothstein. Pupil of the School of Roads and Bridges, he enrolled on the first day, was incorporated in one of the regiments of the Foreign Legion where his deeds of arms won him the commission of an officer. He was transferred upon the dissolution of the Legion into a regiment of engineers. During the Champagne offensive in September, 1915, he was put at the head of a platoon of infantry of attack; he charged, sabre in the air, at the head of his men, “with a remarkable impetuosity and coolness which won the admiration of both officers and men.” Lieutenant Rothstein was made a chevalier of the Legion of Honor. Later, before Verdun, in August, 1916, he led his men brilliantly to the assault of a redoubt, strongly held by the enemy, which he succeeded in passing twice. Struck with a bullet in the head in the midst of the action, he died gloriously on August 18.

Then, there is the multitude of modest and obscure heroes, with sublime souls, from among whom it is difficult to make a choice, and many of whom are now reposing in the military cemeteries of France, in the shadow of the Mogen Dovid. There was Sergeant Georges Silberstein, of Lodz, who escaped from captivity in Germany, re-enlisted in the aviation corps,
and was killed in the service; Leon Zadickson “who always volunteered for perilous missions, model of courage, who, on August 20, 1917, was among the first to jump into a German trench under the violent fire of machine guns”; Henri Lemal, who, “under a violent bombardment, rescued the chief of his platoon and several men who had been buried under a crumbling dug-out”; Jacques Naymann, who, “seeing three comrades succumb in carrying help to an officer, carried him upon his back, and succeeded in bringing back a wounded man”; Alexander Glantzmann, who, “after having nursed his captain, who was severely wounded, carried him for five hundred metres behind the firing line, traversing a zone which was being intensely bombarded by machine guns, and then rejoined his company”; Sergeant Isaac Stollar, of whom the following lines which his colonel addressed to him when he was wounded, are a most eloquent eulogy: “I was much saddened when I saw you being nursed as a wounded man—return to us soon, for we have always need of men of heart like you.”

Men of heart—all were that, and the text of citations celebrates their merits. There is, for example, Joseph Krouchansky, cited three times, and of whom the last citation, in April, 1918, exalts “the remarkable courage, the superb reputation which he acquired by his marvellous deportment under all conditions.” In 1917, he had received the military medal on the battlefield.

Then, there is Sergeant Klionsky, with long white hair, who, at Carency, in 1915, was the first, as always, to go forward well in advance of his section, pressing his rifle between his nervous fingers. Two bombs explode; he raises himself, his throat gashed, his mouth bleeding, takes several steps, but his strength fails. Then, with his eyes turned towards the enemy, his right
hand still caressing his rifle, he cries to his comrades: "I am accounted for. Do not bother with my skin. Forward, Legion! Vive la France et la Republique!"

Popular with everybody was the Russian Jew, Litwak, also killed at Carency, who, a short time before the fatal hour which he felt was at hand, wrote to his friends: "I feel instinctively that I will remain upon the battlefield. I will not see my wife and my baby any more. I will tell you all that fills the soul when one knows that one is seeing his last hours with the accompaniment of the cannonade in the midst of the activities of war. The more anxious the heart is, the stronger is the will to act, so that the whole world might see that the Jews know how to die for liberty, for their ideal. Here we are before Arras; in a few hours we will go to the combat with the order that we have received: 'Die, but do not retreat.' I know that we will fight well, that we will die with our chests bared, and that we will show the whole world that the Jews know how to die with pride. Death has no terror for us, when we know that our deaths will not pass without being perceived, that good will result from it for our persecuted Jewish race. And we will demonstrate to France that the Jews know how to die for a country which makes no difference between its children. I am happy to die for noble, republican France, which is worthy of every sacrifice, because she will not forsake my wife, my child. My dear child, thy father is going to his death for a great ideal. He hopes and he wishes that the same fire will burn ever in thy heart. You will kiss my child, you will console my wife, and will say to them that, in dying, my last thought was of them. But enough of sentimentalism! In an hour we will march, and we will die for France, for the

Jews, for the emancipation of all the Jews. Long live liberty! Long live the Republic! Long live free, noble, and democratic France!"

Litwak fell in battle; with him many Russian Jews were killed, or were severely wounded. They paid their debt to France and to their Jewish ideals.

The Roumanian Jews were in no way inferior to their Russian brethren; they also were numerous in the ranks of the army. They fought and fell with the same valor. Their state of mind was expressed in a touching fashion by one of them, Rosenzwit, who, before falling upon the field, wrote to his aged parents in some "Jewish street" in Bucharest: "Having found it impossible to remain indifferent when democratic and hospitable France was attacked, I volunteered in the army. If I have done wrong forgive me, and if I die, vive la France!"

Their attitude under fire cannot be described better than by reproducing one of the citations of Kraemer, an agronomist in the service of the Alliance Israélite, who was promoted officer for his brilliant services: "On the fifth of May, 1917, under the most murderous fire of machine guns, he led his section brilliantly to assault enemy positions. He held his troops together under violent fire of heavy artillery and Minewerfer. In the course of the night he participated in an energetic counter-attack with hand grenades, maintained in person the barrier which he had just captured, upon which three German attacks broke. Excellent officer of perfect bravery and self-sacrifice."

A number of Ottoman Jews, although their country was one of the enemy Powers, wished, because they owed much to France, to place themselves under her banner of liberty and

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*Published in the newspaper, *La Guerre Sociale*, June 20, 1915.*
of justice. Let us cite Doctor Elie Haim, of Smyrna, who, established as a physician in New York, came on the first day to claim his place among his confrères of the medical corps of the French army. Let us also cite the soldier, Alalouf, of the first foreign regiment, who "requested, as an honor, to occupy during the fight the place which he knew to be the most dangerous and who fell gloriously in that place under the blows of the enemy, while giving to all a fine example of courage and of devotion."

Let us recall especially Albert Sonsol, another native of Smyrna, teacher at the School of the Alliance Israélite at Tetuan (Morocco), who symbolizes the most noble aspirations of the Oriental Jewish soul. From the beginning he had wished to fight under the folds of the French flag. But as he was a subject of an enemy Power, his repeated prayers met with numerous difficulties. As a result of his persistence, however, and thanks to the support of the French consul at Tetuan, who knew how to appreciate the moral worth of the young teacher and his enthusiasm for France, he succeeded in being accepted as a volunteer in a colonial regiment. He then wrote to the president of the Alliance Israélite these letters of grandiose simplicity: "July 13, 1915.—I have the pleasure of announcing to you my departure for the 34th Colonial, which is now actually fighting in the Bois-le-Prêtre. It is with a lively joy that I have received the news of this departure which realizes my most ardent wishes. I will at last take an active part in this war for liberty and for justice, the motto of that other little country, the Alliance."—"July 30. We are now in the trenches. It is useless to tell you that I am experiencing deep joy. I expect to do my duty and to be

10 Archives of Alliance Israélite Universelle.
a worthy child of France and of the Alliance. I expect that
the baptism of blood will be one of the most brilliant in the
danger, which it will present."—“August 3. We have all done
our duty. We are all doing our duty, nothing but our
duty, in fighting against the invader of the soil which I
have adopted as my country. I have hastened to pay with my
blood for this honor and this glory. We are returned from the
trenches. My baptism of fire has been the more interesting
because of the furious bombardment to which our positions
were subjected. Despite the novelty of the situation, I main-
tained a calmness upon which I was congratulated by my
comrades and my officers. I had always had confidence in my
sang-froid, but I was myself astonished at the little emotion
produced by this first contact with the realities of war. It
seemed to me that I was more moved on the day of my
teacher’s examination. The enthusiasm which animates me
will not abandon me.”

Alas! A chance enemy shell put an end to this beauti-
ful enthusiasm which seemed indestructible. The voice of
Sonsol was silenced; but now the French consul at Tetuan,
M. Lucciardi, takes up his pen in order to inform the presi-
dent of the Alliance Israéliète of the death of this valiant
teacher. He does it in these terms of praise: “I have the
sad duty of announcing to you the heroic death of Corp-
oral Albert Sonsol, of the 34th Regiment of colonial in-
fantry, who fell gloriously on the field of honor on October 2,
1915, in the region of Tahure. The valiant and lamented
professor fought as a volunteer, and his letters breathed the
most pure patriotism, the most beautiful enthusiasm, and
the most tender devotion for the country of his adoption. He
had written to me upon his return from the trenches of the first
line: 'I hope to live a glorious life and to die a glorious death. I wish to deserve the country of my adoption, to serve unto death, and the enthusiasm which animated me when I was at your side is still burning and will never be extinguished. I have not accepted the appointment as Turkish interpreter at the Dardanelles. My place is at the front, in the trenches, and not aboard a ship, sheltered from the shot and shell of the boches. Thanks, my dear consul, for having opened to me the doors of our sublime army, of our beloved France! It is to you that I owe the greatest happiness of my life, and it is with joy that I will suffer and will die for my ideal—the love of France.'" And the consul added: "Death, which shot down this beautiful soul, deprived the country of one of her good servants, of one of her best children."

There, in these few lines, is briefly told how the foreign Jew served France!

IV. Religion and the War

Although the French state, purely secular since the separation of the Church from the State in December, 1905, does not recognize nor support any religion, it was necessary in times of peace to foresee that in the case of war it would be essential to give satisfaction to the religious needs of the soldier. Various laws, of which the latest are dated April 26, 1910, and May 5, 1913, regulate the situation of the military chaplains of the army. These are nominated by the Minister of War. They are attached to the sanitary service and are connected with groups of litter-bearers; they are on a par with captains in pay, pension, and insignia. In principle, each army corps receives a Jewish chaplain. At the beginning of the war twenty Jewish chaplains took the places assigned to
them. But experience showed that, while in certain corps—those of Brittany, for example, which had few Jewish elements—the presence of a Jewish chaplain was not indispensable, it was necessary, on the other hand, to increase the number of chaplains in the formations where, as in the Algerian division, the Jewish soldiers were very numerous. Each one of these divisions then received a Jewish chaplain. For the same reason it was necessary to assign several chaplains to the army of the Orient.

When the service was completely organized in conformity with the religious needs of the Jews, there were twenty-one chaplains of army corps, eight of division, and five at fortified places. Their functions were exercised—counting those who became sick and who died—by thirty-seven rabbis or acting rabbis, of whom five were on the Oriental front. Besides these ministers mobilized as chaplains, two rabbis served in the ranks, one as a common soldier in a regiment of infantry; the other as a stretcher-bearer. These two soldier rabbis died, the one, Rabbi Boris, of Lunéville, killed at the beginning of the campaign; the other, Rabbi Vexler, teacher of theology at the Rabbinical Seminary of France, died of disease contracted in the trenches.

Four of the rabbis who were chaplains also died; one was Rabbi Schwartz, assistant to the grand rabbin of Belgium, who, while in the service, contracted a disease which carried him off before his time. Three others were struck down on the field of honor in the exercise of their duties: Grand Rabbin Abraham Bloch, of Lyons, chaplain to the 14th Army Corps, struck by a shell while carrying a crucifix to a wounded Christian, who, on the point of dying, asked him for it. Rabbi Ruff, chaplain at Verdun, mortally struck by a bomb during a bom-
barricament of the hospital at Vadelaincourt, near Verdun, by
a German aeroplane. Rabbi Witsen, of St. Etienne, chaplain
to the 21st Army Corps, who was killed by an aeroplane bomb
which struck him upon the head, in a village in Champagne.

The French rabbinate has, as we see, paid a heavy tribute to
death: six of its members have passed away. Two among
them, who perished under particularly tragic conditions,
MM. Bloch and Ruff, were exempt from all military obligations
on account of age; they had wished at all costs to be at the
place of honor, that is to say, of danger. The death of Rabbi
Ruff was tragic. He had both legs shot away during a bom-
rardment at night; his last thought was for his wife and his
children. “Tell them,” were his final words, “that I love them
very much.” The death of Rabbi Bloch, which is a most
beautiful example of human solidarity, is recounted in the
following words by a priest, Father Jamin, who was present
during his last moments: “On Saturday, August 29, 1914, in
a village in the Vosges, the Germans destroyed by shell fire a
farm-house in which 150 wounded men had been sheltered.
A fire broke out, and the stretcher-bearers had to take the
men out under a rain of shells. It was in the course of this
evacuation that a soldier, seriously wounded, taking the rabbi
for a Catholic priest, asked him for a crucifix which he wished
to kiss. Simply, without hesitation, careless of danger, the
rabbi began to seek the crucifix which was asked of him,
succeeded in finding one, and carried to the anxious soldier
the symbol of his faith. It was after having accomplished this
act of charity that the rabbi left the farm-house, accompanying

A seventh rabbi, M. Chostmann, who was no longer a mem-
er of the official rabbinate, was mobilized as a soldier and died
of a disease contracted at the front.
another wounded man up to the nearest ambulance. The shell which killed him exploded several paces in front of the ambulance into which the wounded man had just been placed."

In reporting the recital of Father Jamin, M. Barrès expresses himself in these words: "No commentary would add anything to the emotion of sympathy which such an act inspires in us, an act so full of human tenderness. Here, human brotherhood finds its perfect expression; the old rabbi presenting to the soldier, who is dying, the sign of Christ on the Cross—it is an image which shall never perish."

"Was it not sublime?" writes M. Barthou, formerly Prime Minister. "And what Catholic will deny to this rabbi the pious homage of a grateful admiration?"

The benevolent activities displayed by the members of the rabbinate and the services which they rendered have been recognized by a number of important distinctions. Two were decorated with the Cross of the Legion of Honor: Rabbi Albert Hertz, of Paris, chaplain to the 4th Army Corps; Rabbi Pruner, of Avignon, chaplain to the Expeditionary Corps to the Near East. Nineteen were cited: Rabbi Back, of Paris; Grand Rabbin Bloch, of Lyon; Cohen, of Bayonne; Eisenbeth, of Constantine; Ginsburger, of Geneva; Haguenauer, of Besançon; Rabbi Hertz, of Paris; Acting Rabbi Hirschler, of Marseille; Rabbi Henri Lévy, of Mascara; Nathan Lévy, of Rouen; Maurice Liber, of Paris (twice cited); Poliakoff 21


22 The grand rabbin of Belgium, Armand Bloch, the brother of Grand Rabbin Abraham Bloch, had the honor of being condemned by the Germans to six months imprisonment for having in his Passover sermon, in 1916, pronounced these words: "Those people who do not demand their liberty, and who resign themselves to slavery, are dastards."
(thrice cited, once as non-commissioned officer before his nomination as chaplain); Pruner, of Avignon; Ruff, of Verdun; J. Sachs, of Chalons; Schuhl, teacher at Paris; Sommer, of Tours; Mathieu Wolff, of Belfort; Zeitlin, teacher of Hebrew at Paris.

Where and how did our chaplains exercise their ministerial functions? First, by assisting the wounded. This they did everywhere, at the first-aid posts of the battalions, in the ambulances at the front, where the first evacuation took place—wherever they knew there were Jews who were suffering. They saw to it also that the dead Jews were identified, that the last religious honors were rendered to them, and that a Jewish emblem appeared upon their graves. An order from the Great General Headquarters authorized them on December 10, 1915, to substitute for the cross, which, in error, had been placed upon the graves of Jewish soldiers, a symbol in the form of the tablets of the Ten Commandments.

The chaplains also exerted themselves, and quite naturally, to endeavor to intensify the religious sentiments in the hearts of the Jewish soldiers. The organization of regular religious services was frequently a difficult task. But whenever it was possible to hold regular services, our chaplains hastened to assemble their faithful followers. Here is a minyan, hastily collected, right near the trench, to which our rabbi, who, when a civilian, had never practised riding, has come on horse-
back or by whatever means offered. There, the chief officer of a corps is telling the Jewish soldiers that their chaplain will hold services in such and such a barn, or village school, under a ruined roof, between walls which are menaced by imminent ruin, or in some subterranean shelter, which is not entirely proof against a death-dealing shell. They assemble just the same, with cheerful hearts and with joy, whenever there is an opportunity to chant the Megillah or to celebrate the Seder. When circumstances are more favorable and our Jewish poilus are at rest in the proximity of a city, where there is a synagogue—or even the last remains of a synagogue—then their pleasure is at its height!

The martyred synagogues of the French front—how many pious reunions were held in them to the great edification of our soldiers! All of them have been more or less affected—in the part of Alsace, reconquered during the very first days, as well as in the parts of France which constituted the advance lines of the defence. Destroyed in Alsace were the synagogues of Thann, of Seppois le-Bas; the temple at Etain, a city occupied for four years by Germans and possessing an old Jewish community, was burned; those of Verdun (which had been burnt in 1870), of Pont-à-Mousson, of Rheims, of Chalon were seriously damaged. From that of Blâmont the Germans stole all the copper utensils; those of Belfort and Rouen were subjected to aerial bombardment. That of Lunéville, fortunately, remained intact; only the communal house, with the archives, was burned.

Thus, it appears that it was necessary that the Houses of God and of Israel should also pay their tribute to this atrocious war.
V. Conclusion

These pages of glory and of mourning do not describe the entire picture which we have endeavored to sketch of the participation of the Jews of France in the most bloody of wars. The war was not only that of the trenches. The valiant nurse, who, in the ambulances and at the front, in sight of constant danger, devotes her life to the wounded, is in her own way also a soldier. Did she not show military heroism, this Mlle. Blanche Lévy, that the Croix de Guerre came to recompense her because near the firing line, at Commercy, for 35 months, she watched the wounded during the most violent bombardments? A little further from the line, but exposed to aerial bombardment, there was Mlle. Sophie Friedmon, chief nurse of the hospital of Berck, whose devotion won her the Medaille de la Reconnaisance Française. There were also others, very numerous, at the front and in the interior—lay sisters of charity of the most admirable devotion.

It is also necessary to reserve a place for those civilian Jews of the north and of the east, of the France occupied by the enemy, or within range of his cannon, who gave the most beautiful examples of patriotism. At Lunéville, temporarily occupied, there was the brave old man, Kahn, who, upon the arrival of the Germans, ran toward them, displaying the French flag, and, struck by their bullets, he fell crying: “Vive la France!” At Lourches, in the north, there was the mayor, Dreyfus, a great manufacturer, condemned to three years hard labor by the German Council of War, and interned in the prison of Siegburg, for having helped young men to flee from the commune; the French Government decorated him with the Legion of Honor, after the victory, because he sent food to the population of Valenciennes at the peril of his life. There were other
brave men cited in the "order of the nation." M. Marcel Bernard, sub-prefect of the arrondissemement of Bontoise, who, in September, 1914, "under particularly critical circumstances, when the enemy was menacing the arrondissement, reassured the population, arrested the exodus of the inhabitants from the region, and gave to all powerful comfort." M. Lévy, of Epernay, who, during the bombardment, removed the wounded from the hospital. M. Francfort, deputy-mayor of Amiens, who, "during the German occupation was entrusted with relations with the enemy authorities, fulfilled his mission with courage and dignity, and gave a fine example of poise and of civic devotion"; M. Jacob Blum, municipal councilor at Pont-a-Mousson (a city which was for a moment in German hands and which remained later always near the lines), who is the object of the following beautiful citation, in "the order of the country": "He rendered to the city most signal services during the most tragic hours. During the seventeen days of bombardment and the period of the German occupation, he aided, despite extreme difficulty, in feeding the population, composed in great part of women and children. He did not cease to give proof, on every occasion, of courage and initiative."

It is necessary to refer finally to the various institutions of solidarity and of humanity, due to the initiative and to the generosity of the Jews: L'Oeuvre des Orphelins Israélites de la Guerre, which we have already had occasion to mention, and which has been honored with a prize by the French Academy; the Aide Fraternelle, which gave material and moral help to Jewish alien volunteers, whose families were without resources or who lived in countries with which all correspondence was impossible; the hospitals supported by generous Jews, and
which are devoted to the wounded of France (among which Rothschild Hospital occupies the first rank). Besides this, other establishments were instituted by the Rothschild family for the care of the wounded and the sick. Let us mention finally the beautiful establishment of M. Jacques Seligman, who put at the disposal of blind soldiers of the allied army his *Château de Madrid*, with its 160 rooms, and devoted to its upkeep an annual stipend of 75,000 francs, attaching to his liberality only one condition, that American blind soldiers should be cared for here in the same way as their comrades.

Everywhere the Jews of France have given the most beautiful example of that "sacred union," which has become the sublime slogan of this war. Doing so, they have the feeling of having accomplished only their duty—their duty as Frenchmen for those who for a long time formed an integral part of the French country; their duty of gratitude toward France for those who, but strangers yesterday, acquired their naturalization papers at the price of their blood; their duty as Jews for those and the others, since in serving France, they were serving the cause of justice, they were serving the cause of the "ideal," of which, to use the strong words of the great citizen, Clemenceau, on the day following victory, "France is a soldier—always."
THE STORY OF BRITISH JEWRY IN THE WAR

BY THE REV. MICHAEL ADLER, D. S. O., S. C. F., B. A.

Thou hast given us home and freedom, Mother England,
Thou hast let us live again,
Free and fearless, 'midst thy free and fearless children,
Sharing with them, as one people, grief and gladness,
Joy and pain.

For the Jew has heart and hand, our Mother England,
And they both are thine to-day—
Thine for life and thine for death—yea, thine forever!
Wilt thou take them as we give them, freely, gladly?
England, say!

VOLUNTARY ENLISTMENT

The sentiment conveyed in these stirring lines by Mrs. Lucas represents to the full the spirit in which the Jews of the British empire came forward to play their part in the struggle that commenced in August, 1914. The number of men of our faith then attached to the regular branches of his Majesty's forces was comparatively small, about fifty being known to be in the Royal Navy, four hundred officers and men in the Regular Army, and about six hundred in the Special Reserve and Territorial Forces. In response to the appeal for volunteers, Jews came from all classes and from all parts of the world to uphold England's cause, and the lists published from time to time in the Jewish Chronicle, with the names of officers and men who were on Active Service before conscription came into force, gave a total of about 10,000, of whom 1,140 were officers. In the British Dominions (Canada, Australia; New Zealand, South Africa), in the British West
Indies, and other colonies, the proportion of Jews who enlisted was very high. In Australia, for example, out of a total Jewish population of 19,000, there were 1,800 enlistments and 250 deaths in action. Of the families of English birth, the proportion of voluntary enlistment was something approaching 90 per cent of the available young men, whilst British-born sons of alien immigrants from countries like Russia and Poland contributed a large number to the ranks. Thus, from the well-known Jews' Free School in the East End of London, some 1,200 old boys joined up, and the Jewish Houses at the public schools of Clifton and Cheltenham can point to the proud record of practically every one of their present and past pupils of military age having taken a commission. It is further striking evidence of the enthusiasm of the English Jews in joining the forces at the outbreak of the war that the Jewish Lads' Brigade, which both in London and the provinces trained Jewish boys in military exercises without being regarded as a part of the army, contributed eighty officers out of a total of ninety young men who were serving as officers of the Brigade at the time.

**Chaplains**

As soon as it was known that so many men joined up, active steps were taken to safeguard their religious welfare. An abridged prayer-book was prepared by the Rev. Michael Adler, the senior Jewish chaplain, for the use of sailors and soldiers. This book was afterwards enlarged under the editorship of the chief rabbi, and widely circulated, 101,000 copies in all being printed, of which about 11,000 were despatched to the troops of the United States, in France. Subsequently, an additional chaplain, the Rev. S. Lipson, was appointed,
and a number of ministers throughout the United Kingdom were designated by the War Office to take charge of the spiritual interests of the men in the various camps scattered throughout the country. Services were regularly held, and hospital visitation carefully organized. In January, 1915, the first Jewish chaplain to proceed on active service with the British Army went to the front in the person of the Rev. Michael Adler, to organize religious work among the scattered Jewish troops in the field. As a distinctive sign he wore on his uniform the Shield of David, which badge was officially accepted by the War Office in place of a cross, both on uniforms and as a memorial over the graves of Jewish dead. During the course of the war, sixteen other chaplains were appointed, and they served in various areas, whilst two chaplains accompanied the Australian forces in Gallipoli and France. The Very Reverend the Chief Rabbi (Dr. J. H. Hertz) visited the bases and front areas of France and Belgium in 1915 as the guest of Field Marshal Lord French.

**Jewish War Services Committee**

Until the middle of 1916, the Visitation Committee of the United Synagogue of London was officially recognized by the War Office as the authority in matters relating to Jews serving in the forces; but, owing to the remarkable growth of the work in all directions, a special body representative of all sections of the community was formed and called the Jewish War Services Committee, the chairman of which was Mr. Edmund Sebag-Montefiore, C. B. E., and the vice-chairman was Major Lionel de Rothschild, M. P., O. B. E. Major W. Schonfield was appointed officer in charge of administration, and a large amount of valuable work was performed.
in the interests of the Jews in the services. Towards the close of the war, the Central Council for the Welfare of Jewish Members of the Forces was established under the chairmanship of Mr. R. Waley Cohen, and a Jewish branch of the Y. M. C. A. opened in West London. In the general work of the Y. M. C. A., both at home and abroad, English Jewish communities took an active part, considerable sums being raised both in Australia and in the United Kingdom, and several huts being contributed. Lieutenant Harold Boas, of Australia, was officially attached to the Y. M. C. A. work in England and in France, with especial regard to the needs of the Jewish soldier.

Hospitals

Mention should also be made of the special work carried on in connection with the care of the sick and wounded. In addition to a number of physicians and nurses serving, a hospital called Beech House Military Hospital was organized in North-West London, and was entirely staffed by Jewish ladies and gentlemen under the direction of Dr. M. A. Dutch, Mrs. Marsden (Royal Red Cross Decoration), and Mrs. F. Davidson, M.B.E. Lady Samuel, the wife of Sir Marcus Samuel, Bart., placed her country residence, "The Mote," Maidstone, Kent, at the disposal of the authorities as a military hospital, and a Convalescent Home, established near Brighton by Mr. John Howard, was also utilized for a similar purpose. Towards the end of the war, Mrs. Bischoffsheim opened "Tudor House," Hampstead, London, as a military hospital for Jewish soldiers, with fifty beds—an institution which performed most valuable service.
Records

In the early battles of the war Jews who were in the Royal Navy and the Regular Army took part, and on one of the first ships sunk in the North Sea, H. M. S. Pathfinder, Stoker William Stern, who had been a sailor for some time, was drowned. Lieutenant R. L. Q. Henriques, of the 1st (Queen’s) Royal West Surrey Regiment, was the first Jewish officer to lay down his life at the battle of the Valley of the Aisne, in September, 1914, and to commence that long and sad casualty list which is now on record as evidence of the manner in which the Jews of England and the empire played their part.

The record of the number of Jews who were on active service throughout the whole war will never be accurately known, owing to the difficulty of compiling complete lists. The military authorities rendered, from time to time, both abroad and in the United Kingdom, nominal rolls of Jews who were serving, and, in addition, the chaplains and officiating clergymen, in the course of their ministrations, discovered many other men; but the experience of all associated with the work showed that only two-thirds, if as large a proportion, of the actual number of men on service ever became known. All figures, therefore, relative to the number of men in the army, number of casualties, number of honors and distinctions gained, must be qualified by this knowledge.

The total Jewish population of the United Kingdom is computed at 275,000. To these figures must be added the numbers in the Dominions from which men were recruited, a further 145,000, making, in all, a rough total of 420,000 for the British empire, including women and children. Among the male population, a large proportion of Jews of alien birth were not available as soldiers, so that the exact total of acceptable
men cannot be accurately ascertained. As far as existing records testify, some 50,000 Jews, from the beginning to the end of the war, were in some branch of his Majesty’s forces. The manner in which Jewish officers and men were distributed among the thousand and one units of the forces renders the task of compiling exact records an unusually complicated one. The battalions and divisions recruited from the large centres of Jewish population in the United Kingdom, as London, Manchester, Liverpool, and Leeds, naturally contained the largest number of Jewish representatives, but they were also to be found scattered by ones and twos in every kind of formation.

**Jewish Units**

In the early part of the war, the War Office gave facilities for an attempt to be made to enlist Jews to serve together in units on the principle of the “Pals” battalions which were so popular in some of the provincial towns, but the result was not a success. In Egypt, however, a unit was recruited, early in 1915, to be sent to the expedition in the Dardanelles, and, under the able leadership of a non-Jewish officer, Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Patterson, D. S. O., this body of men, about 1,000 strong, was known as the Zion Mule Corps, and performed extremely valuable service in taking up supplies and ammunition to the forces on the Gallipoli peninsula. These Jews wore the badge of the Shield of David on their uniforms, and were recruited both from the Palestinian colonists, who had taken refuge in Egypt, and from among the Egyptian Jews. After they had completed their service, in January, 1916, the corps was disbanded.

Colonel Patterson was also prominently identified as the first commanding officer with the successful raising in England
of the "Judeans," or Jewish Units of the Royal Fusiliers, which came into existence early in 1917. In their desire to enlist Jews of Russian birth in the British army, the Government accepted a proposal for these men and other Jews to be placed in a regiment together, with special privileges as regards the practices of their faith, and later decided to send these units to Egypt and Palestine. In all, three battalions, the 38th, 39th, and 40th Royal Fusiliers, were despatched to the East. Over 4,500 men belonged to the "Judeans," including some 1,000 Russian Jews recruited from the United States, who were stimulated by their Zionist ideals to join the British army and fight for the possession of Palestine. The 38th and 39th battalions arrived in time to take part in the final advance, by which General Sir Edmund Allenby concluded the conquest of Palestine in September, 1918, and acquitted themselves with great distinction. The 39th battalion was commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel E. Margolin, D. S. O., who had served as an officer in the Australian forces, and the 40th battalion was under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel F. D. Samuel, D. S. O., who, after taking part in some of the heaviest fighting in France and Belgium, was transferred from the 3rd London Regiment to take charge of this section of the Jewish Unit.

Casualties and Honors

The large majority of Jews wearing his Majesty's uniform thus remained scattered in smaller or larger groups, and fought side by side with their comrades of other faiths. The record of casualties demonstrates that, whilst the largest number of deaths, over 1,800, occurred in France and Belgium, Jews took part in the fighting everywhere, and there was
scarcely a unit in the whole navy, army, and air force which did not include some Jews on its strength.

The casualties, as known up to the date of this article, number:

- Officers Fallen in Action or Died in Active Service: 316
- Non-Commissioned Officers and Men: 2008
- Wounded and Missing: 6350
- Total: 8674

The decorations and honors awarded for services rendered were, as far as have been ascertained, as follows:

- Victoria Cross: 5
- Distinguished Service Order: 50
- Military Crosses: 240
- Distinguished Conduct Medals: 70
- Military Medals: 250
- Mentioned in Despatches: 260
- Foreign Honors and other Distinctions: 230
- Total: 1105

THE VICTORIA CROSSES

The official records of the exploits of the five V. C.'s are as follows:

**Lieutenant Frank Alexander de Pass, late 34th Prince Albert Victor's Own Poona Horse.**—"For conspicuous bravery near Festubert on November 24th, 1914, in entering a German sap and destroying a traverse in the face of the enemy's bombs and for subsequently rescuing, under heavy fire, a wounded man who was lying exposed in the open. Lieutenant de Pass lost his life on this day in a second attempt to capture the aforesaid sap, which had been re-occupied by the enemy."

**No. 168a. Corporal Issy Smith (Shmulovitch) 1st Battalion, Manchester Regiment.**—"For most conspicuous bravery
on 26th April, 1915, near Ypres when he left his company on his own initiative and went well forward towards the enemy's position to assist a severely wounded man, whom he carried a distance of 250 yards to safety, whilst exposed the whole time to heavy machine gun and rifle fire. Subsequently Corporal Smith displayed great gallantry when casualties were very heavy in voluntarily assisting to bring in many more wounded men throughout the whole day, and attending them with the greatest devotion to duty regardless of personal risk."

PRIVATE LEONARD KEYSOR, 1st Battalion, Australian Imperial Force.—"For most conspicuous bravery and devotion to duty at Lone Point trenches in the Gallipoli Peninsula. On August 7th, 1915, he was in a trench which was being heavily bombed by the enemy. He picked up two live bombs and threw them back at the enemy at great risk to his own life, and continued throwing bombs, although himself wounded, thereby saving a portion of the trench which it was important to hold. On August 8th, at the same place, Pte. Keysor successfully bombed the enemy out of a position from which a temporary mastery over his own trench had been obtained, and was again wounded. Although marked for hospital he declined to leave, and volunteered to throw bombs for another Company which had lost its bomb throwers. He continued to bomb the enemy till the situation was relieved."

No. 18105. PRIVATE J. WHITE (WEISS), 6th King's Own Royal Lancs. Regiment.—"During an attempt to cross the river Diala (Mesopotamia), he saw the two pontoons ahead of him come under machine gun fire, with disastrous results. When his own pontoon had reached mid-stream, with every man except himself either dead or wounded, finding that he was unable to control the pontoon, Pte. White promptly tied
a telephone wire to the pontoon, jumped overboard, and towed it to the shore, thereby saving an Officer's life, and bringing to land the rifles and equipment of the other men in the boat, who were either dead or dying."

CAPTAIN ROBERT GEE, M. C., Royal Fusiliers.—"For most conspicuous bravery, initiative and determination when an attack by a strong enemy force pierced our line on November 30th, 1917, and captured a brigade headquarters and ammunition dump. Capt. Gee finding himself a prisoner killed one of the enemy with his spiked stick, and succeeded in escaping. He then organized a party of the Brigade Staff, with which he attacked the enemy fiercely closely followed and supported by two companies of infantry. By his own personal bravery and prompt action he, aided by his orderlies, cleared the locality. Capt. Gee established a defensive flank on the outskirts of the village, then finding that an enemy machine gun was still in action, with a revolver in each hand, and followed by one man, he rushed and captured the gun, killing eight of the crew. At this time he was wounded but refused to have the wound dressed until he was satisfied that the defence was organized."

ON SEA

British Jews bore their full share in the operations in every quarter of the globe. On sea, while their number in the navy was not large, they took part in every action of importance, and Jewish men are known to have served in every kind of vessel afloat and under the sea. In the famous naval operations for the blocking of Zeebrugge and Ostend, which took place in the spring of 1918, several Jewish officers and men took part, and Lieutenant-Commander R. Saunders was one of the seven officers who obtained the D. S. O. in recognition of
gallantry on that occasion. In the fighting around the British Isles—in the Heligoland Bight—the battle of Jutland (where a Jewish warrant officer was yeoman of signals on board the admiral's flagship), the battle of Coronel, the battle of Falkland Islands, and in the Adriatic Sea, representatives of Jewry are known to have had a share. In the attack on the town of Akaba in the Red Sea, early in 1915, a Jewish warrant officer, M. M. Bright of H. M. S Minerva, was in charge of one of the landing parties that took the town. In the landing of the Dardanelles, Admiral de Robeck, in the course of his despatch describing the stirring fights at Gallipoli on April 25 and 26, 1915, recommended, for gallant service in action, a Jewish sailor from the East End of London, by name Lewis Jacobs, belonging to H. M. S Lord Nelson. The admiral reported that "Jacobs took his boat into V Beach, unaided, after all the remainder of the crew and the troops were killed or wounded. When last seen, Jacobs was standing and endeavoring to pole the cutter to the shore. Whilst thus employed, he was killed." On board the cruiser H. M. S Sydney, when it destroyed the German raider, the Emden, off the Cocos Islands in November, 1914, were two Jewish sailors, and in the Homeric struggle, when the torpedo-boat H. M. S Broke, together with the Swift, defeated the enemy flotilla in the Downs in April, 1917, Jewish sailors were in action.

Among the other naval duties undertaken by Jews was that of mine-laying and mine-sweeping, submarine work, and the Royal Naval Air Service, which, later on, was amalgamated with the Royal Air Force.
The operation on land likewise saw Jews in every part of the war area. In the advance on German South-West Africa, General Botha had under his command a considerable number of Jews from Cape Town, Natal, and the Transvaal, many of whom afterwards took part in the fighting in German East Africa and later came to Europe with the South African Brigade. In the forces from the Dominions, the officer to reach the highest rank was Lieutenant-General Sir John Monash, K.C.B., etc., etc., who first landed in Egypt as a colonel, in 1914. Before the war he had been an engineer, and served as an officer in the Australian military forces. Subsequently he took part in the operations in the Dardanelles, arriving in France as a brigadier-general, in 1916, was given command of and trained the 3rd Australian Division in England as major-general, and accompanied his division to France. He achieved renown for his work in the battle of Messines in June, 1917, in which his division played a prominent part, and in April, 1918, when General Sir William Birdwood was transferred from the Australian Corps to take command of the Fifth Army at a most critical period of the war, Sir John Monash was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general and placed in command of the Australian forces on the western front. He led his men from victory to victory in the days from August 8th, when the British Army advanced and drove back the enemy, until the close of the war, receiving many distinctions, both from the British and foreign armies, for his successful leadership. The only other Jewish officer to reach the rank of general was Brigadier-General H. J. Seligman, D.S.O., who was a regular officer attached to the Royal Artillery and went through the war from beginning to end.
Many other officers of high rank who played a prominent part in the various campaigns deserve to be mentioned. Lieutenant-Colonel E. H. L. Beddington, D. S. O., M. C., who first proceeded to France in August, 1914, as a captain in the 16th (The Queen's) Lancers, went through all the early fighting, and was afterwards appointed staff officer to the Fifth Army. Lieutenant-Colonel C. J. Elkan, D. S. O., of the Royal Irish Fusiliers, was also a regular officer who fought at Mons and later became a well-known staff officer, first at one of the big bases and, later on, at general headquarters. Lieutenant-Colonel J. H. Levey, D. S. O., had originally been in the Regular Army as a private in the Scots Guards, and had seen active service in South Africa. At the beginning of the war he was sergeant-major to the 3rd Scots Guards. He was given a commission in the Gordon Highlanders, but, before proceeding to his battalion, was appointed chief instructor to the Royal Naval Division which saw active service in the Dardanelles, at Antwerp, and on the western front. Colonel Levey became a commandant of a corps school in France, and was given command of a battalion, 13th Royal Sussex Regiment, late in 1917, and won the D. S. O. in the battle for the Paschendale Ridge.

Other officers of similar rank who gained distinction were Lieutenant-Colonel H. E. Cohen, D. S. O., of the Australian Artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel Stanley G. Cohen, who led the 5th King's Liverpools into action; Lieutenant-Colonel H. J. Solomon, M. C., of the Army Service Corps, who was in charge of the main base depot for the supply of the army in the field at Havre and, later on, at Salonica; Lieutenant-Colonel F. H. Kisch, D. S. O., and Lieutenant-Colonel R. H. Joseph, D. S. O., in the Royal Engineers; Lieutenant-Colonel
H. Weisberg, D. S. O., of the City of London Yeomanry, who fought in Gallipoli and Palestine; Lieutenant-Colonel W. H. Samuel of the 11th Middlesex Regiment, and Lieutenant-Colonel C. Beddington who was in command of the Divisional Mounted Troops of the 20th Division in France. Lieutenant-Colonel C. S. Myers, Royal Army Medical Corps, was one of the principal medical officers in France engaged on work in connection with nervous diseases and shell-shock, whilst Lieutenant-Colonel B. E. Myers was in charge of the hospitals of the New Zealand forces in the United Kingdom. Lieutenant-Colonel R. Q. Henriques was in charge of the engineers in the 60th London Division, both in France and Palestine. The post of divisional officer of signals and later that of principal signal officer of the Independent Air Force was held by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Waley Cohen, D. S. O., of the 16th (Queen's Westminster) London Regiment, whose brother Lieutenant-Colonel C. Waley Cohen, C. B. E., Royal Army Service Corps, held an important post in the Salonica forces. Another example of an officer to rise from the ranks and become a lieutenant-colonel of a battalion was J. S. Miller, D. S. O., who later was appointed in charge of the depot of the Jewish battalions in training in England.

Major Sir Philip Sassoon, Bart., M. P., C. M. G., of the Royal East Kent Yeomanry, proceeded to the front as private military secretary of the first Field Marshal of the British Army in France, Lord French, and held the same important office throughout the whole war to Field Marshal Sir Douglas Haig. Among the men to whom was due the invention of the tank, which weapon played so important a part in bringing about a successful issue to the war, was Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Albert G. Stern, K. B. E., C. M. G., a member of the well-
known banking firm of Stern Brothers, and the first group of
tanks to be sent into action in September, 1916, were painted
by the brush of Lieutenant-Colonel S. J. Solomon; the re-
nowned artist of the Royal Academy. Lieutenant-Colonel
Solomon was sent on a special mission to develop the art of
camouflage at the front, and he spent the whole of the period
of the war in this work. He also established a school of in-
struction for this purpose in London. Another artist to pro-
ceed to France at the invitation to the War Office was Pro-
fessor W. Rothenstein who was commissioned to paint pictures
of the war area for the Government.

Among the best-known families of the community to send
sons into the war were the Rothschilds, of whom all three sons
of Mr. Leopold de Rothschild were on duty. Major Evelyn
de Rothschild fell at the head of his men of the Royal Bucks
Yeomanry in a charge in the campaign in Palestine, and
Captain Anthony G. de Rothschild of the same regiment was
wounded in action at Gallipoli. The Sassoon family con-
tributed ten officers, three of whom won the M. C. The fam-
ily of Sir Isidore Spielmann, C. M. G., and his relatives who
were engaged in the war number, in all, forty-one, who were
all commissioned officers, and of whom Captain H. I. L.
Spielmann, of the Manchester Regiment, was killed in action
at Gallipoli; two others fell in France, and twelve were
wounded. The Beddington family contributed in all thirty-
seven members, and of the sons of Mrs. Arthur Sebag-Monte-
fiore all five held commissions. Captain Robert, the eldest, of
the Royal Horse Artillery, won the D. S. O. and M. C., and
Captain William became a staff officer to the Heavy Batteries
in France. Sir Charles Henry, Bart., M. P., lost his only
son, Lieutenant Cyril Henry, Worcester Regiment; Sir Lionel
Abrahams, of the India Office, suffered the same bereavement with his son in the Coldstream Guards, and the second son of Sir Marcus Samuel, Bart., Lieutenant Gerald Samuel, fell at the battle of Messines. The elder son, Captain Walter Samuel, gained the M.C., and was a staff officer.

Jewish officers occupied important posts in the administration of the army, both at home and abroad, serving as town majors, railway transport officers, and interpreters, and were especially helpful in connection with intelligence work. Officers and men alike won distinction by their gallant conduct in such hard-fought fields as the battles of Flanders and the Somme, in the Dardanelles, and in Mesopotamia, and some were among the prisoners at the fall of Kut. Many were met by the chaplains in the expeditionary forces in Italy and on the Salonica front. Others were present at the capture of Bagdad, whilst in Palestine, in addition to the men in the Judean Units, there was a considerable body of Jewish soldiers in the 60th London Division who were at the taking of Jerusalem. In the lesser operations of the British army, Jews were also to be found. As an illustration of this, one may mention the daring march of General Dunsterville's small force from Bagdad to Baku, in 1917. This force held Baku for a short time, when it was almost overwhelmed by the Turks and obliged to evacuate the city. One of the survivors of this daring exploit was Sergeant Joseph Abrahams, of the 5th Royal West Kent Regiment, and another, Private N. Vigneskie, of the 7th Gloucester Regiment, both of whom ultimately returned to Mesopotamia in safety. In East Africa, Private R. Davis, of the 25th Royal Fusiliers, gained the Military Medal by helping to rescue the body of the famous hunter, Captain F. Selous, from the hands of the enemy.
Jews took part in the capture of Samoa by the New Zealand forces, and, besides serving in Siberia, helped to hold the lines against the Bolshevist troops in the North Russian expedition. A number of them were included in the troops sent to garrison India to take the place of the regular regiments who were despatched to the western front, and a special committee was formed in Calcutta to take charge of the spiritual interests of these men, so that at the high festivals, by the kind assistance of the army authorities, the soldiers were allowed to be billeted with Jewish families in various cities in India and to observe their religious ceremonies.

It is a striking fact that a large majority of Jews engaged on active service belonged to the fighting units of the army, such as the infantry, artillery, tanks, machine-gun units, and the special brigades of the Royal Engineers who were in charge of the gas operations. In the administrative departments they appear to have been comparatively very few in number; In the Royal Army Medical Corps, there was a considerable number of Jewish physicians, several of whom were killed, and most of the men are known to have acted as stretcher-bearers on the battlefields, and performed extremely good work under the most dangerous conditions, winning many honors. Attached to the medical staff of the Second Army in France, and afterwards in Italy, was Major M. Coplans, D.S.O., Royal Army Medical Corps, whilst Captain H. Lightstone, Royal Army Medical Corps, was in charge of the important work of evacuating the wounded from the front areas during the whole of the Somme battles, July to October, 1916.

The story of the deeds for which Jewish officers and men won their distinctions on the battlefield, if set forth in detail, would make a very thrilling narrative. The exploits of the men
who won the V. C. are told above. Two examples, in addition, may be given here. The first relates to Lieutenant Solomon Benzecry, a young officer of the 17th Royal Fusiliers, who was a student of the Jewish House at Clifton College, Bristol, reference to which has already been made. On November 30, 1917, the enemy made a sudden counter-attack which drove back the British front lines. As the men retired, Lieutenant Benzecry and his senior officer, Captain Stone, V. C., realized the danger in which their area was involved, and it was decided that, in order to enable the bulk of the troops to establish themselves in a new position, somewhere in the rear, it was imperative that the advancing enemy should be opposed and delayed as much as possible. Captain Stone, V. C., and Lieutenant Benzecry, with a handful of men, volunteered to remain behind, and bore the brunt of an attack of an overwhelming force of the enemy. No one escaped, but as a result of the self-sacrifice of the rear guard, the rest of the British troops were able to consolidate their position in time to meet the new advance that was made against them. Special mention was made in the official despatches of this gallant conduct, at Bourlon Wood, on the part of this Jewish officer.

Another example of bravery refers to Lieutenant A. A. Robinson, an officer from Manchester. He obtained a commission in the 7th King’s Liverpool Regiment, and won the M. C. in September, 1917, for the following action. In the course of some very heavy fighting, Robinson found himself the only remaining officer of the company. Although a junior officer, he took command, and captured his objective against intense machine-gun fire. In front of him he saw a trench occupied by the enemy, threatening the captured lines. He
forthwith advanced with four men, in spite of heavy fire, and took prisoner three German officers and thirty men. For three days he held his position until relieved, and set a remarkable example to his men. He was twice wounded, and, on returning home to England, he joined the Royal Flying Corps, and was sent to France in May, 1918, as a balloon observer. His balloon was attacked by enemy aircraft and riddled by bullets, and Robinson was compelled to make a rapid parachute descent. Though wounded, he immediately asked and obtained permission to ascend in another balloon, in which he carried on his observations. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross in September, 1918.

Other typical examples of gallantry which were rewarded by receipt of distinctions are the following, which are a few selected from a large number:

Second Lieut. Felix Joseph Benzmara, M. G. C. Awarded Military Cross.—"For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty when commanding his section of guns in a forward position. He maintained his ground, in spite of intense enemy fire and hostile counter-attacks, by his timely aid greatly assisting to defeat the latter. Although twice buried and gassed, he refused to leave his post, and only reported sick on his return to camp on the following day."

Second Lieut. E. M. Wolf, Royal Irish Regiment, Special Reserve, attd. Tank Corps. Awarded Military Cross.—"He commanded his tank with the greatest skill and gallantry in very difficult ground, and, although it became 'bellied' early in the day, held on to his position in front of the infantry and kept the enemy fire down with his Lewis guns. Although 26 hours in action and very exhausted, he and his crew completely broke up a hostile counter-attack, and saved a critical
situation. He displayed throughout the day a magnificent example of courage and endurance.”

Captain C. Jacobs, M. C., M. B., Royal Army Medical Corps, Special Reserve. Awarded Bar to M. C.—“For conspicuous gallantry and devotion to duty in forming his dressing station under heavy fire. It was once blown in on top of him and five casualties occurred, but he remained at his post, and managed to evacuate all wounded. On the following day he cleared the battlefield in spite of heavy fire, and brought back twenty badly wounded cases.”

Captain J. B. Solomon, Oxford and Bucks Light Infantry and Royal Flying Corps. Awarded Military Cross.—“He carried out a patrol lasting nearly three hours in a very high wind and low clouds, flying at an average height of 500 ft., and brought back a valuable report. During this flight he attacked and drove down an enemy two-seater machine under heavy rifle and machine-gun fire from the ground. He also made a valuable reconnaissance in very bad weather, flying at an average height of 100 ft., under fire from a hostile battery with his machine gun. He set a splendid example of courage and determination.”

Corporal Arnold Jackson, Army Service Corps. Awarded Military Medal.—“For rescuing his convoy of seven cars and men from an ambush at a considerable personal risk. He showed splendid pluck and resource.”

Captain L. C. Mandleberg, Lancashire Fusiliers. Awarded Military Cross.—“During a raid, despite the failure to explode two Bangalore torpedoes, he personally directed the laying of a third torpedo under heavy machine-gun fire. When the party laying this became casualties, he at once reconnoitred for another means of entry through the hostile wire. Before
returning to our lines he carried back the body of one of the
men killed, in the face of heavy machine-gun fire at close range.
He displayed the highest courage and powers of leadership.”

No. 26619 CSM. J. GILBERT, 16th Battn. Manchester Regi-
ment. Awarded Distinguished Conduct Medal.—“For con-
spicuous gallantry and devotion to duty. When all the machine
and Lewis gunners became casualties, he mounted a Lewis gun
under a hail of rifle and machine-gun fire, and effectually held
up the enemy’s enveloping attack on the flank. His coolness
greatly encouraged the men, who put up a splendid fight, until
re-inforcements arrived and the crisis was passed.”

**Aviation**

The air fighting, which led to the wonderful development of
the Royal Flying Corps, afterwards called the Royal Air
Force, attracted a large number of Jewish young men, many
of whom gained distinction as aviators. In the first list pub-
lished of the awards of the Distinguished Flying Cross, the
name of Captain D. C. Bauer was included, and Major J.
Kemper, who had risen from the ranks, originally in the in-
fantry and afterwards in the Royal Flying Corps, was given
charge of a large depot near one of the bases. Captain Des-
mond Tuck was attached to the French Flying Corps in the
Salonica area, where he won the Croix de Guerre. In the first
raid made upon a German aerodrome, Major R. L. Marix
took part, and won the D. S. O., and Captain J. I. Barnato
flew one of the machines that dropped bombs on the city of
Constantinople, feats which, in the early days of flying, created
a great sensation. Among the rank and file of this corps was
included a large number of Jewish tailors and other workmen
who were busily engaged in preparing the different parts of
the machines, which were used in action, and in the photo-
graphic branch.

Towards the end of the war, numerous labor companies were
formed of men who were unfit for the firing line, and a con-
siderable number of Jews, mainly of alien birth, were found
in these units. They did valuable work behind the lines, and
some of them gained awards for gallant conduct during air
raids and under other conditions.

A striking feature of the general utility of the Jewish
soldier is to be noted in the number of Jews who were engaged
in the necessary work of entertaining and amusing their com-
rades in the various divisional concert parties, where their
talents as musicians and performers found full play.

In conclusion, reference should be made to the remarkably
friendly relations which existed everywhere between Jew and
non-Jew in every branch of the forces. The value of the work
of the Jewish sailor and soldier was fully recognized, both by
the authorities and by their brothers-in-arms, and the con-
sideration shown by the authorities to enable the men to observe
as much of their religious ceremonies as possible under the
difficult conditions of war was one of the most pleasant expe-
riences of the chaplains working among the men. The excel-
lent literature, such as the *Book of Jewish Thoughts* and the
books on Jewish history, circulated by the Chief Rabbi’s Litera-
ture Fund, also contributed in a marked degree to a better
understanding of the ideals and character of the Jew, and so
helped to unite men of all faiths in a spirit of comradeship
in the great task to which they had set their hands.
One of the interesting developments in Jewish life in connection with the war is undoubtedly the organization of specifically Jewish military units. Although such bodies have not been entirely unknown in the past,\footnote{The best known example of these is, perhaps, the famous band of Jewish warriors who fought for Polish freedom. In 1794, Berek Joselowicz, serving under Kosciuszko, raised a regiment of light-horse from among the Jews of Warsaw for service against the Russians.} it remained for the great European war to connect the organization of such units directly with the national aspirations of the Jews and with Palestine.

Attempts to organize Jewish fighting units in the countries of the Entente in the early stages of the war met with scant success. On August 3, 1914, a petition was submitted to the French Minister of War setting forth the “earnest desire of the unnaturalized Jewish residents of Paris to repay a debt of gratitude to France, the first to proclaim the rights of man and to grant complete civil equality to all,” and requesting permission to organize a Jewish battalion in the Foreign Legion. The petition was rejected, although some four thousand Jews had volunteered at the time and were received in the various regi-
ments of the army. In England, too, a similar attempt was made to organize "Battalions for Jews." Although the sponsors of the movement had succeeded in obtaining the favorable attention of several members of the British War Cabinet, the plan was abandoned in November, 1914, because of serious disagreements among the Jews themselves as to its advisability.

The attitude of the Jewish press, both in the warring countries and in neutral states, was hardly favorable to these attempts. Some were indeed most emphatic in their opposition. The opinions of these latter and their objections were ably summed up in an editorial in the *Jewish Daily News* (New York), which pointed out the obvious political risks involved and branded the movement as a "piece of folly that would neither shed glory on the Jewish people nor bring practical benefit to the Zionist movement."

The agitation for a Jewish military unit, however, seemed to strike root in a most unexpected locality. When Turkey entered the war towards the end of October, 1914, there were in

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2 A full account of this attempt appeared in the Palestinian weekly *Shai shel Safrus*, the literary supplement to the *Palestine News*, Vol. 1, No. 18, March 13, 1918. "The day that we were accepted for service in the French Army," says the author of that article, "was one of the happiest days in our lives. Four thousand strong, we marched through the streets of Paris, singing 'Hatikvoh' and Byalik's 'Birkat 'Am,' down to the Hotel des Invalides, where we deposited the Zionist flag among the banners of the various allies."

3 In October, 1914, a petition was submitted to the War Office asking permission to form a special Jewish battalion. The petition was opposed by the Rev. Michael Adler, the senior Jewish chaplain. Correspondence relative to this controversy appeared in the *London Jewish Chronicle* in the issues of November 13 and December 4, 1914.

4 Issue of October 2, 1914.
Palestine a number of European Jews, who, though they had been living there for many years, had failed to become Ottoman subjects. They still claimed the protection of the various European countries from which they had come, and constituted politically a distinctly foreign element. Early in November, 1914, the Turkish Government announced that it would permit the naturalization of these “foreigners,” although some of them were, at the time, nationals of states with which Turkey was actually at war. At Jaffa and the colonies a few Jews accepted Ottoman sovereignty, while the majority elected to retain their alien allegiance. In November, 1914, the Turkish authorities in Palestine brutally expelled many of the latter, some of whom subsequently made their way to Alexandria in Egypt.

This expulsion was the culmination of a series of outrages against the Jewish population of the Holy Land. A change in the attitude of the Turkish authorities in Palestine toward the Jewish element became noticeable as soon as Turkey entered the war, when Palestine was made the base for military operations against Egypt. Almost the very first official act of Djemal Pasha’s, when he assumed command of the army in Palestine, was to issue a long manifesto against Zionism—“that revolutionary and destructive element aspiring to the creation of a state in our country.” He forbade the erection of any new Jewish settlement, and ordered the disbanding of the organization of Jewish police, “ha-Shomer.” He decreed the confiscation of all paper money and banknotes of the Anglo-Palestine Company, the Zionist financial agency in Palestine, and even banned the use of Hebrew in street signs or in private correspondence. He seemed to nourish a special bitterness toward those who made use of the stamps of the Jewish National Fund. “Anybody in whose possession such
stamps will be found," he decreed, "will be liable to death." A short time later he arrested a number of Jewish notables merely because of the fact that they had been connected with Zionist endeavor in the Holy Land, and ordered them to leave the country at once. Many of these leaders, too, subsequently made their way to Alexandria.

In this way there grew up in that city a colony of Jewish refugees from Palestine. To these were added later a number of other Jews who had become stranded in various parts of Europe at the outbreak of the war. Among the latter was the well-known Russian Zionist leader, Vladimir Jabotinsky. When the Russian consul at Alexandria learned of the presence of a large number of able-bodied Jews who claimed Russian protection in Palestine, he proceeded to induct them into the Russian army. It was then that Vladimir Jabotinsky first suggested the voluntary enlistment of these Jewish refugees in the British service. Later, when British military action against Turkey was imminent, Jabotinsky suggested the raising of a body of Jewish soldiers from among these refugees to fight shoulder to shoulder with the British troops for the liberation of Palestine.


"The "father of the Jewish Legion," has had a very interesting career. Born in Odessa, in 1880, he studied law at Berne and at Rome. While abroad he acted as foreign correspondent to several Russian newspapers. In 1902, he produced two plays for the Russian Theatre. In 1903, he entered the Zionist movement, and became one of the founders of the Rasviets, the Zionist official periodical. In 1910, after visiting Palestine, he lived for a short time at Constantinople, where he carried on Zionist propaganda among the Spanish Jews. In Hebrew literature, he is known as a critic and an essayist. He also translated Byalik's poems into Russian. In 1916, he published an interesting study of the political situation in the Near East, entitled "Turkey and the War." In 1917, he volunteered as a private in the Jewish Legion, in which he now holds the rank of honorary officer.
His appeals met with a fair degree of success, for in a comparatively short time he succeeded in raising a force of six hundred volunteers for service against the Turks. British authorities gladly accepted the services of the Jewish soldiers, and formed them into a distinct Jewish battalion officially known as the Zion Mule Corps. In April, 1915, after a very short period of training, they were dispatched to the Dardanelles, where they fought through the whole ill-fated Gallipoli campaign. Of the 652 Jews who had enlisted, 560 saw service at the front. The casualties of this unit included six killed in action and fifty-five wounded. Three of the volunteers received military honors, one of them obtaining the Distinguished Service Medal. Their bravery under fire, in spite of the dangerous character of their work (they were used to carry ammunition and supplies to front-line trenches), earned for them the high commendation of their British officers. When the Gallipoli expedition was withdrawn, in the early part of 1916, the unit was disbanded.

The Jewish press throughout the world was hardly more favorable to this project than it had been to previous attempts. Jabotinsky was looked upon as a victim of war neurosis. His

*Nissel Rosenberg, Z. M. C., killed in action at Gallipoli. Another member of the unit, S. Grochokowsky, received a medal for conspicuous gallantry. Although he was shot in both arms during an engagement, he continued to perform his duties until he was relieved.

*The unit was mentioned in the dispatches of the commanding officer, and was also publicly commended by General Sir Ian Hamilton, the British commander-in-chief at the Dardanelles.

*The commander of the Zion Mule Corps, Lieutenan-Colonel J. H. Patterson, subsequently published a book, in which he gave a stimulating account of the experiences of his unit. The author makes up in genuine interest in the affairs of his unit for his lack of acquaintance with Jewish history or his understanding of the Zionist ideal.
plan was decried as a dangerous experiment, as a wild quixotic project. Even the Provisional Zionist Committee, acting as the executive body for general Zionist affairs, issued a statement censuring the individuals who were undertaking work that would be likely to cause serious political complications.

After the disbanding of the Zion Mule Corps Jabotinsky left for Europe. He arrived in England at the time when the agitation was beginning for the formation of specifically Jewish military units from among the Russian immigrant Jews, who, at the beginning of the war, had not volunteered for service under the British flag, and who had later, when conscription came into effect, applied for exemption from military service on the ground of their foreign nationality. Their conduct aroused indignation in the English press. Jabotinsky then proposed the formation of a volunteer Jewish military company for home defence and for service in Egypt and Palestine under the British flag. In order to propagate his ideas, he published a daily paper, Unser Tribune, in which he outlined his plan in greater detail. He answered the objections, which had been raised in regard to the political complications that his plan might evoke, by pointing out that the Zionist policy as regards Turkey could no longer remain neutral.

The result of Jabotinsky's appeals was the formation of a "Committee for the Jewish Future," to undertake active recruiting for the proposed Jewish Battalion. Jabotinsky's recruiting meetings met with very little success. His first public gathering, in Whitechapel, was a scene of most pronounced disapproval on the part of the audience; the second ended in disorder. Convinced that his plan at that time was hardly acceptable to the mass of Russo-Jewish immigrants in England, Jabotinsky temporarily suspended his activities. In
the last issue of his paper he acknowledges the failure of the movement in the following words: "Some weeks ago we started this paper with the purpose of pleading for an honorable compromise on the question of Jewish immigrants' military service. Our suggestion was voluntary enlistment in a Jewish legion reserved for purposes of home defence within the frontiers of the British empire, including Egypt, and for military operations in Palestine. Our practical aim was to collect a number of signatures under petition, asking the Government to form such a legion and pledging the signatories to join it when formed. In this practical task we have failed." Jabotinsky goes on to attribute this failure to the fact that the British Government had not given any public expression as to its attitude in regard to Palestine. Once the sympathetic attitude of that Government towards the Zionist movement were made known, he argued, the legion would surely be successful.

Jabotinsky's prophecy came true. In November, 1917, the British Government made public the now famous Balfour declaration in regard to the establishment of a "national home for the Jewish people" in Palestine. The effect of this declaration on recruiting for the Jewish battalion was most remarkable both in England and in other countries. A fairly large company of Jewish volunteers had already been organized in England during the latter part of 1917 for general military service. In its issue of December 7, 1917, the Jewish Chronicle suggested that this battalion be sent to Palestine. The suggestion met with favor, and a short while later it was definitely announced that the battalion would be sent to the Palestine front. Officially the body was known as the 38th Battalion, Royal Fusiliers, and was in charge of Lieutenant-Colonel J. H.
Patterson, D. S. O., who had formerly served as the commanding officer of the Zion Mule Corps. This unit, the total strength of which was about 900, left for Palestine in February, 1918. To this was added a second unit, the 39th Battalion of the Royal Fusiliers, consisting of about 600 men, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel E. Margolin, D. S. O. This body proceeded to the East two months later, in April, 1918. The third battalion, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel F. D. Samuels, D. S. O., and consisting of about 1100 volunteers, followed in August.39

In the United States, too, the spread of the battalion movement and even its origin may be traced directly to the enthusiasm for a Jewish Palestine called forth by the Balfour declaration. In the beginning the movement was purely spontaneous, a number of volunteers having applied at the British recruiting offices in New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago, as early as December, 1917, for enlistment in the Anglo-Jewish Battalion. With the help of the Zionist Organization these attempts were co-ordinated, and a central bureau opened in New York for the purpose of carrying on an active recruiting campaign among the Jewish youth. On February 27, 1918, the first contingent of American volunteers, consisting of about 200 young men, left New York for the British training camps at Windsor, Canada, preparatory to their transportation to Palestine. Subsequent units, some of them numbering as

39 These numbers do not take into consideration the 1800 men left in the Depot in England in December, 1918, and the Palestinian volunteers of the Legion. There was also a further body of 500 men who enlisted in England, but who did not proceed to the East, and were transferred to other regiments. From figures available at present, it appears that the total number of volunteers from all countries, for these three Jewish units, was between six and seven thousand.
many as 500 men, left the United States at regular intervals every three weeks.

The campaign for the Jewish battalion was one of the most interesting phenomena of American Jewish life during the war. The press and the pulpit granted the movement their heartiest co-operation. Gray-bearded Orthodox rabbis frequently addressed the recruiting meetings that were held in Jewish centres throughout the whole country. The Yiddish papers, in particular, published fervent appeals to Jewish young men not subject to the American draft to enlist in the battalion.

A society called the Red Mogen David was organized in April, 1918, for the purpose of carrying on among these Jewish recruits work similar to that which was carried on among the American armies by such agencies as the Jewish Welfare Board and the Red Cross. The organization's central office is in New York City. It has branches in many of the larger cities of the Union. It is endeavoring to raise a fund of $100,000 for the purpose of supporting the families of the legionaries and rendering financial assistance to the volunteers who have chosen to settle in Palestine after the war.

The records of the various American contingents of the Judaeans available at the offices of the Zionist Organization of America throw an interesting light on the character and composition of these units. These statistics show that about 2700 men were ultimately accepted in the United States by the British authorities for the three Jewish battalions. When one takes into consideration the shortness of the recruiting campaign, the heavy demands of the American draft, and the fact that only unnaturalized Jews were accepted, this number appears fairly large. The volunteers came from every impor-
tant Jewish centre in the Union and from every state. A few even came all the way from Mexico and the Central American republics. Indeed, in the later units which left New York for training at Windsor, Canada, were men who hailed from almost all of the countries of Europe; Asia and Africa were also represented. Even enemy states, such as Austria and Turkey, appear as the countries of birth of some of the recruits. One can gauge the high intellectual level of these contingents by the unusually high percentage of representatives of the liberal professions and the skilled trades.

The battalion movement spread to other countries. Russia, which was passing through the last days of the Kerensky régime, displayed a tremendous enthusiasm for the movement. Periodicals and private opinion are unanimous that the movement would have been extraordinarily successful in that country had it not been for the disorganization which set in with the Bolshevist revolution. In spite of the many obstacles the movement had to encounter from the Government authorities, recruiting was begun in a number of Jewish centres. A body of volunteers was raised, of whom 5000 succeeded in reaching Vladivostok and Kharbin on their way to England. The leaders of the movement, however, Pinchas Ruthenberg and Captain Trumpeldor (the latter a member of the original Zion Mule Corps), were both thrown into prison for their activities on behalf of the battalion. It has also been reported that at Odessa, which was for a time under German control, the German police discovered a secret society, the object of which was to recruit former soldiers of the Russian army to join the English army in Palestine by way of Vladivostok. From the Argentine Republic, too, a contingent of 52 volunteers reached England after a journey of 35 days. In Salonica, Greece, a
spontaneous movement to organize a Jewish battalion from among the Sephardi residents of the town won the approval of the Greek authorities. In the part of Palestine that had already been freed from the Turks voluntary enlistment in the Jewish units was so great that steps had to be taken by the responsible authorities to prevent a wholesale desertion of young able-bodied Jews from the productive industries to the army. In Jaffa and Jerusalem 900 Jews, including a very large number of teachers in the various Jewish schools, and almost all of the students of the graduating class of the gymnasium enlisted in less than a month. Indeed so large was the number of recruits obtained in Palestine that an entire battalion was raised and maintained from these volunteers.

The movement for a Jewish unit was so late in organizing that only a small percentage of the total number of recruits saw actual service on the battle front. The 38th "Judacan Battalion," however, which arrived in Palestine in April, 1918, was dispatched to the front a few months later, and for more than five weeks held a difficult position on the extreme right flank of the British army, on the Wadi Mellahah, a tributary of the Jordan. This battalion rendered efficient service in the great drive of September 18 to 22, 1918, which resulted in the collapse of the Turkish armies in Palestine. On September 28, the battalion entered Jerusalem in triumph after having pursued the enemy across the Jordan and having captured over 4000 Turks. In this latter action the 39th "Judaean Battalion" also took part."

The casualties of these units were unusually heavy. In a letter of Colonel Patterson's, printed in the London Jewish Chronicle, December 6, 1918, that officer states that over twenty-seven officers and 300 men of his command were in the military hospitals. Most of the cases were, however, due to the spread of fever and malaria among the soldiers.
The conduct of these three units in camp and on the battlefield earned for them the high esteem of their officers. A number of honors of various degrees were conferred upon several members, and one Jewish officer was awarded the much coveted Military Cross. The commander-in-chief of the Egyptian Expeditionary Forces, General Sir Edmund Allenby, has frequently praised the Jewish regiment for the "consistently good work it has done," and congratulated Jewry at large for the self-sacrifice of these, its brave fellow-members.

II

Because of its general historical interest for Jews and its relation to the Jewish battalion movement just described, a brief outline of the British campaigns in Palestine is given. This campaign was a comparatively minor detail in the plan of military action against the Ottoman empire, a plan which aimed at the thwarting of German aspirations in the Near East. When, at the end of October, 1914, three months after the outbreak of the war in Europe, Turkey ranged itself on the side of the Central empires, the Entente Powers began military operations against the Ottoman empire. Four campaigns were initiated in four different localities at almost the same time. One aimed at the heart of Turkey by forcing the Dardanelles and seizing Constantinople; another, at the terminus of the great Oriental railway at Bagdad; a third, at the freeing of the Armenian districts of Asia Minor by an invasion directed from the Russian provinces of the Caucasus; and the fourth, at detaching all of southern Arabia from the Turkish empire.
The first two of these campaigns ended disastrously. The drive for Constantinople was halted because of the serious reverses which the Allies suffered at Gallipoli and the Dardanelles, and which resulted in the loss of many powerful warships and over 200,000 lives. It was in this campaign that the Zion Mule Corps, the first specifically Jewish unit of the war, took an active part. The drive for the terminus of the Berlin-Bagdad railway at first fared no better, and a part of the British army surrendered at Kut el-Amara.

In the early part of 1915, the Turks, under the command of Djemal Pasha, Minister of the Navy, assembled in Palestine, just within the Turkish side of the Egyptian frontier, an army of about 250,000 men, in an attempt to capture the Suez Canal. Fortunately, British land forces, assisted by monitors and small cruisers on the Canal, succeeded in breaking up the Turkish attack. In a short while, however, the Turks returned re-inforced and better equipped, but this time they were so decisively beaten that they retreated in disorder to the desert and to the mountains of the Sinai peninsula.

It then became evident to the British authorities that, as long as the Turk could manage to keep within striking distance, the Canal would not be safe, nor the British position in Egypt or India secure, and it was decided to launch a powerful attack against the Turk that would permanently remove this menace. A strong British army was concentrated in Egypt under the command of General Sir Archibald Murray and held in readiness for an advance on the Turkish bases in Palestine.

The first Palestine campaign began in the winter of 1916-17. The Sinai peninsula was quickly cleared of the enemy’s troops. Then the British felt their way northward, along the Mediterranean coast, up to Palestine. This work was difficult and
progress slow, as the British had to march through the great uninhabited desert which lies between Egypt and Palestine, the famous "way of the land of the Philistines," mentioned in the story of the Exodus. However, in spite of these obstacles, Sir Archibald Murray succeeded in bringing his army right up to Palestine in the early part of 1917.

Early in March, General Murray reached Gaza, the ancient stronghold of the Philistines, the first important city in southern Palestine. After a brief pause, he attacked the Turkish positions on March 26. Although the attack was carried through with great dash and courage, it failed of its purpose because a dense sea-fog, common in that part of the country, had suddenly arisen in the early morning, and, covering the whole battlefield, had prevented the various parts of the army from acting as a unit. On April 17, a second attack under slightly better conditions also fell just short of success. The British thereupon withdrew to a prepared position on the Wadi Ghuzzeh (river of Gaza), a few miles south of the city.

The first and second battles of Gaza had thus failed to accomplish anything of importance. The summer months then followed and prevented further operations on a large scale." Sir Archibald Murray was succeeded by Sir Edmund H. H. Allenby, who had shown fine qualities as a fighter on the western front.

"Almost all of the serious fighting in Palestine was done during the winter season, that is, from the middle of September to the end of March. The climate of southern Palestine prevents any active campaigning during the "dry" or summer season, when the days are very hot and the nights cold. Besides, there is almost no rainfall during the summer, and the sand and dust get into one's eyes, nose, and throat, and marching or active campaigning is an extremely difficult task."
Several circumstances rendered the British position before Gaza insecure, and prevented further aggressive warfare. The railroad, which the British had built from Egypt up to Palestine in order to supply the necessities of the army, did not go far enough. Besides, the British army in Palestine was still on the edge of the desert, and could not get sufficient water for its purposes. In order to meet these difficulties, the building of the railroad was rapidly continued until it reached the main British positions before Gaza, and a long pipe line was constructed over miles and miles of desert sands into Egypt, whence plenty of fresh water for all needs could be drawn. Then a vast amount of supplies was assembled, and General Allenby prepared to attack the Turkish positions again. These events bring us down to the second Palestine campaign, that of the winter of 1917-18.

A brief exposition of the geographical characteristics of Palestine will help to make clear the further course of the campaign. Palestine resembles roughly a huge oblong; slightly tilted, with its narrower sides running from east to west. Topographically it may be divided into four parallel strips, or divisions, running north and south. First comes the low-lying, coastal plain, the southern portion of which is known in Hebrew as the Shephelah, or "The Lowland." This runs along the Mediterranean Sea from the Egyptian frontier right up to the Lebanon mountains. Parallel to it is the second division, consisting of the upland districts, called in the south the mountains of Judah, and in the north the mountains of Ephraim. The third parallel, the valley of the River Jordan, presents a most remarkable natural phenomenon, for it contains "the longest and deepest trench on the face of the earth," a depression which reaches, in the region of the Dead Sea, a
depth of 1300 feet below sea level. Beyond, to the east, is the fourth parallel division, consisting of the plateaus of Hauran, Gilead, and Moab. Of course, these divisions are not always clearly marked, especially in the north, where the great plain of Jezreel breaks into the mountain district, or between Carmel and Lebanon, where the coastal plain narrows down to a very small strip of sandy beach.

When Allenby assumed command of the British army, the battle-line ran from a point a few miles south of Gaza in a south-easterly direction toward Beer-sheba. Turkish resistance rested on the two towns of Gaza and Beer-sheba. In between were other well-fortified positions which the Turks had managed to construct during the calm of the summer season. Early in November, 1917, General Allenby launched strong attacks against the Turkish positions at several points. The attack delivered at Beer-sheba on the Turkish flank was entirely successful; British troops occupied the town only a few hours after the battle began. The loss of Beer-sheba compelled the Turks to modify their whole battle-line and to retreat along the coast. At Gaza, however, General Allenby’s cavalry succeeded in getting behind the fleeing army and heading off a great part of it. In this way the town of Gaza and the whole system of fortifications around it fell into British hands, and the Turks retired to the north and to the mountains of Judah, where the nature of the ground offered better chances for defensive warfare.\[12\]

\[12\] Although Jewish units for service in Palestine had not yet been formed at this early date, there was, nevertheless, a considerable number of Jews who took part in the first and second campaigns. This is especially true of the London Division and the Australian Light Horse. Many Jewish officers and men serving in other commands of the service had petitioned for transfer to
The way was now open for a drive towards Jaffa, the chief sea-port of southern Palestine, and Jerusalem, the capital of the country. Jaffa lies on the coastal plain, about forty miles north of Gaza, while Jerusalem is situated in the mountains some fifty miles north-east. General Allenby hurriedly pushed up along the coast, meeting with very little difficulty on the way, for the Turks had left intact the railroad they had built from Jaffa down to Gaza. At several points, however, the Turks did make a stand, but their forces were so disorganized that they were hardly a match for the British troops. At Huj and Djemama, for example, which lie within the boundaries of the Jewish settlement of Ruchamah, and at the Jewish colony of Kastinieh, pitched battles were fought. The peaceful settlers of Kastinieh found themselves for a time under a cross-fire from Turkish and British guns, which destroyed their synagogue and did considerable damage to the farm-houses of the colony. But the strength of the British attacks compelled a further Turkish withdrawal, and the colony was spared more serious injury. General Allenby proceeded to take the Turkish positions at Ashdod and Ascalon, two more of the five cities of the Philistines. Continuing, he interrupted communications between Jaffa and Jerusalem by cutting the railway line between these cities at Ramleh, and finally, a week later, his forces entered the town of Jaffa, the most important port in Judaea and the heart of the newer Jewish settlements in Palestine.

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the units fighting in Palestine. Captain James de Rothschild, son of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, patron of Jewish colonization in Palestine, also served in the Holy Land. Among the Jews of Palestine who rendered service to the British army was the late Aaron Aaronsohn, director of the Jewish Agricultural Experiment Station.
Among the Jewish settlements along the coast, thus liberated through General Allenby’s advance, are some of the best known Jewish colonies. They include Gederah, founded by the Bilu, the pioneers of Palestinian colonization, Rechoboth and Rishon le-Zion, the great wine-producing settlements of Judaea. Near Jaffa is the well-known agricultural school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle, Mikveh Israel, while further inland, along the Jaffa-Jerusalem railway, are the “Herzl forests” of Huldah and Ben-Shamen. It is interesting to note also that a number of British military hospitals were organized in the vicinity of these Jewish colonies, and that officers and men frequently spent their furloughs in these settlements.

With the capture of Jaffa, the first objective of the campaign was attained. Then began the more serious task, the drive for Jerusalem. After assuring himself that his communications were in perfect order, General Allenby attacked the Turkish positions in the mountains. In the south, the army which had been victorious at Beer-sheba, marched up and took Hebron and Beth-lehem. In the north, the British advanced slowly from the direction of Jaffa eastward towards Jerusalem, along the Wadi es-Surar, the valley of Sorek mentioned in the Bible as the scene of Samson’s exploits. In the reports issued by the British War Office, communicating the advance of the army through the mountain district, one meets with names hallowed in Jewish history and tradition for similar military exploits. One report, for example, stated that the British army had advanced through Midieh, the Arabic name for Modin, the home of the Maccabees. Another told of a battle which was fought at Beit-Ur-el-Tahta, a name that is reminiscent of Beth-Horon-Tahton (lower Beth-Horon), the famous
pass where Judas Maccabaeus met and defeated the Syrian hosts. In less than a month the British troops reached the city of Jerusalem. Although the Holy City was not given up without a struggle, it was spared bombardment, because the British troops had surrounded the city on almost all sides, and compelled the Turks to withdraw their forces. On December 11, 1917, the second day of Hanukkah, 5678, General Allenby made his official entry into the city of Jerusalem, and was acclaimed by the whole population with extraordinary manifestations of joy. He was welcomed by the representatives of the various elements of the population of the Holy City and by the leading rabbis of the Ashkenazi and Sephardi communities at the steps of the traditional Tower of David. In a long proclamation which he read to the inhabitants of the city on the day of his triumphal entry, and which was later posted through the town in Hebrew as well as in other languages, General Allenby assured the people of Jerusalem of his reverence for the traditions of the past with which the name of their city was associated, and promised a just and peaceful administration.

The liberation of Judaea from the Ottoman rule marked the end of the second Palestine campaign. In the latter half of the winter the greatest Jewish colony in Palestine, Petah Tikwah, was liberated, but not until it had suffered serious damage, for the Turks, in withdrawing from that part of the country, had deliberately bombarded the Yemenite suburb of the town, and looted the houses of the other colonists. The neighboring settlement, Kefar-Saba, was totally destroyed, its buildings razed to the ground, and its plantations uprooted.

In order to acquaint the Jewish inhabitants with the progress of British administration in the country, the military authorities published a Hebrew weekly entitled Hadashot me-ha-Arez as the Hebrew edition of the English Palestine News.
During the summer of 1918 there was very little military activity. The British attempted, however, to invade the region of Moab across the Jordan, and cut the Constantinople to Mecca railroad which runs there. British troops succeeded in reaching the town of Es-Salt, but were compelled to withdraw because their flank was threatened by large bodies of the enemy.

This brings us down to the third Palestine campaign, which began in September, 1918. The strategic task that General Allenby had to meet was to overcome two hostile armies: one east of the Jordan in the mountains of Gilead along the Constantinople-Mecca railway, and the other west of the Jordan, among the mountains of Ephraim and the coastal plain of Samaria. The campaign began rather early. On September 18, General Allenby attacked the Turkish forces between the Jordan and the sea on a front of 60 miles. The enemy's resistance along the coast collapsed very early, and General Allenby was thus enabled to send a strong force of cavalry up the coast to get behind the Turkish army, still fighting in the mountains of Samaria, and cut their communications. When the Turks in the mountains finally began to withdraw, they found that the railway on which they had depended for their retreat was already in the hands of the British cavalry. To add to their discomfiture, they learned that their main line of communication with Constantinople was no longer serviceable to them, for Arab irregulars and the forces of the king of the Hedjaz, after seizing the railway station at Deraa (ancient Edrei), had destroyed a number of bridges in the vicinity. The Turks failed also in attempting to cross the Jordan into the fertile lands of Gilead and Bashan, where the British had not yet ventured. The result of this campaign was the total collapse
of the Turkish army in the western half of Palestine. Some 80,000 men, together with an enormous quantity of war material including 700 guns, were captured, and the liberation of Samaria was complete.

The victory east of the Jordan was as great as that in the west, although less spectacular. It was in this fighting that the Jewish battalions took a most active part. The whole Jewish world was thrilled when the official British War Report announced that in the fighting across the Jordan "Jewish troops" were pursuing the enemy between Es-Salt and Amman, the site of Rabbath Ammon, the ancient capital of the Ammonites.15

Immediately following the liberation of Samaria and Trans-Jordania, General Allenby began to clear Galilee, the fourth and northernmost section of Palestine. Haifa, the sea-port at the foot of Mount Carmel, fell in a few days, as did Tiberias, Nazareth, and Saffed. The British forces pushed ahead in two columns, one along the coast, and the other along the Constantinople-Mecca railway, capturing Sidon, Tyre, and Damascus (October 1), while the French landed at Beirut and seized the country around it. The capture of these cities properly marks the triumphant end of the Palestine campaign.

15 "East of the Jordan the enemy is withdrawing toward Amman on the Hedjaz Railway, pursued by Australian, New Zealand, West Indian and Jewish troops, which have reached Es-Salt, capturing guns and prisoners."—From the British Official Report, Sept. 24, 1918.
From the day that the United States entered the war the Jews of America perceived the wisdom of keeping an authentic record of Jewish service in the common cause. The American Jewish Committee therefore assumed this task in November, 1917—at its first annual meeting after the American declaration of war—and has since prosecuted it, with the unstinted co-operation of the Jewish Welfare Board, vigorously and systematically, until to-day it may properly claim a collection of historical and statistical data of the very first importance. In fact, the monumental character of the undertaking—both in justice to those of our coreligionists who were engaged in the great struggle, and as a collection of source material invaluable for Jewish historiography and demography in the future—has become so significant as to make this work comparable, in magnitude, with the greatest publication enterprises of American Jewry.

In spite of the wealth of material available, however—or perhaps because of it—the time has not yet arrived for an adequate, or even a preliminary, historical survey of the contribution of the Jews of America to the winning of the war. All American war records are as yet far behind those of our co-belligerents for the obvious reason that those nations, particularly France and England, had a longer period in which to organize their historical material. The American records are still, at this writing, largely inaccessible, resting in the Central Records Office of the American Expeditionary Forces in
France, thousands of miles from the collateral material in Washington. Because of this the War Department has officially withdrawn all so-called histories of divisions that have been published hitherto, and has prohibited the publication of new histories until such time as all the records may be made available in America. These reasons, it is apparent, apply with exceptional force against the possibly premature publication of Jewish historical material pertaining to the war. The present article will therefore limit itself strictly to a consideration of certain statistical data of immediate interest, leaving the greater task of an authentic historical record for future development.

THE NUMBER OF JEWS IN THE VARIOUS BRANCHES OF SERVICE

The outstanding facts developed in the course of our inquiry to date may be summarized as follows:

First, our collection already comprises over 150,000 records of Jews in the military and naval forces of the United States. These are individual records, free of all duplications, and furnishing, in the majority of cases, all service details—such as date of enlistment or induction, branch of service, rank, casualties or citations, etc.—and, in addition, certain details as to age, nativity, occupation, etc., of the greatest possible demographic value.

Many of these records have been forwarded directly from the camps and trenches by the soldiers themselves. Others were sent in by agents of the Jewish Welfare Board overseas, on transports, and at the camps, or by local branches of

All figures are as of August 15, 1919, and are subject to constant revision as new information comes to hand.
the Board, without whose untiring co-operation, in fact, this work would have been impossible. Still others were sent by the relatives and friends of the soldiers and sailors, by the Rabbis throughout the country and by the leading Jewish organizations, national and local.

Second, of the 150,000 records at hand about 140,000 have been tabulated and classified by branches of service, rank in the service, states and cities of origin, etc.

Of these 140,000 records some 114,000 are classified in the army, 13,500 in the navy, 2200 in the marine corps, and about 11,000 in service unknown.

Of the 114,000 army records, 24,200 are known to be in the infantry, 7642 in the artillery, 7884 in the medical corps, 4558 in the signal and aviation corps, 2496 in the engineer corps, 1339 in the cavalry, 1385 in ordnance, and 13,264 in other branches. Men whose branches of service are as yet unknown, but the great majority of whom will probably be found later in the infantry, number 51,332.

As to rank, there are so far recorded 7929 Jewish commissioned officers in the army, of whom 32 are colonels, 39 lieutenant-colonels, 340 majors, 1201 captains and 4802 lieutenants. In the navy there were recorded to date 433 commissioned officers, including one rear admiral, and in the marine corps 59 commissioned officers, including one brigadier-general.

As to states and cities of origin, the largest centers of Jewish population have, of course, supplied the greatest number of Jews in the service. New York, state and city, have supplied more than one-third, the total for the state being 50,319, of which 41,376 are from New York City. Pennsylvania follows with 14,586, of which 9596 are from Philadelphia. Illinois is
credited with 7203, of which 5967 are from Chicago; and Massachusetts with 5497, of which 1423 are from Boston. Other states will be found pro-rated accordingly. The class "States not known" comprises 29,785, of which probably 40 per cent will ultimately be traceable to New York.

As the full significance of these figures may be grasped only in their relation to certain questions that are, of necessity, uppermost in the minds of those interested in this subject, it may be well to present the information developed so far in the course of the inquiry in the form of questions and answers—it being understood, however, that as these figures are not final, any deductions drawn from them must also lack finality.

What was the total number, and percentage, of the Jews in the army and navy of the United States during the war? The best available evidence indicates that there were from 200,000 to 250,000 Jews in the service, or from 4 to 5 per cent of the total forces of the United States, which numbered approximately 4,800,000 men. These estimates are based upon several independent calculations which tend strongly to confirm one another.²

How does the percentage of Jews in the service compare

²One of these calculations is based upon the fact that our records have until now, for practical reasons that need not be entered into at this point, been gathered by extensive rather than by intensive methods. The 150,000 records in our files, therefore, represent only the first pick. It has been found that in several towns where, for exceptional reasons, an intensive survey was made, at least fifty per cent of new names were added to our present figures. Should this average increment prevail for the country at large, it would add 75,000 names to our present figures, thereby bringing the total to 225,000. In addition to this, New York, in particular, is at present grossly under-represented. When thoroughly surveyed, it will probably add 25,000 more records to the present total, bringing it up to 250,000.
with the percentage of the Jewish population in the United States? The entire Jewish population of the country, according to the latest estimates, is about 3 per cent of the total population. The Jews in the military and naval forces of the United States, however, have constituted from 4 to 5 per cent of the total personnel. On the face of these figures it would seem that the Jews of America contributed at least one-third more than their share to the armed strength of the United States. There is reason to believe, however, that the final figures, when available, will demonstrate that the Jewish contribution has been even greater than this. It is well known that the selective service system has operated more effectively in the North and East than in the South and West, and in the urban more than in the rural districts—that is, in the larger centers of population, which happen also to be the centers of Jewish population. Moreover, the number of industrial exemptions has been greatest in agriculture, mining, and the metal industries, where the Jews are least extensively employed. It has therefore developed, as an unavoidable and incidental feature of the draft system, that the Jewish elements of the population have perhaps been drawn upon more heavily, in proportion to their numbers, than any other elements.

But the principal reason for the high percentage of Jews in the service rests elsewhere. It is to be found in the remarkable number of Jewish volunteers. The evidence as to this is definite and conclusive. The great majority of the records in our files state the exact ages of the men reported. By actual count it has been ascertained that of all the men whose ages were known fully 10 per cent were well outside the draft ages at the time that the count was made—before the registration of September 12. If, in addition to this number,
there be added the 15,700 sailors and marines, who are all volunteers, the total of such volunteers at present recorded rises to more than 20 per cent of the total in our files. Should this ratio represent fairly the proportion of Jewish volunteers in all the arms of the service—and at present there is no reason to believe otherwise—this would indicate that there were from 40,000 to 50,000 Jewish volunteers in the service. In other words, the normal Jewish quota of three per cent seems to have been contributed through the draft, and the excess to have been supplied by volunteers.

How were the Jewish soldiers distributed among the combatant and non-combatant branches of the service? Although distinctions of this nature have become, in the organization of modern warfare, almost meaningless, and are therefore not to be over-emphasized, certain comparisons that have been noted in this connection are so striking as to compel instant attention. According to the latest official figures available as to the strength of the United States army as a whole and of each of its component branches, the total strength was, in November, 1918, about 3,700,000, of which the infantry, artillery, cavalry, engineers, and signal-aviation branches together constituted 60 per cent, and the other branches, such as ordnance, quartermaster corps, etc., constituted 40 per cent. But among the 114,000 records of Jewish soldiers in our possession the distribution among the first-named branches is fully 67 per cent. The infantry branch constituted 26.6 per cent of the entire army, while among the Jewish records it constituted 48 per cent. Artillery was 14 per cent of the United States army, 8 per cent of the Jewish total. In cavalry the rate for the entire army is 2 per cent, for the Jews only 1.3 per cent. The engineer corps constituted 11 per cent of the army
strength, and but 3 per cent among the Jewish records. The signal and aviation corps represented 7 per cent of the United States total, and 15 per cent of the Jewish total. The medical corps was 8 per cent of the army total, 9 per cent of the Jewish total. Ordnance was 1.7 per cent of the army total, and 1.5 of the Jewish total. The quartermaster corps was 6.2 per cent of the army total and 5.9 per cent of the Jewish total.

If, therefore, such distinctions are still held valid, it may be said truthfully that the relative proportion of Jews in the combatant branches is far greater than in the non-combatant branches.

If additional evidence as to this point is desired, it may be found in a comparative study of two branches of the service differing so widely in their functions as the quartermaster corps and the marine corps. In view of the fact that the quartermaster corps is essentially the business organization of the army, and that the Jewish recruits, as a class, undoubtedly possess greater business training and greater capacity for organization than their non-Jewish comrades, it may reasonably have been expected that this branch of the service would possess a far higher percentage of Jews than all other branches. The evidence at hand, however, points definitely to the contrary. While the personnel in the quartermaster corps constituted 6.2 per cent of the army as a whole, it constituted only 5.9 per cent of the Jewish total.

The marine corps, on the other hand, is essentially a fighting organization. Every man in this corps is a volunteer, enlisted with the full knowledge that the corps would be sent wherever the fighting was thickest. Now of the 65,000 marine corps records examined to date about 2300, or 3.4 per cent, proved to be Jewish, while probably an additional 200 were
likewise Jewish, but not definitely traceable by our methods. And of these 2500 Jewish marines, fully 30 per cent joined immediately after June 5, 1918, the day when it was published to the world that the marines were the American "shock troops" at Chateau-Thierry.

QUALITIES

How did these thousands of Jews in the American forces measure up—as soldiers, as comrades, as men? The volume of spontaneous evidence as to the high quality of Jewish courage, loyalty, and devotion on the battlefield is most impressive. No men are better qualified to speak of Jewish heroism than those Americans, non-Jews, who fought side by side with them, commanded them as officers, stayed with them in the trenches, shared with them the miseries of war, and rejoiced with them in the glories of victory. It is no secret that when the regular army officers were, in the early days of mobilization, confronted with the problem of converting the city-bred Jews into what they conceived to be proper soldier material, they were openly sceptical, not to say apprehensive. But it was not long before the ready wit of the Jewish recruits, their cool intelligence, their amenability to discipline, and the deadly seriousness with which they threw themselves into the work, convinced all sceptics of their worth.

It is reported that one of the officers at Camp Upton, who was assigned to a unit which contained 60 per cent of Jewish recruits, at first made no effort to conceal his dismay. Two months later, however, when a call was sent to him to transfer a selected number of his men to Camp Gordon, he was careful to retain practically all of the Jewish boys in his command. He had learned to appraise them accurately; and his revised opinion of their qualities was later thoroughly justified by the conduct of his men in Argonne.
Lieutenant-Colonel Douglas Campbell, addressing a meeting at the Educational Alliance, New York, on April 8, 1919, declared: "The Jewish boys of the 77th Division were the best soldiers on earth. They have participated in the greatest battles, and emerged sound. The 77th Division, of which 40 per cent were Jewish young men, was the only American division to reach the Aisne, after having penetrated into the German lines further than any other division. The fathers, mothers, sisters, and brothers of the Jewish boys may well be proud of them."

The tribute paid by Major-General Clarence E. Edwards, of the 26th Division, is particularly interesting. Speaking at the Temple Ohab Sholem, in Boston, he said: "I want to tell you that the Jews made an enviable record. I remember instances where formerly intolerant Gentiles asked that the Jews be made officers in order that they might be leaders. Many a Jewish lad of the 27th gave his life with a smile on his face."

Captain Harrigan, of the 307th Infantry, is a particular admirer of the Jewish "doughboy." "Too much cannot be said for the boys who went across from the East Side," he has frequently declared. "They stood out for conspicuous bravery and utter disregard for self when they went up against the Germans in France. I wish I could remember all the things that came to my attention when we were in action."

On another occasion, discussing the comparative qualities of the city-bred soldiers, Captain Harrigan said: "They have splendid nervous endurance. They can stand things. But that is not all—not by any means. One particular thing that was proven by the 77th was that there is no better soldier anywhere than the Jewish boy. About 40 per cent of the
division were Jews, and what fighters they were! They put into their fighting the same qualities that the Jew puts into business or professional work, and that make him successful; in other words, they use their keen Jewish intelligence in the business of fighting just as they would use it in any other business. The Jew is essentially intelligent, keen, determined to make good; the Jewish boys of the 77th fought just that way. They would go after a concealed German battery just as they would go after the conquest of some business difficulty—and they would get it!"

In a similar vein runs the testimony of Colonel Whittlesey, who won immortal fame for himself and the "Lost Battalion" in the Argonne. "We officers who served with the 77th Division," Colonel Whittlesey told the present writer, "have had an opportunity to know many Jewish soldiers, and have come to think of them with great admiration. Indeed, I feel reluctant to comment on the bravery of the East Side men, for it is something we have learned to take for granted. But some of them stand out so unforgottably in the memory that it is impossible not to speak of them. There was one man, for example, who seemed the worst possible soldier-material—thick-set, stolid-looking, extremely alien in face and speech—and yet on that day when we were holding the bank of the Vesle he performed feats as a runner that, to my mind, place him in the front ranks. To communicate with our commands it was necessary to send a runner up hill and down hill, through thick underbrush, in a terrain that would have been difficult enough to cover under ordinary circumstances. Under fire this became almost impossible, yet this boy volunteered four different times, and, using reserves of wit and cunning, of physical pluck and nervous endurance that no one would have
suspected him to possess, made the trip successfully every time."

HONORS

Evidence as to the high quality of Jewish courage in the war is to be found in the official citations for gallantry in action or devotion "above and beyond the call of duty." Of such honors we have so far recorded some 600 to the credit of American Jews, of which 378 were conferred by the American command, 162 by the French command, and the remainder by other Allied commands. What proportion these six hundred bear to the total of such honors conferred we have, as yet, no means of knowing; but all available evidence would seem to indicate that they greatly exceed the proportion of Jews in the service.

Of the rare Congressional Medal of Honor, the highest distinction awarded by the United States, the Jews have at least three to their credit:

Sergeant Sydney G. Gumpertz, of Chicago, a volunteer in the 132d Infantry, who, on September 26, 1918, in the Bois de Forges, when his advancing line was held up by a machine-gun nest, left his platoon and started, with two other soldiers, through a heavy barrage toward the enemy. Although his two companions were soon killed by a bursting shell, he "continued on alone in the face of direct fire from the machine gun, jumped into the nest, and silenced the gun, capturing nine of the crew" (General Order No. 16, January 22, 1919). Sergeant Gumpertz also received the Medaille Militaire, the highest French honor, and the Croix de Guerre with palm.

A similar exploit earned this medal for Sergeant Benjamin Kaufman, of the 308th Infantry. In the Argonne Forest, on
October 4, 1918, he had taken out a platoon to check a machine-gun company. Although separated from his platoon, and his right arm shattered by a machine-gun bullet, "without hesitation he advanced on the German line, throwing grenades with his left hand, and charging with an empty pistol. Thus he scattered the machine-gun crew, and brought the gun and one prisoner back with him to the first-aid station."

Particularly human and moving a story is that of William Sawelson, of the 312th Infantry, who, "in action at Grand Pre, October 26, 1918, hearing a wounded man in a shell-hole some distance away calling for water, upon his own initiative left shelter, and crawled through heavy machine-gun fire to where the man lay, giving him what water he had in his own canteen. He then went back to his own shell-hole, obtained more water and was returning to the wounded man, when he was killed by a machine-gun bullet" (General Order No. 16, January 22, 1919). The medal was awarded after Sawelson's death and presented to his father, Jacob L. Sawelson, at Governor's Island.

The act for which Sawelson was cited—that of risking his own life to save a wounded comrade—is recorded so frequently in the citations of Jewish soldiers that we were prompted to make an investigation of all citations, with a view to determining whether, in fact, this supreme quality of self-sacrifice was a distinguishing characteristic of Jewish soldiers in action. For this purpose we selected for careful study exactly 200 citations of which the official text was available, and—at random—an equal number of citations of non-Jews. It was found that, although these citations described every conceivable act of valor that the circumstances of modern warfare have called forth, they were nevertheless classifiable into six or seven main
AMERICAN JEWS IN THE WORLD WAR

The outstanding characteristic of each group and the number of Jews and non-Jews in each are indicated below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Jews</th>
<th>Non-Jews</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Stubborn Devotion to Duty:</strong> Persistence in carrying out a task, in spite of danger and above and beyond the call of duty. Refusal to leave the field, though wounded.</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>31.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Acts of Mercy. Risking Own Life to Save Wounded:</strong> In utter disregard of personal safety, leaving shelter and advancing under fire, to administer aid to wounded, or to carry wounded to places of safety. Aiding other wounded, though himself severely wounded and in great pain, refusing medical treatment until other wounded are treated.</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Runner and Reconnaissance Duty:</strong> Volunteering for mission as runner, after others had been shot down, and when going meant almost certain death. Successful accomplishment of mission often saved situation.</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Coolness Under Fire and in Other Dangerous Circumstances:</strong> Exhibiting self-composure in critical moment, thereby saving a dangerous situation.</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intelligence in Action. Resourcefulness:</strong> Display of sound judgment and cleverness, instrumental in performing acts of heroism and leading to important results. Exercise of initiative and assumption of responsibility in critical moments. Efficiency in planning and execution of a vital task.</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intrepidity in Action. Dare-deviltry:</strong> Privates who alone, or with few companions, conquered large group of enemy. Officers who led small detachment which vanquished much larger number.</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Miscellaneous:</strong> Unclassifiable.</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noticed that in some of the classes the Jews and the non-Jews are approximately even. There is little to choose between them in stubborn devotion to duty, in coolness under dangerous circumstances, and in runner duty. In some of the other classes, however, the difference is striking. In acts of
mercy, in risking their own lives to save the lives of wounded comrades, the Jews excel in the proportion of 64 to 45. In intelligence and resourcefulness in action they excel by 24 to 14. In dare-deviltry, in sheer "bull courage" which forges ahead without knowing, or perhaps realizing, the cost, the Jews are easily excelled.

This observation, although it is not advanced as conclusive in any sense, nevertheless demonstrates so well what may have been expected of the Jewish character that it is considered at least worth recording at this point.

**Casualties**

At the present writing (August, 1919), the War Department is still revising its casualty lists. Any definitive statement as to the number of Jews who have made the supreme sacrifice for their country, or who have been wounded in battle, is therefore impossible. The office of Jewish War Records at present, however, has the records of 2500 deaths, of whom some 1300 were killed in action, 390 died of wounds, and 800 died of accident, disease, and other causes. The list, however, is known to be far from complete, it being estimated that probably 1000 additional names will be recorded in the near future. In other words, the total of Jewish deaths will probably aggregate 3500, or about 5 per cent of the total American deaths recorded to date.

Of wounded there are at present about 8000 on file, with a possible increment of an additional 4000 to be incorporated.

Altogether, therefore, it may be noted that the number of Jews who have either given their lives for their country, or shed their blood for the American cause, will probably aggregate from 15,000 to 16,000.

* * * * *
In conclusion, it has become apparent, from the information now available, that the record of Jewish War Service, when fully developed, will demonstrate incontestably that the Jews of America have contributed their full quota to the winning of the war, and a generous margin beyond their quota; that they have enlisted cheerfully, fought gallantly, and died bravely for the United States. Those who knew the quality of Jewish loyalty needed no proof of this. They knew that the qualities which had enabled the Jew to survive through the centuries—his capacity to endure, without breaking, prolonged and intense nerve strain; his qualities of initiative, his elasticity of mind, his capacity for organization, and above all, his idealism—would make him a worthy fighter in America's cause. In this they have not been disappointed. But to communicate this knowledge to the outside world it becomes necessary to establish the known facts on the soundest possible foundations. This the present record promises to accomplish.
THE PEACE CONFERENCE AND RIGHTS OF MINORITIES

The following paragraphs, which are excerpted from various documents emanating from the Peace Conference, deal with the rights of persons "who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion." The vital interest which these excerpts have for the Jews of the world, in general, and for the Jewish populations of the countries concerned, in particular, is patent.

I. THE TREATY WITH GERMANY
(Signed on June 28, 1919)

ARTICLE 86.—The Czecho-Slovak State accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of that State who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

ARTICLE 93.—Poland accepts and agrees to embody in a treaty with the principal Allied and Associated Powers such provisions as may be deemed necessary by the said powers to protect the interests of inhabitants of Poland who differ from the majority of the population in race, language or religion.

In the reply of the Allied and Associated Powers to the counter-proposals of the German delegates, which was delivered to the latter on June 16, 1919, the following passages appear:


III. The Allied and Associated Powers are prepared to accord guarantees, under the protection of the League of Nations, for the educational, religious and cultural rights of German minorities in territories transferred from the German Empire to the new states created by the Treaty. They take note of the statement of the German Delegates that Germany is determined to treat foreign minorities within her territory according to the same principles.
Under Poland, Upper Silesia.

The restoration of the Polish State is a great historical act which cannot be achieved without breaking many ties and causing temporary difficulty and distress to many individuals. But it has been the special concern of the Allied and Associated Powers to provide for the adequate protection of those Germans who will find themselves transferred to Poland, as well as of all other religious, racial or linguistic minorities. There is in the Treaty a clause by which there will be secured to them the enjoyment of religious liberty and also the right to use their own language and that of having their children educated in their own language. They will not be subjected to persecution similar to that which Poles had to endure from the Prussian State.

II. THE TREATY WITH POLAND
(Signed on June 28, 1919)

CHAPTER I

ARTICLE 1.—Poland undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

ARTICLE 2.—Poland undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Poland without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Poland shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order or public morals.

ARTICLE 3.—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality German, Austrian, Hungarian or Russian nationals habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty in territory which is or may be recognized as forming part of Poland, but subject to any provision in the Treaties of Peace with Germany or Austria respectively relating to persons who became resident in such territory after a specified date.

Nevertheless, the persons referred to above who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, except where it is otherwise provided in the Treaty of Peace with Germany, transfer within the succeeding twelve months their place of
residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Polish territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

**Article 4.**—Poland admits and declares to be Polish nationals *ipso facto* and without the requirement of any formality persons of German, Austrian, Hungarian or Russian nationality who were born in the said territory of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty they are not themselves habitually resident there.

Nevertheless, within two years after the coming into force of the present Treaty, these persons may make a declaration before the competent Polish authorities in the country in which they are resident, stating that they abandon Polish nationality, and they will then cease to be considered as Polish nationals. In this connection a declaration by a husband will cover his wife, and a declaration by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

**Article 5.**—Poland undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Germany, Austria, Hungary or Russia, to choose whether or not they will acquire Polish nationality.

**Article 6.**—All persons born in Polish territory who are not born nationals of another State shall *ipso facto* become Polish nationals.

**Article 7.**—All Polish nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Polish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restriction shall be imposed on the free use by any Polish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, in religion, in the press or in publications of any kind, or at public meetings.

Notwithstanding any establishment by the Polish Government of an official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Polish nationals of non-Polish speech for the use of their language, either orally or in writing, before the courts.

**Article 8.**—Polish nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Polish nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their
own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

ARTICLE 9.—Poland will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Polish nationals of other than Polish speech are residents adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given the children of such Polish nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Polish Government from making the teaching of the Polish language obligatory in the said schools.

In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Polish nationals belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget, for educational, religious or charitable purposes.

The provisions of this Article shall apply to Polish citizens of German speech only in that part of Poland which was German territory in August, 1914.

ARTICLE 10.—Educational Committees appointed locally by the Jewish communities of Poland will, subject to the general control of the State, provide for the distribution of the proportional share of public funds allocated to Jewish schools in accordance with Article 9, and for the organization and management of these schools.

The provisions of Article 9 concerning the use of languages in schools shall apply to these schools.

ARTICLE 11.—Jews shall not be compelled to perform any act which constitutes a violation of their Sabbath, nor shall they be placed under any disability by reason of their refusal to attend courts of law or to perform any legal business on their Sabbath. This provision however shall not exempt Jews from such obligations as shall be imposed upon all other Polish citizens for the necessary purposes of military service, national defence or the preservation of public order.

Poland declares her intention to refrain from ordering or permitting elections, whether general or local, to be held on a Saturday, nor will registration for electoral or other purposes be compelled to be performed on a Saturday.

ARTICLE 12.—Poland agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. They shall not be modified without the assent of a majority of the Council of the League of Nations. The United
States, the British Empire, France, Italy and Japan hereby agree not to withhold their assent from any modification in these Articles which is in due form assented to by a majority of the Council of the League of Nations.

Poland agrees that any Member of the Council of the League of Nations shall have the right to bring to the attention of the Council any infraction, or any danger of infraction, of any of these obligations, and that the Council may thereupon take such action and give such direction as it may deem proper and effective in the circumstances.

Poland further agrees that any difference of opinion as to questions of law or fact arising out of these Articles between the Polish Government and any one of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers or any other Power, a Member of the Council of the League of Nations, shall be held to be a dispute of an international character under Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. The Polish Government hereby consents that any such dispute shall, if the other party thereto demands, be referred to the Permanent Court of International Justice. The decision of the Permanent Court shall be final and shall have the same force and effect as an award under Article 13 of the Covenant.

* * * * * * * * *

In Faith Whereof the above-named Plenipotentiaries have signed the present Treaty.

Done at Versailles, the twenty-eighth day of June, one thousand nine hundred and nineteen, in a single copy, which will remain deposited in the archives of the French Republic, and of which authenticated copies will be transmitted to each of the Signatory Powers.

(L. S.) WOODBOW WILSON.
(L. S.) ROBERT LANSING.
(L. S.) HENRY WHITE.
(L. S.) E. M. HOUSE.
(L. S.) TASKER H. BLISS.
(L. S.) D. LLOYD GEORGE.
(L. S.) A. BONAR LAW.
(L. S.) MILNER.
(L. S.) ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.
(L. S.) GEORGE N. BARNES.
(L. S.) CHAS. H. DOHERTY.
(L. S.) ARTHUR L. SIFTON.
(L. S.) W. M. HUGHES.
(L. S.) JOSEPH COOK.
(L. S.) LOUIS BOTHA.
(L. S.) J. C. SMUTS.
(L. S.) Ed. S. MONTAGU.
(L. S.) GANGA SINGH, MAHARAJA DE BIKANER.
(L. S.) G. CLEMENCEAUX.
(L. S.) S. PICHON.
(L. S.) L. L. KLOTZ.
(L. S.) ANDRÉ TARDIEU.
(L. S.) JULES CAMBON.
(L. S.) SIDNEY SONNINO.
(L. S.) IMPERIAI.
(L. S.) SILVIO CRESPI.
(L. S.) SAIFONZI.
(L. S.) N. MAKINO.
(L. S.) H. CHINDA.
(L. S.) K. MATSUI.
(L. S.) H. IJUIN.
(L. S.) I. J. PADEREWSKI.
(L. S.) ROMAN DMOWSKY.
Following is the text of the letter addressed to I. J. Paderewski by Georges Clemenceau, the President of the Conference, on June 24, 1919, transmitting to him the Treaty to be signed by Poland under Article 93 of the Treaty with Germany:

SIR:

On behalf of the Supreme Council of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers, I have the honour to communicate to you herewith, in its final form, the text of the Treaty which, in accordance with Article 93 of the Treaty of Peace with Germany, Poland will be asked to sign on the occasion of the confirmation of her recognition as an independent State and of the transference to her of the territories included in the former German Empire which are assigned to her by the said Treaty. The principal provisions were communicated to the Polish Delegation in Paris in May last, and were subsequently communicated direct to the Polish Government through the French Minister at Warsaw. The Council have since had the advantage of the suggestions which you were good enough to convey to them in your memorandum of the 16th June, and as the result of a study of these suggestions modifications have been introduced in the text of the Treaty. The Council believe that it will be found that by these modifications the principal points to which attention was drawn in your memorandum have, in so far as they relate to specific provisions of the Treaty, been adequately covered.

In formally communicating to you the final decision of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers in this matter, I should desire to take this opportunity of explaining in a more formal manner than has hitherto been done the considerations by which the Principal Allied and Associated Powers have been guided in dealing with the question.

1. In the first place, I would point out that this Treaty does not constitute any fresh departure. It has for long been the established procedure of the public law of Europe that when a State is created, or even when large accessions of territory are made to an established State, the joint and formal recognition by the Great Powers should be accompanied by the requirement that such State should, in the form of a binding international convention, undertake to comply with certain principles of government. This principle, for which there are numerous other precedents, received the most explicit sanction when, at the last great assembly of European Powers—the Congress of Berlin—the sovereignty and independence of Serbia, Montenegro, and Roumania were recognized. It is
desirable to recall the words used on this occasion by the British, French, Italian, and German Plenipotentiaries, as recorded in the Protocol of the 28th June, 1878:

“Lord Salisbury recognises the independence of Serbia, but is of opinion that it would be desirable to stipulate in the Principality the great principle of religious liberty.

*M* * * * * * * * * *

“M. Waddington believes that it is important to take advantage of this solemn opportunity to cause the principles of religious liberty to be affirmed by the representatives of Europe. His Excellency adds that Serbia, who claims to enter the European family on the same basis as other States, must previously recognise the principles which are the basis of social organisation in all States of Europe and accept them as a necessary condition of the favour which she asks for.

*M* * * * * * * * * *

“Prince Bismark, associating himself with the French proposal, declares that the assent of Germany is always assured to any motion favourable to religious liberty.

*M* * * * * * * * * *

“Count de Launay says that, in the name of Italy, he desires to adhere to the principle of religious liberty, which forms one of the essential bases of the institutions in his country, and that he associates himself with the declarations made on this subject by Germany, France, and Great Britain.

“Count Andrassy expresses himself to the same effect, and the Ottoman Plenipotentiaries raise no objection.

“Prince Bismark, after having summed up the results of the vote, declares that Germany admits the independence of Serbia, but on condition that religious liberty will be recognised in the Principality. His Serene Highness adds that the Drafting Committee, when they formulate this decision, will affirm the connection established by the Conference between the proclamation of Serbian independence and the recognition of religious liberty.”

2. The Principal Allied and Associated Powers are of opinion that they would be false to the responsibility which rests upon them if, on this occasion, they departed from what has become an established tradition. In this connection I must also recall to your consideration the fact that it is to the endeavours and sacrifices of the Powers in whose name I am addressing you that the Polish nation owes the recovery of its independence. It is by their decision that Polish sovereignty is being re-established over the territories in question and that the inhabitants of these territories are being incorporated in the Polish nation. It is on the
support which resources of these Powers will afford to the League of Nations that, for the future, Poland will to a large extent depend for the secure possession of these territories. There rests, therefore, upon these Powers an obligation, which they cannot evade, to secure in the most permanent and solemn form guarantees for certain essential rights which will afford to the inhabitants the necessary protection, whatever changes may take place in the internal constitution of the Polish State.

It is in accordance with this obligation that Clause 93 was inserted in the Treaty of Peace with Germany. This clause relates only to Poland, but a similar clause applies the same principles to Czecho-Slovakia, and other clauses have been inserted in the Treaty of Peace with Austria and will be inserted in those with Hungary and with Bulgaria, under which similar obligations will be undertaken by other States, which under those Treaties receive large accessions of territory.

The consideration of these facts will be sufficient to show that by the requirement addressed to Poland at the time when it receives in the most solemn manner the joint recognition of the re-establishment of its sovereignty and independence and when large accessions of territory are being assigned to it, no doubt is thrown upon the sincerity of the desire of the Polish Government and the Polish nation to maintain the general principles of justice and liberty. Any such doubt would be far from the intention of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers.

3. It is indeed true that the new Treaty differs in form from earlier Conventions dealing with similar matters. The change of form is a necessary consequence and an essential part of the new system of international relations which is now being built up by the establishment of the League of Nations. Under the older system the guarantee for the execution of similar provisions was vested in the Great Powers. Experience has shown that this was in practice ineffective, and it was also open to the criticism that it might give to the Great Powers, either individually or in combination, a right to interfere in the internal constitution of the States affected which could be used for political purposes. Under the new system the guarantee is entrusted to the League of Nations. The clauses dealing with this guarantee have been carefully drafted so as to make it clear that Poland will not be in any way under the tutelage of those Powers who are signatories to the Treaty.

I should desire, moreover, to point out to you that provision has been inserted in the Treaty by which disputes arising out of its provisions may be brought before the Court of the League of Nations. In this way differences which might arise will be removed from the political sphere and placed in the hands of a
judicial court, and it is hoped that thereby an impartial decision will be facilitated, while at the same time any danger of political interference by the Powers in the internal affairs of Poland will be avoided.

4. The particular provisions to which Poland and the other States will be asked to adhere differ to some extent from those which were imposed on the new States at the Congress of Berlin. But the obligations imposed upon new States seeking recognition have at all times varied with the particular circumstances. The Kingdom of the United Netherlands in 1814 formally undertook precise obligations with regard to the Belgian provinces at the time annexed to the kingdom which formed an important restriction on the unlimited exercise of its sovereignty. It was determined at the establishment of the Kingdom of Greece that the Government of that State should take a particular form, viz., it should be both monarchical and constitutional; when Thessaly was annexed to Greece, it was stipulated that the lives, property, honour, religion and customs of those of the inhabitants of the localities ceded to Greece, who remained under the Hellenic administration should be scrupulously respected, and that they should enjoy exactly the same civil and political rights as Hellenic subjects of origin. In addition, very precise stipulations were inserted safeguarding the interests of the Mohammedan population of these territories.

The situation with which the Powers have now to deal is new, and experience has shown that new provisions are necessary. The territories now being transferred both to Poland and to other States inevitably include a large population speaking languages and belonging to races different from that of the people with whom they will be incorporated. Unfortunately, the races have been estranged by long years of bitter hostility. It is believed that these populations will be more easily reconciled to their new position if they knew that from the very beginning they have assured protection and adequate guarantees against any danger of unjust treatment or oppression. The very knowledge that these guarantees exist will, it is hoped, materially help the reconciliation which all desire, and will indeed do much to prevent the necessity of its enforcement.

5. To turn to the individual clauses of the present Treaty, Article 2 guarantees to all inhabitants those elementary rights, which are, as a matter of fact, secured in every civilized State. Clauses 3 to 6 are designed to insure that all the genuine residents in the territories now transferred to Polish sovereignty shall in fact be assured of the full privileges of citizenship. Articles 7 and 8, which are in accordance with precedent, provide against any discrimination against those Polish citizens who, by their religion,
their language, or their race, differ from the large mass of the Polish population. It is understood that, far from raising any objection to the matter of these articles, the Polish Government have already, of their own accord, declared their firm intention of basing their institutions on the cardinal principles enunciated therein.

The following articles are of rather a different nature, in that they provide more special privileges to certain groups of those minorities. In the final revision of these latter articles, the Powers have been impressed by the suggestions made in your memorandum of the 16th June, and the articles have in consequence been subjected to some material modifications. In the final text of the Treaty it has been made clear that the special privileges accorded in Article 9 are extended to Polish citizens of German speech only in such parts of Poland as are, by the Treaty with Germany, transferred from Germany to Poland. Germans in other parts of Poland will be unable under this article to claim to avail themselves of these privileges. They will, therefore, in this matter be dependent solely on the generosity of the Polish Government, and will, in fact, be in the same position as German citizens of Polish speech in Germany.

6. Clauses 10 and 12 deal specifically with the Jewish citizens of Poland. The information at the disposal of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers as to the existing relations between the Jews and the other Polish citizens has led them to the conclusion that, in view of the historical development of the Jewish question and the great animosity aroused by it, special protection is necessary for the Jews in Poland. These clauses have been limited to the minimum which seems necessary under the circumstances of the present day, viz., the maintenance of Jewish schools and the protection of the Jews in the religious observance of their Sabbath. It is believed that these stipulations will not create any obstacle to the political unity of Poland. They do not constitute any recognition of the Jews as a separate political community within the Polish State. The educational provisions contain nothing beyond what is in fact provided in the educational institutions of many highly organized modern States. There is nothing inconsistent with the sovereignty of the State in recognizing and supporting schools in which children shall be brought up in the religious influences to which they are accustomed in their home. Ample safeguards against any use of non-Polish languages to encourage a spirit of national separation have been provided in the express acknowledgment that the provisions of this Treaty do not prevent the Polish State from making the Polish language obligatory in all its schools and educational institutions.
7. The economic clauses contained in Chapter II of the Treaty have been drafted with the view of facilitating the establishment of equitable commercial relations between independent Poland and the other Allied and Associated Powers. They include provisions for reciprocal diplomatic and consular representation, for freedom of transit, and for the adhesion of the Polish Government to certain international conventions.

In these clauses the Principal Allied and Associated Powers have not been actuated by any desire to secure for themselves special commercial advantages. It will be observed that the rights accorded to them by these clauses are extended equally to all States who are members of the League of Nations. Some of the provisions are of a transitional character, and have been introduced only with the necessary object of bridging over the short interval which must elapse before general regulations can be established by Poland herself or by commercial treaties or general conventions approved by the League of Nations.

In conclusion, I am to express to you, on behalf of the Allied and Associated Powers, the very sincere satisfaction which they feel at the re-establishment of Poland as an independent State. They cordially welcome the Polish nation on its re-entry into the family of nations. They recall the great services which the ancient Kingdom of Poland rendered to Europe both in public affairs and by its contributions to the progress of mankind, which is the common work of all civilized nations. They believe that the voice of Poland will add to the wisdom of their common deliberations in the cause of peace and harmony, that its influence will be used to further the spirit of liberty and justice, both in internal and external affairs, and that thereby it will help in the work of reconciliation between the nations which, with the conclusion of Peace, will be the common task of humanity.

The Treaty by which Poland solemnly declares before the world her determination to maintain the principles of justice, liberty, and toleration, which were the guiding spirit of the ancient Kingdom of Poland, and also receives in its most explicit and binding form the confirmation of her restoration to the family of independent nations, will be signed by Poland and by the Principal Allied and Associated Powers on the occasion of, and at the same time as, the signature of the Treaty of Peace with Germany.

I have, etc.,

Clemenceau.
III. The Treaty with Austria

Up to the time of printing, the full text of the proposed Treaty with Austria had not been made public. Following, however, are extracts from the official summary of the draft of that document dealing with the protection of racial, linguistic or religious minorities in Czecho-Slovakia, the Serb-Croat-Slovene State (Jugo-Slavia), Roumania, and Austria:

Czecho-Slovakia agrees to embody in a Treaty with the Principal Allied and Associated Powers such provision as they may deem necessary to protect racial, religious, or linguistic minorities.

The Serb-Croat-Slovene State agrees to a similar Treaty for the protection of minorities.

Roumania agrees to a similar treaty as to the protection of minorities.

In a series of special clauses Austria undertakes to bring her institutions into conformity with the principles of liberty and justice, and acknowledges that the obligations for the protection of minorities are matters of international concern over which the League of Nations has jurisdiction. She assures complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Austria, without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion, together with the right of free exercise of any creed.

All Austrian nationals, without distinction of race, language, or religion, are to be equal before the law. No restrictions are to be imposed on the free use of any language in private or public, and reasonable facilities are to be given Austrian nationals of non-German speech for the use of their language before the Courts. Austrian nationals belonging to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities are to enjoy the same protection as other Austrian nationals, in particular with regard to schools and other educational establishments; and in districts where a considerable proportion of Austrian nationals of other than German speech are resident, facilities are to be given in schools for the instruction of children in their own language, and an equitable share of public funds is to be provided for the purpose. These provisions do not preclude the Austrian Government from making the teaching of German obligatory. They are to be embodied by Austria in her fundamental law as a Bill of Rights, and provisions regarding them are to be under the protection of the League of Nations.
IV. Russia

The following passage is excerpted from the note of the four Powers, Great Britain, the United States, France, and Japan, addressed to Admiral Alexander Kolchak, head of the All-Russian Government at Omsk, on May 26, 1919:

Thirdly, that they will countenance no attempt to revise the special privilege of any class or order in Russia. The Allied and Associated Powers have noted with satisfaction the solemn declaration made by Admiral Kolchak and his associates that they have no intention of restoring the former land system. They feel that the principles to be followed in the solution of this and other internal questions must be left to the free decision of the Russian Constituent Assembly. But they wish to be assured that those whom they are prepared to assist stand for the civil and religious liberty of all Russian citizens and will make no attempt to reintroduce the régime which the revolution has destroyed.

Following is the part of Admiral Kolchak's reply, received in Paris on June 5, 1919, which refers to this point:

8. Having set ourselves the task of re-establishing order and justice and of insuring individual security to the population, which is tired of trials and exactions, the Government affirms the equality before the law of all citizens without any special privilege. All shall receive, without distinction of origin or of religion, the protection of the State and of the law.