

JEW - BAITING

A n O l d E v i l
Newly Camouflaged

HORACE JAMES BRIDGES



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BY

HORACE JAMES BRIDGES

*Author of "As I Was Saying", "On Becoming
an American", etc.*

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To

HARRY D. OPPENHEIMER,

*through friendship with whom I have learned
a deeper reverence not only for his race
but for all men.*

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CHAPTER I.

THE REVIVAL OF JEW-BAITING.

TO my great regret, I find that I am beginning to achieve some measure of success as a prophet. I say to my regret, because, obviously, the purpose of any well-meaning citizen who utters forebodings of coming evil, is to contribute what he can towards falsifying his own predictions by averting the evils which he dreads. And so, in looking over the record of my utterances of recent years, I should have far more pleasure and satisfaction if it now appeared that my anticipations had been wrong; and still more so if I could feel that the warnings I had been moved to utter had helped in any degree to cause the action which had prevented their fulfilment.

Nearly four years ago, in a discourse in Chicago, in which I ventured to counsel the Jews among my hearers against the Zionist project of erecting in Palestine a distinctively Jewish Nation-State, I grounded my counsel in large part upon the apprehension that this development would give "to the Western

anti-Semite a new handle that he is absolutely certain to take hold of if he is not headed off." This prophecy, the reasons for which are self-evident to everybody familiar with the anti-Jewish mind, began to find fulfilment as soon as it was uttered. And since then the evidence of its accuracy in reading the situation has multiplied extensively. One need point only to such typical exploitations of the Zionist argument as Mr. Chesterton's volume, "The New Jerusalem," and the recently published treatise by Mr. Hilaire Belloc on "The Jews."

Again, some three years ago, after reading the mass of accusations (so far as it was then published) in furtherance of the anti-Jewish campaign associated with the name of Mr. Henry Ford, and the parallel propaganda emanating from other countries, such as the legendary Protocols and the volume based upon them by the Editor of the London *Morning Post*, I ventured a remark in public to the following effect: "We cannot afford to trust to the probability of this fire burning itself out. Many previously incredible things have happened in the last seven years; and it is by no means impossible that assassination of Jews may be successfully instigated by these methods." Not

very long after my utterance of these words, the awful murders of Matthias Erzberger and Walther Rathenau in Germany, which marked the end of a serious effort at social and economic rehabilitation and the beginning of intentional financial collapse in that country, proved that one's fear had not been groundless; especially since these events led to the disclosure of a conspiracy to assassinate a whole list of prominent German Jews.

These things, and multitudinous other episodes in many countries, make it evident that among the flood of evil sequels to the war, we have to reckon with a new inundation of the ancient evil of hatred felt by Gentiles against Jews; and the certainty that hatred, now as ever, will breed only after its own likeness, and bring forth a reactive hatred of Jews against Gentiles. The evil is already at work, and it would be worse than idle to suppose that any good purpose could be served by ignoring it or keeping silent about it.

The immediate occasion which has turned my thoughts anew to this subject was the reading, when I was in Europe last summer, of the volume already mentioned, by Mr. Hilaire Belloc. Although the Houghton Mifflin Company have put their name to an

imported edition, it seems to have had no very general sale among us; and, so far as I can find, it has attracted comparatively little public attention in Great Britain. But the wide knowledge, the large experience, and the literary skill of its author, coupled with the fact that, as a Roman Catholic of the extremest ultramontane school, he undoubtedly expresses opinions and betrays dispositions widely prevalent among the most influential members of his Church, give to his utterances, on a subject of this kind, a degree of importance that is in no wise measurable by the statistics of the circulation of his volume. The book has all the ability which we have learned to expect from Mr. Belloc. Indeed one may, without exaggeration, classify it as a masterpiece. But, unhappily, it is a masterpiece of venom and hatred, faintly veiled under the camouflage of impartiality and candid friendship.

I cannot refrain from expressing my surprise at the small attention which seems to have been accorded, either by Jews or Protestants, to this work of Mr. Belloc's. Two or three years ago, Jews were expressing both offence and alarm at the circulation of the so-called Protocols. Although these documents were a clumsy and manifest forgery,

so poorly executed that no moderately instructed man could read ten pages in them without being convinced of their fictitious character, they really did harm enough to justify the alarm they provoked. For no forgery is too gross, no libel too absurd, to impose upon great masses of the public, if the masses are predisposed to acceptance of the libel or forgery by a prejudice previously imbibed against its victims.

For the same reasons, the Jews of America were rightly active in opposition to the campaign of falsehoods and still falser half-truths inaugurated with the consent of Mr. Henry Ford, and fought through the pages of his magazine. Again it is true that any impartial and moderately informed reader could see that this series of articles was the work of a modern Titus Oates, a most skilful wielder of the poisoned pen, an artist in using language so as to leave the impression that he had said what he had not quite said, and in using hint and suggestion and innuendo in lieu of positive actionable statements, to produce false beliefs and hatreds in the mind of his readers. The great mass of alleged facts assembled by this Titus Oates were easily exposed fictions, and the true statements he advanced did not justify the

conclusions he intended them to suggest. The world-conspiracy of all Jews against Western civilization, alleged by him and by the Protocols, was something which never could have existed save as an hallucination in the brain of a lunatic, or as a conscious fiction in the mind of a forger. The importance of these things, however, lay not in their rational force,—for they had none,—but in the fact that they appealed to the selfsame temper of hatred and prejudice, the selfsame will to persecute, of which they were themselves the expression. The organisers of this campaign were animated by a spirit of hatred; and they knew full well that in the post-war world, their own spirit existed in millions of other men, and needed but the slightest spark to kindle it into devouring flame. That is why in our country Jews and Gentiles joined in active condemnation of these campaigns of calumny, in refutation of their baseless charges, and in indignant denunciation of the malevolent spirit that prompted them.

Yet, in the past year, I have seen no criticism and heard no alarm expressed, except by myself, about this work of Mr. Belloc, which is enormously more clever, subtle and dangerous than any other piece

of anti-Jewish propaganda within my knowledge. Compared with the effusions of Mr. Ford's hirelings or with the Protocols, it seems to me like a "big Bertha," or the torpedo that sank the *Lusitania*, measured against a schoolboy's catapult.

CHAPTER II.

MR. BELLOC'S METHOD OF PROCEDURE.

The author's air of detachment, of disinterested sincerity, is cleverly assumed. Mr. Belloc seems to have taken the very course charged by Kingsley against Newman and so indignantly repudiated by the latter; that of "writing a whole sermon [*for 'sermon' read 'volume'*] for the sake of one single passing hint, one phrase, one epithet, one little barbed arrow, which...he delivered unheeded, as with his finger tip, to the very heart of an initiated hearer, never to be withdrawn again." For what is chiefly noticeable in Mr. Belloc's volume is the serenity with which it proceeds upon unexamined assumptions and begged questions, which are revealed less by the special stresses of his argument than by passing hints, presuppositions, occasional phrases and epithets. One may borrow and paraphrase a little further from Kingsley, and describe Mr. Belloc as being, if not indeed "the most acute man of his generation," yet a man of rare acuteness, having "a specially intimate acquaintance with the weaknesses of the human heart,"—and

still more of the human head,—and therefore one cannot suppose him in any wise “blind to the broad meaning and the plain practical result” of such a book, as he has written.

Mr. Belloc inscribes upon his title-page, in Hebrew, the motto “Peace be to Israel.” The essay is ostentatiously dedicated to a Jewish lady, “My secretary for many years at King’s Land and the best and most intimate of our Jewish friends, to whom my family and I will always owe a deep debt of gratitude.” The entire pose is that of the impartial friend of both sides, who thinks he sees trouble coming, knows how it may be averted, and is anxious, for the benefit of all concerned, to head it off.

In accordance with this attitude, Mr. Belloc is by way of explaining to each side the errors of judgment and the consequent mistakes of behaviour into which it falls when dealing with the other. The Jews are ignorant of many facts about the Gentile mind and psychology which Mr. Belloc is prepared to explain to them; and in their ignorance they often behave in ways which, without their knowledge, and contrary to their intention, give deep offence to the Gentile. And Gentiles, in like manner, unaware of what is in the Jew’s mind, not merely misunderstand

what he does, but render themselves misunderstood by saying and doing many things which he takes to be intentionally insulting and offensive, though they are really nothing of the kind.

But notice how Mr. Belloc goes about to present his brief for the Jew, and what a brief it is. He tells the Gentiles that many characteristics of the Jew, which to them seem faults, are not really faults at all. Often they are virtues of Jewish patriotism. The Jew is entirely indifferent to the well-being of any Gentile community, because what he is aiming at is the well-being of his own community, the Jewish nation. He will act against the national or international interests of the land in which he was born. This, says the Gentile, is treachery. Not at all, answers Mr. Belloc. You only think it is because, like a fool, you assume that the Jew is, or can be, a citizen of your country. What he does would indeed be treachery in an Englishman, a Frenchman, an American. Being a member of another nation, and acting—often with great courage and self-sacrifice—in the interests of that nation, the Jew is only doing what you ought to expect of him, and what you yourself would be the first to applaud as courage or patriotism if

done by an Englishman or Frenchman in the interests of his own people.

Such is the "defence"; and every word of it is a worse and more deeply studied insult to the French or British or American citizen of Jewish race than anything in the indictment against which the alleged defence is entered. The situation would have been nearly paralleled if an American citizen of German birth had been offered an elaborate exculpation for acts committed against the United States during the late war, on the ground that the criminal was merely displaying, naturally and laudably, the virtue of German patriotism against the land to which he had sworn allegiance.

And not only does Mr. Belloc thus set out from premises which, besides being false, convey by their very assumption a mortal insult to all the Jews of Western lands. All through his book there is a running undertone of veiled threats, in the audacious presentation of which, under a mask of friendly warning, Mr. Belloc shows himself a past master. Thus on p. 11, after propounding what he calls a solution of the Jewish problem, he says: "If it cannot be solved in that way, it certainly cannot be solved in any other, and if we do not get peace by this

avenue, then we are doomed to *the perpetual recurrence of those persecutions* which have marred the history of Europe since the first consolidation of the Roman Empire." (Italics mine.)

Again, at p. 83, Mr. Belloc speaks—quite incidentally, and with the guileless air of one stating a self-evident and undeniable fact—of “the ceaseless conflict between the very soul of the Jew and the soul of the society around him.” This is the root of a profound “subterranean power for contrast, the value of which we cannot grasp, but the effects of which are only too apparent. And there remains in the minds of those who most rely upon this race and of those who most suspect them, the sense of an impassable gulf between them and ourselves.”

Again, at p. 40: “Everywhere the old questions are being asked; everywhere the old complaints are being raised; everywhere the old perils are reappearing.”

On p. 90, we find Mr. Belloc dealing with the attempts made in the Versailles and other treaties to secure protection for Jews and other victimized minorities in Eastern Europe. In this connection our author writes as follows:

Our politicians have treated the whole affair externally and mechanically, merely obeying orders without trying to understand.

The ultimate result of such interference by our Western politicians is unhappily certain. The last state of the Jews in Eastern Europe will be worse than the first. Their sufferings will be greater than in the past, and that because, instead of acting from attempted comprehension and sympathetic comprehension of the Jewish difficulties, the politicians, *who have acted as the servants of a few wealthy Jews*, have merely *obeyed the orders of these rich men*, and have done so with the secret reluctance that always accompanies self-surrender to a wage. (Italics mine.)

Observe the series of innuendoes and insults masked beneath these smoothly worded sentences. The implications are as follows:

1. The peace treaties, in so far as they related to the Jews, were dictated by "a few wealthy Jews."

2. The power of those dictating had been secured by bribery.

3. Those bribed were the treaty-makers; that is, President Wilson, Mr. Lloyd George, M. Clémenceau, and their colleagues of the other Allied nations.

On page 91, speaking of alleged Jewish monopolies, Mr. Belloc says:

It is an exceedingly dangerous point in the present situation. I do not think that the Jews have a sufficient appreciation of the risk they are running by its development. There is al-

ready something like a Jewish monopoly in high finance. There is a growing tendency to Jewish monopoly over the stage for instance, the fruit trade in London, and to a great extent the tobacco trade. There is the same element of Jewish monopoly in the silver trade, and in the control of various other metals, notably lead, nickel, quicksilver. What is most disquieting of all, this tendency to monopoly is spreading like a disease. One province after another falls under it, and it acts as a most powerful irritant. It will perhaps prove the immediate cause of that explosion against the Jews which we all dread, and which the best of us, I hope, are trying to avert.

These quotations sufficiently illustrate the point I am here urging; namely, that Mr. Belloc is careful to see to it that the sting and point of his book shall lie in what he tacitly assumes rather than in what he ventures overtly to state. These remarks about monopoly, for instance, like those about the treaty-making politicians and their bribers, constitute a medley of insinuations and masked threats which is unaccompanied by any evidence in support of the alleged facts, or any citation of the names of those incriminated. Mr. Belloc does not dare to specify by name the politicians who took the bribes and obeyed the orders of the handful of rich Jews, or the names of the Jews who gave the or-

ders. He knows very well that careless readers (that is to say, the vast majority of readers) will retain in their minds the pith of his insinuations, and can safely be trusted to forget that they are unsupported by anything more than the hardy and brazen assertion of Mr. Belloc.

As to the "explosion against the Jews" which Mr. Belloc is "trying to avert," the mask wears so thin as to become perfectly transparent to any reader attentive enough to keep in mind the drift and animus of Mr. Belloc's argument from one page to the next. The effect upon such a reader of this book as a whole, assuming him to be uncritical enough to trust the accuracy of all Mr. Belloc's statements, would necessarily be to kindle a temper of irremovable suspicion and explosive hatred against Jews in general. For what Mr. Belloc does is to propound a solution for the alleged Jewish problem, which no honourable Jew in any free country could possibly be willing to accept, and then to declare that this is the only possible solution, the only alternative to its acceptance being a revival and perpetuation of persecution. Mr. Belloc, with his bland air of candid and sincere friendship, slaps his Jewish friend upon the shoulder, and says, "My dear fellow, let

me tell you what you ought to do. The matter is very simple. You have only to admit that all your life you have been a liar and a hypocrite. Admit that, and everything will be rosy; pretend to deny it, and the chances are you will be assassinated. This circumstance I should deplore; but really there can be no help for it if you will persist in pretending to be a truthful man and a patriotic citizen of a Gentile nation." That is the plain English to which Mr. Belloc's three hundred and odd pages boil down.

CHAPTER III.

THE PRETENDED PROBLEM.

For what, according to Mr. Belloc, is the problem, and what the solution?

The problem is that *the Jews are a nation*. "It is the thesis of this book that the continued presence of the *Jewish nation* intermixed with other nations alien to it, presents a permanent problem of the gravest character: that the wholly different culture, tradition, race and religion of Europe make Europe a *permanent antagonist* to Israel, and that the recent and rapid intensification of that antagonism gives to the discovery of a solution immediate and highly practical importance." (Italics mine.)

Thus Mr. Belloc begins, by taking for granted that which he ought to prove. It is true that he sometimes forgets that he has called the Jews a "nation," and in these lapses of memory speaks of them as a "race." But these occasional deviations from the straight path of the argument are not sufficiently numerous, and the inferences based upon them are not sufficiently weighty, to upset the general course of the conten-

tion. We all know perfectly well that members of various races can be quite harmoniously combined in a single nation. Difference of race makes no necessary hindrance to community of citizenship and whole-heartedness of national loyalty. If it did, Mr. Hilaire Belloc could not be a good citizen of Great Britain, and the British Empire and the American Republic would be impossibilities. We also know, by manifold proof, that it is not the factor of race which provokes the peculiar feeling against the Jew; for there are whole peoples of the same race as the Jew, against whom no special prejudice is entertained, even by the maddest of the so-called anti-Semites.

It is, then, upon the contention that the Jews are a *nation* that Mr. Belloc builds his case. Despite his occasional nodding substitution of *race* for *nation*, he would, I think, admit that, as he sees it, race has not really anything to do with the question, and neither has religion. We err, he declares, in "proclaiming it essentially religious, whereas it is essentially national." There would be no problem unless, as he declares, we found "within one political organism... *another political organism* at friction with it."

Now, as the world is at present organized,

every man must needs be a member of one nation, and no man can be a member of more than one. Whatever may be the limits imposed by the nature and the rights of conscience upon national loyalty, that loyalty must be, within its limits, unqualified and undivided. We may be internationalists in religion or in our social ideals; that is, we may desire to bring about a state of things in which there will be an over-arching unity embracing and preserving the distinct individuality and personality of all nations. But, whatever our hopes for such a development may be, the development has not yet taken place; and therefore no nation can at present afford to tolerate in its citizens any loyalty, of the same order as that which it claims, given to a separate and possibly hostile political organism.

But Mr. Belloc's case depends not only on the assumption that there is a Jewish nation. It also requires the still more audacious and groundless assumption that of that nation every Jew is, and inevitably must be, a member. To be a Jew is to be a citizen of the Jewish nation, and to cease to be a Jew is a sheer impossibility. Consequently, wherever Jews are in the world, they con-

stitute an alien element, irreducibly different from, unassimilable with, and antagonistic to their "hosts," and therefore always more or less at friction with them.

This being the problem, the solution is quite easy to indicate, however difficult it may be to carry out in practical application. It is that Jews everywhere shall regard themselves, and by others shall always be regarded, *as foreigners*; accorded, of course, all the rights and privileges of foreigners, but subject to all the limitations and bound to comply with all the special regulations which every nation, both by municipal and international law, is privileged to impose upon its alien residents.

What would this mean in practice? It would mean that the position of Jews in this country, and in all the European lands, would be identical with the position in which we Americans find ourselves when travelling, say, in England or Italy. They would be subject to all kinds of special taxation, but would not enjoy, and could never acquire, any right of representation in Parliaments or other tax-levying bodies. They could not vote. Those life-conditions, which in the case of regular citizens are recognized as inalienable rights, if accorded to Jews at all, would be given

only as special privileges, revocable at will; I mean the right of organization, of liberty of conscience and exercise of religious worship, of holding property, of publication and criticism of matters social and political. They would be, as Mr. Belloc frankly says, just "guests"; that is, wholly dependent upon the courtesy of their "host," who would have an indefinite right to prescribe their behaviour, and the privilege of turning them out at any moment. And all this could never be interfered with under international law or by any league of nations, for in every land it would be an internal, domestic problem, beyond the jurisdiction of any international Court or organization.

Such would be the permanent, unchangeable position throughout Europe and America, if Mr. Belloc's blandly tendered solution of the problem were adopted. It would be unchangeable, because he truculently declares that no Jew can ever, by any possibility, become other than a Jew; that is, become a citizen of another nation. Continuance in the same land for a thousand years could never confer upon any Jewish family the status of true-born citizens. Mr. Belloc prudently refrains from drawing out these practical consequences, but he is fully con-

scious of them, and it is for the sake of them that he lays down, as the two foundation-stones of his structure, the theses that the Jews are a nation, and that among all other nations individual Jews are merely alien guests.

CHAPTER IV.

THE JEW A MIRACULOUS EXCEPTION TO THE LAWS OF HUMAN DEVELOPMENT.

This twofold contention constitutes the substance of Mr. Belloc's book. I choose almost at random a few of the numerous passages that might be cited in illustration of it:

It is true of the Jews, and of the Jews alone, that they alone have maintained, whether through the special action of Providence or through some general biological or social law of which we are ignorant, an unfailing entity and an equally unfailing differentiation between themselves and the society through which they ceaselessly move. (P. 8.)

If the Jewish nation comes to express its own pride and patriotism openly, and *equally openly to admit the necessary limitations imposed by that expression*; if we on our side frankly accept the presence of this nation as a thing utterly different from ourselves, but with just as good a right to existence as we have; if we renounce our pretences in the matter; if we talk of and recognize the Jewish people freely and without fear as a separate body; if upon both sides the realities of the situation are admitted, with the consequent and

necessary definitions which those realities imply, we shall have peace. (P. 10f.)

The opposition to it [*sc.* Mr. Belloc's statement of the problem and its solution] is diverse and formidable, but can everywhere be reduced upon analysis to some form of falsehood. This falsehood takes the shape of denying the existence of the problem, of remaining silent upon it, or of pretending friendly emotions in public commerce which are belied by every phrase and gesture admitted in private. Or it takes the shape of defining the problem in false terms, in proclaiming it essentially religious whereas it is essentially national. Worst of all, it may be that very modern kind of falsehood, a statement of the truth accompanied by a statement of its contradiction, like the precious modern lie that one can be a patriot and at the same time international. In the case of the Jews, this particular modern lie takes the shape of admitting that they are wholly alien to us and different from us, of talking of them as such and even writing of them as such, and yet, in another connection, talking and writing of them as though no such violent contrast were present. That pretence of reconciling contradictions is the lie in the soul. Its punishment is immediate, for those who indulge it are blinded. (P. 12f.)

The foregoing citations leave nothing to be desired in point of lucidity. The first of them betrays the real animus which accounts for Mr. Belloc's tone throughout the volume.

He does certainly believe that the "unfailing entity" and "unfailing differentiation" between themselves and other peoples, which he says the Jews maintain, are due to "the special action of Providence." It is true that we know comparatively little about the general psychological and social laws in terms of which human society evolves, but at least we know that the process which takes place in the terms of these laws is invariably one of differentiation to secure adaptation to environment. "To live is to change," said Newman. If there be any people which amid the vicissitudes and perpetual environmental changes of two thousand years has maintained its original entity intact and unmodified in the least degree, this can be accounted for only by sheer miracle. And assuredly there is no people which has undergone so many experiences, simultaneous and successive, of changed environment, or upon whose power of adaptation such great and manifold strains have been imposed, as the Jews. Yet Mr. Belloc would have us believe that two thousand years of this intensely difficult business of adaptation, not to *a* European environment but to all the numerous and constantly changing environments of Europe, have left no mark what-

ever upon the Jews. The good men amongst them are exactly such as they would have been had they been the immediate sons, instead of the indefinitely remote descendants, of the pre-exilic Hebrew prophets and pietists; the scoundrels among them are exactly what they would have been had they received their psychic, mental and moral make-up by first-hand transmission from Judas Iscariot and Barabbas.

Now we must insist on the fact, obvious though it be, that Mr. Belloc is gratuitously invoking miracle to explain a phenomenon that does not exist. The alleged persistent identity of every Jew with every other, and of all together with their remote Palestinian ancestors, is a pure myth, a sheer figment of Mr. Belloc's brain. Jews born, educated and domiciled through life in Russia, Germany, France and England, are just about as different from one another as are Russians, Germans, Frenchmen and Englishmen. Mr. Belloc himself is eloquent about the capacity of Jews to mould themselves in externals to the colour and tone of the society in which they live. But he pretends that this is a mere device of self-protective surface adaptation, and that underneath it you find in every case the same old Jew, absolutely identical,

psychically and spiritually, with his co-nationals of the most different land. Like the chameleon, the more he changes the more he's the same thing. Mr. Belloc never could have made such a statement if he had had experience of the strong antipathies felt and expressed by Jews of different nationalities against Jews of other lands than their own. Whatever he may pretend to the contrary, there are plenty of British and American Jews who feel towards German and Russian Jews exactly as Britishers and Americans feel towards Germans and Russians; they feel towards them *as foreigners*, and speak of them as such. One friend of mine, a British-born Jew, now an American citizen, asked his women relatives in Great Britain why they had all married Gentiles, and whether they might not have preferred to marry Jews. The spontaneous reply was, "Well, you see, *we couldn't marry foreigners.*" This is what we should naturally expect; it is, indeed, what Mr. Belloc perforce concedes to be the normal working of human nature; so that when he wants to deny it in the case of the Jew, he is obliged to falsify the actual facts and resort to an imaginary miracle.

Thus crumbies the first of our author's

foundation-stones. Not being what he says they are, Jews naturally cannot do what he suggests they should do. However proud a man of Jewish origin may feel of his ancestry and of the contribution to civilization which the Jews have made, he cannot express pride and patriotism for a nation that does not exist. Not being a member of such a nation, he cannot be expected to express pride in it or to admit "the necessary limitations imposed by that expression."

CHAPTER V.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL "SPIRAL TWIST."

The passage I have cited from his twelfth page is a precious illustration of Mr. Belloc's mental attitude and his conception of the ethics of controversy. He takes a couple of hundred words to say, "If you don't agree with me, you are a liar." He gives notice in advance that anybody who shall venture, as I am doing, to question the assumptions from which he sets out, and to reject the conclusions to which they lead him, must have a lie in his soul, and by consequence have incurred the blindness which is its immediate punishment.

This kind of argument, like much else in Mr. Belloc's peculiar mentality, is reminiscent of the theological controversies of several centuries ago. It denotes an attitude no longer possible except to a certain kind of Roman Catholic controversialist. Men who believe that infallibility walks the earth, are very apt to slip unconsciously into the assumption that some measure of that attribute attaches to themselves. At all events, they feel that they cannot err when affirming and reasoning

from beliefs to which infallible sanction has been given. Mr. Belloc, therefore, is not aware of the breach of intellectual morals, to say nothing of good manners, which he commits when he writes a bullying paragraph like the one I have quoted. The state of mind which enables a man to say "All who disagree with me are liars, and therefore have been blinded," may be an enviable one, but it is one that renders decent and rational discussion impossible. Happily, however, there is in America a great fair-minded audience—including large numbers of Roman Catholics—which can be trusted to perceive immediately the radical viciousness of Mr. Belloc's attitude. Such readers will require, before accepting his conclusions, something more than these displays of lofty insolence and conscious superiority, and will refuse to assume that any gainsayer of Mr. Belloc must be astray because that gentleman has branded him, by anticipation, as either a conscious or a self-deceived falsifier.

Not having been trained in my distinguished opponent's school, I feel no impulse to retort upon him the insult he has inclusively levelled at me. I believe in Mr. Belloc's honesty of conscious purpose. But I do venture to think that there is a kink in his

mentality and mode of ethical thinking, imparted thereto by the jesuitical training he has received, which distorts his judgment of moral issues and his controversial ethics, and leads him to use historical and other facts in ways inconsistent with the single-minded pursuit of truth. There are many matters which to the infallibilist are foregone conclusions, but which disinterested research must regard as open questions. This is the difference between the jesuitical mind and that greatest glory of Roman Catholic scholarship, the late Lord Acton. It is a misfortune to the world that Mr. Belloc's great powers were not developed in Acton's school.

Mr. Belloc's analysis of the Jewish problem, which seems to me to illustrate exactly the peculiar twist in his mental nature, is not presented as an overt and deliberate insult to Jewish citizens of the Western lands. But nobody who knows the author's shrewd, well-informed, hectoring, dogmatic, and radically biased mind, can for a moment suppose that he did not see and did not intend the gross insult which he has thus masked. For what is the inevitable inference from all this talk about the Jewish "nation" and the "alien minorities" which Jews always constitute in other nations?

The inference is, and is meant to be, that every profession of loyalty, every oath of allegiance, ever made by any Jew to France, Britain, America, or any Western land, was a deliberate and conscious lie. Every act of patriotism performed by Jews in the service of these lands has been either hypocritical or else the stoical acceptance of blind fate by persons devoid of any real interest in the cause they had espoused. Jews may die in battle, as so many of them did in every army in the late war; but the cause is not their own, not sacred to them. Their state of mind was, in all cases, different from that of the patriots of the various lands, who fought and died as men sacrificing all for hearth and home, for God and country. Such is the unescapable logic of Mr. Belloc's position, and we cannot insult his alert intelligence by supposing that he did not see and intend the inference.

CHAPTER VI.

THE USEFUL "INSINUENDO."

Animated by the same prejudice, Mr. Belloc writes as follows (p. 93) with further reference to Jewish monopoly in Great Britain:

The great war brought thousands upon thousands of educated men (who took up public duties as temporary officials) up against the staggering secret they had never suspected—the complete control exercised over things absolutely necessary to the nation's survival *by half a dozen Jews, who were completely indifferent as to whether we or the enemy should emerge alive from the struggle.* (Italics mine.)

Here again we perceive how remarkably useful Mr. Belloc finds his trick of leaving the wildest accusations unsupported by citation of facts or the names of those assailed. To the plain man it would seem that if "thousands upon thousands of educated men" know the fact Mr. Belloc affirms, and are in a position to specify the names of the half-dozen Jewish traitors who completely controlled commodities necessary to Britain's survival, then those traitors should long ago have either been jailed for life or executed for high treason. Why are the educated thou-

sands so strangely silent in face of their manifest duty? No nation would leave dangerous traitors at large if it really knew what Mr. Belloc professes to know. If he really has this knowledge, it is his duty as a British patriot to bring it to the attention of the public authorities of his country. Should these (being *bought*, as Mr. Belloc politely suggests his Government is, by the traitors in question) refuse to perform their duty, then he has only to start a public agitation, inaugurated by a complete disclosure of the facts and the names of those concerned. The British public has never conspicuously lacked the instinct of self-preservation, and if persuaded of the truth of Mr. Belloc's charges, it would promptly sweep from office any Government which refused to discharge its plainest and most vital duty.

Not having open to me the occult sources of information upon which Mr. Belloc draws, I cannot presume to say whether it is or is not true that any vital war commodities in Great Britain were monopolized by Jews. But even if this were so, the fact would be immensely far from justifying the monstrous assertion that those British Jews were "completely indifferent" to the issue of the war. That kind of statement is consistent with

unfounded assumptions like Mr. Belloc's, but utterly remote from the realities of life as ordinary men experience them. And Mr. Belloc himself, on an earlier page, has spoken of the war as being something "with which the Jews had nothing to do, and which their more important financial representatives *did all they could to prevent.*"

This is an important admission. Even if we grant, for the moment, the fantastic fabrication that the Jews are a nation, and that every Jew is loyal to the Jewish nation only, it still would be a *non-sequitur* to infer that Jews were indifferent to the outcome of the struggle. For on that assumption (and with assumptions only are we dealing, not with facts) the attitude of Jews would necessarily have been dictated by their estimate of the treatment they were likely to receive from the victorious side, and of the measure of control they could count upon exercising over the victors.

Now, Russia apart, it is a fact which "leaps to the eyes" that in the Allied countries the treatment of Jews has been vastly more liberal than in the former Central Empires. The disposition of Jews, therefore,—on the assumption of their complete indifference to anything but their own national interests,—

would have been to side with Britain, France and Italy, and later with America, against Germany and Austria.

Or, to take the other consideration, as to the amount of control they might hope to exercise, this would have led them to the same conclusion. For does not Mr. Belloc insist (a) that *the Jews tried to prevent the war, but could not*, and (b) that *in the making of the Versailles Treaty they were able to exercise dictatorial control over the Allied politicians, who functioned only as their bribed instruments?* What then can this mean, except that the Jews *could* control the Allies but *could not* control the pre-war Germany and Austria? Accordingly, still reasoning from Mr. Belloc's imaginative premises, we cannot escape the conclusion that instead of being indifferent to the outcome of the conflict, his mythical Jewish nation would have had the strongest practical reasons for desiring an Allied victory.

Mr. Belloc's assertion, then, that the Jews of Great Britain were completely indifferent to the outcome of the conflict, shows how, under the influence of his flaming prejudice, he cannot even adhere consistently to the requirements of the assumptions which that prejudice dictates to him. This is the kind

of insult to Jews in general that runs throughout the book and is but faintly concealed under every line of it. He would, of course, say also that, just as British Jews had no concern for Britain's fate, so German and Austrian Jews were callous to the fate of those lands. I do not find this overtly stated. It might have been said with much less violence to Mr. Belloc's premises than his statement about British Jews involves. But it is not easy to see how Mr. Belloc, having said the one thing, could avoid saying the other. For, according to him, the loyalty of the Jew is given wholly and solely to his own nation; and it is one of Mr. Belloc's pet theses that one cannot be "a patriot and at the same time international." His declaration that this notion of combining patriotism with internationalism is "a precious modern lie," is one of the urbane remarks by the way which he throws in at frequent intervals to buttress his shaky case against the Jews.

CHAPTER VII.

PATRIOTISM, INTERNATIONALISM AND ANTI-NATIONALISM.

Incidental as it is to his argument, we cannot afford to let this pass without a moment's consideration. For this principle of the mutual exclusiveness of patriotism and internationalism is the cardinal heresy of jingoism. It underlies the abominable doctrine of "My country, right or wrong."* If it were true, it would rule out of the field of possibility any organization of the world in which common counsel and judicial decision should do away with the causes of war. The matter is confused in the thinking of many men because they unconsciously assimilate two radically different alternatives to the present strife of egoistic nations, using one name for both, without becoming aware that two are covered by it. These two conceptions are *internationalism* and *anti-nationalism*.

Obviously, one cannot be at the same time a patriot and an anti-nationalist. So when anti-nationalists present their doctrine wrong-

*I may be permitted to refer the reader to an analysis of this maxim in my book "On Becoming an American." (Marshall Jones, Boston, 1919.)

ly labelled as internationalism, those who do not see through the confusion are not to be blamed for thinking that internationalism excludes patriotism. It happens that the ablest contemporary advocate of anti-nationalism is the man whose words reach the greatest number of readers throughout the English-speaking world. I refer, of course, to Mr. H. G. Wells, whose facile schemes of world-reorganization deliberately propose the obliteration of all the physical and psychic frontiers between nations, with a view to the merging of all races and peoples in one homogeneous, undifferentiated human mass, and the placing of the whole under the dominance of a world-government, which is to administer, as he explicitly says, "not international law, but world law." So long as this anti-psychological, unhistorical, and wildly impossible dream of Mr. Wells is permitted falsely to usurp the title of internationalism, there is excuse for the mistake which Mr. Belloc makes, though it is none the less astonishing to see it made by a man of his ability.

But internationalism is the exact opposite of that which Mr. Wells advocates. It is the ideal which contemplates ordering peacefully, and to the end of mutual furtherance, the relations among nations; and no man can

believe in such a scheme unless he first believes in the enduring entity of the terms which are to be embraced and harmonized in the proposed system of relations. I cannot offer to the world, as a scheme for improving the relations between families, a program of which the first requirement is that all families are to be merged in the State breeding-stations and nurseries of Plato's dream-commonwealth. Nor would the public listen patiently to a project for bringing about better relations among universities, if its first suggestion were the merging in one of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, and all the other institutions of higher learning in the country, under the governance of a single board of regents, for the avowed purpose of extinguishing their individuality.

Now, the difference between internationalism and Mr. Wells's anti-nationalism is precisely as huge, gross and palpable as the difference between name used and thing intended in these parallels with family and university.

This being the case, Mr. Belloc's notion of the incompatibility between patriotism and internationalism is visibly the exact opposite of truth. What he calls "the precious modern lie" that one can be a patriot and an interna-

tionalist, is a perfectly sober fact. *Only* the patriot *can* be an internationalist. For it is only he who cares intensely for the nation as such, regarding it as an enduring organ of humanity, a permanent mode of organization, inexpressibly valuable as a condition of realizing the many ways in which mankind fulfils itself, who will care enough about the nation to labor for a right system of relations. That right system will be one in which the distinct individuality and personality of each nation will be not only integrally preserved but enhanced and intensified; but at the same time each will find its fulfilment, not at the expense of others, but by contributing to the enhancement of the well-being of all the rest. Such is the noble doctrine of internationalism developed by Mazzini, one of the most earnest internationalists and clearest-headed patriots of the nineteenth century.* But Mazzini is a man whom Mr. Belloc's preconceptions and foregone conclusions compel him to hate, and he therefore can never do justice to Mazzini's philosophy, or see the truth and cogency of his greatest doctrine.

*"Nations are the citizens of humanity, as individuals are the citizens of the nation. And as every individual lives a twofold life, inward and of relation, so do the

CHAPTER VIII.

HOW MR. BELLOC "GETS THAT WAY."

It seems necessary to attempt some explanation of Mr. Belloc's state of mind and will. Why should he, a scholar, a thinker, a traveler who has seen much of the world, and a man who undoubtedly desires what he believes to be for the well-being of humanity, have taken this attitude of masked but implacable hostility against a numerically insignificant minority, who could never, even if (*per impossibile*) they were united against civilization, constitute a serious danger to the nations?

The answer, I think, is given us when we remember Mr. Belloc's religious and philosophical standpoint, and his national and educational antecedents. That we may do him the justice he refuses to others, we must remember that doctrines, which to us seem so manifestly incredible that we cannot understand a clear-headed man holding them, nations. As every individual should strive to promote the power and prosperity of his nation through the exercise of his special function, so should every nation, in performing its special mission according to its special capacity, perform its part in the general work, and promote the progressive advance and prosperity of humanity."—Mazzini, *Works*, vol. v, p. 274.

are to him the very heart of truth and the very life of his soul. Mr. Belloc is not only a Roman Catholic, but has been jesuitically trained and stands with the most intransigent ultramontane party. He not only accepts eagerly the doctrine of the Pope's infallibility, but believes also in the claims of the Papacy to temporal domination. That is why he hates Mazzini, the inaugurator and idealistic inspirer of the movement for Italian national unity, which could not reach its goal save by the overthrow of that intolerable anachronism, the ecclesiastical government of the Papal States.

Believing in thoroughgoing Papalism with the same unhesitating certitude with which Alva and Torquemada believed in persecution, Mr. Belloc loathes and despises, with an intensity almost impossible for us to realize, all the forms of Christianity except his own, and the Jewish religion more intensely still. The very existence of the doctrine and cult of Judaism as a living faith, is in his eyes not merely an historical anachronism, but a standing horror, a terrific portent, a cancer upon the spiritual body of Europe and America, a provocative of the wrath of God. To him, Roman Catholicism and civilization are synonymous. That is why, in the very

first paragraph of his book, he declares that Europe is a "permanent antagonist" to Israel. That is why, again, he speaks of the "ceaseless conflict between the very soul of the Jew and the soul of the society around him." Readers who fail to detect that by "the soul of the society around him" Mr. Belloc means the Roman Catholic Church, will understand neither his language nor its ill-repressed vehemence. To him, all the ills of the modern world are resolvable into "heresy"; meaning thereby Protestant private judgment and departure from the unity of the Roman Church. Between the Roman dogmatic system and the relatively free ethical monotheism of Israel, there is of course a ceaseless conflict, just as there is between the fundamental demands of Vaticanism and those of democracy. But the question whether this conflict is identical with one between Judaism and the soul of Western civilization, depends upon whether we agree with Mr. Belloc in holding that the Roman Church, with its infallible autocrat, is that soul.

This question we cannot debate here. I have time only to point out what lies behind Mr. Belloc's words and supplies his animus. This I do because many of his readers are unaware of the fact that his

entire intellectual life has been spent in fervent propaganda on behalf of his Church, just as truly as though he had been a missionary priest of the Society of Jesus. It is because he lives for the glory of his Church and by its doctrines, that he finds his soul revolted by the very existence of Jews and Judaism. That is the underlying reason why he is so keen to get as many Jews as possible packed off out of Europe and America, and those who remain reduced to the status of aliens. He really does believe that the Jews lie under a special curse of God. Hazy-minded men may hold those doctrines of the Roman Church from which this belief of Mr. Belloc's logically follows, and at the same time, failing to draw the inference, may good-naturedly regard their Jewish neighbors much as they do the rest of humanity. Not so your logical ultramontane. Mr. Belloc in this matter combines the intensity with the narrowness of the fanatic, and applies ruthlessly the hard, metallic, inhuman logic of that strange being, the sincere, conscientious persecutor.

Now if there is any lesson which the experience of two thousand years places beyond the possibility of doubt, it is that race prejudice and religious prejudice are the dead-

liest poisons in civilization. Wherever either of them exists alone, it produces effects such as are naturally traceable to any form of moral insanity. But where the two exist in combination, their evils are not merely added but multiplied together, and their effects are always and everywhere inhuman, anti-human and diabolical.

Those of us who, from motives of humanity and regard for the teachings of history, set ourselves to battle against these forms of prejudice, are not given over to the illusion that there are no differences between races and nations. On the contrary, some of us at least believe in the induplicable uniqueness of every human soul, in the differentiated and distinctive genius of every human collectivity, racial or national. But the recognition of difference can never, among civilized men, be an occasion for antipathy. The rule should be, in the spirit of Hamlet, to give welcome to the stranger as such. The very reason for believing in nationalism, and consequently in internationalism, is that from every collectivity there is to be anticipated some achievement that no other could compass. The total deed of man must be incomplete if any one of these irreplaceable contributions is omitted. To destroy, therefore,

any of these natural organs of the universal spirit is a crime, not only against the moral imperatives governing human relations, but, so to say, against the Holy Ghost; that is, against the universal mind and will, whereof every man and nation is but a partial expression.

CHAPTER IX.

“THE WANDERING JEW IN NINETEEN HUNDRED ACTS.”

Now, there is no people which has suffered so intensely or so continuously from both these forms of suicidal prejudice, as the Jews. Race antagonism against them, as Mr. Belloc frequently reminds us, was rampant in the Roman Empire before the days of Christianity. For evidence of its existence elsewhere, no extensive research is needed; the Old Testament supplies it. The book of Esther may be only a work of fiction, but, like many another product of literary imagination, it is soundly historical of the state of public opinion and feeling at the time in which it was written:

Haman said unto King Ahasuerus, “There is a certain people scattered abroad and dispersed among the people in all the provinces of thy kingdom; and their laws are diverse from all people, neither keep they the king’s laws; therefore it is not for the king’s profit to suffer them. If it please the king, let it be written that they may be destroyed; and I will pay ten thousand talents of silver to the hands of those who have the charge of the business, to bring it into the king’s treasuries” And the king said unto

Haman, "The silver is given to thee, the people also, to do with them as it seemeth good to thee."

Here we have the earliest version of the perennial story of which Mr. Belloc's argument is the latest redaction: the same old prejudice justifies itself by the same old allegations. "These people are foreigners, with a corporate life and a law and a loyalty of their own. Therefore they cannot be counted as citizens of the lands in which they live, and their Gentile neighbors and governors cannot trust them." So we find it in the Old Testament; and the novelist of Esther was but expressing a feeling that we know from other sources to have prevailed widely in the pre-Christian Roman Empire. Even the humane and noble Seneca, if the fragment quoted by St. Augustine be really his, felt and expressed himself in similar strain when protesting against the adoption of Jewish holidays and customs: "*Usque eo sceleratissimæ gentis consuetudo convaluit, at per omnes iam terras recepta sit: victi victoribus leges dederunt.*"*

But pagan Rome, however intolerant of what was thought to be a rival national or

* "The custom of this worst of peoples is so prevalent that it is received through all lands; the defeated have given laws to the victors."

political loyalty, was widely tolerant of religious differences. If only the Jews would have been good citizens, as Rome understood good citizenship,—if only they and the early Christians would have performed the simple act which Rome imposed as a test not of religious belief but of civic loyalty,—they would never have been disturbed on account of their ideas of God. The refusal of the salutation to the Imperial statue was held an evidence not of religious heresy, but of enmity to “the human race.” In this respect Catholicized Rome was totally different. Far more tolerant than the pagan Empire of political differences and rival State loyalties, it was murderously intolerant of unsanctioned interpretations of Christian doctrine, still more of rejection of the Christian evangel. Between this attitude of the Church and the antipathy of secular governments and societies to their social ideals and industrial habits, the Jews have been ground as between upper and nether millstones. They have endured the utmost diabolism of the combination of religious with racial prejudice. I shall cite only one of the thousand historically true stories of the broken faith and inhuman malice which they have endured; and I take it not from a partisan, but from one of the

fairest and most moderate of historians, Mr. Lecky:—

The persecution of the Jewish race dates from the very earliest period in which Christianity obtained the direction of the civil power; and, although it varied greatly in its character and its intensity, it can scarcely be said to have definitely ceased till the French Revolution. Alexander II, indeed, and three or four other Popes, made noble efforts to arrest it, and more than once interposed with great courage, as well as great humanity, to censure the massacres; but the priests were usually unwearied in inciting the passions of the people, and hatred of the Jew was for many centuries a faithful index of the piety of the Christians. Massacred by thousands during the enthusiasm of the Crusades and of the War of the Shepherds, the Jews found every ecclesiastical revival, and the accession of every sovereign of more than usual devotion, occasions for fresh legislative restrictions. Theodosius, St. Louis, and Isabella the Catholic—who were probably the three most devout sovereigns before the Reformation—the Council of the Lateran, which led the religious revival of the thirteenth century, Paul IV, who led that of the sixteenth century, and above all the religious orders, were among their most ardent persecutors. Everything was done to separate them from their fellow-men, to mark them out as the objects of undying hatred, and to stifle all compassion for their sufferings. They were compelled to wear a peculiar dress, and to live in a separate quarter. A Christian might not

enter into any partnership with them; he might not eat with them; he might not use the same bath; he might not employ them as physicians; he might not even purchase their drugs. Intermarriage with them was deemed a horrible pollution, and in the time of St. Lewis any Christian who had chosen a Jewess for his mistress was burned alive. Even in their executions they were separated from other criminals, and till the fourteenth century, they were hung between two dogs, and with the head downwards. According to St. Thomas Aquinas, all they possessed, being derived from the practice of usury, might be justly confiscated, and if they were ever permitted to pursue that practice unmolested, it was only because they were already so hopelessly damned, that no crime could aggravate their condition.

Insulted, plundered, hated, and despised by all Christian nations, banished from England by Edward I., and from France by Charles VI., they found in the Spanish Moors rulers who, in addition to that measure of tolerance which is always produced by a high intellectual culture, were probably not without a special sympathy for a race whose pure monotheism formed a marked contrast to the scarcely disguised polytheism of the Spanish Catholics; and Jewish learning and Jewish genius contributed very largely to that bright but transient civilization which radiated from Toledo and Cordova, and exercised so salutary an influence upon the belief of Europe. But when, in an ill-omened hour, the Cross supplanted the Crescent on the heights of the Alhambra, this solitary refuge was destroyed, the last gleam of tolerance vanished

from Spain, and the expulsion of the Jews was determined.

This edict was immediately due to the exertions of Torquemada, who, if he did not suggest it, at least by a singular act of audacity overcame the irresolution of the Queen; but its ultimate cause is to be found in that steadily increasing popular fanaticism which made it impossible for the two races to exist together. In 1390, about a hundred years before the conquest of Granada, the Catholics of Seville, being excited by the eloquence of a great preacher, named Hernando Martinez, had attacked the Jews' quarter, and murdered 4,000 Jews, Martinez himself presiding over the massacre. About a year later, and partly through the influence of the same eminent divine, similar scenes took place at Valentia, Cordova, Burgos, Toledo, and Barcelona. St. Vincent de Ferrer, who was then stirring all Spain with his preaching, devoted himself especially to the Jews; and as the people zealously seconded the reasoning of the saint by massacring those who hesitated, many thousands were converted, and if they relapsed into Judaism were imprisoned or burned. Scenes of this kind took place more than once during the fifteenth century, and they naturally intensified the traditional hatred, which was still further aggravated by the fact that most of the tax-gatherers were Jews. At last the Moorish war, which had always been regarded as a crusade, was drawing to a close, the religious fervour of the Spanish rose to the highest point, and the Inquisition was established as its expression. Numbers of converted Jews were massacred; others, who had been baptised during past explosions of popular fury,

fled to the Moors, in order to practise their rites, and at last, after a desperate resistance, were captured and burnt alive. The clergy exerted all their energies to produce the expulsion of the entire race, and to effect this object all the old calumnies were revived, and two or three miracles invented.

When we take into consideration all these circumstances, and the condition of public feeling they evince, we can perhaps hardly blame Isabella for issuing the decree of banishment against the Jews; but at the same time it must be acknowledged that history relates very few measures that produced so vast an amount of calamity—calamities so frightful, that an old historian has scarcely exaggerated them when he describes the sufferings of the Spanish Jews as equal to those of their ancestors after the destruction of Jerusalem. In three short months, all unconverted Jews were obliged, under pain of death, to abandon the Spanish soil. Although they were permitted to dispose of their goods, they were forbidden to carry either gold or silver from Spain, and this measure made them almost helpless before the rapacity of their persecutors. Multitudes falling into the hands of the pirates who swarmed around the coast, were plundered of all they possessed and reduced to slavery; multitudes died of famine or of plague, or were murdered or tortured with horrible cruelty by the African savages, or were cast back by tempests on the Spanish coast. Weak women, driven from luxurious homes among the orange groves of Seville or Granada, children fresh from their mothers' arms, the aged, the sick, and the infirm, perished by

thousands. About 80,000 took refuge in Portugal, relying on the promise of the king; but even there the hatred of the Spaniards pursued them. A mission was organized. Spanish priests lashed the Portuguese into fury, and the king was persuaded to issue an edict which threw even that of Isabella into the shade. All the adult Jews were banished from Portugal; but first of all their children below the age of fourteen were taken from them to be educated as Christians. Then, indeed, the cup of bitterness was filled to the brim. The serene fortitude with which the exiled people had borne so many and such grievous calamities, gave way, and was replaced by the wildest paroxysms of despair. Piercing shrieks of anguish filled the land. Women were known to fling their children into deep wells, or to tear them limb from limb, rather than resign them to the Christians. When at last, childless and broken-hearted, they sought to leave the land, they found that the ships had been purposely detained, and the allotted time having expired, they were reduced to slavery, and baptised by force. By the merciful intervention of Rome, most of them at last regained their liberty, but their children were separated from them for ever. A great peal of rejoicing filled the Peninsula, and proclaimed that the triumph of the Spanish priests was complete.*

Now, no thoroughgoing Roman infallibilist, acquainted with such chapters in the record of his Church in this matter, can avoid a painful dilemma. I am fully conscious of

* "Rationalism in Europe," vol. ii, p. 100 ff. (Watts's edition, London, 1910.)

its painfulness, and therefore able to sympathize with the difficulty it presents to an ardent partisan like Mr. Belloc. The dilemma is this: Either the Church, which is infallible in faith and morals, has utterly failed and been inexcusably wrong on a great moral issue, or else the abominations repeatedly committed by Catholics, at the instigation of their priests, against Jews must have been justified. Historians may present the record as one of victimization of Jews and criminally perverted and inhuman barbarity by Catholics; but, from the infallibilist point of view, whatever the facts may seem to say, they cannot be facts if they amount to a valid indictment against the Church. She cannot fail; therefore the Jews must have deserved what they got.

That I take to be the real explanation of Mr. Belloc's attitude and tone throughout this book. It is not so much that he hates the Jews as that he loves his Church, and therefore is predisposed to hate all whom she has hated, and utterly determined to justify whatever she has done. Rome's infallibility in faith and morals being for him an unquestionable first principle, if any facts appear to conflict with this initial certainty, so much the worse for the facts.

CHAPTER X.

CHURCH LOYALTY VERSUS NATIONAL LOYALTY.

I am aware that another explanation is possible and has been urged, though I think it deficient in charity and not to be resorted to unless upon compulsion. This alternative explanation is that the instructed infallibilist (though he dislikes admitting it, even to himself) knows himself to be exactly that thing which he charges the Jew with being; namely, a creature of double allegiance, who, whatever his protests of patriotism, is only in semblance and not in reality a loyal member of the political organism to which he belongs. His highest loyalty, in any case where loyalties conflict, must necessarily be given not to his country but to his Church. The authority of the Church is divine; that of the State is only human. The inspiration of the Church in faith and morals (*and there is no imaginable political question which cannot be brought under the heading of morals*) is infallible; that of the State is not merely fallible, but frequently dictated by unmoral or immoral expediency. So that in any case wherein the commands of the State clash with those of the Church, the clear-headed infallibilist cannot hesitate as to

which he shall follow. He will obey the Italian autocrat, who is God's speaking-trumpet, and give his country's government the go-by.

To outsiders, the case will naturally not present itself as it does to him. What he takes to be the voice of God speaking through the Pope, will seem to them nothing but the self-regarding expediency of a group of anti-national politicians. The Jews are charged with being a dispersed political organism, living among and exploiting other nations for their own ends. Does not history prove (so the uncharitable outsider will urge, with force) that the Roman clerisy is in reality what the Jews are thus falsely charged with being? Is it not an international secret society, bound by inviolable pledges to obey without question an authority that brooks no rival? Mr. Belloc himself declares that "the Catholic Church" (by which he means the Roman Church) "is the conservator of an age-long European tradition, and that tradition will never compromise with the fiction that a Jew can be other than a Jew. Wherever the Catholic Church has power, and in proportion to its power, the Jewish problem will be recognized to the full."

Recognized to the full! Yes; and what this means we know from history. Mr. Belloc

thinks that the Jews have been providentially compelled to retain an unchanging identity; but he also believes that the Roman Church has been the same throughout all its history, and will be ever the same. What this smooth phrase covers, therefore, is the threat that, if and when she can, his Church will treat the Jews again as she has done in the past; and how she treated them in the past, Mr. Lecky has told us.

I desire to make it clear, beyond possibility of misconception, that I am not bringing this charge of divided allegiance against Roman Catholics in general. It is undoubtedly the *logical implication* of their position and their doctrines. Consistency would require them, in the event of the Republic commanding one thing and the Church another, to side with the Church against the Republic. But history has repeatedly shown that this measure of consistency is not to be counted upon, even in the adherents of infallibility. When such conflicts have arisen, the mass of Catholics (at whatever strain to the logic connecting creed with conduct) have sided with their country and disobeyed their lord the Pope.

One out of many signal proofs of this may be cited in illustration. In the latter half of the sixteenth century, the Pope, acting

as the political tool of the King of Spain, excommunicated Queen Elizabeth of England and absolved her subjects from their allegiance. When Spain sent her Armada against heretical England, it sailed under the benediction of the Pope, and God and the saints were invoked to bless its mission. The charm unaccountably failed to work: *Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*, said the heretical English. But the Roman Catholics in England were under orders from their Church to side with the enemies of their country. With virtual unanimity they refused to obey the Pope, and rallied with exemplary loyalty to the standard of their Queen; and it is one of the glories of English history, that the little fleet which so magnificently defeated the Spanish Armada was commanded by a Roman Catholic admiral, who had spent largely of his own means to equip it.

I cite this familiar fact merely to explain why, as a citizen of the Republic, I entertain none of those fears of the Roman Church which would be in place if men were always consistent in acting upon their conscious principles. Church loyalty is a very great force, but history proves that national loyalty is a greater and stronger. The mass of Roman Catholics fortunately share that happy in-

consistency, some measure of which is indispensable to make life practicable. "The human soul," says George Eliot, "is hospitable, and will entertain conflicting sentiments and contradictory opinions with much impartiality." If ever such a conflict of authorities should arise in America as was presented to the English Roman Catholics in the sixteenth century, we may safely trust that our Romanist citizens will prove *en masse* to be Americans first and subjects of the Pope only secondly.

Nevertheless, it should be remembered that on the side of the Church there has been no abandonment and no reduction of the unmeasured claim to implicit obedience, which the medieval Papacy advanced at the pinnacle of its pretensions. Within the last few months, two interesting reminders of this have been given to the world. When the Bolshevistic tyrants of Russia lately condemned to death certain priests of the Roman Church, the Pope, with no less humanity than the Protestant world displayed, intervened in the effort to get the murderous decision changed. The intervention was admirable; but for us the important point is to note the ground on which it was based. This was the declaration that the Soviet Gov-

ernment had no right to punish Roman priests *because they were the Pope's subjects*. And a few weeks later, when the Spanish Cabinet proposed to change their country's constitution, so as to render possible the severance of the connection between Church and State, they received through the Apostolic Delegate *an ultimatum* from Rome, prohibiting the action. To Americans and Englishmen, lulled in a false security, such episodes are so unbelievable that they fail even to catch the meaning of the newspaper dispatches that relate them. Yet the meaning is as plain as a pikestaff. The Pope still claims the right to exercise that boundless despotic authority over every human soul which was arrogated by Boniface VIII, in the famous Bull *Unam Sanctam*, a document which (greatly to the embarrassment of Catholic historians since their faith was officially changed in 1870) has to be regarded as invested, through the circumstances of its utterance, with infallibility.

Now facts like these, so unfamiliar to the average Protestant reader, are vividly present to the mind of an ultramontane like Mr. Belloc. And nobody, however resentful, could think of insulting him by questioning the absoluteness of his faith in the claims of his

Church. How, then, can it be cause for wonder that he should take towards the Jews that attitude of fiery hostility, veiled under the pretence of friendship, that we find throughout his book?

As we have seen, he is perpetually referring to Parliamentary scandals in England and elsewhere, due to the corruption of politicians by Jews: the said Jews being, from his point of view, not citizens of the lands they inhabit, but consciously and irreducibly alien, and systematically working for the interests of the Jewish nation. He discreetly refrains from alluding to the fact that charges of this kind, when he and his associates were rash enough to make them openly against Lord Reading and Mr. Lloyd George in the Marconi case, were decisively disproved in the British Courts, and Mr. Belloc and his colleagues had to pay heavy damages for the libel of which they were guilty. Yet he and Mr. Chesterton go on talking of the Marconi scandal as though their refuted version of it were unquestioned and notoriously true. Even in this book, for all his discretion in avoiding names, he cannot refrain from a characteristic fling at Sir Herbert Samuel:

I....refrain from making comment here....
upon the strange selection made by the Jews for

their first ruler of the Arabs and Christians in Palestine. I will do no more than to say that a desire to shield the less worthy specimens of one's race is natural and even praiseworthy. One may even take a certain glory in that one is able to protect them from outsiders. But to give them too great a prominence is a mistake, and it is indeed deplorable that of the whole world of Jews—from crowds of Jews eminent in administration, and political science, known for their upright dealing and blameless careers—Mr. Balfour's Jewish advisers (whoever they were) should have pitched on the author of the Marconi contract and the spokesman of the famous declaration in the House of Commons that no politician had touched Marconi shares.

The same old story: Lord Balfour in choosing the High Commissioner for Palestine under the British Mandate had no option; he perforce obeyed Jewish orders as to the selection; and Sir Herbert Samuel, whom he thus chose, is a liar and the organizer of financial frauds. Mr. Belloc knows it infallibly. No evidence is required to support his *ipse dixit*.

CHAPTER XI.

THE JEWISH ANSWER TO MR. BELLOC.

Now, what, if any, are the elements of truth in Mr. Belloc's case, of which Jewish citizens of free countries should be advised to take account?

We need not waste time over the question of the alleged monopolies. We may grant to Mr. Belloc that probably there are in Britain and America some fields of trade practically monopolized in Jewish hands. In this connection we need only point out that such things are bad because they are monopolies, but not because the monopolists are Jews. Their extent is no doubt grossly exaggerated in popular imagination. Economic justice and good social order require that monopolies which are unnecessary should be broken up, and those which are necessary should be conducted in the open, under public regulation. But only a fanatic can imagine that a monopoly in Jewish hands is any worse than a monopoly in the hands of Stinnes or Rockefeller or Carnegie or Henry Ford, or any other Gentile. Let the State, in Britain and in the United States, attend to its primary function of enforcing even-handed justice,

the revision of inequitable contracts and the strict fulfilment of equitable ones, and this evil will be speedily cured.

Neither has the cloudy talk about secrecy and anonymity in financial transactions any special point against Jews, since it is a universal element of the modern capitalistic financial and credit system, and, by Mr. Belloc's own admission, had grown to great dimensions before Jews, in any large numbers, had come into the Western world. Evils which preceded their arrival, and exist as generally among Gentiles as among them, are obviously not chargeable to their account.

But the claim is often made by orthodox Jews (*e. g.*, it is vehemently asserted by the Rev. Dr. Gaster) that the Jews are a nation, and have a right as such to be established in a separate and independent State. Thus a main element in Mr. Belloc's indictment is presented to him ready-made by the spokesmen of Zionism. While this does not justify the inferences Mr. Belloc draws as to the character and purposes of Jews in general, it yet does give to the argument of the anti-Semitic fanatic a fair measure of color and plausibility. Mr. Belloc's own chapter on Zionism shows how the concession is manipulated by a skilful dialectician. In hands

less skilful and more overtly brutal, it is and will be used to justify mob violence and deportations. May one not, therefore, once again urge upon American Jews the importance of clearing up their own minds and declaring themselves upon this subject? Many of them, I know, have done so, but it seems necessary that others should, and that their protest should be worded in unmistakable terms. Are they or are they not citizens of a Jewish nation? Where, in this world, is the anchorage of their hearts? What country and what sovereignty is in their consciousness clustered about with the sanctities of home and *patria*? For what land do they live and would they die?

Mr. Belloc is forever talking of the Jew as a nomad, "convinced that the world owes him this singular privilege of full citizenship in any community where he happens for the moment to be, while at the same time retaining full citizenship in his own nation." So the slanderous idea is perpetually being insinuated. The Jews are our "guests" and we their "hosts." Mr. Belloc talks as though the modern nations had been in Europe longer than the Jews, and as though (having most of them, as in America, won their position by no better right than that of conquest)

they had an indefeasible right of tenure and exclusive ownership, which no Jewish family, even though coeval with them on their soil, can ever possibly share. How many generations, one is moved to wonder, would it take to transform the Jewish "guest" into a resident with the rights of citizenship? How many Jews must devote their lives to the service, political, juristic, scientific, literary, artistic, of Britain or America, before their children can possess the same right as other residents who have served less?

At unexpressed intentions one can only guess. But certain it is that had Mr. Belloc intended to level against Jews in Western lands the deadliest insult he could conceive, he would have said precisely what he has said about this "host" and "guest" business. Consider the position of men of Jewish race born in France or England, of parents there for generations, speaking perhaps no language except that of their native land, knowing no more of the Hebrew language or of Jewish literature and history than their Gentile neighbors, perhaps not even members of a synagogue, yet devoted with an undivided loyalty to the land of their birth, living for it and ready to die for it. We all know multitudes of such Jews. What is to be their

answer to Jew-baiters of the Belloc type? Surely it must be to this purpose: "We know nothing of the Jewish 'nation' that you talk about. If such a nation does exist, we are not members of it. We may be Jews by blood and by religion (as you, Mr. Belloc, are French by blood and Roman Catholic by religion), but by nationality and by patriotism we are more British (or French) than yourself." In other words, if to be a Jew is to be a member of a nation, then to the Jew must be accorded the same right which is enjoyed by every other man, to determine whether he will or will not remain a member of that nation. Certainly none of the governments of Western lands are willing to admit that men born on their soil are members of any nation but their own. He who is born on the soil of the United States is an American citizen, and is vested with all the responsibilities as well as the privileges of that citizenship, unless and until he explicitly disclaims it; and this he can only do by swearing allegiance to another Gentile nation. Birth on Britain's soil makes you a British subject; on French, a citizen of the French Republic. Every man must be a member of one nation, and cannot be a member of more than one.

But every other man except the Jew can

decide for himself to what nation he will belong. This is the one point which is vital; yet Mr. Belloc never directly mentions it. Indirectly and by implication, he commits himself to denying to the Jew this right, which he has himself exercised, and with which every other man in the modern world is endowed by law and public consent, as well as by right. The whole anti-Semitic argument takes it for granted not only that the Jew is a member of a Jewish nation, but that he cannot, under any circumstances, cease to be so. This is what Mr. Belloc means when he tells us that the Roman Church "will never compromise with the fiction that a Jew can be other than a Jew."

Romanism may say this, but Democracy emphatically denies it. The assumption is flagrantly untrue, and, as we hardly need reminding here, utterly opposed to the American ideal and practice. For we, more than other nations, have cause to know that a man born in one land may renounce it and become a thoroughly loyal citizen of this country. The thing has happened here in hundreds of thousands of cases. By what right, then, can Mr. Belloc assume that, while everybody else can do this, the Jew cannot?

This I take to be the crucial point. The

great harm of the Zionist campaign consists in its assertion of the historically false and psychologically preposterous belief that there is a Jewish nation, of which all Jews are members. I advise my readers of Jewish descent to make war upon that assertion. Or if they concede, for the sake of argument, that there is or some day may be such a nation, they should make it unmistakably clear that they do not belong to it, and have no desire to join it. They should repudiate Mr. Belloc's ecclesiastical myth, which represents them as the victims of a special exercise of divine predestination. If the world insists upon saying, what Mr. Belloc and Dr. Gaster say, that to be a Jew is to be not the scion of a race, nor the adherent of a religion, but the member of a nation, then men of the Hebrew race, who know themselves to be in heart and soul citizens of America or France or Britain, must adjust themselves to the illogic of the situation, and deny that they are Jews. In doing this they will only do what Mr. Belloc himself has done with respect to France, and I with respect to Great Britain. If he and I have exercised self-determination in the matter of our national allegiance, how can he or I deny

to others the power or the right to do what we have done?

Nationality, he says, is the crux of the situation. So be it. I so far agree with him as to be convinced, from wide experience, that any pretence that Jews, in the mass, are either better or worse than Gentiles, in the mass, is nonsense. Born, multitudes of them, of ancestors modified for many generations by the same environments as we Gentiles, they represent approximately the same average of character and culture as we. If I should undertake the invidious task of analysing my own circle of friends and acquaintances, it is quite certain that truth would compel me to testify that the average of character, culture, and personal honor among my Jewish friends is fully as high as among the Gentiles I am privileged to know. And of this I am certain: that when it comes to national pride, loyalty and patriotism, the British and American Jews I have known have been not one whit behind their Gentile fellow-citizens.

In these days of psychological upheaval and moral bewilderment, entailed by the earthquake of war, race prejudice, even here in America, though less here than elsewhere, is a terrible menace. And Mr. Belloc, as I

think I have shown, is its cleverest exploiter, the most dangerous promoter of the disasters he professedly seeks to avert. The division he desires to bring about,—the re-establishment of the ghetto, and the branding of the Jew as a foreigner,—would not only increase the likelihood of further war, but would necessarily tend to postpone indefinitely that peaceful federation of peoples which is desired by all believers in liberty and humanity. For these reasons, I, who have no drop of Jewish blood in my veins, but believe in the spiritual equality of all men, enter my earnest protest against the mischievous undertaking upon which Mr. Belloc has misdirected his commanding talents.

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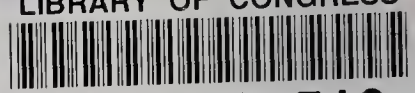
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