

fell upon them while they were still in the camp, and they went about prophesying. Joshua, regarding their action as irregular, wished to stop them; but Moses answered, "Art thou jealous for my sake? Would that all the Lord's people were prophets, that the Lord would put His spirit upon them!" The story thus exemplifies the theme that prophetic inspiration is not confined to an individual or a group, but is a gift coming directly from God to the individual whom He chooses.

According to rabbinical tradition, the prophecies uttered by Eldad and Medad on this occasion were predictions of the future wars of Gog and Magog, of the oppression of the Jews by the heathens, and of the final triumph of Israel through the help of the Messiah (*Targum Yerushalmi* to *Num.* 11:26). The early Christians also had a book said to be the prophecy of Eldad and Medad; there is an allusion to it in the *Shepherd of Hermas*, vision 2, section 3.

**ELDAD HADANI**, Jewish traveler, b. 880; d. 940. He claimed to have visited a part of East Africa, where his own tribe Dan, together with the tribes of Asher, Gad and Naphtali, lived in a secluded country surrounded by seven mountain ridges, and separated from the descendants of Moses by the river Sambation. His stories, verging on the fantastic, struck the imagination of some of his listeners in Babylonia, Kairwan, and Spain, but raised doubt in others. His account appeared subsequently in print, in many languages, and in widely deviating versions, the first being the *Sefer Eldad Hadani* (Mantua, 1480). His exploits served probably as a basis for the Christian legend of Prester John, the ruler of the Jewish tribes living along the river Sambation, in far off Ethiopia.

Opinions on Eldad Hadani are divided. Some consider him as a Karaite propagandist under the Orthodox mask, while others regard him as a common adventurer. Still others, while discounting the fantastic element in his stories of the Ten Lost Tribes and of the Bene Mosheh (descendants of Moses), point out that the divergence in the regulations for the examination and killing of clean animals, as described by him, from those generally accepted, may be accounted for by the fact that he is describing a group of Jews who separated at an early period from the rest of Jewry. It is pointed out that the customs described by him strongly resemble those prevailing among the Ethiopian Falashas. Some even think that Eldad himself was a Falasha.

*Lit.*: Goiten, in *Jewish Quarterly Review*, new series, vol. 17, p. 483; Epstein, *Eldad Ha-Dani* (1891); Schlössinger, *The Ritual of Eldad Ha-Dani* (1908); Krauss, S., in *Tarbitz*, vol. 8 (1936-37) 208-32.

**ELDERS** (Hebrew *zekenim*), the earliest group or body entrusted with political and judicial power in ancient Israel. The Biblical tradition speaks of the elders as early as the time of the Exodus from Egypt as being the official representatives of the people (*Ex.* 3:16; 12:21); impliedly, therefore, it regards the authority and functions of the elders in Israel as of pre-historic origin. In this it is unquestionably correct. The institution goes back to the remote, nomadic, tribal period of Israel's history, when the old men, generally the heads of the various clans, constituted the sole authoritative

body within the tribe and discharged whatever judicial and administrative functions there were. The same condition obtains still today among the Arab nomads. The Bedouin *sheikh* corresponds almost exactly to the Hebrew *zaken* and discharges much the same functions. Likewise among the ancient Babylonians the *shibi* seem to have formed the village council, just as in ancient Israel.

After the settlement of the Israelite tribes in Palestine, when the old tribal, nomad or semi-nomad life gave way to agricultural, village and city life, the elders continued to exercise their old authority. They constituted the village and town councils, and at their meeting-place in the town or city gates all matters of local administration and judgment and its execution were decided by them. After the establishment of the kingdom and the centralization of supreme authority in the king, the authority of the elders naturally waned somewhat. None the less they continued to exercise local authority and to be generally regarded as the representatives and spokesmen of the people (cf. *Deut.* 19:12; 21:3 and *passim*). This authority they continued to exercise even during the Babylonian Exile (cf. *Jer.* 29:1; *Ezek.* 8:1; 14:1; 20:1).

At times, when their authority clashed with the despotic power of the king, they yielded weakly to the royal will (cf. *I Kings* 21:11; *II Kings* 10). At other times, however, the king took counsel with them as the recognized representatives of the people, and acted upon their advice (cf. *I Kings* 20:7-8). Apparently too the king had a body of elders as his regular advisers (*I Kings* 12:6). This body is probably foreshadowed in the Bible in the stories of the counsel of Jethro to Moses to appoint local leaders (*Ex.* 18:21-22) and in the appointment of the seventy elders as assistants to Moses (*Num.* 11:16-30; cf. *Ex.* 24:14). In the post-Exilic period the authority of the elders continued, even in the face of the steadily increasing power of the priests and scribes, so that in the Sanhedrin each of these three groups had their proper representatives and places (*Matt.* 27:41; *Acts* 4:5).

*Lit.*: Hastings, James, edit., *Dictionary of the Bible* (1927); idem, edit., *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. 5 (1922) 253-56.

**ELDERS OF ZION, PROTOCOLS OF.** Table of Contents:

- I. Introduction.
  1. Origin.
  2. Content.
- II. Evidence as to authenticity.
  3. Statements of original publishers.
  4. Internal evidence.
  5. Testimony of Graves of *The Times*.
  6. The *Dialogue* of Joly.
  7. Du Chayla's conversations with Nilus.
  8. The Bern Trial.
  9. Conclusions.
- III. Exploitation.
  1. In Russia.
  2. Outside of Russia.

**I. Introduction. 1. Origin.** The Protocols of the Elders of Zion (Russian *Protokoly Sionskikh Mudretsov*) first appeared in Russia in the early twentieth century. Apparently the earliest edition was that of

Paul Krushevan, who published an abbreviated version in his Kishinev newspaper *Znamia* (*The Banner*) in August, 1903. Most subsequent reprints and translations, however, are based upon the longer version published by Sergei Nilus in his book *Velikoe v Malom* (*The Great in the Little*), 2nd ed., Tsarskoe Selo, 1905, and republished in 1911 and in 1917. Another early version was that of G. Butmi, in the third and fourth editions of *Vragi Roda Chelovecheskago* (*Enemies of the Human Race*), published in St. Petersburg in 1906 and 1907.

**2. Content.** The Protocols consist of twenty-four sections (Butmi has twenty-seven), which allegedly were read by a Leader of Zion to a secret gathering of Elders. The Protocols, somewhat illogically arranged, set forth the alleged schemes of the leaders of Zion to overthrow all governments, and their proposals for organizing a Jewish world empire. The speaker boasts that by the use of terror, and through the debilitating effects of liberalism and class strife, the Gentile states have been weakened. Other weapons used are a monopoly of gold, which is entirely in Jewish hands, and control of the press, as well as immorality and economic crises. As non-Jewish allies of these supposed elders the leader lists Free Masons, political parties, and atheists; speculators and corrupt politicians are ready to do the bidding of the Jews; and if any people dares to rebel, their capital will be blown up by explosions in its subway system, or the Elders will turn against them "American or Chinese or Japanese cannon." After the terrorized and bewildered people have submitted to the inevitable, the leaders of Zion will set up their world empire. Instead of the gold standard they will introduce a flexible paper currency; the press will be censored and licensed; financial stability will be insured by skilful taxation and by public works; credit monopolies will be instituted, and prosperity will result, so that the people will rejoice in their good fortune. As for the hostile few, their secret societies will be broken up, and the police will keep close watch over each potential enemy. Dangerous foes of the new regime will be arrested and treated like common criminals. Thus the people will enjoy the blessings of prosperity and security, and will be glad that they dwell under the House of David.

**II. Evidence as to Authenticity.** **3. Statements of Original Publishers.** Krushevan, the first to print the Protocols, did not claim that they actually originated with the Jews, but stated that they might well be the secret Jewish program. Nilus and Butmi, however, state positively that the Protocols are an authentic Jewish product. Nevertheless, neither one claims to have seen the original Protocols. What the reader is given is a copy of the original, made in France by an unknown, and which, after passing through several hands, finally was translated from the French and published. (In one place Nilus states that the copy came from the Zionist headquarters, in another, from a leading Free Mason.) No signatures of the Elders are given, and indeed, in his earlier editions Nilus did not attempt to identify the Jewish leaders to whom the Protocols were read. In the 1917 edition, however, Nilus states that he had just learned from Jewish sources that the Protocols were read by Theodor Herzl at the time of the Zionist Congress in August, 1897.

Butmi sheds little light on the origins of the Protocols.

In his book they are accompanied by what is termed the explanation of the translator, who says that they were taken from the vaults of the Zionist Central Headquarters, and were signed by the representatives of Zion, who, however, were not the same as the representatives of the Zionist movement. Butmi himself cautions his readers against this distinction; Herzl's group, he states, is really a dangerous revolutionary organization, and there is no difference between these Zionists and those who signed the Protocols. Thus there are several contradictory explanations offered concerning the origin of the Protocols, and it is only in the 1917 edition of Nilus that an attempt is made definitely to connect them with a specific group of Jews—Herzl and the Basel Congress.

**4. Internal Evidence.** Neither Nilus nor Butmi is an unimpeachable witness. Butmi dedicated his book to the "Union of the Russian People," a notorious terrorist society, and in his introduction made statements so extreme that his veracity is doubtful. Nilus was a mystic, much concerned over the imminent coming of Antichrist. In his 1911 edition he had much to say of the symbol of Antichrist, a six-pointed star, composed of an ordinary and an inverted triangle. He complained that the ordinary triangle, the sign of good, was found on the soles of galoshes, and the inverted triangle, the sign of evil, was on Russian railroad cars. Such were the sponsors of the Protocols.

The Protocols themselves contain a number of doubtful passages. There is the famous statement that the Elders would ensure the election of docile puppets—men who had in their past some "Panama" or other. The word Panama was perhaps used as a generic term for corruption, as the Panama scandal was already known by 1897, the year of the Zionist Congress—or, on the other hand, it may have referred to the election of President Loubet in 1899, as he was accused of complicity in the Panama affair. If Loubet's election was meant, then the Protocols could not have been read at the Zionist Congress of 1897. Then there is the threat to blow up recalcitrant capitals by explosions in their subway systems—allegedly uttered when only two European capitals had subways, and only two others were building them. The boast that all Europe was in a state of turmoil, thanks to the machinations of the Elders, does not fit the situation in 1897, when Europe was fairly peaceful, instead of being "in torture" and subject to disorders and revolution. Likewise the claim that the financial straits of the powers were calamitous does not correspond with the world situation at that time. And the threat of using "American or Chinese or Japanese cannon" was an empty one.

In other places the Elders are pictured as boasting that they controlled the French Revolution of 1789, and that they invented the phrase "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity"—although these statements are untrue. The Protocols contain only one quotation from the Bible—and that, strange to say, is from the Vulgate, the Latin Bible used by the Catholic Church. And another suspicious contradiction is that the Jews, who are depicted as boasting about their mastery of gold, are made to propose the abolition of the gold standard after their rise to power.

**5. The Testimony of Graves of *The Times*.** While the internal evidence alone indicates that the



Protocols were not written by Jewish leaders, it is not positive proof of this suspicion. For this it is necessary to turn to other sources. One of the first among these is Philip Graves, Constantinople correspondent of *The Times* of London. In 1921, during the furor over the appearance of an English edition of the Protocols, Graves sent word to his editors that he had been given a book by a Russian in Constantinople, who had obtained it from a former officer of the Okhrana, the Tsar's political police. Graves was struck by the similarity between some of its passages and certain sections of the Protocols, and became convinced that the little volume had served as the basis for the latter, which he now believed to be a plagiarism. On returning to London he was able to identify the book as *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu*, by Maurice Joly, a Parisian lawyer during the Second Empire, who was a Catholic.

**6. The Dialogue of Joly.** Joly's book consists of conversations between the shades of the two great political philosophers; Machiavelli, to the dismay of Montesquieu, explains how easy it would be to overcome a modern democratic state and to establish despotic control over it. Joly himself stated that the book was a satire on the Second Empire, a fact that the French police were not slow to realize. The author was convicted of insulting the government, and was imprisoned and fined.

When Joly's *Dialogue* is compared with the Protocols of Zion it is certain that the latter was largely drawn from it. Many of the arguments, and even the very phrasing and words, are similar. The following similes, for example, are so unusual that there can be no doubt of the fact of plagiarism (see illustration, page 49).

Dialogues

After having covered Italy with blood, Sylla could reappear in Italy as a private individual; no one touched a hair on his head.

... I shall count on a devoted organ in each opinion, in each party; I shall have an aristocratic organ in the aristocratic party, a republican organ in the republican party, a revolutionary organ in the revolutionary party, an anarchist organ, if necessary, in the anarchist party. Like the god Vishnu, my press will have a hundred arms, and these arms will stretch out their hands to all possible shades of opinion over the whole surface.

The simile of Vishnu is used not once but twice in both Dialogues and Protocols.

Protocols

Remember in instance where Italy, drenched in blood, did not touch a hair of Silla's head, who had shed that blood: Silla in the eyes of the people was deified by his power.

...

Our newspapers will have all possible tendencies—aristocratic, republican, revolutionary, even anarchistic—as long, of course, as the constitution exists. ... They, like the Indian god Vishnu, will have a hundred hands, of which each will feel the pulse of some one of the opinions of society.

These parallels, and the many others to be found, are proof that large parts of the Protocols were plagiarized from Joly. Indeed, those who uphold the authenticity of the Protocols as a Jewish document admit the similarity, but claim that Joly was a Jew and that his work is not what it appears, but is an exposition of the Jewish plans for world conquest. This view, however, is hard to accept, as there appears to be no reason why the Jews should publish such plans if they held them; hence the most likely explanation is that Joly's work was what he said it was—an attack on Napoleon III.

**7. Du Chayla's Conversations with Nilus.** Another important disclosure came from the French Count du Chayla, who spent several years in Russia before 1914, and joined the Orthodox Church. During the war he served with distinction in the Russian Army, and afterward for two years in the anti-Bolshevik Don Army. In a series of articles published in 1921 in *Poslednyia Novosti* (*The Latest News*), a liberal newspaper of Paris, he told of meeting Nilus at a Russian monastery in 1909. Nilus showed him the manuscript of the Protocols, and explained that he had received it from a certain Mme. K., who had obtained it in Paris from General Rachkovskii, head of the Russian police in the French capital. The general, according to Nilus, had stolen it from the archives of the Free Masons. When du Chayla asked Nilus if he was sure that he had not been deceived by Rachkovskii, Nilus answered that even if the Protocols were false, God was using them to warn mankind of the coming of Antichrist, as he had once used the Ass of Balaam to prophesy. This answer, and other evidence of Nilus's mystical train of thought, convinced du Chayla that the Protocols were a forgery.

**8. The Bern Trial.** In 1934 two National Socialists of Switzerland were brought to trial on complaint made by Swiss Jewish societies that the defendants, by circulating the Protocols, had violated the Bern law against improper literature. The trial, held in a lowly police court, became a test case, and attracted wide attention. Several of the witnesses for the plaintiffs were well-known Russian liberals. The defendants, on the other hand, made no attempt to prove the authenticity of the Protocols, but merely sought to show that they were not subject to the terms of the law. This defense was either a confession of weakness or a strategic error. If the defendants were able to prove the authenticity of the Protocols, they missed a notable opportunity to demonstrate that fact to the world.

In addition to producing in court the testimony of Graves and du Chayla, the plaintiffs were also helped by Vladimir Burtsev, Paul Miliukov, Boris Nikolaevsky, and S. G. Svatikov, noted Russian emigrés. Miliukov could contribute no direct knowledge of the Protocols, but stated that no reputable and intelligent person could believe in their authenticity. Burtsev, however, shed considerable light on the origin of the disputed document. The famous liberal, who before the war exposed the notorious agent provocateur Azev, testified that A. A. Lopukhin, Director of the Department of Police under the Tsar, told him that almost everybody in Russian official life knew that the Protocols were a forgery, and that Rachkovskii, Russian police chief in Paris, was the responsible person. General Kurlov,

# DIALOGUE AUX ENFERS

ENTRE

# MACHIAVEL

## ET MONTESQUIEU

## OU LA POLITIQUE DE MACHIAVEL

AU XIX<sup>e</sup> SIÈCLE,

PAR UN CONTEMPORAIN.

« Rien lot bruyant en calice agité,  
pendant lequel tout se réunirait quatre  
la puissance violatrice des lois »

« Quand Sylla voulut rendre la liberté  
à Rome, elle ne put plus le recevoir »  
(MONTESQUIEU, *Ess. des Loix*)

BRUXELLES,  
IMPRIMERIE DE A. MERTENS ET FILS.

RUE DE L'ESCALIER, 22.

1864

# DOUZIÈME DIALOGUE

105

d'autoriser la création de nouvelles feuilles politiques.

MONTESQUIEU.

En effet, cela est très-simple.

MACHIAVEL.

Pas tant que vous le croyez cependant, car il ne faut pas que la masse du public puisse soupçonner cette tactique; la combinaison serait manquée et l'opinion se détacherait d'elle-même des journaux qui défendraient ouvertement ma politique.

Je diviserai en trois ou quatre catégories les feuilles-dévouées à mon pouvoir. Au premier rang je mettrai un certain nombre de journaux dont la nuance sera franchement officielle, et qui, en toutes rencontres, défendront mes actes à outrance. Ce ne sont pas ceux-là, je commence par vous le dire, qui auront le plus d'ascendant sur l'opinion. Au second rang je placerai une autre phalange de journaux dont le caractère ne sera déjà plus qu'officieux et dont la mission sera de rallier à mon pouvoir cette masse d'hommes tièdes et indifférents qui acceptent sans scrupule ce qui est constitué, mais ne vont pas au delà dans leur religion politique.

C'est dans les catégories des journaux qui vont suivre que se trouveront les leviers les plus puissants de mon pouvoir. Ici, la nuance officielle ou officieuse se dégrade complètement, en apparence, bien entendu, car les journaux dont je vais vous parler seront tous rattachés par la même chaîne à mon gouvernement, chaîne visible pour les uns, invisible à l'égard des autres. Je n'entreprends point de vous dire quel en sera le nombre, car je compterais un organe dévoué dans chaque opinion, dans chaque parti; j'aurais un organe aristocratique dans le parti aristocratique, un organe républicain dans le parti républicain, un organe révolutionnaire dans le parti révolutionnaire, un organe anarchiste, au

Title page (left) of Maurice Joly's "Dialogues in Hell" (1864), from which the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" were plagiarized; (above) page from Joly's "Dialogues in Hell," containing pilfered passages (see marked lines at bottom) as indicated in parallel columns on page 48)

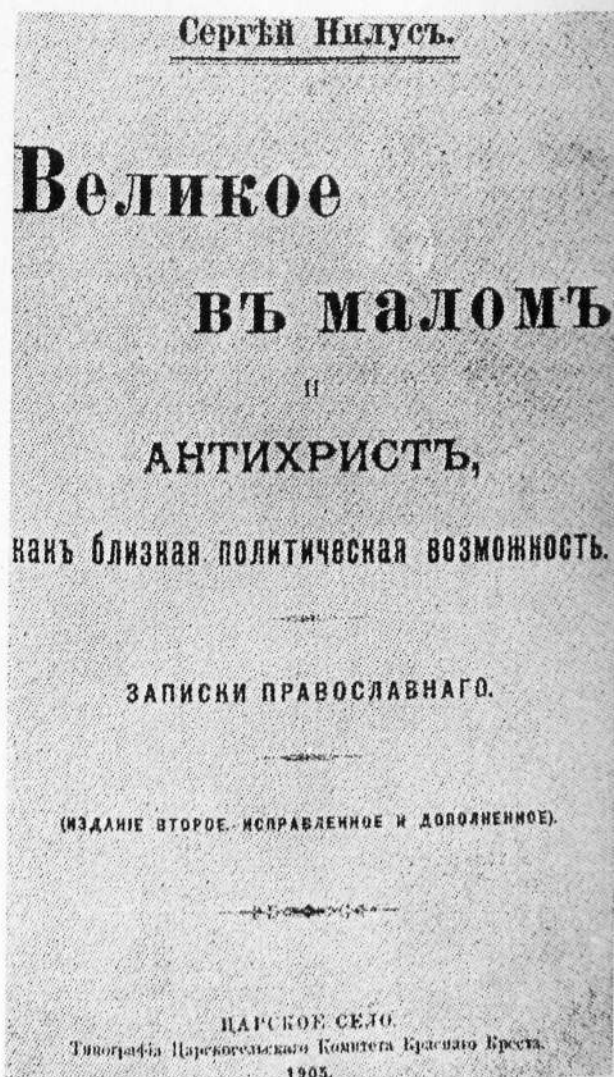
former Chief of Gendarmes, told Burtsev that Rachkovskii himself had stated that the Protocols were a fabrication, although the work had been done before his time.

Much the same information was imparted to Burtsev by the notorious Manuilov-Manasevich, and by Beletskii, an important police official. Beletskii declared that the only reason the Protocols were not brought forward in the Beilis case was that they were so evidently fraudulent that to use them would have weakened the government's case.

Burtsev's most striking testimony, however, was based upon information obtained from General Globachev of the Okhrana (the political police). He informed Burtsev that the Protocols had been forged outside Russia between 1896 and 1900—i.e., when Rachkovskii was still active in Paris. Burtsev's informant also told of the impression the Protocols made on Nicholas II: the Tsar had been convinced that the Revolution of 1905 was the direct result of Zionist plotting. Some of the Tsar's advisers, however, protested against accepting the Protocols, and an investigation established that they were a forgery. Rachkovskii admitted the fact, declaring that such tactics were necessary to uphold the Tsarist regime. The Tsar, however, issued orders that the Protocols were to be withdrawn from circulation.

This testimony soon produced a reaction from the defendants. Globachev wrote a letter to a Russian newspaper denying that he had ever spoken to Burtsev about the Protocols, and asserting that he had never given information about them to any agent. This retraction, according to Burtsev, resulted from pressure on Globachev's brother in Berlin. The denial of Globachev enabled the defendants to charge Burtsev with perjury. He, however, defended himself, and produced a letter from Globachev in which the latter admitted discussing the Protocols with both Burtsev and a mutual friend, K. As a result Burtsev was exonerated of the charge, and the defendants were made to pay the costs of the perjury action.

Highly significant testimony was also presented by Professor S. G. Svatikov, who in 1917 was sent by the Russian Provisional Government to close up the Russian police bureau in Paris. Here he made the acquaintance of Henri Bint, who had been Rachkovskii's leading man, and who in 1917 was in charge of the Paris office. Bint told Svatikov of assisting Rachkovskii in a series of forgeries and provocations, of which the Protocols were the last. He put the date of this work in 1899 or 1901, either just before or just after the Paris Exposition of 1900—in either case, after the Zionist Congress in 1897. Bint's part in the forgery was that of paymaster; the actual fabrication, according to him, was done by a writer named Golovinskii, who performed his task in the Bibliothèque Nationale. This testimony agrees with that of Burtsev, who stated that both Lopukhin and Beletskii had told him that Golovinskii had aided in fabricating the Protocols. These statements have subsequently been contradicted, however, according to Freyenwald, a German writer, by General Spiridovich of the Okhrana, who declared that Bint was not important enough to know Rachkovskii's secrets. The same source also avers that Rachkovskii's son, who knew all his father's agents in Paris, states that no one named Golovinskii worked for his father.



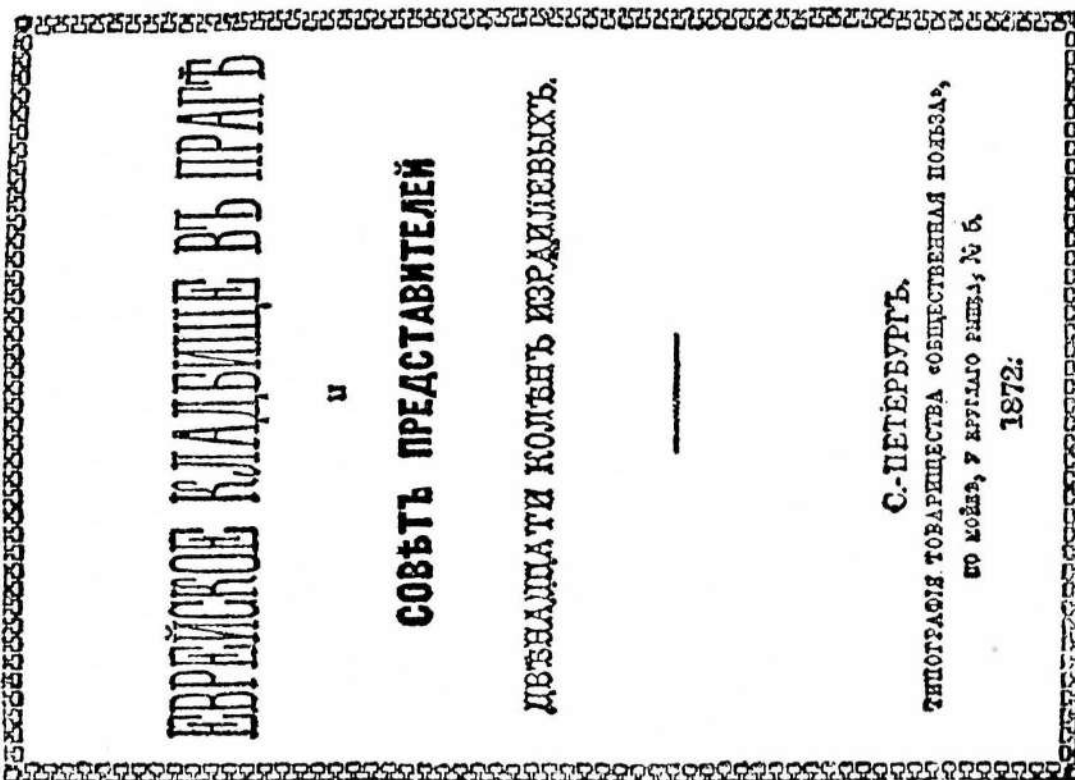
*Title page of Sergius Nilus' book containing the "Protocols," published at Tsarskoe Selo in 1905*

Svatikov also testified concerning photostats of documentary evidence sent to the court by the Central Historical Archive in Moscow. The most important of these contained the minutes of the Moscow Censorship Committee which had considered Nilus's book containing the Protocols. The censor who reported on the book urged that it be suppressed as a forgery and as disturbing propaganda. Thanks to the influence of Nilus's wife at court, however, the book was approved, in spite of the continued opposition of several censors.

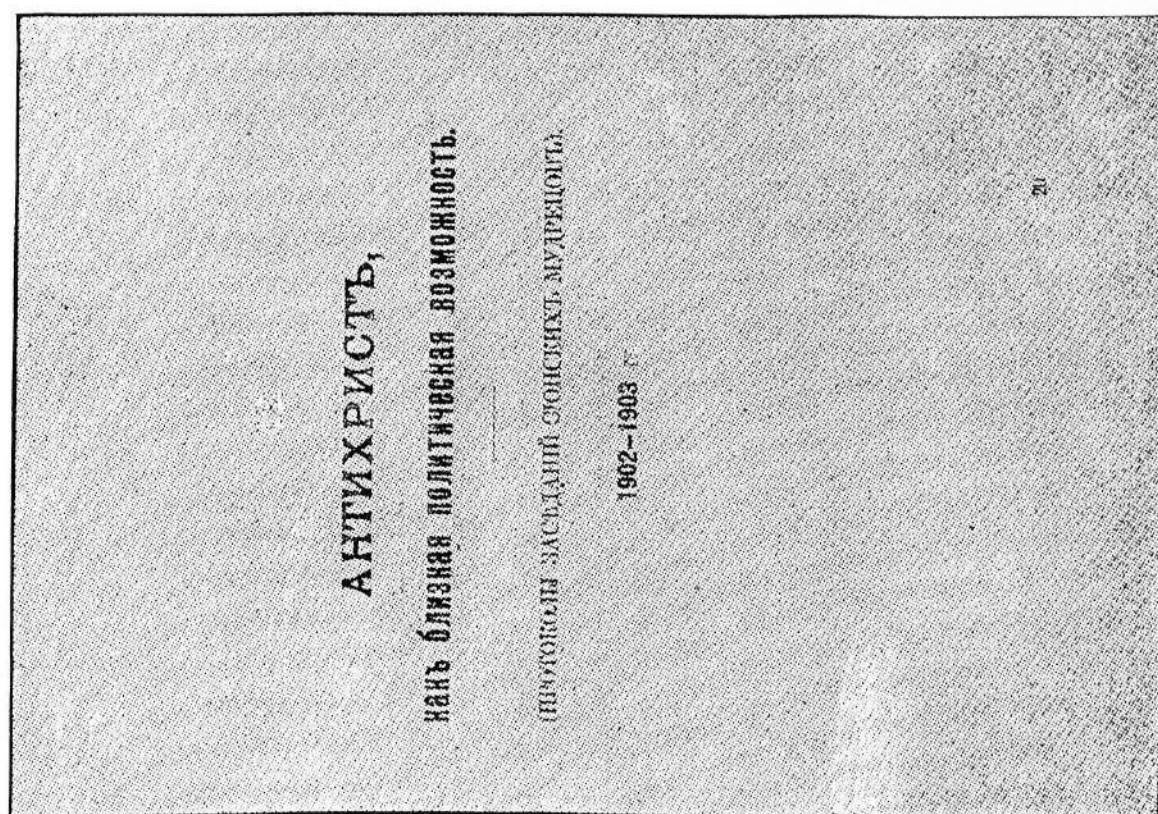
Another Russian witness for the plaintiffs was the writer B. I. Nikolaevsky, who testified that Dr. Herzl, the Zionist, was received by the anti-Semitic Russian Minister of Internal Affairs, Plehve, in 1903. Shortly after this interview the Zionist movement was legalized in Russia. It is significant that two years after Nilus claims to have received the Protocols the Russian government permitted the Zionist movement to function. Either Plehve had not been informed concerning the Protocols, or he did not regard them as a reason to suppress Zionism. Both of these possibilities suggest that the Protocols were not taken seriously in Russian official circles.

After hearing this evidence, the court at Bern delivered its judgment in May, 1935. The verdict was that the Protocols were largely a plagiarism of Joly's book,





Title page of Hermann Goedsche's fantastic story, published in Russia in 1872, containing the first draft of the so-called "Protocols" in the form of fiction



Title page of the "Protocols" in Sergius Nilus' book: "Anti-Christ as a Near Political Possibility (The Protocols of the Sessions of the Zionist Sages)—1902-1903"

and were fraudulent. As such they were found to be improper literature. Consequently, the two leading defendants were fined and ordered to pay a large part of the costs. They at once appealed. In the higher court the verdict was reversed, in 1937; the reversal, however, was on legal grounds only. The court did not rule on the finding of the lower court that the Protocols were fraudulent, merely holding that the law, which applied to salacious literature only, did not forbid fraudulent works. This ruling was made with reluctance, as the court expressed regret that the plaintiffs were not legally protected against such unwarranted attacks.

**9. Conclusions.** The case for the authenticity of the Protocols is weak. It is based upon the statements of Nilus and Butmi, two unreliable witnesses. No facsimile of the original is available, no signatures, or other concrete proof. Moreover, both men admit that the manuscript passed through several hands before reaching them. Furthermore, there are conflicting versions to account for their possession of the manuscript, and it was only in 1917 that Nilus assigned the work to a specific group of Jews. The Protocols themselves contain a number of internal contradictions and possible anachronisms.

There is, moreover, evidence to show how the Protocols really originated. We have the testimony of du Chayla, who talked with Nilus and heard him admit that they came from Rachkovskii, and of Graves, who found the prototype, the *Dialogue* of Joly, the indisputable source for much of the material of the Protocols. Then at the Bern trial reputable witnesses—Burtsev, Svatikov, and others—gave evidence as to the Russian origin of the Protocols. Burtsev cited what he had learned from former police chiefs like Lopukhin, Beletskii, and Globachev—all of whom implicated Rachkovskii in the fabrication. Svatikov reported his conversation with Bint of the Russian police in Paris, who admitted that under Rachkovskii he had helped in forging the Protocols; the attempts of Russian conservatives to disprove this testimony are not convincing. Thus, while there is no valid evidence to connect the Protocols with Zionists or other Jews, all the evidence there is tends to show that the Protocols originated with Rachkovskii, head of the Russian police in Paris.

JOHN S. CURTISS.

**Lit.:** Bernstein, Herman, *The Truth about "The Protocols of Zion"* (1935); Charles, Pierre, S. J., *Les Protocoles des Sages de Sion* (1938); Curtiss, John S., *The Protocols of Zion: An Appraisal* (1941); "Evidence of Protocol Forgery Substantiated," *The American Hebrew*, March 4, 1921; Raas, Emil, and Brunschwig, Georges, *Vernichtung einer Fälschung* (1938); Segel, Benjamin, *Die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion, kritisch beleuchtet* (1923). For stenographic transcripts of the Bern trial, see: Von Freyenwald, H. J., edit., *Der Berner Prozess um die Protokolle der Weisen von Zion. Akten und Gutachten* (1939).

**III. Exploitation.** During the first four decades of the 20th cent. the so-called *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* have formed a staple of anti-Jewish propaganda. They have been translated into every European tongue, and even into Arabic and Japanese, and have been exploited, with consistent regularity, at almost every political crisis on the continent. Their gross circulation is said to have exceeded that of any other literary production in modern times.

**1. In Russia.** The *Protocols* first appeared at the beginning of the 20th cent. in Russia, as part of the propaganda conducted by reactionary elements against the growing progressive movements of the day. They were intended more especially to persuade a vacillating czar that the liberal measures then being sponsored by his minister of finance, Serge Julievich Witte, were in reality part and parcel of a gigantic Judeo-Masonic plot to overthrow the monarchy and destroy Christian civilization. The prime movers in the dissemination of this propaganda were a small group of extremists opposed specifically to the projected reform of the gold standard, the introduction into the country of foreign capital, and the rapprochement of the empire with Republican France. Prominent among them was the publicist and ex-lieutenant of the Imperial Guard, George V. Butmi (de Katzman), and it was mainly to his initiative that the *Protocols* owed their first publication.

In 1903, following the pogrom at Kishinev (April 19th to 20th) and the subsequent palliative admission of Jews to "free domicile" in the Pale of Settlement (May 23rd), Butmi handed the manuscript to Pavolachi Krushevan, the notorious instigator of the outbreak, and editor of the local anti-Jewish sheet *Znamia* (The Banner), for use as counter-propaganda against further privileges to the Jews. Krushevan published it in the issues of August 26th to September 7th.

The publication was well timed. On the very day when the first instalment appeared, Krushevan and the anti-Semitic cause were on the point of a signal defeat. On that day, the Jewish youth Pinchas Dashevski, who had attempted, three months earlier, to assassinate Krushevan for his part in the massacre, was sentenced to five years' penal military service, instead of to death, as the Jew-baiting party had insisted. Moreover, less than a month had elapsed since Theodor Herzl, in an interview with Minister of the Interior von Plehve, had secured a removal of the Russian government's ban on Zionist activity. Lastly, the date of publication coincided nicely with the concluding sessions of the Sixth Zionist Congress, then being held at Basel, Switzerland. Nevertheless, in spite of its timeliness, the publication of the *Protocols* in 1903 made little impression and failed of its purpose.

Two years later, the reactionaries decided to try again. This occasion, too, was well chosen. In August, 1905, de Witte (now a count) had signed at Portsmouth, N. H., the much-criticized treaty ending the Russo-Japanese War, while in October of the same year there had occurred the First Revolution and the issuance by Nicholas II, under the influence of Witte, of the famous Declaration voluntarily limiting his own powers and granting the people a constitutional government and a parliament (Duma). These developments, and the tendencies which inspired them, naturally alarmed the reactionaries, more especially when it was learned that Witte was actually contemplating legislation to dispossess some of the landed nobility. At first a number of counter-measures to offset the liberalizing tendencies were attempted. Thus, as early as February, Trepov, governor-general of St. Petersburg, significantly dismissed the police chief Lopuchin, appointing in his stead Rachkovskii, under whom the





*Protocols* had originally been forged in Paris. Moreover, on October 28th, two days before the czar finally signed the famous Declaration, this same Trepov, acting on behalf of the reactionaries, had in fact induced Nicholas to abdicate in favor of his brother, Grand Duke Michael. When, however, these efforts came to nought, the plan was devised of reviving the ancient myth that the liberal elements were but tools of a Judeo-Masonic conspiracy, and a new edition of the *Protocols* was projected. But the method of publication was this time more subtle. The reactionary group decided to reach the czar by playing on the growing religious proclivities of his consort,—proclivities which led, ten years later, to the episode of Rasputin. It was discovered that the czarina had been impressed by a curious mystic work published in 1901, under the title *The Great in the Little,—the Coming of Anti-Christ and the Rule of Satan on Earth*, by a religious fanatic, one Sergius Nilus. The author was thereupon tracked down, apparently by the aforementioned George V. Butmi, and a copy of the *Protocols* was shown to him, as ostensible proof of his thesis that demoniacal forces, in the person of Jews and Freemasons, were indeed plotting to destroy Christian civilization. Nilus was persuaded to include the *Protocols* as an appendix to a new edition of his *The Great in the Little*, and this was duly issued, late in 1905, from the government press at Tsarskoe Selo, winter residence of the czar.

Besides serving the ends of general reactionary propaganda, this edition of the *Protocols* appears also to have been used for a more specific purpose. In December, 1905, the month in which it was issued, the czar had before him for consideration a memorandum submitted by Foreign Minister Count Lamsdorf, in which it was proposed that the projected anti-British alliance secretly agreed upon, six months earlier, by the Russian czar and the Kaiser be supplemented by a pact between Germany and Russia against the alleged Judeo-Masonic peril. The arguments used in that memorandum are precisely those enunciated in the *Protocols*, showing that the publication of the latter at that particular juncture was not purely fortuitous.

Further editions of the *Protocols* were produced by Butmi in 1906-7 and by Nilus in 1911, but it was not until 1917 that they again entered, to any appreciable extent, upon the political stage. This was the fateful year of the czar's abdication (on March 15th) and the seizure of power by the Bolsheviks (November 7th). The whole structure of society, as cherished by the reactionaries, collapsed, and once again a scapegoat had to be found. The circumstances of 1905 were repeated on a larger scale, and once more Nilus produced an edition of the *Protocols*, pointing out expressly in the preface that they were offered as a "key to the understanding not only of the first abortive revolution of 1905, but also to that of the successful revolution of 1917, in which the Jews played so fateful a part."

The charge was repeated, by implication, in a fresh edition issued some two years later at Novocherkassk, in South Russia. By this time, the treaty of Brest-Litovsk had been signed (March 3, 1918), forcing Russia to yield to German control the Baltic provinces of Lithuania and Finland; the czar and the royal

family had been assassinated by the Bolsheviks at Ekaterinburg (July 16, 1918), and the White armies, under Denikin, Kolchak, Mamontov and Wrangel, were careering through the country. At the same time, strenuous efforts were being made by dispossessed landowners and monarchists to stir up the peasants of South Russia against the Revolution, on the grounds that it was an attack, by Jews and Freemasons, on the nation and the Christian religion. Prominent in the dissemination of such propaganda was the official press bureau attached to the White armies, for this bureau operated largely with the assistance of those reactionaries of the Black Hundreds to which men like George Butmi belonged. The campaign was conducted mainly in the official military organ *Zaria* (Dawn) and in the Kiev sheets *Osvag* (produced by the local press organization under A. Savenko) and *Kievlianin*, while leaflets to the same effect (subsequently withdrawn on orders from London) were distributed also by the air service of the British armies at Archangel and Murmansk. The material was designed both for native and foreign consumption. On the home front, it contributed largely to the notorious pogroms which, by 1920, claimed at least 120,000 victims, while typewritten copies distributed in London and Paris (the anti-British passages being first expunged) had much to do with securing British support for Denikin, and French munitions and equipment for the counter-revolutionary Polish forces under General Haller.

**2. Outside of Russia.** The campaign conducted by the White Russian reactionaries found response on the continent of Europe. Reports from British agents in Russia, sent home to their government at this period, are full of arguments and assertions drawn directly from the *Protocols*, and there can be no doubt that the scare thus raised played a significant part in overcoming British reluctance to embark on a campaign of support for Denikin.

It was, however, in Germany that the effects were most strikingly felt. The defeat of that country in the World War and the creation of the Weimar Republic on democratic lines had gravely perturbed the Junker and monarchist reactionaries, and no tool of counter-propaganda was found readier to their hand than the *Protocols*. The ground had been well prepared. For nearly half a century there had been in circulation a story, originally published as fiction in 1868, telling of a secret meeting of Jewish "elders" (variously located at Prague, Cracow and Lemberg) at which plans had been drawn up for world domination. The *Protocols*, purporting to be the record of such a convention, thus served as a timely "corroboration" of the story.

The story was first issued in 1919 by a circle of Russian monarchist refugees in their journal *The Sunbeam*. Later, in the same year, a German translation was produced by Captain Mueller von Hausen, writing under the pseudonym of Gottfried zur Beek. This translation, the rights to which were acquired in 1929 by the official publishing house of the Nazi Party, was sponsored largely by the nobility and monarchists. Prince Otto Salm-Horstmar II and Count Behr, former president of the conservative party in the Prussian Upper House, raised large sums to subsidize



it, while Prince Joachim Albrecht of Prussia himself distributed copies among waiters and valets in fashionable hotels. The Kaiser had extracts read publicly at Doorn, and the conservative press, notably the *Deutsche Tageszeitung*, owned by Count Reventlow, and the *Kreuz Zeitung*, kept up a barrage of invective against so-called Jewish international conspiracy.

Here again, the propaganda was designed both for home and foreign consumption. Within the country, it was meant to pave the way for the reactionary Kapp-Lüttwitz party of German Nationalists, who were at the time campaigning for support and whose policies subsequently culminated in the famous *Putsch* of March 13, 1920. Outside the country, it was designed to serve two ends. On the one hand, it was to counteract the influence of the newly formed Communist International (March, 1919), Leon Trotsky being expressly described as a tool of the rabbis, and the book itself was significantly dedicated not only to the German people, but also to the *princes of Europe*. On the other hand, it was to offset the growing support in Europe for the League of Nations project, then very much on the political *tapis*, by representing it as nothing but an instrument of so-called international Jewish intrigue.

Propaganda against the new developments was, however, by no means confined to Germany. Counter-revolutionaries everywhere, especially White Russian refugees, saw in the International a menace which had to be checked, while the increasing enthusiasm for the League was a cause for concern among all the world's reactionaries and isolationists. In 1919 and 1920, therefore, the dissemination of the *Protocols* reached international proportions, efforts being made to spread them through the length and breadth of Europe and America.

The prime agents in this campaign were, once again, the White Russians. In January, 1919, during the informal sessions of the Peace Conference in Paris, typewritten copies of the *Protocols* were circulated among the delegates, while in the United States, where a suitable atmosphere had been created by the appointment of the Senate's Overman Committee to investigate Bolshevism, the document was later distributed, in the same form, among members of the cabinet, the judiciary and the Intelligence Services of the Army and Navy.

Mainly responsible for the propaganda in the United States was a small group of reactionaries operating from New York under the leadership of one Boris Brasol (b. 1885), formerly a prosecuting attorney under the czarist regime. The primary object of this group was to overthrow the Bolsheviks and restore the Romanoff dynasty. A spiritual and political successor of the old Butmi-Krushevan clique, it adopted the same tactics, seeking not only to mobilize support for the White Russians, but also, by means of the *Protocols*, to convince public opinion that the Red Revolution was but part of an international Jewish conspiracy. As early as January 15, 1919, three days before the formal inauguration of the Peace Conference at Versailles, Brasol had written to the *New York Times* protesting the representation of the Bolsheviks there, and had followed this, on August 3rd, with a plea for

the supply of American munitions to the counter-revolutionary armies. In February, 1920, a month after the signing of the Peace Treaty (January 10th), and when the ground had been conveniently prepared by anti-Jewish testimony before the Overman Committee, Brasol and his colleagues decided to bring their more clandestine propaganda out into the open. A translation of the *Protocols*, produced with the assistance of a fellow White Russian, Miss Natalie de Bogory, was published anonymously at Boston by the firm of Small, Maynard and Company. The volume, entitled significantly *The Protocols and The World Revolution*, included a lengthy preface and appendices, written by Brasol, and the text of Jew-baiting depositions before the Overman Committee.

Closely associated with the Brasol group was a Doctor Harris A. Houghton, at that time head of the New York office of the Army Intelligence Service. It was Dr. Houghton who made the next move in the campaign. Houghton was the family physician of C. C. Daniels (brother of Josephus Daniels, then Secretary of the Navy). C. C. Daniels was head of a secret bureau of anti-Jewish investigation set up by Henry Ford, the motor magnate. After canvassing opinion on the document among university professors and newspaper correspondents, and receiving markedly antagonistic reactions, Houghton introduced the *Protocols*, and with them certain members of the Brasol group, to the attention of C. C. Daniels and his organization. The result was the publication, in Ford's *Dearborn Independent*, of a series of articles devoted to the "international Jewish conspiracy" and making free use of the *Protocols*. The articles, written mainly by Ford's assistant, W. J. Cameron, appeared weekly from May 22 to October 2, 1920, and were subsequently reprinted in pamphlet form under the title *The International Jew*. (Seven years later, in a letter to Louis Marshall, dated June 30, 1927, Ford retracted and apologized for the publication, claiming that he had been duped by his assistants.)

The text of the *Protocols* employed by the *Dearborn Independent* was an improved version of the Brasol-de Bogory translation. This was offered by Houghton to the firm of Putnam, and its projected publication was actually announced. Subsequently, however, through the intervention of Louis Marshall, president of the American Jewish Committee, this edition was cancelled. The improved rendering, however, appeared under independent auspices, with the imprint of a New York firm called The Beckwith Company. Investigation revealed that this firm was simply an *ad hoc* organization (soon liquidated), exploiting the name of one of Houghton's relatives. The printer, a Mr. F. Lisiecki, was reported, at the same time, to be planning a Polish edition.

Meanwhile, the *Protocols* were being circulated also in England. There, too, the ground had been conveniently prepared by the march of events. Increasing reverses suffered by the British-supported army of General Wrangel in South Russia were leading the government to reconsider its policy and to seek some form of compromise or rapprochement with the Bolsheviks. This change of front naturally alarmed those who favored the counter-revolutionary movement, so



# PROTOCOLS

of the Learned Elders of

## ZION

Translated from the Russian of NILUS

By

VICTOR E. MARSDEN

Late Russian Correspondent of "THE MORNING POST"

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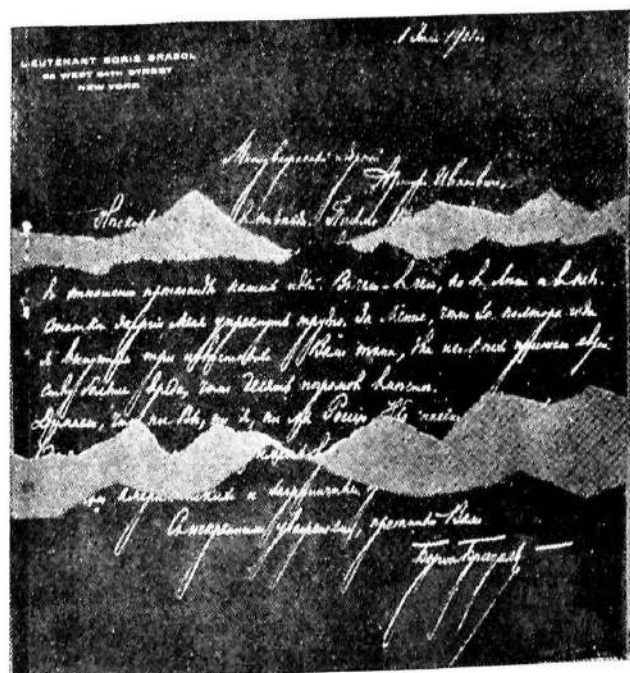
Seattle, Washington

Title page of an English translation of the fictitious "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" circulated in the United States



Boris Brasol, a Czarist agent, who came to the United States in 1916. He translated into English the forged "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" and offered them to the United States Secret Service as explanation of the Russian revolution

Exhibits reproduced from "Friday"



A letter in Russian from Boris Brasol to one Colonel Spiridovich wherein he boasts of having written three books "which have done more harm to the Jews than ten pogroms"

that the publication of the *Protocols* came as a timely reinforcement of the "anti-Red" drive which these elements were pursuing.

A few weeks before the appearance in the United States of the Small, Maynard edition, a translation of the document, distinguished by marked crudity of style, was published anonymously in London by Messrs. Eyre and Spottiswoode, the King's printers, under the title of *The Jewish Peril*. The authorship of this rendering is not definitely known, but an interesting account of its origin was given, on May 17, 1936, in the anti-Semitic *Highland Post*, published at Highland, N. Y. This account, later reprinted in the Jew-baiting *American Gentile* (June, 1936), states that the work was executed by one George Shanks, private secretary to Sir Philip Sassoon, then Chief Whip of the Conservative Party and aide of the Prime Minister, David Lloyd George. Shanks, it is asserted, was born and educated at Moscow, his mother being an "Ashkenazic" Jewess named Catour, and his maternal grandmother being called Schilling. The account goes on to relate that when Eyre and Spottiswoode proved reluctant to issue a second edition, the stereotyped plates were acquired by a certain Dr. John Clarke, but that Shanks brought legal action to restrain publication. It is stated also, in the same source, that the Duke of Northumberland attempted later to produce an independent edition, but that the highly reputable firm of T. and T. Clarke of Edinburgh refused to handle the project. It has not yet proved possible to verify this account, but two facts are at least significant, and lend it an air of verisimilitude. The first is that a Dr. John H. Clarke was, at the time, head of the anti-Semitic organization, "The Britons," which subsequently issued a new edition of the *Protocols*. The second is that the Duke of Northumberland was indeed engaged, at just this period, in a marked anti-Bolshevist "crusade." On November 21st, for instance, he made a statement attributing the recent coal strike in Britain to the machinations of Bolshevism.

The publication of the English edition created something of a sensation. Both the *Times* (May 8, 1920) and the weekly *Spectator* tended to take the matter seriously, while the *Morning Post* ran a counterpart to the articles of the *Dearborn Independent* in a scurrilous series, *The Cause of World Unrest*, in which extensive use was made of the *Protocols* material. The series was subsequently reprinted, in volume form, both in England and the United States. Winston Churchill, who was reported to have been intriguing secretly with the Russian Imperialists, over the head of his government, inclined also to exploit the *Protocols* in order to bolster his policy, and he was by no means alone in this among public figures.

Some few months later, a new translation, by Victor E. Marsden, former correspondent in Russia of the *Morning Post*, was published in London by an anti-Semitic organization known as "The Britons." Later this became the standard English translation.

Nor was the dissemination of the document confined to English-speaking countries. An edition appeared also in France, and in the summer of 1920, when the Red Army was closing in upon Warsaw, the Polish episcopate issued an appeal for aid to its colleagues

abroad, basing its plea very largely on the allegations of the *Protocols*. At about the same time, a Polish translation was produced anonymously by an Assumptionist priest named Evrard.

The following year, yet another use was found for the *Protocols*. The Arabs of Palestine and Syria were expressing dissatisfaction over the project of Jewish colonization, and had even taken advantage of a visit by the French cardinal Dubois to convey their attitude to the French government, through his good offices. Almost contemporary with this agitation was the publication, in Damascus, of an Arabic translation of the *Protocols*, the obvious purpose of which was to rouse Arab passions against the Jews by suggesting that the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine was, in fact, a victory for the "international Jewish conspiracy." The book attained a wide circulation, and propaganda for it was made throughout the East by Barlassina, Latin patriarch of Jerusalem. Its suppression by the French High Commissioner merely increased its circulation, and there can be little doubt that it contributed much to the exacerbation of Arab feelings toward the Jews.

In the same year (1921), an edition of the *Protocols* appeared in Italy under the editorship of Giovanni Preziosi, at a time when Benito Mussolini's Fascists were rapidly gaining strength. The Fascist Party was not anti-Jewish at its inception; yet its initial *raison d'être*, when it was first formally organized on March 23, 1919, was to combat Communism and Socialism, and the dissemination of the *Protocols* was associated with propaganda, sponsored by leading Italian publications, linking the Russian Revolution with an international Jewish plot.

In 1923, when the Nazi party in Germany was preparing to win the masses against the Weimar Republic, and when the movement which culminated in the Ludendorff-Hitler *Putsch* of March 9th was very much in the air, the *Protocols* were again trotted out as ideological ammunition. A lengthy commentary on them was produced by the Party's theoretician, Alfred Rosenberg, and the following year Theodor Fritsch, Germany's leading anti-Semite, prepared from the English edition his own new translation. At the same time, General Ludendorff, in his *Kriegsführung und Politik* (Warfare and Politics), took special pains to endorse the charge of a world-wide Jewish plot and to express belief in the *Protocols*, while in 1925, in the first edition of *Mein Kampf* (pp. 325-26), Adolf Hitler also expressed his acceptance of the document on the grounds that "the best criticism of them is furnished by the actual course of events." Since that date, the *Protocols* have become part and parcel of Germany's political propaganda, their dissemination being promoted in all countries by the Nazi party machine.

In 1933, after copies of the work had been sent to Roumania by the Germans, long extracts from the *Protocols* were read in the Roumanian parliament by Deputy Professor Catuneanu and, in the subsequent debate, the arch-anti-Semite, Professor Cuza, took opportunity to endorse the allegations. Elements responsible for this agitation, it transpired, were closely associated with the Nazi Christian Fascist Party of Stepan Tartarescu which, on October 16, 1933, demanded the

expulsion of Jews from the country. Previously, on May 29th, Representative Louis T. McFadden, quoting the *Dearborn Independent*, had introduced reference to the *Protocols* in the United States House of Representatives, with the object of spreading the charges through official entry in the *Congressional Record*. By way of nullifying the effect, however, thanks to the intervention of Dr. Cyrus Adler, words of rebuttal also were inserted in the *Record*, so that the plan miscarried.

In the same year (1933), the *Protocols* were put to a new use in the United States. The New Deal had been introduced by President Franklin Delano Roosevelt, to be followed, a little later, by a resumption of normal diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia (November 16th). These events alarmed the country's reactionaries, especially those who viewed with favor the contemporary rise of Adolf Hitler in Germany, with its promise of totalitarian development on the continent of Europe. The reactionaries were not slow to denounce the President's policies as the product of Jewish intrigue. He himself was ironically described as "Rabbi" Roosevelt (sometimes even "Rosenvelt"), while Jewish officials of the administration, such as Bernard M. Baruch, Felix Frankfurter and Henry Morgenthau, Jr., were represented as henchmen of an international cabal closely associated, if not identical, with the "Elders of Zion." Against this background, the *Protocols* were once more trotted out as "evidence" of the Jewish conspiracy which was allegedly gripping the United States by the throat.

Especially prominent in the dissemination of this libel were William Dudley Pelley and Robert E. Edmondson. On January 31, 1933—the day that Hitler stepped to power in Germany—Pelley launched the first stage of his anti-Jewish campaign by the formation of a fascist-like organization known as "The Silver Shirts." This organization, later succeeded by a variety of others of similar character, made a point of including among its "literature" the Marsden translation of the *Protocols* and a number of treatises expounding that document. Edmondson, on the other hand, preferred to operate independently under the name of the Edmondson Economic Service. His principal vehicle of propaganda was a series of folio-sized leaflets called *The Vigilante Bulletin*, issued from an uptown address in New York city. Copies of the *Protocols* were freely advertised in these sheets. Both Pelley and Edmondson continued their endeavors in the first two terms of the Roosevelt administration.

Nor were they by any means alone in these efforts. Other anti-New Dealers, to whom the *Protocols* were indebted for a new lease of life, included Harry Jung of the American Vigilante Intelligence Federation and Gerald B. Winrod, of Kansas, who in 1933 proclaimed the discovery of a Jewish plot to overthrow the democracy of the United States, and who consistently bolstered his assertions by reference to the *Protocols*. A notorious feature of the propaganda put out by these "patriots" was its dependence, to a large extent, upon Nazi sources, especially upon material circulated by the notorious Welt-Dienst news service of Erfurt.

Occasionally, the spread of the *Protocols* was encouraged by less "obvious" means. An example of this was

the Anglo-Saxon Federation of America. The ostensible object of this body, whose former president was Ford's assistant William J. Cameron of *Dearborn Independent* fame, was to promote the idea that the Anglo-Saxon peoples, rather than the Jews, are the real descendants of Israel. This thesis, too fantastic to receive support from academic sources, nevertheless provided an agency, through this Federation, for the circulation of the *Protocols*.

In 1935, the *Protocols* were employed indirectly by anti-Jewish members of the Greyshirt organization of South Africa. The story was spread that a document, outlining a plot similar to that described in the *Protocols*, had been discovered in a synagogue at Port Elizabeth. The rabbi of the synagogue, however, at once instituted proceedings for libel against the instigators of this attack. When the case came to trial, it was revealed that the "incriminating" protocol was nothing but a crude farrago of nonsense, headed by the badly written words ספר זכרון (Chronicle), meaningless in the context, but copied mechanically from the Hebrew title of the London *Jewish Chronicle*. The inscription כשר של פסח Kasher for Passover, copied erroneously from labels on Passover goods, also embellished the document. The defendants were fined \$9,000, and the magistrate, Sir Thomas Graham, strongly denounced the forgery.

At about the same time, the *Protocols* were being exploited also on another front. An Irish Catholic priest, Father Denis Fahey, published in 1935 a lengthy work entitled *The Mystical Body of Christ in the Modern World*, in which an attempt was made to show that Bolsheviks, Freemasons, and others were united in a conspiracy to overthrow the divine dispensation of the world, as revealed in the teachings of the Church. Although professing not to make use of the *Protocols* on account of their doubtful character, Fahey took pains to draw his readers' attention to their existence, and in a later edition (1938) claimed, as had Hitler before him, that if the document was not actually written in the circumstances alleged by the anti-Semites, the course of events nevertheless proved that a plot such as it outlined had indeed been concocted. Significantly enough, Fahey made frequent reference, in support of his case, to the writings of persons known to have been associated with the Brasol and kindred groups.

This seemingly "religious" use of the *Protocols* was repeated in the United States, the same year (1938) as Fahey's second edition appeared, by Father Charles E. Coughlin, who published the text serially in his weekly journal *Social Justice*, claiming in the same way that while the document might not be authentic from the literary point of view, it could still be vindicated as genuine by the course of events.

With the introduction of an anti-Jewish plank into the program of Sir Oswald Mosley's British Union of Fascists, the *Protocols* came to be distributed in England also by Blackshirts both from their headquarters in London and at metropolitan and provincial street meetings, where their circulation was supplemented by material known to have been derived from Nazi sources. By this time, however, the spuriousness of the documents was common property, so that the



effect of this propaganda was negligible. The *Protocols* were distributed also at at least one meeting of The Link, an organization founded ostensibly to promote Anglo-German friendship, but really serving as a kind of unofficial propaganda agency for the Nazi regime. (Its founder, Sir Barry Domville, and several of its leading members were interned in 1939, in the interests of national security, shortly after the outbreak of the war.)

In December, 1939, a few days before Franco's anti-Semitic New Year speech, in which an onslaught was launched against Jews and Freemasons, the *Protocols* were produced in a new edition by the extremist Falangist Party in Spain. Five months later, in a special volume produced by the same party, the story of a secret conclave of rabbis plotting world dominion was again revived. This time, however, the scene was laid in Barcelona and the conclave was said to have been broken up by General Franco himself!

Thus, it is apparent that in every case in which they have been exploited, the *Protocols* have served to bolster much the same kind of reactionary tendencies. In Russia, they bolstered the Monarchists against the democrats, and the Imperialists against the Bolsheviks. In Germany, they bolstered the Junkers and the diehard conservatives against the Weimar Republic. In Italy and in Britain they supported the Fascists and totalitarians, as also in Roumania and Spain. Nor was this alignment always accidental. There is abundant evidence that the reactionaries in each country worked in close collaboration, and indeed, that the only international conspiracy to be found in the story of the *Protocols* is that of the reactionaries all over the world, who struck first at the Jews and then at democracy.

See also: ANTI-SEMITISM; CANARDS.

THEODOR H. GASTER.

**Lit.:** Bernstein, H., *The Truth about "The Protocols of Zion"* (1935); Gwyer, J., *Portraits of Mean Men* (1938); Hapgood, Norman, "The Inside Story of Henry Ford's Jew-Mania," *Hearst's International*, June-Nov., 1922; Rask, E., and Brunschwig, G., "Vernichtung einer Fälschung," *Die Gestaltung* (1938); Segel, B. W., *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion. The Greatest Lie in History* (trans. Sascha Czaczkes-Charles, 1934); Wolf, Lucien, *The Myth of the Jewish Menace in World Affairs, or The Truth about the Forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1921); *American Jewish Year Book*, vol. 23 (1921-22) 313-29.

The following works are written from the anti-Jewish point of view: Fleischhauer, U., *Gerichts-Gutachten zum Berner Prozess* (1935); Von Freyenwald, H. J., *Der Berner Prozess, Akten und Gutachten, Erster Band: Anklage und Zeugenaussagen* (1939); Fry, L., *Waters Flowing Eastward* (2nd ed., 1933).

**ELEAZAR**, third son of Aaron and his successor as high priest. During the lifetime of his father Eleazar served as chief over the Levites and as ministering priest. When Aaron ascended mount Hor to die, he was accompanied by Moses and Eleazar, and the latter was then invested with the garments of the office (*Num.* 20:22-29). Eleazar aided Moses in the taking of the final census of the people in the wilderness (*Num.* 26), and participated in the conquest of the land of Canaan. His death is recorded at the end of the book of *Joshua*, but its exact time is not stated; Josephus places it about twenty-five years after the death of

Moses. According to tradition, Eleazar wrote *Iosk.* 24:29-32, dealing with the death of Joshua. He was succeeded in the high priesthood by his son Phinehas and by the latter's descendants up to the time of Eli, who established the line from his brother Ithamar; the original line was again restored by Solomon in the person of Zadok. The critics see in the stories of Eleazar the claims of the various priestly clans that disputed the supreme office.

**ELEAZAR**, the Hasmonean, brother of Judas Maccabeus. In 163 B.C.E. Eleazar met death on the battle field of Beth-Zechariah (*I Macc.* 6:43-46). Here, according to a legend, he was crushed to death by an elephant which he had killed in the belief that it bore in a letter upon its back the king of Syria who was responsible for the oppression of the Jews.

**ELEAZAR**, martyr during the persecutions of the Jews by Antiochus Epiphanes, about 168 B.C.E. According to the account given in *II Macc.* 6:18-31, Eleazar was already of an advanced age ("fourscore years and ten") and was one of the principal religious leaders. He was compelled by force to open his mouth in order that swine's flesh might be thrust into it, but spat it out and preferred a death by scourging to submitting to the royal decree or even pretending to eat the forbidden meat. He was accordingly put to death. There is no reference to Eleazar in rabbinic literature, but scholars agree in accepting the substantial truth of the story as given in *II Maccabees*.

**ELEAZAR BEN ARACH**, Tanna of the second generation who flourished during the 2nd half of the 1st century C.E. He was one of the five favorite disciples of Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai, probably the youngest of the five, as he is mentioned last (*Aboth* 2:18). Rabbi Johanan ben Zakkai considered him superior to all other savants of his day. Thus Abba Saul gave as his opinion, "Were all the sages of Israel placed in one scale, and Eleazar ben Arach in the other, he would outweigh them all" (*Aboth* 2:18). Rabbi Johanan also applied to him the epithet "rising well," meaning an inexhaustible source of original ideas. Once, it is reported, Rabbi Johanan propounded the question, "Which acquisition is best for man to strive for?" The reply offered by Rabbi Eleazar, "A good heart," was preferred by him to all others (*Aboth* 2:9). Rabbi Eleazar was very proficient in the mystical interpretation of the Bible and once, while Rabbi Johanan listened to his discourse on the subject, he exclaimed: "Happy art thou, O Father Abraham, from whose loins sprang Rabbi Eleazar ben Arach" (*Yer. Hag.* ii, 77a).

Only two Halachoth and a few Haggadic sayings are connected with his name. This is probably due partly to the fact that he died at an early age, as may be inferred from a saying of his colleagues (*Tos. Ned.* 6). A more likely reason, however, is the fact that after the death of his teacher, Rabbi Eleazar, upon the advice of his wife, refused to follow his colleagues to Jabneh and went to Emmaus, a resort, where he remained isolated from the other savants of Israel. According to an exaggerated account in the Talmud, Rabbi Eleazar forgot his learning to the extent that he could not even read properly (*Sab.* 147b; *Midrash Eccl.* 7:15). The