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## WOLF'S NOTES ON THE 'DIPLOMATIC HISTORY OF THE JEWISH QUESTION'.

*Notes on the Diplomatic History of the Jewish Question, with Texts of Treaty Stipulations and other Official Documents.* By LUCIEN WOLF. Printed for the JEWISH HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF ENGLAND. London: 1919. x. pp. 133.

IT is a very interesting and important contribution to diplomatic history, Jewish history, and the history of religious liberty in general, which Mr. Lucien Wolf has made in this book, to which he has given the very modest title quoted. Prepared originally as a paper read before the Jewish Historical Society of England in February 1918, Mr. Wolf expanded it and published it in time for use in connexion with the Peace Conference, and its full transcript of documents made the work particularly useful for that purpose. It is interesting to observe that both the American Jewish Historical Society (in 1906, 1916, and 1918), and the English Society (in 1918), recognizing the value of history as a *Hilfswissenschaft*, issued elaborate historical studies of various phases of the Jewish question in diplomatic history, for such practical use. As our author well says in his preface to the present work:

'The Jewish Question is far from being a subsidiary issue in the Reconstruction of Europe, (but has) a great tradition of effort and achievement in regard to it, and this tradition, apart from the high merits of the task itself, imposes upon them (the plenipotentiaries at the Peace Conference) the solemn obligation of solving the question completely and finally, now that the opportunity of doing so presents itself, free from all restraints of a selfish and calculating diplomacy. It is not only that the edifice of Religious Liberty in Europe has to be completed, but also that some six millions of human beings have to be freed from political and civil disabilities and social economical restrictions which for calculated cruelty have no parallels outside the Dark Ages. The Peace

Conference will have accomplished relatively little, if a shred of this blackest of all European scandals is allowed to survive its deliberations'.

Mr. Wolf freely and avowedly draws on Dr. Cyrus Adler's *Jews in the Diplomatic History of the United States*, Kohler and Wolf's *Jewish Disabilities in the Balkan States*, and M. J. Kohler's pamphlet, *Jewish Rights at International Congresses*, reprinted from the *American Jewish Year Book for 1917-1918*; Kohler's *Jewish Rights at the Congresses of Vienna and Aix-la-Chapelle*—which would have supplemented Mr. Wolf's narrative regarding those two early congresses—was not available to him, having been issued nearly simultaneously with the present work. It might have been helpful if Mr. Wolf had incorporated more fully American precedents, and had not contented himself so largely with mere cross-references to Dr. Cyrus Adler's volume, for America has, as Mr. Wolf himself well says (p. 5, compare 54), 'on many occasions shown a really noble example of the purest altruism in international politics'. Moreover, he also frankly points out (pp. 4, 5, 54-5) that European reasons of state often complicated and shaped their action, in connexion with Jewish emancipation, while America, freer from such entangling alliances, acted more in accord with principle and set the precedents which Europe is now following more and more. In fact, at the close of a war 'to make the world safe for democracy', the entire argument would have been greatly strengthened by a frank recognition of the fact that the movement for international safe-guarding of religious rights is but an application, in the international field, of America's fundamental, constitutional, separation of Church and State and internal constitutional guarantees for religious and civil liberty regardless of race and creed, since adopted by Western Europe. We therefore miss citations of the valuable writings of David Dudley Field, John Forsyth, Thomas F. Bayard, S. M. Stroock, and Oscar S. Straus, and of H. C. Hodges's *Doctrine of Intervention*. Accordingly, in the light of the very early treaty between the United States and Tripoli of 1796, the statement should be modified (p. 68) that the

French treaty of 1864 with Switzerland, assuring French citizens 'without distinction of creed' rights in Switzerland, is 'a form of article without precedent in instruments of this kind', though the statement is probably true of Europe from the period beginning with the Napoleonic downfall. On the other hand, in the consideration of Swiss discriminations, we miss reference to Napoleon III's and earlier valiant and vigorous espousals of the Jewish cause, which led to the adoption of this very treaty, and paved the way for the Swiss treaty with the United States too. We also miss reference to other forcible French *pronunciamentos*, for instance, the discussion of the important Russian treaty violations in the French Parliament in December 1909, and to Dutch and other utterances with respect to Switzerland, and earlier incidents. On the other hand, it is interesting to read the statements from the pen of Montefiore's chief biographer (p. 18): 'Meanwhile (after the Crimean war), under the influence of Sir Moses Montefiore, and more especially of his jealousy of M. Cremieux, the Jewish Board of Deputies had plucked up a measure of courage, and had begun to take a more active interest in the larger political questions which involved the future of their foreign co-religionists'. Nor does Mr. Wolf's cross-reference to Stern's *Urkundliche Beiträge über die Stellung der Päpste zu den Juden* conveniently dispense with useful references to Papal intervention on behalf of the Jews, particularly to the Pope's recent communication on behalf of the Jews in Poland, issued at the instance of the American Jewish Committee.

In view of Mr. Wolf's express disclaimer of completeness, it would be ungracious to enumerate other items which might have been included. This is all the more true, as the book before us does not confine itself to proceedings at international conferences, but includes the entire range of diplomatic action, and contains many new 'finds' hitherto overlooked. It also embraces as a final section 'The Palestine Question, and the National Restoration of the Jews', where interesting and hitherto unpublished documents of 1841 appear, regarding a proposed establishment, then already, of a separate state in Palestine under European

auspices. On the other hand, Hyamson's and Sokolow's recent works would have supplemented this section.

As rush in getting this valuable work out for use by the Peace Conference and exigencies of space, compelled curtailment, it may answer a useful purpose to add here references to the elaborate 336 pp. report of the U. S. House of Representatives of December 11, 1911, on the proposed termination of the U. S. Treaty with Russia (32nd Cong. 2nd Session House Report, No. 179), and to the treatment of that subject and the Kishineff Massacre Petition in Simon Wolf's *Presidents I Have Known*, to Prof. David Kaufmann's scholarly treatment of the International Intervention on behalf of the Jews of Bohemia in 1744, in his *Gesammelte Schriften* (II. 328-373), and to Krenzel's elaborate transcripts of the British documents on the same incident in the *Monatsschrift* (1900, vol. 44, pp. 177 *et seq.* and 259 *et seq.*). American Jews will learn with interest, however, from the present work (pp. 82-3) that Sir Edward Grey advised the British Jewish Conjoint Committee, on October 1, 1912, after the United States had abrogated the Russian treaty, that England's support of our position would also have led to her termination of her treaty with Russia, which 'result would in no way advance the interests of those whom you represent, and would in other respects be disadvantageous to British interests'.

In discussing (p. 64) the important question of the evolution of recognition of the status of the Jews as full subjects, reference might be made to the important British precedents established as far back as 1672, when the 'Council for the Plantations' overruled a Jamaican court and held, in Rabba Couty's case, that Jews were not aliens under the 'Navigation Act', and again in 1675, when they secured the recognition of British Jews settled in Surinam as British subjects, under the treaty of Breda, as against Dutch efforts to restrain them.

In one of the few passages in the valuable work before us, in which Mr. Wolf gives expression to his personal views, instead of contenting himself with explaining and setting forth important documents—often first discovered by himself—he well says

regarding the Congress of Berlin (p. 24): 'It made it a principle of European policy, that no new state or transfer of territory should be recognized, unless the fullest religious liberty and civil and political equality were guaranteed to the inhabitants'. This is the thesis of this book, and it was doubtless a great satisfaction to the loyal and scholarly British Jewish author to have unearthed the British utterance of eleven years earlier, 1867, from the British State Papers regarding Rumania (p. 24): 'The peculiar position of the Jews places them under the protection of the civilized world.'

MAX J. KOHLER.

New York.

POSTSCRIPT.—Some of the materials collated by Mr. Wolf and the other workers in this field are embodied in the monumental letter of Clémenceau on behalf of the Peace Conference, to Premier Paderewski, dated June 24, 1919, accompanying the Polish treaty; they can be conveniently found in the *American Jewish Year Book* for 1919; the *October 1919 Supplement to the American Journal of International Law*, pp. 416-436, and in *British Treaty Series*, No. 8 (1919). The French Government published an elaborate summary of Jewish memorials to the Peace Conference in the official periodical, 'Recueil de Documents étrangers', dated Paris, July 31, 1919, No. 46, issued by the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and of War, entitled 'La Question juive devant la Conférence de la Paix.'