



GEORGE SHANKS & THE PROTOCOLS
OF THE ELDERS OF ZION

The Protocols Matrix

ALAN SARGEANT

THE PROTOCOLS MATRIX

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THE AUTHOR

I graduated in Literature & Linguistics at Sheffield Hallam University in 1993 before making the unlikely transition to Information Systems a few years later.

Inspired by the extraordinary success of my former employers, the Drum and Bass Arena I launched Crud Magazine in Sheffield in July 1999. Whilst Crud never achieved the huge commercial success of the 'breakbeat' website, it became something of a refuge for solitary Internet misfits and industry professionals. The site was used primarily as a springboard for emerging writers and as a fuelling station for freelancers looking to maintain a healthy contact base. The magazine's mainstay James Berry went on to work for The Independent, Metal Hammer, Q Magazine. Priya Elan became fashion editor at The Guardian after a stint at the NME. Irfan Shah eventually went on to co-produce and write the critically acclaimed documentary, *The First Film* featuring Sir Tom Courtenay and Sarah Lancashire, whilst veteran editor and reporter, Gary Hill who made several generous and significant contributions, continued to work for *Reuters* in New York where he retired in 2013. In 2005 I moved from Sheffield and embarked on a

languorous life with my young family in the Highlands of
Scotland, where I continue to dodge success on a regular basis. Not
always by design.

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The graphic (cartoon) representation of the George Shanks story features a selection of ‘adjusted’ clips from *Churchill: A Graphic Biography* by Delmas, Regnault & Cammardella, Naval Institute Press, 2020 and Will Eisner’s *The Plot*, Norton 2005.

Foreword

THE TRUTH THE WHOLE TRUTH AND NOTHING ... NOT EVEN THE TRUTH



Let me start by saying I'm not a historian. Which is probably just as well, as this foreword is being written for the sake of other non-historians. On good days I like to think of myself as a 'retro reporter' sleuthing around the stories that should have been sleuthed a little more carefully when they were news the first time around. Many of the narratives of history have much in common with conspiracy theory in that they are bodies of confabulation, made up of distortions, honest lies and sometimes outright invention. Whilst this was certainly true of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, which is a complete fabrication from start to finish, the same charge might also be levelled at everything from *Ten Days that Shook the World* (both the Eisenstein and John Reed versions), to accounts of the American Civil War, the Wall Street Crash and the NATO-backed intervention in Libya in 2011.

I don't know about you but I grew up with this wild idea that 'history' should behave like photorealism, in that it should faithfully restore the events as they happened; that it should be a little bit more like 'real-life'. But history, I've found, can only ever be at best a representational art

form. This is no bad thing in theory, as the most successful modern democracies are all based upon a principle of representation. The problems occur when the principles of history become distorted through cultural or political gain or overly sanitised through diplomacy and international relations; when it becomes less realistic, more figurative and when virtually all the core values of representation have been discarded. And when history starts to act this way it behaves in the same chaotic way as conspiracy theory, jamming and eroding trust in those very same democratic processes it should, by rights, uphold. Instead of providing the broad panoply of facts and viewpoints that could help broaden our understanding of issues — however difficult or unpleasant to hear — it instead gives us the rather narrow scope of a story, usually one that starts and ends with a bang and has another big bang in the middle. And what's more, it's never complete. You can never restore the past down to its last tiny brush stroke. And have you ever noticed that life doesn't really have start times and end times either? Time just keeps on stretching and evolving. Phrases like *'Alan's day started at 6.30am when the alarm clock rung'* are just lies. Alan's day technically started at 12.00am when he was asleep and unconscious and nothing at all interesting was happening.

All of which brings us to the issue of multiple viewpoints. Where is the opinion of my cat in all of this? The cat might say, *"Alan's day got off to a false start when I leapt onto the bed at 1.30 in the morning and was rudely*

ejected from the bedroom with a volley of obscenities by my surly and thankless owner". We left out the view of the cat because its viewpoint a) was not deemed worthy, b) because it didn't really fit the rules of traditional narrative and c) because it made me look cruel and unkind.¹ It's a silly example but it does have its equivalents within the 'serious' historical canon. Afterall, when was the last time you were told what the Cherokee Indians thought of the US Civil War or on whose side some of them fought? What was the workers view of the pharaoh Khufu when they were building his astonishing tomb at Giza? As with DVDs in the late 1990s, the 'multi-angle' feature never really took off with history-makers.² And like most explanations for things in the world today, the reasons for this were probably consumer-led. So next time you find yourself describing your day to a friend, remember that the selection process you embark on, or the 'excitement-algorithm' and 'filter' you apply to your 24 hours of relentless nonsense to make it seem more remarkable, are all part of the lying process. Meaning doesn't spring from things, it is ascribed to things.

¹ This is all set to change. On May 13th 2021 it was announced by the Britain's Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs that animals are to be formally recognised as sentient beings in domestic law (See: Introduction of the Animal Welfare (Sentience) Bill as part of the Government's Action Plan for Animal Welfare, Department for Environment, Food & Rural Affairs and The Rt. Hon Lord Goldsmith, 13 May 2021).

² One notable exception to this in recent years, is Helen Rappaport's 'Caught in the Revolution' (Windmill Books, 2016) which stitches together dozens of parallel viewpoints to paint a picture of what was happening on the ground during the February and October Revolutions of 1917.

The German philosopher Georg Hegel famously said, “The only thing that we learn from history is that we learn nothing from history.” It may well be true, but if it is true then it’s true for one reason only: we learn nothing from history because history all too often provides all the wrong facts and all the wrong lessons — either as the result of hubris, or through politics or some overriding impulse to prove a point (confirmation bias). The past is only a prison if the lies that put you in inside in the first place have never been fully understood or exposed. And yet, as we have found with *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, sometimes exposing the lies doesn’t always guarantee that everybody will be released. The truth doesn’t always provide the mass-amnesty we’d all been hoping for.

Conspiracy theory narratives, much like ‘justice narratives’, take root so deeply in our world because they conform to all the core principles of history-making; there’s a hero and there’s a villain, and there’s some kind of conflict or challenge going on in between (usually regarding ‘the truth’). Interestingly enough, winning the justice narrative has featured as prominently in the tropes and pledges of Donald Trump and Nigel Farage as it did it in the library of crackpot books found in Bin Laden’s compound.³ Each of them told a story of righting wrongs and restoring

³ The books recovered by Navy Seals at Bin Laden’s compound in Abbottabad ranged from those of reasonable enquiry to those completely beyond our orbit. Among them were *Necessary Illusions: Thought Control in Democratic Societies* by Noam Chomsky, John Coleman's *Conspirators' Hierarchy: The Committee of 300*, David Ray Griffin's *New Pearl Harbor: Disturbing Questions about the Bush Administration and 9/11*, Eustace Mullins's *Secrets of the Federal Reserve* and Fritz Springmeier's *Bloodlines of the Illuminati*.

balances. The ill deeds of men rise like smoke in the valley of ashes, and the work of the Conspiracy Theorist has been to negotiate a path through it to a promised land where the air is clean and the ground more giving. These little books of conspiracies are the ‘fantastic farms’ of the pious mind, desperate to restore the moral integrity of a God that now rules without conscience. They are the Catchers in the Rye, stopping slippages, restoring innocence. There’s the terrestrial paradise that is the past, and the cruel, careless amusement park that is the future. The task of the Conspiracy Theorist is to prevent the fall from the world they know into the hell of a world they don’t know — a kind of cultural Metathesiophobia, a fear of change. Mass migration just provides the trigger.

Theology’s collision with pulp fiction has given rise to a whole new literary genre: pop-eschatology — a post-apocalyptic tussle with a pre-apocalyptic world in which the random casualties of poorly regulated banking practices and realpolitik are habitually recast as the unsuspecting dupe in an elaborate global sting. If the State is God then all things happen for a reason, however dreadful. Or so the logic goes. Umberto Eco once said that “to survive you must tell stories”,⁴ and that is essentially what these ghouls were doing here when they produced *The Protocols*; they were snatching bodies from charnel house of text to create a lumbering patchwork monster. And it was only in unpicking these bones and

⁴ *The Island of the Day Before*, Umberto Eco, Random House, 2014, p.207

rearticulating those skeletal remains that would reveal the story for what it was — a lie.

The key to *The Protocols*' success is fairly simple; lies are even easier to maintain if they report something that happened long ago, when all the evidence to the contrary has been very conveniently buried beneath a landslide of other events and distractions. And it's for this very reason *The Protocols* has been pulled-out and re-served by various 'truth-seekers' for over a century. It was Jean Baudrillard's belief that as humanity adjusts to globalization the modern world is not moving toward the end of history but "going into reverse". Whether it is the aggressive determination of the Islamic State to return to the 'Golden Age' that flourished under the Abbassid Dynasty of the Middle Ages or the collective nostalgia of nationalist provocateurs and time-travellers (or time traders) like Donald Trump and Nigel Farage, there appears to be an increasing appetite for re-setting the world clock to zero and recycling the world of the past. My own feeling is that old and modern conspiracy narratives have played no small role in this trend, in the same way populist folklore and mythology could be said to have propagated and supported the paranoid fantasies of the Völkisch and Nazi movements of the early 20th Century. The matrix of past, present and future becomes clogged with glupe, and the clear paths that history should provide become congested. The past has invaded our national immune system in such a devastating fashion that the supporters

of Trump, ISIS or Farage are doing what the body does at the onset of a virus. They are flooding us with past experiences, past triumphs and past joys that act like neutrophils on the infected area. In this respect nostalgia is the cultural equivalent of a runny nose. The more imminent the danger posed by an uncertain future, the larger the dose released. In many ways it reminds me of what Jean Baudrillard described in *Simulacra and Simulations*: what society seeks through production, and overproduction, is the restoration of the real which escapes it. To those of us who struggle to cope with the world's increasing evanescence, and its lack of authenticity, the past is significantly more real (and much safer) than the present.

So that's my grumble; Conspiracy Theory narratives have become a deeply infectious carrier of extremist discourse whose ability to replicate and spread has increased exponentially with the arrival of the Internet, and the failures of reporting and history-making have become part of the debilitating exchange mechanism that not only helps to perpetuate intellectual anti-Semitism throughout the world, but other injustices too. The lapses, omissions and internal contradictions create gaps in our understanding, and it is these 'gaps' that the poisonous spores of conspiracy theory take root. Left with little or no option but to fill the gaps with emotional thinking preferences or by virtue of importing patterns from elsewhere, the Conspiracy Theorist adopts the story as her or her

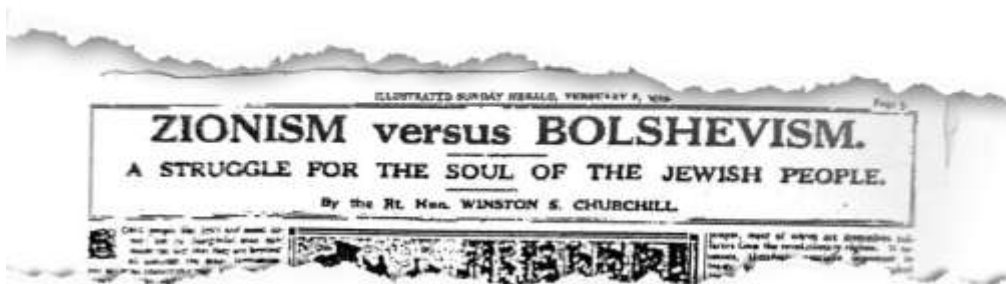
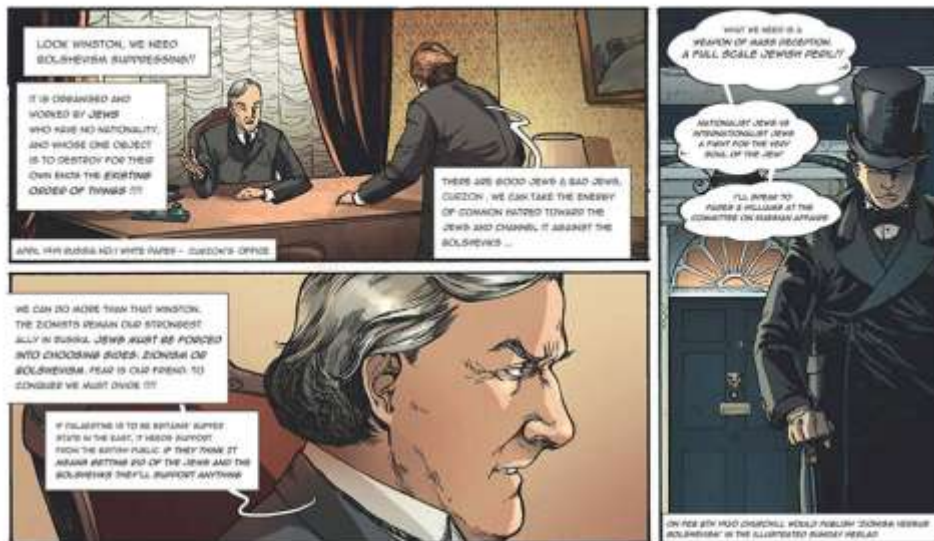
own 'host'. We are all conspiracy theorists to one degree or another, whether it's believing in some secret divine plan, or subscribing to the 'outrageous fantasy' that Tony Blair and George Bush Jnr. conspired to fool the world over the existence of *Weapons of Mass Destruction*. Such theories are defined by the rules of a class-based system much like any other. Some are tolerated more than others, that's all.⁵

In many ways this is a guidebook to a book that hasn't been written yet, compiled loosely under headings arranged in order of their dominance in the point I'm trying to prove; namely that the author of the English translation of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was not some 'lone wolf' extremist out to exact revenge but part of an organized response by senior members of the British Establishment to a perceived revolutionary threat: the Bolsheviks of Russia. Although some of the evidence rests on the discovery of an article printed in Lord Alfred Douglas's *Plain English* journal of January 1921 ('The Blue Faced Ape of Horus', see: pp. 56-59, p.93, p. 213) a wealth of supporting evidence can be drawn from the people Shanks knew, the people he worked for and from the analogous concerns of the anti-Communist campaign being rolled-out at this time. As with most historical narratives, there is someone or something on trial and a

⁵ I have wondered whether conspiracy narratives are just one way of restoring the omnipotence of the state who have, to some extent, replaced God at the centre of a vacuum universe.

case being made to prove their innocence or guilt, or in this case of George Shanks, how it may be a little bit of both.

The 'truth' may not be out there, but rather a lot of overlooked details regarding the book that refused to die *are* out there. You just have to want to look.



An Introduction

The Most Deadly Deep Fake in History

THE ASS OF BALAAM



The former Russian Revolutionary Vladimir Burtsev, who was something of an expert on *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, once used an Italian proverb to describe his feelings about the hoax and the variety of emotions that they would often arouse: “*Books sometimes have their own history*”. Sergei Nilus, the first man to publish the work in his own name went one better. When confronted with the truth about its fabrication he nonchalantly rolled out the following explanation: “*Did not the ass of Balaam utter prophecy? Cannot God transform the bones of a dog into sacred miracles? If he can do these things, he can also make the announcement of truth come from the mouth of a liar*”⁶ What he was saying was this: it didn’t matter that the book was a fabrication because the message it was conveying was true.⁷

⁶ B'nai B'rith Messenger, June 17 1921, p. 6

⁷ Pierre-André Taguieff reveals that Hitler applied much the same BS principle of ‘inversion rhétorique’ in *Mein Kampf*, even going so far as to say that all the arguments in favour of their inauthenticity served as evidence as they were authentic. See: *Hitler, Les Protocoles des Sages de Sion et Mein Kampf* (2020), Pierre-André Taguieff. Exegesis or eisegesis?

Over the last five years the post-truth politics of Donald Trump has expressed much the same thing, only more succinctly; it's not the facts that count; it's the emotions that the 'facts' communicate. Like all the best bits out of the Bible — the story of the three wise-men, the story of the loaves and the fishes, the raising of the dead, Captain Nemo's Nautilus submarine moored off the shores of Galilee waiting to whisk the disciples away after the hurly-burly of the crucifixion — when anyone has the audacity to question the scientific or historical basis for any of this, it's routinely trotted out that irrespective of their dubiety, it really doesn't matter whether any of these events really happened or not as they all possessed an 'inner-truth'. And the very same thing might be said of how different generations have responded to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. And not only that, the same might also be said of how people have responded to the history of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. But before we get stuck within an infinitely recursive loop and lose ourselves in the debilitating quicksand of the historical meta-narrative, let's slip a handful of coins to the ferryman and try to get back to the beginning. Well almost the beginning. The beginning would be when unseen forces within the Russian Secret Police stitched *The Protocols* together from the fabric of earlier satires and fictions and re-served them to the world as a factual account of a global Jewish plot through Tsarist soothsayer, Serge Nilus in 1905. It was living proof of what scholar and novelist, Umberto Eco had said all along: *all books spoke of other books, and every story told a story that had*

*already been told.*⁸ It wouldn't quite be the beginning, but then nothing ever was. Instead, we'll go back to the second beginning when the harmless seeds of invention have fully bloomed into something more dangerous.

History records that the first British translation of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* — revived under the altogether more sensational and urgent title, *The Jewish Peril*⁹ — was the work of one single, embittered émigré, George Shanks in January 1920. But even this, we must now concede, isn't entirely true as letters discovered in the 1970s reveal that George Shanks had been assisted in his translation by Major Edward Griffiths George Burdon, soon to be Major Burdon *OBE*, as a result of an honour he picked-up in the 1919 Queen's Birthday Honours List.¹⁰ I also discovered recently that Shanks may have been working as a PA in Central Government at the time that he carried out the translation, something that has never been fully explored. The story told by historians like Colin Holmes, Gisela Lebzelter and Sharman Kadish is that the 24 year-old Anglo-Russian had arrived penniless in Britain

⁸ The issue is discussed in Eco's novel, *The Name of the Rose*, and forms the basis of his later novel *Prague Cemetery*, a fictitious history of the origins of The Protocols.

⁹ Shanks' phrase 'The Jewish Peril' originally featured on placards and red posters attributed to Édouard Drumont and the anti-Semitic League during the notorious Dreyfus Affair in France in the late 1800s (Advent of Nemesis, Daily Mail, July 26 1899). The events are believed to have had some influence on Herzl's decision to hold the first Zionist Conference in Basel in 1897, a gathering that became the inspiration for Golovinski's *Protocols*. Herzl's close friend was Bernard Lazare, an early supporter of Dreyfus. See: *Le Peuple Juif, Conférence Faite à la Salle du Grand Occident, 29 Juin 1900* /Edouard Drumont, p.8

¹⁰ *Supplement to the London Gazette 21st August 1919*, Temporary Major Edward Griffiths George Burdon, O.B.E (Special List), 0613. The Special List is a reference to officers who may have had ordnance, linguistic or intelligence skills.

after he and his fabulously wealthy family had their jewellery business requisitioned and their assets in Moscow seized by Lenin's gun-toting swarm of Bolsheviks in the immediate aftermath of the October Revolution in 1917.¹¹ A mixture of confabulation and wishful thinking would shape the myths that followed; Shanks had been a member of the early British fascist group, *The Britons* (there's no evidence of this), he had been a contributor to the right-wing *Morning Post* under the editorship of H. A. Gwynne (there's no evidence of this either, and the letters discovered in the 1970s show that H.A. Gwynne wasn't even aware of his existence).¹² In fact, it's extraordinary to think that it took us this long to realise that there was something wrong with the narrative. But even in spite of the evidence to the contrary, which has been systematically downplayed, ignored or not investigated, the legend has evolved that the book published by *Eyre & Spottiswoode* in January 1920 was put together and delivered by a single acrimonious and anonymous exile. It wouldn't be the first time that a lone-wolf theory has dominated analysis of right-wing extremism in Europe (or America). Eccentric oddballs are, in the absence of any real sense of cultural responsibility, a more convenient and consumable way of conceptualising the evils that exist within a dominant hierarchical group or a diffuse network of individuals whose aims or

¹¹ For more on the Shanks Family see: <https://shanks-family.org>

¹² Britons Archive, Chawleigh, R.H. Cust to H.A. Gwynne, 11 Feb 1920/Plain English, Correspondence, Feb 5 1921, no.31, vol. II

ideologies are more likely to be shared by the ruling system, or whose actions in some way threaten to expose a chain of poor decisions made at the highest level (whether by Intelligence and Security agencies, religious institutions or elected ministers).

30, 000 initial copies of the book were prepared for the press originally. Shanks is alleged to have solicited an original Russian copy of the book from the British Museum in autumn of 1919, carried out a translation and then approached the highly respectable government printers, *Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd* with an order to produce a staggering 30,000 copies of the book at his own expense (by contrast only 20,000 copies of F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby* were pressed by *Charles Schiber's Sons* during its initial run in June 1925). The anonymous publication of the book was then followed by a promotional campaign that had been so professionally devised that practically all of Britain's national and regional newspapers had received a copy for review by the first week of February 1920. Any curiosity about the pamphlet's anonymous author (who may or may not have existed) came to a premature end in July 1920 when another version of *The Jewish Peril*, this time published under the name of *The Britons*¹³ formed the basis of a series of

¹³ The Britons was a proto-British fascist group founded in July 1919. On page 19 of his book, Lucien Wolf claims that there was reason to believe that *The Jewish Peril* had been "engineered by a more substantial hand reaching out stealthily from the arcanum of German Militarist Reaction", a phrase first used by the Manchester Guardian on May 7 1920. Quoting the Socialists newspaper, *Freiheit*, they describe an unholy alliance between General Neil Malcolm, General Mannerheim and various Polish, Romanian, Finnish 'White Guards' against

blistering articles published in the *Morning Post*. Almost immediately, any counter-challenges being made by the likes of Lucien Wolf focused on the claims being made in Gwynne's *Morning Post* and not on the source of the original anonymous pamphlet. It may have been an exact copy of the First Edition pamphlet printed-up by Shanks, but it was the Britons who stole most of the credit and eventually took on all of the blame. And it's on The Britons that the blame has rested for the best part a hundred years, historians routinely sidestepping some of the claims made by Lord Alfred Douglas in January and February 1921, which left a more embarrassing breadcrumb trail to the door of the British Establishment. Conspiracy or confabulation? Deception or 'honest lying'? It's really very difficult to know. It is, however fair to say that the book's basis in fabrication, and its immersion in misinformation has been faithfully extended to its own ongoing historiography. The outcome couldn't have been more apt; I had found myself exploring the fake history of fake news.

All culpability was subsequently heaped on The Britons, who had no idea that Shanks even existed until June 1920, when the group began negotiating a deal with the 24-year old pamphleteer to use his translation in

Lenin's Bolsheviks in the Ukraine and Poland (see: The Myth of the Jewish Menace in World Affairs, Lucien Wolf, 1921, p. 19/'French and British Complicity', Manchester Guardian, May 7 1920, p.20).

their own publication of *The Jewish Peril*.¹⁴ The original author slipped away unnoticed and remained incognito for some sixty years. How a man who had arrived ‘penniless’ and broken in Britain little more than a year before was in any position to pay such a huge sum of money to the highly reputable printers of ‘His Majesty’s Stationery Office’¹⁵ has never been explained. However, after reviewing what we do know about Mr Shanks and after exploring his family background and career in a little more detail, the story that emerges about the British revival of *The Protocols* is very different to the one we know. Contrary to what has been assumed over the years, the translation and publication of the first British version of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (*The Jewish Peril*) in January 1920 appears not to have been the vitriolic outcome of a single penniless émigré getting his own back on the ‘Jewish’ Bolsheviks, but part of a complex propaganda offensive supported by Winston Churchill and more than likely conceived of by the very capable pro-Interventionist lobby, the *Committee on Russian Affairs*, during the last

¹⁴ Frank Dashwood Fowler (former engineer of the India Public Works Dept) acted as mediator between Shanks and the group. The author Nik Toczec covers this in his book, ‘Haters, Baiters and Would-Be Dictators’, Routledge, 2016. Fowler chaired the ‘The Society for Upholding Political Honour’ with former Chief of the British Legation in Bulgaria (Balkans), Sir Henry Bax-Ironside who assisted the *Committee of Russian Affairs*’ Sir George Buchanan and Ralph Paget in Russian (Guchkov) efforts to create a Balkan League (Rumanian Studies, Vol.III, Rumania and the Great Powers before 1914, Paul W. Schroder, p.16). Bax-Ironside eventually became a founding member of the Liberal’s anti-Bolshevik pressure group, Liberty League with John Hanbury-Williams who served with the Russian High Command for Britain in WW1 (The Times March 3 1920, p.12). A report of the group’s launch in The Times on March 3 1920 was followed by a very supportive letter from Shank’s uncle Aylmer Maude at the National Liberal Club (To the Editor of The Times, March 4 1920, p.10)

¹⁵ Political anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939, Gisela C. Lebzelter, p.21

desperate hours of the Russian Civil War. I'll be writing all this up in full at a later date, but the basic gist of it all is this, and I'll try and present in the simplest of terms.

THE BOLSHEVIK PERIL

Vladimir Lenin's Bolsheviks seized power from the Provisional Kerensky Government (who had already dethroned Tsar Nicholas II) in October 1917, replacing the temporary 'Liberal' regime with a more maximalist communist hardcore, who rejected the governing apparatus of democracy in favour of a more authoritarian power centre representing the interests of the 'proletariat'. This totally unexpected event destroyed not only the war aims of the Allies but also the trade and mineral negotiations that the allies had been carrying out with Imperial Russia during the December 1916 to October 1917 period. The Bolsheviks removed Kerensky and the Provisional Government, seized his government buildings, arrested those defending them, signed a deal with Germany to end the war (the Brest-Litvosk Treaty in March 1918) and executed the Tsar and all his immediate family. They then embarked on a violent campaign of seizing the assets of Russian monarchists (the Russians with all the money) before systematically uncoupling all the various democratic mechanisms that had been put optimistically in place by Kerensky's short-lived Constitutional Government in the spring and summer

of 1917. The guarantees of Full or Equal Rights offered to the Jews of Russia in the immediate euphoria of the February Revolution ¹⁶, were immediately negated by Lenin whose vision for International Communism made all other religious or ethnic identities invalid. All cultural or spiritual aspirations were to be subordinated to the Soviet. Their dreams were now your dreams.

By the end of 1914, over £60 million had already been loaned by the Brits to Russia. The figure had increased substantially by October 1917 as promises were made, and deals thrashed out over Russia's considerable oil and copper resources. When the Bolsheviks seized power, all Russia's national loans and debts were cancelled by Lenin. If Britain France and America were to stand any chance of retrieving the vast fortunes lost in the loans and re-setting the campaign against Germany, it had little option but to join the counter-revolution against the Bolsheviks on the North Western front. *And fast.* Arriving in Murmansk just one day after the Brest-Litvosk Treaty had been signed the allies would form a loose coalition of anti-Communist forces (traditionally known as the 'pro-White Movement'). Among them were the armies of the Brits, the United States, France, in addition to a spirited but inexperienced foreign legion of able-bodied men that included the Serbs, the Poles, the Czechs, some Zionists, and a small number of Italians.

¹⁶ *Progress of Russian Jewish Emancipation*, The Hebrew Standard, 22 June 1917, p.21

As far as the British public were concerned we were there to safeguard supplies and provide logistical and tactical support to the White Russian Generals Wrangel, Yudenich, Kolchack and Deniken in their fight with Lenin's Bolsheviks and restore Tsar Nicholas II to the throne or, at the very least, the former Prime Minister Kerensky or the Grand Duke Michael as leaders. Unofficially we were there to engage in combat and destroy 'the Reds'. British Prime Minister David Lloyd George favoured 'limited' intervention. His Munitions Minister, Sir Winston Churchill favoured an all-out ground and air assault. And it was this division among British ministers that saw the whole thing fall apart. The allies had arrived in Russia in March 1918 and by October 1919 the British and Americans had pulled out, allowing Lenin's formidable Red Army to march into Archangel in February 1920 and declare an emphatic victory over 'the Whites'. The date of their triumph, coincidentally enough, coincided with the publication of Shanks' *Jewish Peril* and the execution of White Russian leader, General Kolchak. But this was not the end of it. The increasingly isolated pro-White Movement refused to concede defeat and ramped-up efforts to restore Britain and America's full commitment to Wrangel's forces, Kolchak's armies having already pushed out of the way when the Reds stormed Omsk in January (his failure to pledge rights to Jews and ethnic minorities having lost him the support of the Socialist Revolutionaries and other separatists fighting with him). As Allied forces withdrew, the main focus of British, French and American efforts shifted to

stalling the development of diplomatic relations with Lenin's Soviet. The war was now on trade. All energies were now being poured into resisting the inevitable calls to recognise Lenin's Bolshevik Soviet as the official government of Russia and start the inevitable negotiations.

THE COMMITTEE ON RUSSIAN AFFAIRS

The man who had been leading Britain's 'Secret War' with the Bolsheviks was Winston Churchill, the former Munitions Minister now serving as Secretary of War in David Lloyd-George's Liberal Coalition Government and the Prime Minister's fiercest critic on the uncommonly 'difficult' Bolshevik issue. Responding to a mixture of war-weariness from veterans unwilling to return to combat and divided sentiments among left-wing and Liberal Brits who believed, to varying degrees, that despite the unfavourable outcome of the Bolshevik victory, the October Revolution was legitimate and justified, Lloyd-George had always resisted efforts among back-bench Liberals and Conservatives to launch full scale military intervention in the counter-revolution in Russia. As a result of Churchill's efforts, a special pro-Interventionist lobby had been formed to pressure the government (and convince the public) that Russia needed our support to remove the gate-crashing Bolsheviks. In July 1918 the *Committee on Russian Affairs* was formed under the patronage and direction of the former British Ambassador to

Russia, George Buchanan. The Committee had the support of Britain's most resourceful wartime propaganda specialists: Sir Bernard Pares, John Buchan, Harold Williams and Hugh Walpole — the very men who had formed the backbone of the *British Russian Bureau* that had worked so closely and so diligently alongside Military Intelligence in Petrograd during the war. Shortly after their formation, the British War Cabinet requested that a White Paper be drawn up that would give a blow by blow account of the Bolshevik abuses being carried out in Russia. If Britain was to go 'all out' with Lenin's Bolsheviks after the Armistice had been declared, then its Coalition Government would need a firm moral basis to convince both its public and its Prime Minister to enter another war.

The report, which would eventually become known as the *Russia No. 1 White Paper* (April 1919) — and more informally as the 'Bolshevik Atrocity Blue Book' — made frantic efforts to portray Lenin's Bolsheviks as power-hungry Jewish radicals out to unleash their venom and frustration on the capitalist world at large. The war with Germany had officially ended and decisions would need to be made about continuing British efforts on the North Western front. For the White Russian generals leading the counter-revolution against the Bolsheviks, time was running out, and allied support was fading.

The *Daily Chronicle*, whose commentaries on the latest developments in Russia were being peddled by Intelligence and propaganda man, Harold

Williams, was the first to draw attention to the fact (inaccurately for the most part) that practically all of the main Bolshevik officials were Jewish (and just quite possibly Lenin too). The magazine *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, the official organ of the *National War Aims Committee* chaired by Churchill's cousin (and Chief Liberal Whip) Freddie Guest repeated the claims just one week later.¹⁷ By the time that the *Russia No.1* report was published, Sir Mansfeldt Findlay chief of the Legation in Christiana was able to provide all the clarity and sense of moral purpose that was needed to move things forward. In a telegraphic to the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour dated September 17th 1918, Findlay had written:

"I consider that the immediate suppression of Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the war which is still raging, and unless, as above stated, Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world, as it is organised and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things. The only manner in which this danger could be averted would be collective action on the part of all Powers."

¹⁷ *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, Issue 97, November 17th 1917, p.4. The report was a reworking of an article published Harold William's *Daily Chronicle* on November 10th 1917 in which the real 'Jewish' names of several Bolshevik ministers were revealed.

— Russia No.1 White Paper (April 1919) A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia, p.6

Allied efforts staggered on for a further six months before Britain and America finally withdrew its forces. A wave of strikes was spreading south from Glasgow and chaos was breaking out at military bases throughout the country as men grew restless at the government's slow response in demobilising its units. Everybody just wanted to go home, reclaim their jobs, reclaim their families, reclaim their freedom, reclaim their lives.

Despite Britain's eventual withdrawal from North Russia in October 1919, it was being reported in January 1920 that Churchill was now talking of 'possible new military commitments' to stave-off the 'Bolshevik Peril' in the Near East.¹⁸ Britain's new War Secretary was simply not prepared to give up.

Churchill had first made use of the word 'peril' in a cautionary address in Sunderland in the first week of January 1920. Explaining the plans of the Bolsheviks — the “enemies of civilisation” to the crowd in the Spen Valley, Churchill roared that they were “out to destroy capital” and “sought to control monopolies” of the world: *“they seek to exterminate every form of religious*

¹⁸ ‘*A Peril That Must Be Faced*’, Daily Mail, Jan 15th 1920, p.6/‘Our Policy Against Bolshevism’, Daily Mail, Jan 16 1920, p.6

*belief that had given comfort and inspiration to the soul of man. They believe in the International Soviet of the Russian and Polish Jew”, he went on.*¹⁹

But where does George Shanks fit into any of this? Well according to at least two sources George was working in the Chief Whips office at the time that he completed his translation of *The Jewish Peril*.²⁰ However, if these sources are correct, it would perhaps be fairer to say that Shanks was working in the office of Churchill’s cousin and advisor, Freddie Guest, chairman of the *National War Aims Committee* during the war. Contrary to popular legend, Shanks hadn’t arrived in England a penniless refugee in the aftermath of the Bolshevik Revolution, he’d come to England as a student where he’d enrolled at the University of London before the war. Shanks’ uncle, Aylmer Maude, a respected Russian scholar and translator and friend of Tolstoy, was a close associate of Britain’s foremost Russian Scholar, Sir Bernard Pares. Like their mutual friend Harold Williams, Maude and Pares were senior academic

¹⁹ Evening Mail, January 05 1920, p. 2. It seems unlikely that Churchill invented the phrase “Bolshevik Peril” but it certainly made regular appearances in press headlines pushing Churchill’s fears in various reports from November 1918 onwards. The actual phrase may have first appeared Germany. It’s one of the phrases that were popular in headlines during the war to convey a sense of imminent danger. I’d hazard a guess that it was a stock phrase used by the press in headlines of the period then recycled by Churchill and the pro-Interventionist movement. Shanks’ use of the phrase certainly suggests an awareness of press tactics. The best you might say is that there’s some evidence of linguistic and rhetorical congruity: it exists in, or rather inherits, a strong and rather specific semantic context (i.e. ‘Jewish Peril’ as a deliberate Semantic cognate of ‘Bolshevik Peril’). The highest number of times the phrase is used by the press occurs during the landing of British forces in Murmansk in March 1919.

²⁰ *Political anti-Semitism in England, 1918-1939*, Gisela C. Lebzelter, 1978, notes no.34/37, p.182, MS, Shanks, File Nr.1 (Britons), Box B Gwynne Papers (University College of Swansea); Britons Archive, Chawleigh, R.H. Cust to H.A. Gwynne, 11 Feb 1920/Plain English, Correspondence, Feb 5 1921, no.31, vol. II]

figures at the School of Russian Studies at Liverpool University. As anti-Bolshevik panic and hysteria began to increase during the autumn of 1918, the three of them, 'Uncle Aylmer' included, were recruited into the pro-Interventionist lobby, the *Committee on Russian Affairs*.²¹ Maude had an even more hands-on role to play, being deployed at the Government's request to give lectures to the troops on behalf of the YMCA in Archangel, 'ground zero' of the counter-revolution taking place on the North Western Front.²² Maude had arrived in Archangel in November 1918, and by February 1919 had replaced Morgan Philips Price as correspondent at the Manchester Guardian.

Philips Price's job at the Manchester Guardian had been terminated rather abruptly when Sir Basil Thomson, ex-Chief of CID and Director of British Intelligence at the Home Office, began pressuring the Guardian's editor, C.P. Scott into removing his reporter for shamelessly pushing pro-Bolshevik propaganda. The situation couldn't have been any more ironic. In 1916 Scott had been played a key role in setting up the *War Propaganda Bureau* under the *Department of Information* with Lord Northcliffe in 1916.²³ His former

²¹ In her *Russian Liberalism and British Journalism: the life and work of Harold Williams* (1876-1928) C. Alston refers to it as the Central Russian Committee, p.171. In his book *Vladimir Burtsev & the Struggle for Free Russia* (2017) Robert Henderson refers to it as Committee on Russian Affairs, p.214.

²² Chelmsford Chronicle, 25 October 1918, p.3.

²³ Sunday Post 04 August 1918, p.4/ Memorandum on sixth report from the Select Committee on National Expenditure, Herbert Samuel (House of Commons Paper no. 9 of 1918), 1918,

colleagues on the advisory board were now pushing for a propaganda approach on Russia that would have considerably less subtlety and more in the way of bite. If anybody should have known propaganda when they saw it, it was Scott.

Letters and files available in the Mi5 archives reveal the lengths that Thomson went to have Philips Price removed from the Manchester Guardian, whilst letters in the Guardian's *Rylands Collections* reveal Maude's timely and generous offer to provide a series of reports that would put a more positive case forward for 'limited intervention'.²⁴ If Maude hadn't put forward his services when he did, it's entirely possible that Scott would have retained M. Philips Price, who would have received little more than a slap on the wrist for breaking the protocol.

Command papers, CD. 9201, XV.287, vol. 15, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers

²⁴ Morgan Philips Price, TNA, KV2 566, 568/Rylands Collection, Guardian Collection, Editorial Correspondence of C.P. Scott, Letter from Alymer Maude to the Editor, Jan 17 1919, GDN/A/P53/16

STILL COURTING CONTROVERSY

I am perfectly aware that many of these revelations won't be popular. This is an entirely fresh look at the pamphlet's translation and publication, rather like coming out of a dark tunnel and reengaging with the light. For a time the eyes can remain quite sensitive, the brain can become disorientated and the light can sting. Churchill remains a hugely divisive figure, who's belligerent, erratic genius, clearly played a decisive factor in inspiring millions of Britons to triumph over Nazi Germany in May 1945. Despite the efforts of recent biographers like Geoffrey Wheatcroft to reassess the "unpopular, error-prone, reckless" flipside of the British Prime Minister, the call will inevitably go up that "Churchill saved Britain. End of story".²⁵ For this reason, the actions of the men included in this guide, need to be viewed in a very unique context, and within a very unique and dramatic sequence of events. We also have to acknowledge the pressure that Britain was under to 'square-off' the press and the public, as they responded to the report on the anti-Semitic abuses being carried out by our various allies in Poland and Russia. That *The Protocols* coincided with attempts to delay the reports of Sir Stuart Samuel into the pogroms in Poland (which threatened to de-rail the anti-Bolshevik campaign for good) might also be seen as the mitigating factor in pushing the country's

²⁵ 'Unpopular, error-prone, reckless: is it time to reassess Winston Churchill?', Geoffrey Wheatcroft, The Times, August 8th 2021/*Churchill saved Britain. End of story*, Letters to the Editor, August 15 2021

most visceral anti-Socialists to such disturbing, drastic actions. By the time that the *Jewish Peril* was published in May 1920, Britain and her allies had found themselves encountering a series of sudden crises both on the foreign and domestic fronts. Revolution was in the air. That previous November, Colonel Wedgewood had asked Churchill if mercy could be exercised in the case of Samuel Adelson and fifty-three other Jewish American soldiers of the Britain's 38th and 39th Royal Fusiliers charged with mutiny in Palestine the previous year (Mutiny Court-Martial, Palestine, 03 November 1919, Volume 120). The disturbances had arisen from issues of demobilisation and to the treatment of the men in the battalion. A rash of army and naval mutinies were breaking out elsewhere too. Despite the fact that the war had ended, millions of men were still waiting to be demobilised. As unemployment grew, those men who had returned from war were perceived as being vulnerable to a small but persuasive minority of ex-servicemen's unions with a snarling militant bent.²⁶ In February 1920, ex-staff Sergeant, Arthur Henry Wagstaff, clad in 14ft chains, was arrested in Paisley, after a mammoth nationwide tour of British towns and cities, petitioning the government to improve the treatment and rights of its ex-soldiers and demanding an immediate discharge for individuals convicted of mutinous offences. When he had arrived to a fanfare at Downing Street, the expression he used to describe Lloyd George ('the

²⁶ The National Association of Discharged Sailors and Soldiers (NADSS) and the National Federation of Discharged and Demobilized Sailors and Soldiers (NRDSS).

Goliath of the Capitalists') carried significant weight in Socialist Revolutionary circles.²⁷ Churchill and the anti-Bolsheviks are likely to have viewed the chains that he was carrying as the portent of an even graver threat. The metaphor had its roots in a phrase lifted from Marx and Engel's Communist Manifesto (1848): "*You have the world to win, and only your chains to lose*".

BOLSHEVIK PLOTS UNMASKED

Responding to an increase in such threats in the last week of January 1919, the British Government had formed, on the request of Sir Walter Long of the British Admiralty, a *Secret Service Committee*.²⁸ The politics of the nation were fast becoming a security issue. The violent demonstrations among dock workers in Glasgow had led certain members of the British government to conclude that a 'revolutionary movement' was gaining ground in Britain's capitals. Sir Walter firmly believed that 'elements of unrest, and what we call Bolshevism' were more 'general' and 'deep-seated' than many had assumed. Later that summer his worst fears were being realised when Bolshevik courier, Aksel Zachariassen, was arrested in Camberwell, London. He was accused of being a personal emissary to Lenin and suspected of carrying plans for a mass

²⁷ 'Chained Man in Downing Street', Sheffield Independent, 16 October 1919, p.1/*Prison for the Man in Chains*, Daily Mirror 17 February 1920', p.2/

²⁸ Security Service Organisation, 1918-1939 Reports of the Secret Service Committee, File KV4/151, National Archives.

strike devised by Russia for May Day 1920.²⁹ But Zachariassen was just the tip of the iceberg. The press were now reporting that Britain was literally teeming with Bolshevik messengers who were rumoured to have among them, members of the British Army taken prisoner during the allied intervention in the Russian Civil War. It was further alleged that these soldiers had been enrolled into ‘propaganda schools’ and coerced into supporting revolutionary activities in Britain, scheduled for 1920.³⁰ As far as Churchill was concerned Britain was sleepwalking into revolution.³¹ By February 8th 1920 he had made his first definitive statement linking Jewish Bolshevism with a secret global conspiracy. It came in the form of a 2000 word article for Edward Hulton’s *Illustrated Sunday Herald* in which the 45-year old War Secretary made a desperate appeal to Britain’s Jews to prove that Bolshevism was not a “Jewish movement” by putting the full weight of their support behind Zionism and the securing a national homeland in Palestine.³² In the appalling, chaotic aftermath of 9-11, George W. Bush had issued a similar ultimatum to Muslims the world

²⁹ *Traitor’s Within*, Herbert T. Fitch, Hurst & Blackett, Ltd., 1933, p.83/ Dundee Evening Telegraph 08 August 1919, p.1

³⁰ *Bolshevist Gold*, Manchester Evening News 08 August 1919, p.5

³¹ For a timeline of all these events see: *Man in Chains, Arthur Henry Wagstaff and the 1919 Revolution*, October 3 2019 at <https://www.monocledmutineer.co.uk/man-in-chains/>

³² The newspaper’s editor was American, Henry Leyford Gates (1878-1937), whose Armenian genocide film, *The Auction of Souls* was produced as part of a propaganda campaign against the Ottomans in the Near East in 1919. The film would play a key role in Churchill’s war with the Bolsheviks and Ottoman Empire. His other papers included *La Francaise* in Paris and the *New York American* (1917 – under William Randolph Hearst). Its graphic scenes were heavily censored in Britain (‘Banned Film’, *The Globe*, Jan 19 1920, p.1). Also wrote the 1928 Bolshevik propaganda film, *The Red Dance*.

over: “*you are either with us, or against us*”. As R.W. Apple Jnr. of the *New York Times* would write in the days immediately following Bush’s statement, the White House was reaching into brand new territory as far as international practice was concerned. The war on terrorism was a new kind of war in which there was “no neutral states and no clear geographical confines”. Churchill was saying that the Jews of the world must now choose sides. It was “us or them”. You were either with us or against us.³³ It was a fight against good and evil, light and dark. Within the crude, narrow limits of casual anti-Semitism Churchill had not only drafted a policy for the world’s first war on terror, he had also taken the first blundering steps towards unleashing the dominant logic of the modern era: the politics of bivalence. What had ‘just been a matter of semantics’ was now a *matter of life death semantics*. Just a few months later, the “arch-Jew Lenin” reacted in kind. Addressing education workers at a conference in Moscow, Lenin scored out his vision for a dictatorship of the proletariat along much the same battle lines of bivalence: “*each man must choose between joining our side or the other side. Any attempt to avoid taking sides in this issue must end in fiasco.*”³⁴ By way of testament, Lenin and Bolsheviks had their *Communist Manifesto*. To balance things up, the allies had prepared their own ‘Weapon of Mass Deception’: the *Protocols of the*

³³ ‘*After the Attacks: No Middle Ground*’, *New York Times*, R.W Apple Jnr., September 14, 2001, p.1

³⁴ Bulletin of the All-Russia Conference of Political Education Workers (November 1-8, 1920), Lenin’s *Collected Works*, 4th English Edition, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1965, Volume 31, pages 340-361.

Learned Elders of Zion, specifically re-conditioned and re-commissioned for destruction in the 20th Century.³⁵

There was no middle ground here, and certainly no compromise. The Bolshevik prospectus described by Churchill in his article for Hulton's newspaper contained only one objective: "the overthrow of civilisation and the reconstitution of society on the basis of arrested development, envious malevolence and impossible equality."³⁶ The Jews, Churchill went on, had the "mainspring of every subversive movement in the Nineteenth Century". The "International Jews" as he called the Bolsheviks, were seeking to gratify their lust for blood and revenge" and bring down civilisation.³⁷ At the top of the page beneath the headline was a picture of Churchill on horseback inspecting his troops at the barracks of the 4th Queen's Own Hussars in Aldershot. The regiment had a rather special place in history, having formed the second Calvary line at the Charge of the Light Brigade and the Battle of Balaclava, a clear reference to Britain's previous triumph over the Russians in the Crimea. Churchill was very much back on a war setting and leading the charge.

³⁵ 'Weapons of Deception' is not a phrase I created. It was first used by Will Eisner's. See: *The Plot*, Will Eisner, W.W Norton, 2005, p.114

³⁶ Edward Hulton's *Sunday Herald* had a strong readership in his hometown of Manchester which probably had the largest community of British Jews outside of London. Former Clarion leader Robert Blatchford's contributions to the newspaper also ensured the ears of the patriotic left-wing and democrats. It was a newspaper for the 'common man' and Churchill was a regular contributor.

³⁷ 'Zionism versus Bolshevism', *Illustrated Sunday Herald*, 08 February 1920, p.5

With an already nervous public still reeling from the sinister warnings of Churchill's 'Zionism versus Bolshevism' appeal, news came roaring out of America that another Bolshevik plot had been "unmasked". Documents were said to have been brought before a Senate Committee in the US that revealed evidence of a Bolshevik plot to ignite a Revolution. A courier was found with diamonds to the value of three million roubles with instructions to arm demobilized servicemen. British Police were being told to search for an emissary from Russia who was in Britain with plans from Lenin to launch a Great Strike in May.³⁸ Jews were dealt a more worrying problem still when it was revealed by an anonymous writer in The Times on February 3rd that the Eastern Department of the Commissariat for Foreign Affairs in Moscow had founded a *League for the Liberation of Islam* and was running a virulent propaganda offensive from Berlin on behalf of Lenin's "adopted" political son, Mustafa Kemal.³⁹ The Palestine, Syrian and Egyptian Mandates were suddenly under a palpable new threat. Pan-Islamism was on the rise and it was

³⁸ New York Times, February 28th 1920, p.1, Pall Mall Gazette, 04 March 1920, p.3

³⁹ Kemal had found himself in the unique position of being presented as a threat both as a Muslim and a 'Salonika Jew' (Lenin's World Feelers: Unity of Race, Globe 22 November 1920, p.4). The message being pushed was that Muslims were bad, but 'Jewish Muslims' were even worse. Such was the sweeping nature of their global plot, it was believed that Jews were now impersonating Muslims.

the duty of every Jew and every Christian to rise up and fight against it: the Bolsheviks were in control of the ‘Moslem hordes’.⁴⁰

That the men and women of Britain were now encountering challenges on a totally unprecedented scale — and from an entirely new enemy — shouldn’t be underestimated, as difficult as it now is to distinguish between the hype and the actual dangers that this ‘enemy’ posed. To rouse the British Public to the threats posed by International Communism, the enemy had to be seen as coming from within. It doesn’t make it right, but this is how it was. Just as Anglo-Germans had bore the brunt of Britain’s wartime propaganda offensive, it was now the turn of the British Jew to sop up the anti-Bolshevik bile of the *Committee of Russian Affairs*, the *Liberty League* and that distinctly more venomous group, *The Britons*. It was a toxic mix: the cultural prejudices of the Edwardians were comingling with the ill-defined potions of deception and confabulation; a mixture of distortion, misconception and wilful lies — the chloramines of frustration and poor judgement.

NEW WARS, SAME OLD MISTAKES

On the 16th August 2021, one hundred years to the day since The Times reversed its position on the authenticity of *The Protocols* and exposed it as a

⁴⁰ ‘Red World Plot, Moslem Hordes to be Roused, Germany at Work’, The Times, Feb 03 1920

hoax, the West has found itself at a similar crossroads. After twenty-years of fighting the United States of America and Britain have finally withdrawn from Afghanistan, leaving their former allies with the cruel, impossible task of either surrendering to Taliban forces or falling foul of the Sharia Law that has been dramatically re-imposed as part of a Second Islamic Emirate. The global press furore that has erupted in its wake this week is generally in agreement about one thing: the West has betrayed not only the people of Afghanistan, but those who had fought beside us. The interventionist stance that many of us abhorred has suddenly become a re-interventionist stance that we are now passionate to get behind. We hated going in, but we hated coming out even more. There's no logic in love and war; its chaotic, wayward journey is only ever plotted under the direction of one thing: our emotions.

By taking this line it shouldn't be in any way misinterpreted that I am indulging in some grovelling apologetics for the decisions made by Churchill and the *Committee on Russian Affairs* who chose to place the practicalities of 'realpolitik' over and above their own and Britain's commitment to Jews the world over. It was clearly a reckless, harebrain move, and one that Britain, France and America worked hard at trying to reverse in the immediate years that followed. The murder of over six million Jews during the Holocaust period in Europe reveals the extent to which myths can escalate and a failure to acknowledge the part played by Britain and her allies in these monstrously

careless narratives will virtually ensure that atrocities like these will happen again. During tense negotiations with a period we no longer understand, the interpreters arrive too late, and as is happening in Central Asia right, they are all too often left vulnerable and ignored. There are lessons to be learned from our mistakes, and the first lesson, more often than not, is understanding just what compelled us to make those mistakes in the first place.

The British Government's failure to shut-down the threat posed by Shanks' *Protocols* is best summed-up in an exchange by the Undersecretary of State Edward Shorrt in a debate on *The Jewish Peril* in the House of Commons on March 1920. It's only fair to point out that Shorrt had been responsible for drafting up the Alien Restrictions (Amendment) Bill, heard in Parliament just 12 months previously and also for playing a key role in founding the Government's brand new *Secret Service Committee* with Lord Curzon and Sir Walter Long.⁴¹ Like the 1905 Aliens Bill, the amendment proposed by Shorrt sought to drastically limit the number of Jews from Russia and Eastern Europe entering Britain as a result of a dramatic escalation increase in pogroms and fears that Bolshevik agitators would slip in with the refugees. Asked directly by serial left-wing troublemaker, Cecil L'Estrange Malone whether or not the 'Jewish Peril', as a cynical "mutilation" of an anti-

⁴¹ Security Service Organisation, 1918-1939 Reports of the Secret Service Committee, File KV4/151, National Archives).

Semitic document first published in Russia to arouse anti-Semitic sentiments, was something he was prepared to ban. Shortt offered a frighteningly dispassionate reply:

*I understand that the booklet “The Jewish Peril” is an English translation of a book published in Russian in 1905 by Serge Nilus. This book went through three or four editions. I am not aware that the pamphlet is a mutilation of the book nor do I know what the object of Serge Nilus was in publishing his work. I fear that the law confers no powers upon me to procure the suppression of the publication.*⁴²

There is one other thing I’d like to mention before we get down to the nitty gritty. *Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd*, the printing company that Shanks approached to produce the first 30,000 copies of *The Protocols* reveal another link to the rather mysterious *Committee on Russian Affairs*, as Pares, Williams and Robert-Seton Wilson — the creative backbone of the Committee — used this very same printing company to publish their journal, *New Europe*. A web of other connections between Shanks, *The Protocols* and the *Committee on Russian Affairs* can be found in the guide below. These notes, compiled under convenient ‘at a glance’ headings are intended to provide the basis for a series of semi-fictional conversations with Protocols expert (and Committee of Russian Affairs member) Vladimir Burtsev, provisionally entitled,

⁴² Hansard, Volume 127: Commons, Jewish Peril, debated on Monday 29 March 1920

‘Conflabulations with Burtsev’ — the word ‘Confabulations’ referring to the production of false or erroneous memories produced with varying levels of intent (and sometimes no intent) to deceive. The story will take place in the Sorbonne district of Paris during the Nazi occupation of 1942 when the once razor-sharp mind of the ‘Revolutionary Sherlock Holmes’ and Protocols expert has been partially dulled by the first signs of late-onset dementia. The story, which will take place at Burtsev’s last known address in the old Latin Quarter of Paris, 6 Rue Victor Cousin, will reveal a man haunted by his complicity of reviving one of the most tragic hoaxes in history as the Nazis begin to roll-out their terrifying Final Solution, and whose violent fear-matrix owed no small debt to *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

CONSPIRACY AND CONFABULATION

The guide to *The Protocols* below should hopefully provide something of a cautionary tale for the post-truth generation. As far as the book’s first publisher Sergei Nilus was concerned, a story could confabulate its own truth by ignorance, omission or outright capricious invention. As long as the message conveyed was true (or at least perceived by the majority to be true), it didn’t matter. In many of the novelised histories of popular modern culture, myth, legend and history exist on the same ontological plane, and are defined by the same narrative customs. Real events and fantasy collide and fuse in a

fashion that is almost impossible to divide. The subject of the work of ‘faction’ is typically viewed as being locked in an interminable cycle of masking and being unmasked, with the author usually coming to realize that there are no unchanging truths and that any intention they may have had was being routinely subverted, re-routed and re-drafted by the reader. It was regime-change at the level of text. The truth, we can come to realise, is always at one remove, infinitely deferred or postponed in a relentless cycle of bivalence and *différance*, with any attempt to uncover it, frustrated further still by the realisation that the author himself is frequently obliged to recycle the lies and obfuscations that keep it buried.⁴³ For Donald Trump’s legion of post-Truth followers it is the dominant fictions of the invisible elites that maintain the power systems that ensure the electoral majorities that keep their oppressive regimes in place. Trump’s response has been to wage a war that has not been unlike *The Protocols*; a pernicious yet surprisingly effective guerrilla campaign played out at the level of narrative. Today, ‘Conspiracy Theory’ both the dominant and the marginal, are locked in a messy, protracted power struggle. In a world without memory and a world without forgetting, reality is constructed at the level of language and emotion and history can be plundered as an infinite resource for each. The very first casualty of any war, as always, is the truth.

⁴³ For a fuller explanation of Derrida’s term ‘*Différance*’, see: ‘Saussurian Theory and the Abolition of Reality’, *Myth, Truth, and Literature*, Colin Falck, Cambridge University Press, pp. 18-22

The French philosopher Jean Baudrillard once played a delightful inter-textual prank in which he attributed the statement, “*The simulacrum is never that which conceals the truth—it is the truth which conceals that there is none ... the simulacrum is true*” to Ecclesiastes in the Christian Old Testament.⁴⁴ In actual fact, the statement doesn’t feature in Ecclesiastes at all. It was, however, a darkly effective way of illustrating his key point; the truth never really satisfies in quite the same way as the fake. Another *Protocols* academic, Umberto Eco (author of *The Name of the Rose*) provided a memorable demonstration of this in his essay, ‘Faith in Fakes’ (1983). Experts in the field of Semiotics (the study of words as the ‘sign-posts’ to things in the real world) have long realised that reality ceases to exist at the very point that language attempts to reveal it. The figurative replaces the lived-experience. The object it seeks to reveal is lost and a proliferation of myths and second-hand truths mark its resurrection at a figurative level. Writing of *The Protocols* in his 2005 essay, *The Power of Falsehood*, Eco chews over the proposition that the truth is more potent, more persuasive and more constricting than even the authority of a king, the influence of wine and the fascination of women.⁴⁵ But if experience tells us one thing, he writes, it’s that truth often takes a long, long time to prevail (p.273). It costs blood and it costs tears. If our reliance on

⁴⁴ The Precession of Simulcra, Simulcra & Simulations, Jean Baudrillard, Michigan Press, 1994, p.1

⁴⁵ The Power of Falsehood, Umberto Eco, On Literature, Secker & Warburg, 2005, p. 272.

the worlds and the word of religion and government is anything to go by, then we have been “living for millennia under the ‘power of falsehood’”.⁴⁶

Vladimir Burtsev had arrived at this sad conclusion himself many years before Eco. A deeply religious boy he had visited the one of the chapels at the Kremlin in Moscow. Here he had been drawn to and invited to kiss a particular relic. It was alleged that it had been one of the nails driven in the hands of Christ at the crucifixion, and which still bore the stains of his blood. His response to this had been one of profound elation. The boy was beset by the most intense of emotions. Reading John William Draper’s ‘The History of the Conflict between Religion and Science’ whilst convalescing a few months later, Burtsev realised that the nail he had seen had been nothing but a common nail and the blood was either that of an ordinary person, or worse still, an animal. The experience was to leave him with a lifelong sense of betrayal, and a lifelong pursuit of the truth.⁴⁷

In the end *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* is the zone where the actual and the imaginary collide in an unpredictable and often contradictory fashion. It’s an ambiguous dystopia, a heterotopia, a headspace. It occupies several generational timezones, several different regions and

⁴⁶ The Power of Falsehood, Umberto Eco, On Literature, Secker & Warburg, 2005, p.273

⁴⁷ *Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle For a Free Russia*, Bloomsbury Academic, 2017, pp. 9-10. The account may also have served as a metaphor for the sense of national betrayal he experienced as a result of the Bolshevik triumph over Russia.

communicates several (often contradictory) messages. It's the gift that just keeps giving. And the one thing that it really does keep giving us — is the slip.

As far as I can make out, the root of all these problems tend to lie within the system-based vulnerabilities of history-making itself which adapt instinctively to the various customs and habits of traditional of fiction-making, and make it surprisingly easy to hack. Routine failures of memory distort accounts, facts become partially obscured by style, observations are commonly overruled by objectives and the clumsy hand of the narrative often disrupts the chronological sequence. History is a culture's Burgomaster in that it holds some kind of mayoral sway in the Kingdom of Falsehood, under the skewed tyrannical rule of institutionalized confabulation. The casual and almost automated way in which history is consumed only adds to its weaknesses. Perhaps if there was a more faithful way of recording events and encoding history, more of the truth would be preserved. Perhaps facts have no place in narrative. Maybe they should be encoded in anything but stories. With any luck Google will one day produce a search algorithm that can identify, penalise and filter-out the substantial volume of 'low trust' content that dominates 'history'.

Yes books have their own histories. And histories of books, and *books of histories about histories of books* have their own freakish stories to tell. This is just one of them.

The remainder of this guide will take the form of a trial in which witnesses will be called and the evidence examined. For this reason I'll make fairly casual use of court-like terms like exhibits and witnesses, more for the sake of entertainment than as a gesture of any real deference for the rule of law, so please don't take it too literally. And of course, we'll include some pictures.

Was the 1920 British translation of The Protocols of the Elders of Zion the work of 'lone wolf' anti-Semite George Shanks, or was it a part of a propaganda offensive conceived and financed at the highest levels of the British Establishment? You decide.

Imitation, the Protocols taught us, may not be the sincerest form of
flattery, but it's certainly its most pernicious

Part I

The Protocols

1903-1905

The Beginning — almost



PARES AND WILLIAMS TELL ME YOUR UNCLE, AYLMER MAUDE WAS IN ARCHANGEL HELPING US MAKE THE WORLD HATE THE BOLSHEVIKS. NOW WE WANT TO MAKE THE WORLD HATE THEM EVEN MORE. WE NEED A BATTLE BETWEEN LIGHT & DARKNESS, BETWEEN THE ALLIES AND THE ANTICHRIST!!

ENTER 24 YR OLD **GEORGE SHANKS**, BORN IN MOSCOW IN 1896 AND A FORMER STUDENT OF **SIR BERNARD PARES**, RUSSIAN SPECIALIST AT **UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON**. IN 1916 HE ENLISTED AS A SUB-LIEUTENANT IN THE **ROYAL NAVY AIR SERVICE** BEFORE BEING SECONDED TO THE **RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT COMMITTEE** AT EMPIRE HOUSE IN KINGSWAY, LONDON.

IN MARCH 1919 SHANKS RESIGNS HIS COMMISSION AND FINDS EMPLOYMENT AS AN ASSISTANT AT THE GOVERNMENT'S **CHIEF WHIPS' OFFICE**. IN DEC 1919 HE PAYS HIS MAJESTY'S PRINTERS, **EYRE & SPOTTISWOODE** TO PRINT 30,000 COPIES OF HIS TRANSLATION OF **SERGEI NILUS' PROTOCOLS OF THE ELDERS OF ZION** TELLING THE FAKE STORY OF A JEWISH PLOT.



THIS BOOK HASN'T BEEN SEEN SINCE 1905. NO ONE KNEW IT WAS A FAKE THEN. THEY'LL NOT KNOW NOW. OTNAHO!! A JEWISH PERIL!

GEORGE SHANKS AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM

UNBEKNOWNST TO MOST, SHANKS WAS THE NEPHEW OF RESPECTED TOLSTOY TRANSLATOR, AYLMER MAUDE, A COLLEAGUE OF BRITISH PROPAGANDISTS BERNARD PARES AND HAROLD WILLIAMS AT THE SCHOOL OF RUSSIAN STUDIES IN LIVERPOOL. IN NOVEMBER 1918 MAUDE WAS INVITED BY THE UK GOV TO JOIN ANTI-BOLSHEVIL FORCES ON THE NORTH WESTERN FRONT AS PART OF A PROPAGANDA OFFENSIVE.



THE TIMES SAYS THE GOVERNMENT IS IN TALKS WITH LENIN'S SOVIET

IT'S NOT GOOD PARES. THE BOLSHEVIKS ARE WINNING. THEY MURDERED CROWIE. THEY MURDERED THE TSAR, AND NOW THEY'RE MURDERING BRITAIN.

SIR BERNARD PARES
CHIEF OF PROPAGANDA.
COMMITTEE ON RUSSIAN
AFFAIRS, LONDON

DON'T FEAR, WILLIAMS, OLD BOY. THE TIMES WILL HAVE A VERY DIFFERENT STORY TO TELL SOON. THE BOLSHEVIK PLOT IS ABOUT TO EXPLODE



DEC 1919

I'VE GOT THE TRANSLATION!!!

A GUIDE TO THE PROTOCOLS OF THE LEARNED ELDERS OF ZION

Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion

EXHIBIT NO.1



The version of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* that we are familiar with today is thought to have been commissioned by the former head of the Russian Secret Police, Pyotr Rachkovsky and authored by one his agents, Mathieu Golovinski in Paris in 1905.⁴⁸ It was a time of great uncertainty and change in Russia. A revolution was brewing and there were those within the authorities were looking for answers within the swarms of hostile radicals currently buzzing around the workers councils trying to scale-up the low-key protests into a super-charged national uprising. Inevitably, attention began to turn on the Jewish subversives that were generally perceived to be dominating these groups. Instinctively, the Tsar's new Minister of the Interior recalled into service one of their most feared and unscrupulous Intelligence officers to restore order, identify the worst of the trouble-makers and create the kind of divisions that would shatter their ranks, reduce their mass and the split the

⁴⁸ The Russian Secret Police were also known as the Okhrana. There is a separate, detailed entry on Mathieu Golovinski elsewhere in the guide.

belligerent asteroid currently hurtling toward Russia into thousand harmless fragments. The logic was simple; the greater the internal conflicts among the various groups of subversives, the lesser the overall threat.

The decision to re-channel the wave of seditious anger breaking out across Russia against the Jews had been instinctive. Even within the normally tolerant and egalitarian Socialist Revolutionary Party casual anti-Semitism was rife. A niggling, hairline fracture had recently begun to develop between the Socialists of Slavic stock and those of Jewish heritage, the resentment occasionally erupting over the most trivial of issues, like how those of true Russian heritage would dance the Kamarinskaya correctly unlike their well-meaning but mistaken Hasidic comrades.⁴⁹

This was a little different. There was nothing at casual about Rackhovsky's signature brand of anti-Semitism. This was *political anti-Semitism*, purpose-built, rigged with explosives and conceived to strike its target to ensure maximum collateral damage. Rachkovsky had used before and before long he would use it again. Using a skilled-bank of creative assets he'd picked up during his time as head of the Okhrana bureau in Paris, Rachkovsky is believed to have fashioned *The Protocols* into a fast-acting Golem, moulded

⁴⁹ There is episode in Gabriella Safran's biography of S. An-sky, *Wandering Soul*, that is simmering with tension as the Socialist Revolutionaries exit a bar in Geneva and start dancing the Kamarinskaya (Russian folk-dance) and an innocuous yet humiliating scene develops between the ethnic Russian SR's Chernov, Chaikovsky and Savinkov and An-sky and his fellow Jews. See: *Wandering Soul*, Gabriella Safran, Harvard University Press, 2010, p.120

from the spurious literary matter of other outrageous works, brought to life and controlled by a coven of wily agents operating within the shadows of the Winter Palace. Indeed, there was probably no better metaphor you could use to describe it. In Jewish folklore, the Golem is a powerful, erratic figure fashioned from the raw, amorphous matter of the earth and brought tumultuously to life through a secret Kabbalistic formula. Despite its good intentions it usually runs amok. The phrase itself is taken from the Hebrew word, ‘Galmi’, meaning ‘unformed mass’. The Galmi in this instance was the passages of old books that added flesh to the pages of *The Protocols*. Curiously, the most famous Golem tale centres on the story of the Rabbi Yehudah Loew of Prague, the city in Czechoslovakia now generally regarded to be the ‘ground zero’ of *The Protocols* myth.⁵⁰ In this story the Christians of Prague accuse the city’s Jews of murdering their children and using their blood in their Passover *matzot*. Responding to the slurs and persecution, Loew fashions the Golem from the inert raw matter of the earth beneath his feet and

⁵⁰ *The History of a Lie: The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion, A Study*, Herman Bernstein, J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, 1921, p.16. ‘The Jewish Cemetery in Prague’ was a chapter in the 1868 novel, ‘To Sedan’ by Prussian spy and author, Hermann Goedsche who wrote fiction under the pen-name, Sir John Retcliffe. The novel’s fictional scene depicting the meeting of representatives from the Twelve Tribes of Israel was subsequently re-absorbed into *The Protocols* after being reheated and reserved by François Bournand, in his *Les Juifs et nos Contemporains* at the time of the Dreyfus Affair in 1896.

instructs it to avenge the dozens of Jews who have been killed or maimed in the Christian atrocities that had erupted in the wake of the rumours.⁵¹

In 2016, a Golem Exhibit in Berlin included the baseball cap adopted by President-elect, Donald Trump bearing the words, 'Let's Make America Great Again'. Beneath the cap, the museum's curator, Martina Lüdicke had placed a caption quoting a CBS news item which had presented the hopeful candidate as a 'Golem' that had grown uncontrollable and "threatened the entire universe". The point the curator was trying to make was that each generation attempted to remake the Golem to reflect and take battle with whatever ills were dominant at that time. Just days after Trump's victory had been declared, *Forward's* Maya Barzilai made further reference to the CBS article adding that in 1948, the Hebrew press in Palestine had recycled the same golem metaphor to describe the hostile Arab League as an artificial creation of the British.⁵² The story of *The Protocols* was much the same, only this time it was the unprincipled spy-chief, Pyotr Rachkovsky taking the formless matter of inert texts and moulding them into a monstrous slave that

⁵¹ During the Easter and Passover period of April 1903 this sequence of events took place for real in Kishinev (modern day Chişinău). Jews were accused of murdering a young Christian boy and using his blood in their Passover ritual. There were numerous other instances of such atrocities.

⁵² *Why the Golem Is a Perfect Metaphor for Donald Trump*, Maya Barzilai, *Forward*, Nov 13 2016, <https://forward.com/opinion/354318/why-the-golem-is-a-perfect-metaphor-for-donald-trump/>

would do the bidding of Imperial Russia, grotesquely compiled from the syntax of hate therein. Or so the story goes.

There are however, numerous other accounts of *The Protocols* evolution, most of them absurd, and most of them of incorrigibly racist. The most popular of the stories first put out was that they were the minutes of a ‘secret’ meeting at the First Zionist Congress of Basel in August 1897. Other stories have been put forward, one of them that *The Protocols* was written by ‘Cultural Zionist’ Asher Ginsberg.⁵³ In fact, it’s probably fairer to say that there isn’t a Jew in the world who hasn’t been accused of writing it, Mel Brooks and Woody Allen included.

Evidence produced by Philip Graves of *The Times* of London in 1921 shows that *The Protocols* was literally stitched together from passages found in Maurice Joly’s *The Dialogue in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu* and a chapter from a novel by Hermann Goedsche. Joly’s original book, first published in 1864 was intended to draw a parallel between the cruel, manipulative rule of the French Dictator, Napoleon III and Machiavelli. After the Revolution of 1848 King Louis Phillipe of France abdicated and Louis Napoleon III was elected as Emperor in his place. Almost immediately he embarked on a strongman campaign of imprisoning any opponent who

⁵³ *A Rumor about the Jews: Conspiracy, Anti-Semitism and the Protocols of Zion*, Stephen Eric Bonner, Springer International Publishing, 2018, p.64. Bonner’s book provides a great cultural review of the book’s fake origins.

challenged his manipulative rule. Joly's book was intended to reveal the scope and depth of his sinister plans and in 1861 Joly was arrested and charged with defamation. On his release in 1870 he joined the French Resistance. All copies of the book were confiscated and thought lost. Against all expectations it resurfaced and eventually found its way into attacks on Russia's corrupt financial system launched by critics in Paris in the mid 1890s.

As you might have been able to guess from its title alone, Joly's book was drawn up in the form of an imaginary dialogue in hell between the French Judge and philosopher, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu and the Italian 'Prince of Darkness', Niccolò Macchiavelli whose political treatise *The Prince* well and truly opened the door for no-holds barred realpolitik ("the ends justify the means" or better still, 'State consequentialism'). The fact that it derives inspiration from Rome is a curiosity in itself, as this 'sinister' cabal doesn't just have Russia in its sights but the holy seat of Christianity itself:

"When the time comes for us to completely destroy the Papal Court, an unknown hand, pointing toward the Vatican, will give the signal for assault. When the people in their rage throw themselves on to the Vatican we shall appear as its protectors in order to stop the bloodshed. By this act we will penetrate to the very heart of this court and then no power on this earth will expel us from it. The King of Israel will become the true Pope of the universe, the patriarch of the International Church."

— The Jewish Peril: Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion, First Edition, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1920, pp.60-70.

In a modern world that is more likely to invest its highest of earthly regards in ‘Paypal’ than in ‘Papal’ it’s difficult to really appreciate the full diabolical gravity of what is being said; the Jews were not just threatening to destroy the Holy Church, they were seeking something worse: they were going to use it as their host. It was the ultimate ‘War of the Worlds’ scenario, the ultimate ‘Body Snatcher’. If *The Protocols* were to be believed, the Jews were seeking to paralyse the very soul of Christian existence, and have us writhe around powerless in some lucid, unending nightmare. Even if they were observed seeking to help us, they were out to kill us. As far as *The Protocols* was concerned, the Jews and the rest of the world were locked in an impossible binary. Or, as my grandmother used to say, “they couldn’t do right for doing wrong”.

Golovinski’s *The Protocols* as it exists today is not only a hoax but a plagiarism, the passages having been only partially and crudely rewritten from Joly and Goedsche’s original texts. The book that is said to have been put together by Golovinski between 1902 and 1905 takes the form of ‘secret revelations’ made by a “sinister” cabal of Jewish Masons who are found to be plotting the destruction of civilised society as part of a fiendish bid for Jewish-Masonic supremacy and “dominion the world over”. It is, for want of a better

word, complete and utter fiction. The basic facts I would now like to bring before the court relate to the circumstances and individuals that gave rise to the revised edition of *The Protocols* that published by Sergei Nilus in December 1905 and which anticipate its revival (not only in terms of its themes but its intent) during the anti-Bolshevik campaign of the early 1920s.

SERGEI NILUS

In 1905 the *Protocols of the Elders* was rewritten and re-packaged as a preface to a book by a “strange” Christian mystic, Sergei Nilus, who, like Grigori Rasputin some ten years later, is believed to have made a very strong impression at the court of the Tsarina Alexandra Feodorovna.⁵⁴ When challenged about the authenticity of the Protocols, Nilus is alleged to have exclaimed: “*Did not the ass of Balaam utter prophecy? Cannot God transform the bones of a dog into sacred miracles? If he can do these things, he can also make the announcement of truth come from the mouth of a liar.*”⁵⁵

In Herman Bernstein pioneering work on *The Protocols* in 1921, *The History of a Lie*, Nilus is presented as a necessarily elusive and marginal

⁵⁴ *The Great within the Small and Antichrist, an Imminent Political Possibility. Notes of an Orthodox Believer*, Sergei Nilus, 1905

⁵⁵ B'nai B'rith Messenger, 17 June 1921, p.6

figure doing the bidding of the Tsar. Citing a 1917 reprint of the *The Great within the Small* Bernstein writes:

“Sergius Nilus was an employee of the Russian secret police department, of the Okhrana, connected with the Church, especially relating to ‘foreign religions’. He lived for some time at the *Optina Pustina* monastery. In 1901 he published a book entitled *The Great in the Small and the Anti-Christ*. According to the Lutsch Sveta, Nilus claims to have received in 1901 a copy of the text of the Protocols from the secret archives of the Main Zionist organization in France, but he published the ‘Protocols’.”⁵⁶

The Cause of World Unrest, published by H.A. Gwynne, the editor of London’s *Morning Post* describes the work as having been completed within the Royal province of Tsarskoye Selo, a detail that underscores the alleged complicity of imperial Romanov family. In a later series of commentaries that accompanied the book, Nilus explains that *The Protocols* were not Jewish-Masonic in origin but “Zionist documents” secretly read by Theodor Herzl at the Zionist Congress in Basle in August 1897 and relayed to him by an informer.⁵⁷ The files that had come into his hands, he confided, had been extracted from a much larger volume of protocols preserved in the depositories of the Head Chancellery of

⁵⁶ *The History of a Lie, The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion: A Study*, Herman Bernstein, J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, 1921, pp.11-12

⁵⁷ *The History of a Lie, The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion: A Study*, Herman Bernstein, J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, p.10

Zion and had been signed by 'Zionist Representatives of the 33rd (highest) Degree of Initiation' presently residing in territories of France.

Bernstein continues his trawls through the various editions of *The Protocols*, marking out the various contradictions in Nilus's account of its evolution. The first edition of the book published in Russia in 1905 claims that *The Protocols* had been first brought to him in Russia in French, whilst the fourth edition printed in Germany in 1917 claims that the original text was in German.⁵⁸ A less complicated account is given in *The Protocols and World Revolution*, by provided by ex-Secret Service man, Boris Brasol and published in America by Small, Maynard & Company in 1920. Citing a fresh introduction that Nilus had written for the fourth edition of his book that had been published in the printing office of the Sviato-Troitzky Monastery in January 1917, Brasol explains how a manuscript had been pushed into his hands by Major Alexis Nicolaievich Sukhotin (1848-1903), the former Marshal of Nobility in the District of Chern in Central Russia, and later, the Vice Governor of the Government of Stavropol in South Russia.⁵⁹ A short time later he tried to bring it before the attention of the Grand Duke Sergei Alexandrovich of Russia, the brother of Nicholas II who had resigned his Governorship of Moscow in January 1905 just days before the Bloody Sunday demonstration led by Father

⁵⁸ *The History of a Lie, The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion: A Study*, Herman Bernstein, J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, p.14

⁵⁹ I have not been able to determine if Alexis Nicolaievich Sukhotin (1848-1903) is any relation to Sergei Mikhailovich Sukhotin (1887-1926) who played a central part in the murder of Rasputin or Sergei's father, Mikhail Sergeevich Sukhotin (1850-1914) who married Tatiana Tolstoy, the eldest daughter of Leo Tolstoy.

Gapon. He was assassinated by Socialist Revolutionary, Ivan Kalyayev the following month, allegedly just months after being given the manuscript. The 1917 revision of its history was clearly an attempt to warn his fellow Russians of the potentially disastrous costs of failing to act immediately.

We need to be absolutely clear about one thing: the first edition of *The Protocols* that had been packaged with *The Great and the Small* in December 1905 claimed the meetings from which these minutes were taken had been hosted by the “most highly initiated leaders” of Orient Freemasonry and that the theft had been carried out at the close of a secret meeting in France, “that nest of Jewish Masonic Conspiracy”.⁶⁰ This is the version that Shanks and Burdon used in their English translation of *The Protocols* published as *The Jewish Peril* in January 1920. In the second edition of *The Protocols* repackaged as part of Nilus’s new book, *It is Near, At the Door* in January 1917, it is no longer a Jewish-Masonic Conspiracy but a *Zionist* Conspiracy, the manuscript now said to have been stolen not in France but by an informer at Herzl’s First Zionist Congress in Basel, Switzerland in August 1897.⁶¹ This is the version that ex-Okhrana man Boris Brasol, now ‘aide-de-camp’ to American car manufacturer Henry Ford used in *The Protocols and World Revolution* published by *Small Maynard & Company* in 1920. In Britain, the initial run of *The Protocols* by the Britons frames the plot as part of a Jewish Masonic Conspiracy’, whilst in

⁶⁰ *The Jewish Peril, Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*, III, Introduction, Third Edition, The Britons, 1920

⁶¹ *The Protocols and World Revolution*, ed. Boris Brasol, Small, Maynard & Company, Boston, 1920, pp.4-6

America is revived as uniquely Zionist in character at a time when its rivals the Brits were making a bid for an Imperial Protectorate in Palestine. The shift was clearly political, the whole 'Zionist' explanation most likely having been added as the Russians began to recognise the true scope of British plans for the Middle East and the deals they were about to strike with Kerensky at the time of the February Revolution.

Is there any indication of what Tsar Nicholas II may have really thought about The Protocols? Well, there are clues, but the evidence they hinge on is at best a little on the thin side, and at worst, unreliable. Revolutionary spy catcher, Vladimir Burtsev wrote that when a copy of the book was conveyed to Tsar Nicholas II, "*he accepted it with the fullest confidence*" exclaiming "*what profundity of thought! ... What foresight ... what an exact execution of their programme!*"⁶² It was alleged to have been all the proof the Tsar needed that the 1905 revolution had been "literally under the direction of the Elders". A short time later, Burtsev alleges that a "more enlightened member" of the Tsar's government had taken him to one side and revealed that the book was a forgery. It was duly from banned from sale. The reason for his change of heart? One "*couldn't defend a clean cause with dirty*

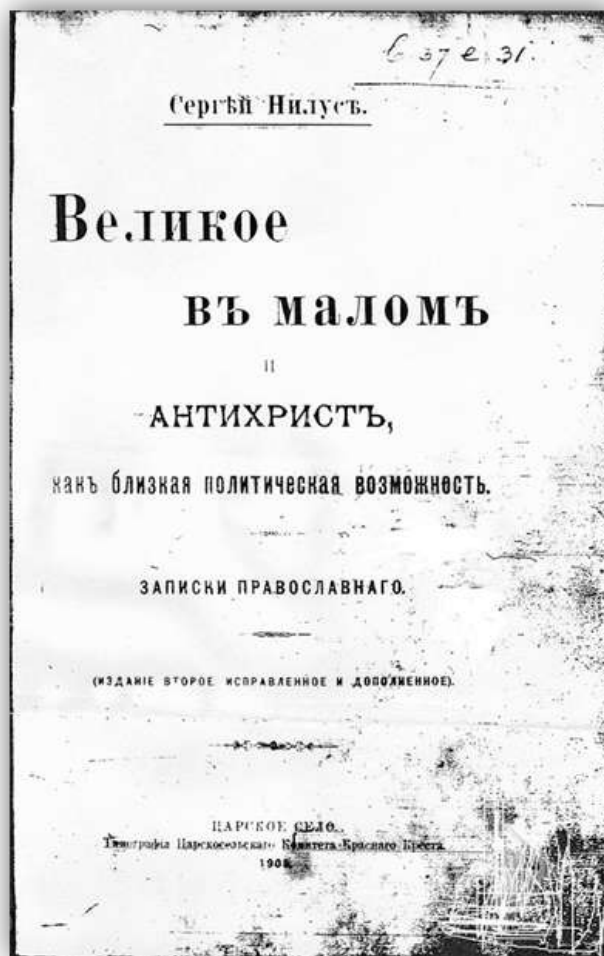
⁶² In a diary entry written in Tobolsk on 27 March/April 9 1918 by Tsar Nicholas II writes, "During the evening I began to read aloud the book by Nilus about the anti-Christ, with a supplementary 'report' on Jews and Masons. It was very contemporary reading" (Diary of Nicholas II, 1917-1918, Kent de Price, The University of Montana, 1966, p.195). Thanks to Helen Rappaport for pointing this out. It's possible that by 1918 his faith in the book had been at least partially restored.

weapons.”⁶³ The words that Burtsev had put in the mouth of the Tsar were, in actual fact, a variation on a phrase used by Socialist Revolutionary-turned-Zionist, Chaim Zhitlovsky in his battle with the ‘Palestine-only’ demands of the *Hovevei Zionists* when he was a passionate young Marxist in Tula: “*A clean cause needs clean hands*” (“Чистое дело требует чистых рук”).⁶⁴ Much the same point of view would be repeated almost verbatim by ‘enlightened’ White Russian, Mikhail Raslovlev, when explaining his reasons for exposing the book as a fraud to *Times* journalist Philip Graves in 1921. The expression had first been used by Ukrainian revolutionary figurehead and historian, Mykhailo Drahomanov in an essay for the journal *Molva* (Молва or *Rumour*) in 1876: “*A clean job demands clean hands*” and which was quoted in an essay published in Robert Seton-Watson’s and Sir Bernard Pare’s *Slavonic Review* in 1937.⁶⁵

⁶³ *The Elders of Sion: A Proved Forgery*, V.I. Burtsev, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 17, No. 49, July 1938, pp. 91-104

⁶⁴ *Prophecy And Politics Socialism, Nationalism, And The Russian Jews, 1862-1917*, Jonathan Frankel, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p.284/Zhitlovsky, Zikhroynes, II, 95-6, YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. The phrase was later repeated by Ukrainian revolutionary Symon Petliura in an address to his troops in 1919. The fight for liberation demanded moral integrity. “Run the straight race through God’s grace” Isaiah 35:1-10; Hebrews 11:32-12:3.

⁶⁵ *Mykhailo Dragomanov and the Ukrainian National Movement*, D. Doroshenko, *The Slavonic Review* (vol. 16), p. 666 (oh dear) / Михайло Петрович Драгоманов, П.М.Федченко (P.M. Fedchenko), Київ Видавництво художньої літератури ‘Дніпро’, 1991, p.119. In his letter, Zhitlovsky wrongly attributes the quote to Nikolay Dobrolyubov.



The Great within the Minuscule and Antichrist, S. Nilus, 1905

So what was going on here? Fading memories? False memories?

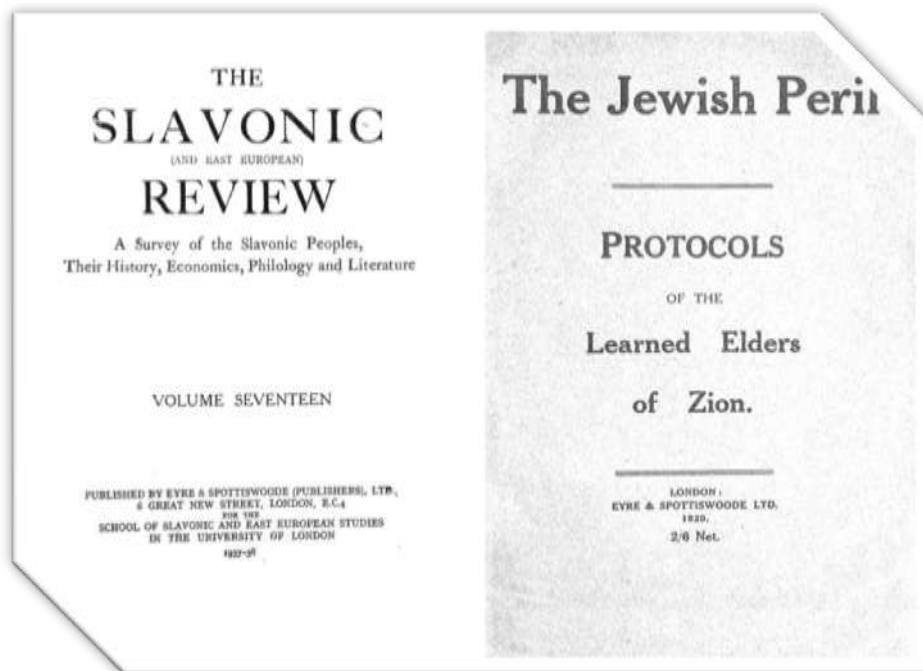
Cryptomnesia? A fundamental attribution error? In all fairness, Burtsev was probably lying. By the time that Burtsev made his claims in the *Slavonic Review* the following year, it would appear that contagion of falsehood and confabulation had begun to infect his recollection of the Tsar's words. In stunning example of irony, Burtsev was placing the words of a famous radical

into the mouth of the Tsar. It couldn't have been more poetic. Maybe it wasn't an attempt to mislead but to tease or enlighten. Perhaps a virus had taken root in *The Protocols*' publisher *Eyre & Spottiswoode*, who, you might have guessed, were also responsible for printing the *Slavonic Review*. Perhaps it wasn't lapsed memory at all, but a virulent case of SARs-Covid-2 related Brain Fog.

By his own admission, Vladimir Burtsev (a Russian Don Quixote if ever there was one) had "an altogether unique knowledge of the police underworld" in Russia and abroad, but how reliable a witness he is in the matter of *The Protocols* is made a little more complicated by virtue of the fact that he was so very close to those whose agendas it suited in Britain. Even so, by 1938 he couldn't fail but acknowledge that the "little empty book which did not deserve attention whatsoever" had energized Hitler's Nazi Party and now threatened the whole world. Hitler had, he confessed, "devoted the whole government apparatus of a powerful Empire to propaganda of the 'Protocols'". They were printed in millions of copies for circulation throughout the world."

66

⁶⁶ *The Elders of Zion: A Proved Forgery*, VI. Burtsev, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 17, No. 49, July 1938, p.101



The *Slavonic Review*'s printer *Eyre & Spottiswoode* published both Shanks' Protocols (1920) and Vladimir Burtsev's essay on The Protocols (1938)

By 1938 their danger was clearer than ever. A new variant had taken hold in Germany, and the virus that had been unleashed some forty years before was sweeping fast across Europe.

PYOTR RACHKOVSKY

Pyotr Rachkovsky, the notorious former Chief of Russian Secret Police (the Okhrana) in Paris was appointed Assistant Director of Police in St Petersburg under the Minister of the Interior, Pyotr Durnovo in the autumn of 1905, as a wave of civil disorder became to break out across Russia.⁶⁷ The most popular accounts of the genesis of *The Protocols* place Rachkovsky very much at the centre of the text's production.

According to many Rachkovsky was a born-intriguer who wouldn't have been out of place in Joseph Conrad's *Secret Agent* or a John Le Carre novel. Picture Paris in the 1890s and a full-figured man with Cherubim-lips, cleaving through the fogs of the Old Latin Quarter of Paris, part-law enforcer, part-Devil. Sliding past junk-shops and faded shop-signs he dissolves into a side-alley and into a house whose windows are layered in dust and upon whose door is a chalk-scuffed Krummkreuz symbol. Using a fragile spiral-staircase he ascends to the upper floor of the building into the apartment of author-activist and occultist, Juliette Adam, as notorious for her collection of pornographic literature as for her enthusiastic culturing of righteous anti-Semitism among the salons of Boulevard Poissonnière. The generous stash of

⁶⁷ This is how it was popularly known. Its actual name was the *Okhrannoye Otdelenie*, meaning the Department of Public Security, which was part of Russia's Ministry of the Interior.

opium and the hoard of delicious erotica that made up Madame Adam's library may have been an incentive to arrive some thirty-minutes early (and leave some several hours late), but it wasn't the only reason he was here. He was here to learn a little more about his nemesis, Vladmir Burtsev, the Revolutionary Sherlock Holmes to his diabolical Detective Moriarty; the Ying and Yang of espionage and counter-espionage.

Born to gentry stock in Bessarabia in 1853, Rachkovsky had been so determined to gain favour within the ranks of the 'Third Section' of the Higher Police that he'd enlisted on the editorial board of the journal, *The Russian Jew*, where he contended himself with serving as "a minor bureaucrat and peripatetic informer" or hired-gun.⁶⁸ Rumbled as an informer by the revolutionary *People's Will*, Rachkovsky was forced to leave Russia and proceed to Paris where he was taken under the wing of master spy, Arkadiy Harting at the fledgling Foreign Bureau, and indication that whilst the Russian's had been successful in eliminating the threat of subversion from within Russia, it had only served to push the revolutionaries into the protection of foreign states in the invisible hothouses of Central Europe and America.⁶⁹ Within a few short years Pyotr Rachkovsky, had become the most resourceful and creative heads of the Okhrana's Foreign Bureau in Paris and an

⁶⁸ *Fontanka 16: the Tsars' Secret Police*, Charles A. Ruud, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999, p.80

⁶⁹ You will find Arkadiy Harting sometimes being referred to as Arkadiy Garting

enthusiastic supporter of the new Franco-Russo Alliance. Serving with legendary distinction from 1885 until 1902, it was only a change in tack from the new Minister of the Interior von Plehve, supporting challenges made by Police Chief Lopukhin and the Head of the Okhrana, Sergei Zubatov in St Petersburg that saw him recalled from Paris, only to be reappointed as Head of the Special Section of the Police Department under Trepov sometime in October or December 1905. Trepov, brought in as Assistant to the Minister of the Interior by the Tsar under a cloud of controversy in June 1905, had been duly promoted to Master of the Palace at Tsarskoe Selo, consulting daily with the Tsar and awarded complete control of the Police in a period of Russia's history that was to be defined by the application of stifling emergency powers as the monarchists lost control.

The return of Rachkovsky to Russia had been part of extraordinary measures to restore order in the city following Gapon's *Bloody Sunday* demonstration of January 9th. As the Tsar increased his grip on the city, Durnovo was brought in to replace Pyotr Sviatopolk-Mirsky as Minister of the Interior whilst Rachkovsky would swap with Aleksei Lopukhin as Chief of Police in St Petersburg. As it stood, both men had been blamed for the failures to contain the 'legalised unions' that had organised the fateful march on behalf the workers. The Workers' leaders, Father Gapon among them, had literally walked their righteous protesters into a scene of complete and utter carnage.

By noon that day, hundreds of workers lay wounded and dozens lay dead, women and children among them. Gapon, warned not to hold the march but encouraged by Chief Lopukhin against all better judgement, had gone ahead with the demonstration, confident that once they saw the pictures of the Tsar, and messages of support for the monarchy, would do the right thing and reward them with their simple demands. Instead, they were rewarded with an unforgiving volley of bullets from the garrison of guards and Cossacks protecting the Winter Palace. It was the spark that lit the 1905 Revolution.

Between February and March 1906, Rachkovsky is believed to have published a separate pamphlet inciting people to murder the Jews who were now being blamed for a series of national strikes and naval mutinies that had erupted in the wake of the carnage the previous year (Leon Trotsky was among those leading calls for the National Strikes). The pamphlet was published through the anti-Semitic organs *Yaria* and *Novoe Vremya*. Press reports claimed that the pamphlet had been printed at the 'Prefecture of the Police'. The Russian Prime Minister, Count Witte, who had released an earlier statement saying Jews had nothing to fear, was denounced in the pamphlet as the leader of a 'Jewish Conspiracy to bring about Russia's destruction'.⁷⁰

According to former revolutionary, Sergei Svatikov writing about *The Protocols* from his new base in Paris in August 1921, Rachkovsky had been

⁷⁰ The Manchester Guardian, March 13, 1906, p.14

already fabricating a large quantity of loose sheets, memoirs, confessions and letters that he had written himself, but would shamelessly re-attribute to groups and revolutionary militants who he had been determined to incriminate.

⁷¹ It was into this cauldron of chaos that Rachovsky (and Sergei Nilus) tipped *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* where it would bubble and spit occasionally for the next 120 years. Or so it's alleged.

As the CIA's Ben B. Fischer explained in his introduction to the declassified Okhrana 'Paris files' in 1997, Rachkovsky's operations in France were the first time that foreign intelligence officers had been used on sensitive international assignments that bypassed the traditional protocols of foreign ministry and regular diplomatic channels. It would later become a standard Soviet modus operandi.⁷² It was also the first time that anti-Semitism had been intentionally harnessed to achieve a specific political objective. Problem was, the Brits were watching. And as usual, the Brits were picking it up fast.

FATHER GAPON AND THE 1905 REVOLUTION

In the summer of 1905, Father Gapon, the leader of the *Bloody Sunday* demonstration who had miraculously escaped to London during the hurly

⁷¹ Les faux de Ratchkovsky, A propos des Protocols de Sion, S. Svatlikov, La Tribune Juive, 26 August 1921

⁷² *Okhrana: The Paris Operations of the Russian Imperial Police*, Ben B. Fischer, History Staff Center for the Study of Intelligence Central Intelligence Agency, 1997. *The Register of the Okhrana Records* can be found at Hoover Institution, collection No.26001.

burly of its blistering aftermath, was commissioned by a wealthy Jewish patron in Geneva (of German heritage) to produce an earlier pamphlet pleading with Russia's workers not to get involved in anti-Semitic violence that had spread as a result through Russia. Instead, the priest made a frank, impassioned plea for Russia's workers to formally support the Jews' demands for tolerance and social equality.⁷³ This pamphlet, written during Gapon's temporary exile in London with Jewish dramatist and revolutionary, S. An-sky would further energise the Russian Jewish Nationalists and help create the cultural vacuum that would culminate in the creation and publication of *The Protocols*. Whether he had acted deliberately or not, Father Gapon had managed to pull the Jewish Question to the centre of the ongoing power struggle. The fact that he was a respected (but maverick) figure within the Russian Orthodox Church – still very much a silent in the Tsar's autocracy – made it all the more provocative. Strangely, the impact that this pamphlet is generally viewed to have had on the direction that the Revolution was taking has been regularly overlooked. Gapon personally stood to gain nothing from its publication. After a brief revolutionary 'bro-mance' with Rutenberg and the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and further short-lived affairs with the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks, the Priest was firing-off like a stray missile, first in one direction and then another. On the one hand the events in Russia

⁷³ 'My Acquaintance with Gapon', S. A. An-sky, Collected Works, Publishing Association, St. Petersburg, 1911-1913, Volume 5. A review of the pamphlet can be found in The Hebrew Standard of 11 August 1905, p.2; The Hebrew Standard, 11 August 1905, p.2

had made him a global superstar, and on the other it had cut him off from the one he thing that had inspired him in the first place: a successful outcome for the Workers of Russia. In reality, Gapon was no more a revolutionary than either Tolstoy or Dostoevsky. He was the poster-boy for legalised unions; as much a part of Russian bureaucracy as either Zubatov or Witte. During a series of impromptu meetings between the various revolutionary groups at the home of Leonid Shisko in Geneva, the Jewish Question had been raised. With the window of opportunity closing, Lenin and the Bolsheviks made fast and furious efforts to organise the Third Congress of the *Russian Socialist Democratic Labour Party* in London, where many of the group were bow exiled.⁷⁴ Gapon's unplanned heroism that day had made him a global superstar. If ever there was a time to fan the spark of revolution into a flame, it was now. It was just a question of how best to use Gapon to push things forward and thrash out an ultimate goal that suited everyone. Speaking to An-sky in Switzerland, the priest is alleged to have exclaimed: "We must take them by the forelocks and bring them together, otherwise there will be no sense!" For once, Lenin was in complete agreement.⁷⁵ Unlike the Mensheviks (whose members boycotted the Congress) Gapon was a "living part of the Revolution that was sweeping Russia". He'd had connected with the workers

⁷⁴ Formed in 1898, the RSDLP united the various Marxists Revolutionary groups of Russia at an administrative or collegiate level. It saw no shortage of infighting over the years.

⁷⁵ *My Acquaintance with Gapon*, S. A. An-sky, Collected Works, Publishing Association, St. Petersburg, 1911-1913, Volume 5

in a way which Russia's intellectuals could not. He was "closely bound up with the working masses who devotedly believed in him" and this excited Lenin, who deeply curious to learn more.⁷⁶

The erratic series of meetings took place in various taverns and church meeting halls between the 25th April and 10th May 1905, all carried out in the utmost secrecy. It was fractious to say the least. A failure to find consensus on the Jewish issue at the Second Congress in 1903 had resulted in the Jewish Labour Bund severing ties with the parent group. The Massacre of the Jews in Kishinev had just taken place and tensions were high. The Bund had asked that their party be recognized as the sole representative of the Jewish working masses, a move that Lenin rejected, perhaps sensing the gradual dilution of a significant energy source and the creation of an obstacle to the ideological unity and "organisational rapprochement" that he now demanded within the party. The Marxists were already too unevenly scattered and fragmented. As far as Trotsky and Lenin were concerned, the route to lasting peace and freedom was having different nations to live together under "full democracy" and "full unity".⁷⁷ Georgi Plekanov, leader of the Menshevik faction, did his best to explain their reluctance. Their unity should be defined by class and not by race:

⁷⁶ *Memories Of Lenin*, Nadezhda K. Krupskaya, India Publishers, trans, E. Verney, 1930, p.89

⁷⁷ *The Working Class & the National Question*, Pravda No. 106, May 10, 1913

“In view of the fact that movements such as the all too sadly well-known pogrom in Kishinev, quite apart from the abominable atrocities they commit, serve in the hands of the police as a means by which the latter seek to hold back the growth of class consciousness among the proletariat, the Congress recommends comrades to use all means in their power to combat such movements and to explain to the proletariat the reactionary and class inspiration of anti-Semitic and all other national-chauvinist incitements.”

— *Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party Second Congress, Principal Resolutions* ⁷⁸

The atrocities launched against the Jews in Kishinev was deemed a) an attempt by the Tsarist regime to direct attention away from the failures of the Russo-Japanese war and b) an attempt to redefine and re-energise disharmonious cultural and religious distinctions that would inevitably shatter the mass political consciousness upon which the Russian Social Democrats sought to launch a revolution.

Although members of Jewish Bund had returned as a matter of urgency for the Third (and unofficial) Congress in 1905, it was the same old problem: if the RSDLP was to support and seek terms for the unique National interests of the Ukrainians, Poles, Finns, Latvians and Belarusians and make special

⁷⁸ 1903—Second Ordinary Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party, Principal Resolutions, On Pogroms Against the Jews, Brian Pearce, New Park Publications, Sept 1978, p.23

allowance for their separate demands for self-autonomy, then why weren't they demanding the same special privileges for Jewish Nationalists? The answer was pretty unanimous: the vast majority of the individuals that made up the RSDLP — whether it was the Bolsheviks, the Mensheviks or the Socialist Revolutionary Party — did not believe the Jews were a nation. The substantial number, Polish Jews included, took the view that it was a religion and not a race.⁷⁹ Despite the results of the 1897 Russian census being fairly unequivocal about the Jews constituting a separate nation, there was much debate about whether or not Jewish liberation and autonomy presented a legitimate cause. Eventually a series of resolutions were thrashed out by the group. Firstly, the Empire would need to be reorganised into a “Democratic Republic” through freely elected National Assemblies. This was to be supported by a complete amnesty for all political prisoners, separate Constituent Assemblies for Finland and Poland and full autonomy for the Caucasus which was to be federated.⁸⁰

If truth be told, the RSDLP's reluctance to embrace the notion of a Jewish National Assembly was likely to be more political than it was philosophical, and it was one that characterised the tactics of both friend and

⁷⁹ *My Acquaintance with Gapon*, S. A. An-sky, Collected Works, Publishing Association, St. Petersburg, 1911-1913, Volume 5

⁸⁰ *Father Gapon's Conference: A Declaration of War*, London Daily News, 02 May 1905, p.7; *Revolutionary Organisations United*, The Scotsman 02 May 1905, p.6

foe alike. There were several dimensions to the Governments of Russia, Germany and Britain's pushing Zionism as broad spectrum cure. Yes it would help extend the political influence of both countries in the Middle East and on the domestic front, but ultimately it would also starve the Bund and the Socialist Democratic and Revolutionary movements of some of their most powerful leaders and combat activists.⁸¹ There was no one more aware of this than Lenin himself who saw little benefit in smashing the proletariat into smaller, weaker units seeking separate national ends. The Polish Jews felt exactly the same, only for different reasons. The vision that leaders like Lenin had set before them was one of Internationalism Communism; equality for all, a complete levelling of National boundaries, a 'class consciousness'. Separatist pursuits at this critical stage of the Revolution would see it splinter into a dozen ineffectual fragments. If the interest from Jews on Bundist and Zionist issues should swell, it would be followed by a reduction in their own numbers. It was simple math. An-sky and Gapon's sponsor in Geneva were clearly looking for a third-option (however foolhardy or ambitious): getting the workers and peasants to unite with the Jews in pursuit of Jewish equality; or if not back them exactly, at least not get in their way or preserve the same old same old. The non-partisan nature of the brochure was made clear in its language, which faithfully reproduced both the vernacular and the droning

⁸¹ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, London, ed. Raphael Patai, Herzl Press, 1960, Vol. II, pp.726-734, p.737

moral imperative of a sermon. This was very much a priest addressing his congregation, and imploring them on Christian grounds to treat the Jews like the ‘Merciful Samaritan’, and refuse to engage in any way with the pogroms being carried out in Russia at the behest of the “great Serpent-Gorynych” and the “vampires, tsarist officials and their henchmen” that gave them instruction. If Gapon had come out as an “ardent defender of Jewish full rights, civil and national” as An-sky claims in his memoirs, then it’s certainly not clear in the brochure.⁸²

According to An-sky’s memoirs, the German Jewish millionaire, who had been so “deeply convinced of Gapon’s magical influence on the masses”, donated 3,000 francs for the publication of the brochure, making it possible to produce about 70,000 copies. Each of the various groups that attended the final meetings took it upon themselves to distribute it in Russia as a strictly non-partisan effort. The shares were far from equal: the Socialist Revolutionaries took 20,000 copies, the Bund, some 15,000, the Mensheviks, 10,000, the Zionists, 5,000 and Gapon took 10,000 for his Worker’s Council. Lenin’s Bolsheviks refused to take any.⁸³ Coming out as an “ardent defender of Jewish full rights, civil and national”, had understandably enough, put

⁸² *Epistle to the Russian Peasant and Working People: A Brochure against Jewish Pogroms in Russia*, Georgy Gapon, 1905.

⁸³ *My Acquaintance with G. Gapon*, S. A. An-sky Collected Works, Publishing Association, St. Petersburg, 1911-1913, volume 5

Gapon at odds with the Zionists, whose failure to support the priest is perhaps reflected in the relatively small number of copies they were prepared to distribute. Within a few short months, Jewish Liberals and Cadets would press ahead with the *Attainment of Full Rights for the Jewish People of Russia*, effectively stealing further thunder from the Political Zionist movement; the theory being that the better quality of life and self-autonomy that Jews could enjoy in Russia, the less vital it was to return to Palestine.

Shortly after the publication of Gapon's brochure, An-sky would propose setting up a Jewish section of the Socialist Revolutionary Party with his friend, the influential Zionist, Chaim Zhitlovsky. Despite Zhitlovsky's polite but firm rejection both men would move back to St Petersburg where they would embark on quite separate campaigns to advance the Jewish Question.⁸⁴ Gapon would be murdered in March 1906 on the orders of his former friend, the Socialist Revolutionary, Pinhas Rutenberg, allegedly for colluding with Rachkovsky and the Tsarist Police. Some fifteen years later, the same Pinhas Rutenberg would become a key figure in Winston Churchill's efforts to stabilise and modernize Palestine.⁸⁵ These efforts would centre on a multi-million pound bid to irrigate (and control) a substantial tract of land that

⁸⁴ *Wandering Soul, The Dybbuks Creator, S. An-sky*, Gabriella Safran, Harvard University Press, 2010, pp.116-126

⁸⁵ *Rutenberg Monopoly*, The Times, May 31 1922, p.10; The Palestine Mandate, Rutenberg Scheme Discussed, The Times, May 31 1922, p.10. Rutenberg had helped Gapon escape from Russia in the immediate aftermath of the Bloody Sunday Massacre in January 1905. He too attended the various revolutionary meetings in London and Geneva.

cut across Arab territories. In a debate in the House of Commons in July 1922, the future Home Secretary, William Joynston-Hicks would describe the deal, dubbed the ‘Rutenberg Concession’, as one of the most “astounding concessions that he had ever read or heard of”. Responding to these criticisms, Churchill reassured the British Parliament that Gapon’s assassin was a man of “exceptional ability and personal force” and that far from being a Russian Bolshevik he was now a deeply committed Zionist and this was strictly a ‘not for profit’ philanthropic endeavour.⁸⁶

In a tale as strange as it was, it would seldom get much stranger than this; Winston Churchill courting favour with a Socialist Revolutionary assassin. They say Russia was a ‘land of surprises’. It had absolutely nothing on Britain during this period.

THE LEAGUE FOR THE ATTAINMENT OF FULL JEWISH RIGHTS

By March 1906 a full-blown movement called the *League for the Attainment of Full Rights for the Jewish People of Russia* had been launched by Maxim Vinaver, the first of its kind, and quite obviously an attempt to capitalise on the anticipated capitulation of rights being pledged by the Tsar in response to the Revolutionary crisis currently gripping Russia. The movement hoped to take advantage of the Tsar’s ‘October Manifesto’ in which he was promising

⁸⁶ Hansard, July 4 1922, Commons Sitting, Colonial Office, vol. 156 cc221-343

the formation of the first full legislative assembly (a Parliament or State Duma). This would entail (in theory if not in practice) the partial suspension of the oppressive Tsarist autocracy; that is, a more democratic power share with Russia's people. Other groups called for a *Jewish National Assembly* (a Duma within a Duma) to legislate on issues specific to Russian Jews. These options were popular among the Jewish Bund and some (but not all) Zionists. Other groups called for separatist Jewish States within the various settlements that made up the Russian Empire. Russia's Liberal Party (the Cadets), who stood to gain much from the Tsar's plans for a State Duma, were reluctant to embrace either, fearing the disunity it would engender would lead to Russia's inevitable failure and collapse; they could not see how a nation within a nation would work on any practical level. To put it more plainly; specific Jewish rights had never been part of the deal. Efforts to preserve unity among Russians of all religions, was the key to preserving and progressing the nation.

As offensive as it was, Rachkovsky's decision to revive *The Protocols* at this time is likely to have suited as many Zionists and Bundists as it would their anti-Semitic rivals, the Monarchists. They were used to this kind of provocation, and the devious stunts that Rachkovsky was pulling could only serve to support their respective arguments that the most credible, long-term options still open to Jews of Russia lay either in Palestine or in Revolution. Any attempt to award privileges to Jews that would enhance their identity as

Russian Nationals was to be resisted at all costs. To the maximalist hardcore you couldn't be a Russian Jewish National. For many Zionists (but not all) it was a contradiction in terms; you could only ever be a *Jewish National*. Winning privileges and rights within the framework of a State Duma or Worker's Movement would only ever result in alienating them still further from their birthright as ethnic Jews. They were Jews first and Russians last; driftwood on a foreign shore. For many you could not be a Russian Jew anymore than you could be a fish that lived on land. In a deliberately provocative move, Trotsky called for the repudiation of all debts incurred by the Tsarist government — a demand more successfully repeated during the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. It was clearly going to be rejected but in order for the complete collapse of the Tsarist autocracy, full financial bankruptcy was essential

The founding of the League had been based on two significant failures. The unique issues relating to the 'Jewish Question' had been ignored by both the Tsar's October Manifesto, pledging a consultative State Duma, and the controversial manifesto released by Trotsky and the Workers' Council in response, asserting that the Tsar had declared civil war on the proletariat. His proposals hadn't gone nearly far enough. In the eyes of the workers the Tsarist government continued to defy a people now well on the road to liberty. All police measures and the armed intervention of troops could only ever result in

“sanguinary conflicts”, for which the government will be responsible.⁸⁷ In a deliberately provocative move, Trotsky called for the repudiation of all debts incurred by the Tsarist government — a demand more successfully repeated during the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. It was clearly going to be rejected but in order for the complete collapse of the Tsarist autocracy, full financial bankruptcy was deemed essential. For all those Jews who had endured the worst of Russia’s twenty-year violence and persecution, Trotsky’s failure to make the restoration of Jewish rights a part of the Worker’s demands would have been a particularly painful experience.

The future Zionist leader, Ze’ev Jabotinsky, who had been active on several Zionist and Liberal publications in St Petersburg during this famously chaotic time, was among those who embarked on a deliberate course of action over the issue, bitterly disappointed by Trotsky’s apparent rejection of the Jewish cause. Writing in his memoirs some years later, Jabotinsky did his best to explain his position: “(Trotsky’s) proclamation included a vigorous denouncement of the government which had deceived the people and promised liberation ... but the murder of Jews in a hundred cities of slaughter was not mentioned altogether”.⁸⁸ Standing on the podium of a hall in St Petersburg’s Salt City district, Jabotinsky would reveal the full extent of his

⁸⁷ New York Times 04 December 1905, p.2.

⁸⁸ *Story of My Life*, Jabotinsky, Vladimir, ed. Brian Horowitz, Leonid Katsis, Wayne State University Press, 2015, p.94.

anger at the utter disregard that Gapon's workers had shown his people: the real pogrom was that the masses had had passed them over. Short-term violence they could withstand, but complete indifference would subject them an eternity of suffering.⁸⁹

These sentiments were echoed by Dubnov; the Jewish revolutionary protest was being lost in the general Russian protest. Their anger could not be heard. Efforts now needed to be poured into the League for Equal Rights, which if successful, would put them right at the centre of national politics. They must try to command the thing from within. In view of the options, it was only natural that he should return to an issue which had plagued him for many years, the issue of Palestine. The Jews of Russia were "standing on a volcano" that had already claimed the lives of so many thousands of people. The pogroms were weighing increasingly heavy on the direction his heart was taking.⁹⁰ The Russian Masses were unlikely to fully accepted Jewish integration. Whilst the unity he craved seemed little more than a pipe dream, the greater hegemony of the other Nationalist movements certainly looked like it could provide a more satisfying model for change.

⁸⁹ *Story of My Life*, Vladimir Jabotinsky ed. Brian Horowitz, Leonid Katsis, Wayne State University Press, 2015, pp. 93-96.

⁹⁰ Uroki strashnykh dnei, Seymon Dubnov, Voskhod (Dawn), December 1905

Meanwhile the pogroms were spreading and intensifying at an alarming rate. The *London Daily News* had done their best to reassure the public, maintaining the party line — not altogether convincingly — that the attacks were organized ‘culls’ by the Tsarist Government, and not as some feared, the manifestation of widespread anti-Semitism at a more unstoppable grassroots level. A global appeal for defence funds was being made by The Jewish Labour Bund. Self-defence committees were being organized to prevent the worst excesses of the violence.

On December 11th 1905, Count Witte’s Cabinet published all the various details relating to the legal framework that would permit the first state elections to take place in April. Despite what many had feared, the law did not exclude Jews from the suffrage; the Tsar just didn’t address their rights by name, fearing that if he did, it might only be seen as an official recognition of their separatist national interests at a time when they were seeking to pull a deeply divided Russia together.

By December 1905, the Revolution was losing steam and Rackovsky’s deliberately inflammatory brochures, backed-up by the publication of *The Protocols* that month, went some way in helping to extinguish any remaining support the Jews may have gained among Russia’s formidable bedrock of peasant and worker classes. Speaking to the French newspaper *Matins* in mid-December 1905, Father Gapon pleaded for the violence to stop. They should

now engage with all due legal processes. The reforms being offered would pave the way to full freedom, but now was not the time — they weren't yet ready.⁹¹ During these final few months, Maxim Vinaver, Arnold D. Margolin and Ze'ev Jabotinsky had taken up their work for the *Union for the Attainment of Equal Rights* with astonishing passion and commitment, but the sheer velocity with which things were moving in favour of proposed Duma, made it a case of too little, too late. Margolin and Jabotinsky would subsequently have greater success with the founding of the Jewish Legion in 1915 as well as colliding yet again in the infinitely more problematic, 'Petliura Affair', featuring Ukrainian separatist (and alleged pogromist) Symon Petliura.⁹²

In the end, the lack of support for the Jewish minorities within Gapon and Trotsky's Worker's movements — and the challenges the Jews faced from the Bundists and the Zionists — would eventually see the *League for the Attainment of Full Rights for the Jewish People of Russia* fracture and disband. It would subsequently be re-launched as anti-Zionist organisation, asking Jews to adopt their Russian culture and re-embrace their identities as Russian Nationals. The key thing to remember here is that the Jewish movement was not a homogenous one — far from it, in fact. Jews in Russia, as elsewhere,

⁹¹ *Interview with Father Gapon*, London Daily News 14 December 1905, p.7

⁹² *Daily News Bulletin*, Jewish Correspondence Bureau, New York, Vol. IV, no.14, January 19 1923. Jabotinsky was forced out of the Executive of the Zionist Organisation after failing to disclose the exact nature of his negotiations with Petliura.

were composed of a diverse range of individuals of were active in radically opposing groups; each with their own unique vision of what equality and autonomy might look like ⁹³ For some the Promised Land was elsewhere; a ‘green light at the end of the dock’. For others it was right where they stood, so close that they could hardly fail to grasp it. The ground beneath them just needed to be more accepting. Or so it was believed.

EARLIER EDITIONS

Given that the genesis of *The Protocols* was not even clear fifteen years after it had been produced, one would have to question the wisdom in trying to pinpoint the exact time and date that it first arrived before our eyes. The likelihood is that it had existed in one form or another for some years. Legends of ‘Jewish Plots’ had been rife in the Christian world for centuries. However, the ‘diabolical Jewish plots’ as we know them today principally got underway in the mid 1890s at the time of the Dreyfus Affair when a 35 year French officer of Jewish descent was charged with espionage. Try entering ‘Jewish Plot’ into the search field of a newspaper archive of your choice and you’ll see what I mean. There are practically no returns on the phrase prior to 1894, yet from 1899, as the Dreyfus Affair limps towards a conclusion and becomes

⁹³ To get some clarity on these very complex issues I would recommended reading *Story of My Life, Vladimir Jabotinsky*, ed. Brian Horowitz, Leonid Katsis, Wayne State University Press, 2015 and *Rebel and Statesman: The Vladimir Jabotinsky Story*, Joesph Schectman, Thomas Yoseloff Inc, 1956

cynically entwined with the First Zionist Congress that took place in Basel just two years previously, the search returns on the phrase start seriously multiplying. If the truth be known, *The Protocols* as we know it today, started life not in Russia, but in France, and not with Mathieu Golovinski but with a Frenchman the historian and journalist Jacques de Biez, who used the phrase as part of his 1891 book, 'Les Rothschild et le Péril Juif'. The book, which puts together a typically alarmist fantasy based around Biez's response to the first of the loans from France to Russia, provides the soils on which the charges against Dreyfus would take root and flourish in the years that followed.⁹⁴ The basic gist is that the country was relying on loans provided by the German-French bankers, the Rothschilds as a starting point in France's new relations with Russia. The 'cheat' Joseph Reinach, the journalist who would become Dreyfus's fiercest champion gets a mention in the book, as does his friend Ferdinand-Camille Dreyfus of the Radical Left who had recently been elected Deputy for the Department of the Seine and invited (somewhat controversially) to sit on various military and intelligence commissions. Whilst there was no clear relationship between the two men called Dreyfus that certainly wouldn't have prevented connections being made

⁹⁴ The *Franco-Russo Alliance*, also known as the *Franco-Russo Rapprochement* first began to shape in the late 1880s as tensions began to resurface between France and Germany. It began with a series of loans and started in earnest with the rumoured renewal of the Triple Alliance in the summer of 1891 (which would become the Triple Entente during the First World War). see: *The Triple Alliance*, London Evening Standard 12 May 1891. Talks were expedited as a result of events in Egypt and Bulgaria.

among the ‘join-the-dots’ conspiracy theorists like de Biez and Édouard Drumont, where simple pattern recognition techniques preclude any real need for actual meaning. As far as these two were concerned, they were all part and parcel of the same ‘wealthy Jewish tribe’ and this clearly had a bearing on the spying charges faced by Albert some three years later. Drumont would revive the ‘The Jewish Peril’ as anti-Semitic slogans fly-posted in Paris at the time of the Dreyfus trial.⁹⁵

News of the Franco-Alliance was supported by surprising developments elsewhere. Responding to their newly recognised status as a charity in Russia, *Hovevei Zion*, operating as *The Odessa Committee*, was stepping up efforts to convince the British Government to help repatriate the Jews of Russia to Palestine. The man leading the charge in Britain was Colonel Albert Goldsmid, a man with a formidable military pedigree. In February that year the Colonel had hosted a meeting of Jews in the East End of London under the *Association for the Colonization of Palestine by Jews*. Holding the chair at the Jewish Working Men’s Club in Whitechapel, Goldsmid reminded the crowd who had assembled of the prophecies of the

⁹⁵ *Advent of Nemesis*, Daily Mail, July 26 1899. Drumont’s Private Secretary was François Bournand who included a portion of ‘The Jewish Cemetery in Prague’ by Hermann Goedsche in his 1896 book, *Les Juifs et nos Contemporains* which addresses a ‘Semitic invasion’. See: *Les Juifs et nos Contemporains*, *L’Univers*, January 6 1899, p.4. Biez and Drumont were both founding members of the French Anti-Semitic League.

Bible in which it was foretold that the Jews would become a great nation.⁹⁶ By July a petition had been signed pleading with Lord Rothschild to put a case before Lord Salisbury that would see Britain help facilitate the smooth the passage of three million Jews from Russia to Palestine. Building on some expression of interest from Gladstone, Goldsmid and Samuel Montagu MP representing the interests of the *Russo-Jewish Committee* appointed celebrated ‘Scapegoat’ author, Hall Caine to spearhead a mission to Russia to review the suffering of its Jews for himself in an attempt to better understand the various complexities of the ‘Jewish Question’. He would also be furnished with funds from Montague to distribute on a charitable basis.⁹⁷ The fact Baron Hirsch of the Paris-London based banking house, *Bischoffsheim & Goldschmidt* played a key part in this development would have served a double-blow to the likes of Biez and Drumont, the Goldschmidt and Hirsch families both being of German-Belgian extraction. To the likes of Drumont and Biez, the prospects of a cash-injection of life to Russia from German money via France was probably bearing all the hallmarks of a sinister Trojan-takeover by the

⁹⁶ *The Colonization of Palestine by Jews*, The Times, February 10 1891, p.4

⁹⁷ *The Colonization of Palestine*, The Times, May 25 1891, p.9; *Mr Hall Caine’s Mission to Russia*, Illustrated London News, October 10 189, p.468. His novel, *The Scapegoat* had appeared in serialized form in the *Illustrated London News* in June 1891. It explored the dramatic personal consequences of oppression and tyranny. Gladstone congratulated Caine on the “noble and skilfully drawn character of Israel” that had been offered in the novel.

German-Jewish banking houses. 1891 was certainly shaping up to be a critical year in *The Protocols* timeline.⁹⁸

The plotline put together by de Biez in '*Les Rothschild et le Péril Juif*' is not unlike *The Protocols*. An all-seeing, all-powerful Jewish cabal that 'subsidize everywhere' and 'command everywhere' have launched a 'holy war' against the pure bloods of France. The vision, like that of Nilus, is of a similarly prophetic character. It's the 'Peril' within that presents the gravest threat, and this "inner peril is the Jewish peril". In a nutshell, de Biez and the readers of his anti-Semitic newspaper, *La Libre Parole* didn't like the idea of the loan and as always, it was the Germans who were really behind it: "the financial Jewry of Berlin wanted to lend Emperor Alexander the gold of Tsar of Russia" who in turn would try to control France.⁹⁹ The idea of any kind of alliance with Russia was anathema to many Republicans, so the fact that it was a German-Jewish banking family who made the first in a long-line of National loans had given them an easy foothold upon which to launch their opposition. It was on this basis that Drumont and Biez were able to recast the Jewish aliens as a dangerous fifth column, gradually putting the future of France under the control of the Germans on their eastern border. But it was never as simple as yet. The world of finance seldom is.

⁹⁸ *Mr Hall Caine and the Jews*, The Times, December 21 1891, p.6

⁹⁹ *Les Rothschild et le Péril Juif*, Réponse a m. Le Commandant Blanc, Jacques de Biez, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France

Caspar Aronsfeld's 1973 essay, *Jewish Bankers and the Tsar* neatly explains the issues the Rothschilds were facing; the loan to France that the Rothschilds were preparing to make was not intended to strengthen the hand of the Germans but to relieve at least some of the burden being faced by the Jews in Russia. The family and its syndicates were entering a quid-pro quo agreement: if at least some of the oppressive and dehumanising sanctions placed upon the Jews by the deeply reactionary May Laws of 1882 could be lifted or else relaxed, then the Rothschilds would help the Tsar's failing economy.¹⁰⁰ As Aronsfeld writes, "*There was just one way in which, conceivably and realistically, Jewish resentment could secure respect—if Jewish bankers refused the persecutors' perennial solicitations for loans needed to sustain the manifestly corrupt and rotting system of the Tsar.*" This wasn't the opening move in a hostile bid by the Prussians to control France, but the first real act of 'Jewish Resistance'.¹⁰¹ By the time that the Rothschilds had been approached about the loans, the pogroms had been raging across Russia for a full ten years, and the withdrawal of Jewish rights was being extended to cities like Moscow. Initially, the Rothschilds of Paris refused. It was felt that too great an investment had already been made in Russian

¹⁰⁰ The May Laws were the temporary regulations brought in by Russia's Minister of the Interior, in May 1882 as a response to what was perceived as Jewish involvement in the People's Will movement that assassinated Alexander II. Basic rights of movement, education, property, religious observances were withdrawn. These sanctions, which applied originally to the Pale Settlement, were extended to other areas like Moscow in the 1890s.

¹⁰¹ *Jewish Bankers and the Tsar*, C. C. Aronsfeld, *Jewish Social Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 2 (April 1973), pp. 87-104, Indiana University Press, p.87

securities. Under these circumstances it would not be acting in France's interests to scale-up the public funds available to Russia. All this was would change in April 1891 as news began to spread of laws and new proposals to expel 14, 000 Jews from Moscow.¹⁰² According to the *Jewish Voice of America*, the severity of the new laws being imposed against Jews in Moscow had been based on the conviction that they were in league with the Russian anarchists, and that the funds of their propaganda were derived from Jewish bankers Hirsch, Rothschild, Sina, Bleichröder and Dreyfus. Within a short time, a Rothschild-Bleichröder syndicate including financiers in Berlin concluded a loan of some \$300, 000, 000 to Russia staked at some 3% conversion. According to certain sources in Russia, on the very day the loan was made, Russia had made an announcement that plans to evict the 250 skilled-workers of Moscow would be suspended temporarily, and that others would have up to three year's grace, depending on property ownership.¹⁰³ It wasn't a complete reversal of Russia's plans by any means, but it would give them breathing space. In the end it was a decision that would divide Jews globally, the *Jewish Chronicle* of London seeing the potential dangers in marrying at a practical level the treatment of Jews with the influences of commerce and credit. It would be simply asking for trouble. As the impact on Moscow finance was assessed more fully and the Rothschilds of Paris learned

¹⁰² *The Russian Judenhetze, New and Drastic Measures*, Daily News, 15 April 1891, p.5

¹⁰³ *The Jewish Persecutions in Russia*, Leeds Times 16 May 1891, p.3

of Russia's decision to renege on the deal, the loan was withdrawn. Within days the Rothschilds of London had released a formal statement denouncing the continued persecutions in Russia. The family had offered the loan upon the terms that the aggressions against the Jews of Moscow would be suspended and its traders allowed to trade.¹⁰⁴ In many ways the Rothschilds' breach of the agreement was not an unreasonable combination of stoic Jewish resistance and the decision to face up to hard economic realities. The expulsion of Jews en masse from Moscow had already had a disastrous impact in investments in the region and further evictions were almost certainly going to shatter the ability of its industries to survive. The deal put on the table by the Russians was for an easing of evictions and not, as many had thought, a complete suspension. As post-Brexit Britain is finding today, companies that had relied on the 'alien' workforce are finding it almost impossible to continue in their former capacity after such an immediate and dramatic loss of skills and labour.¹⁰⁵

¹⁰⁴ *The Jewish Chronicle*, May 1 1891, p.4; *Jewish Bankers and the Tsar*, C. C. Aronsfeld, Jewish Social Studies, Vol. 35, No. 2 (April 1973), pp. 87-104, Indiana University Press, pp.88-89

¹⁰⁵ *The Other Side of the Jewish Question*, The Jewish Voice, 26 June 1891, p.4

THE PROTOCOLS OF DE CYON

It's worth pausing here for a moment, as the man who had played a significant role in promoting the Russo-Franco Alliance on behalf of Imperial Russia, would, some fifty later, be accused of inventing *The Protocols*. The man in question was Elie de Cyon, born Ilya Fadeyevich Tsion in a small community in Lithuanian Minor, part of the Jewish Pale, near the town of Telšiai. Extravagantly enigmatic, desperately anti-Social and almost certainly in the pay of Rachkovsky and the Secret Police by the time he reached France and Switzerland, the young Tsion had been something of precocious talent, earning several degrees at various medical institutions before managing to curry the favour of Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich, the brother of Alexander II during a period of student violence at one of the universities where he was teaching.

Cyon, the man that American historian, George Frost Kennan once described as the 'child of the Jewish pale' was born in 1842 to Jewish parents on the Russian-German border.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps recognising his peculiar gifts as a student his parents resisted sending the young Tsion to the local Jewish schools in the village or to the state-sponsored Jewish schools in the nearby towns of Klaipeda and Kaunas and enrolled him at a gymnasium in Chernihiv

¹⁰⁶ *The Curious Monsieur Cyon*, George F. Kennan, *The American Scholar*, Autumn 1986, Vol. 55, No. 4, p.460..

in the north of the Ukraine. It was an interesting decision. The school had a strong military tradition and the 400 or so students enjoyed a rigorous grounding in Russian literature, the philosophical sciences, French, German and Latin. It also had solid connections to de Cyon's eventual sponsor, the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich. During the Turkish campaigns of the late 1820s, the Gymnasium's director, Yakov Ivanovich Rostovtsev had served as the adjutant of the Grand Duke Mikhail Pavlovich, the younger brother of Alexander I and Nicholas I, after playing a critical role as informer during the earlier Decembrist uprisings. It may be that his successor, Alexander Mikhailovich Bogaevsky maintained the same close scrutiny of student activity and dissent and that this somehow had a bearing on the path that Tsion would follow. After completing his first degree at the University of Kiev (1858-1862) the young Tsion entered the medical Academy at Warsaw. Now fully 'Russified' and completely indifferent to his Jewish roots he embarked a furious campaign of aggrandizement and learning in moves that would him back and forth from Warsaw and Berlin, and eventually back to Russia where he would become the youngest-ever Professor at its quasi-Military Medical Surgical Academy in St Petersburg.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁷ A blow by blow of Cyon's stunning medical achievements, which for the most part relate to the study of nerves, the pituitary gland and electrolysis can be found in an obituary written for a scientific journal in France in 1912. See: *E. De Cyon*, *Revue générale des sciences pures et appliquées*, December 30 1912, no.24 at Gallica.

It was that his troubles began. At his inaugural lecture at the Academy in January 1893 Tsion, influenced one might suspect by his Orthodox schooling at Chernihiv, made the grave mistake of attempting to devise proof of the soul's existence in the study of human consciousness. The large contingent of 'nihilist' students dominating the lecture hall protested in the only way they could, pelting the young Tsion with eggs and cucumbers, and heckling down any attempt he made to resume his address. The series of disorders of that followed were fully investigated and it was during this deeply unsettling period that Tsion came to the attention of two influential patrons: the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich and Mikhail Katkov, the legendary rightist editor of the influential Moscow newspaper, the *Moskovskiye Vedomosti*.¹⁰⁸ Tsion's vigorous defence of the 'God principle' had won him some powerful friends. Many of the students who had rioted in the earnest the following year were either exiled to Siberia or hung outright. For several years the Academy had been home to the capital's radical fringe, most notably the revolutionary Nikolai Tchaikovsky and Mark Natanson. A new recruit, Nikolai Kibalchich, would enter the academy the same year as Tsion's infamous lecture and would no doubt play his part in the serious unrest that followed in the summer and autumn of 1874. Arrested the following year, Kibalchich would be released

¹⁰⁸ *The Curious Monsieur Cyon*, George F. Kennan, *The American Scholar*, Autumn 1986, Vol. 55, No. 4, pp.557-559. De Cyon's determination to reconcile Science and Religion culminated in the anti-Darwinian *Gott und Wissenschaft* (God and Science) published in Leipzig periodical, *Psychologie der Naturforscher* shortly before his death in 1912. The collection of essays accused Darwin of plagiarism and falsification.

and eventually play the part of explosives expert in the murder of Alexander II in 1881, the event that gave rise to Russia's brutally oppressive 'May Laws', a series of further sanctions against its Jews. He was hung with several others of the Tsar's assassins that same April. The revolutionary 'populist' Ivan Spiridonovich Dzhabadari was another of the students ejected from the Academy during this period of student unrest. By 1879 the Academy would become an exclusively Military Institution — a 'nihilist-free zone', so to speak. In a curious twist, it transpires that the nihilist students who had heckled and disrupted his lectures in 1874 had also accused him of being a "plagiarist" and "political reactionary" whose entire position at the Academy was illegitimate on account of him being a boastful 'Yid'.¹⁰⁹ In the context of claims that he wrote *The Protocols*, it's an interesting charge indeed. His appointment as Associate Professor at the Academy had always been controversial. In fact it is claimed that a far more qualified person had originally been groomed for the appointment, but had at the very last minute been firmly overruled in favour of Tsion by the Minister of War, Count Dmitry Milyutin.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ One story circulated in later years was that Cyon had plagiarised a criticism made about French Finance Minister Charles Alexandre de Callone by French author, M.Gomel. Cyon was accused of changing the names in the text and recycling it as his own. It was probably an attempt at satire, or in today's parlance, a 'meme'. See: Antisemitism, James William Parkes, Quadrangle Books, 1964 p.46

¹¹⁰ Strannye Protivorechiia, Otechestvennye Zapiski, no.7, 1874, N.K. Mikhailovskii;

Although cleared of any wrongdoing in the student riots, Tsion was relocated to France on 'extended leave'. Here he changed his name to Elie de Cyon and took out rental of a handsome apartment on Rue de la Bienfaisance in Paris's affluent 'salon' district. Within a year or two he was appointed editor of the Bonapartiste journal, *La Gaulois* and put it at the forefront of a campaign to win public support for the Franco-Russo Alliance. His friendship with newspaper editor, Katkov, who has shifted his support for a Russia-Germany alliance to one with France, continued through this period and a short time later he won an informal position as wirepuller to Ivan A. Vyshnegradski, the respected mechanical Scientist now serving as Russia's Finance Minister. A convincing account of Cyon's dramatic reinvention as political mogul has never been put forward, but the sense of failure and isolation he must have felt as pariah of the nihilist students, would almost certainly have played its part.

REINVENTION AND INTRIGUE IN PARIS

The assistance (and instructions) given to De Cyon by his patrons, the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich and the newspaper magnate, Mikhail Katkov shouldn't be underestimated, Katkov having found work for Cyon in Paris as political correspondent for his *Kovskiye Vedomosti* newspaper, and the Grand Duke having already asked tasked him with the far more furtive and far-reaching task of dishing dirt on the liberal inadequacies of his brother,

Alexander II, using a confidential diary as evidence and the relative safety in Paris as a buffer from reprisal.¹¹¹ This ‘confidential official diary’, rumoured to be a list of formal grievances compiled during the recent war with Turkey by a ‘senior commander’ (probably the Grand Duke himself) in the Tsar’s Imperial Army, was being prepared for publication in France, ostensibly as a means of applying pressure on the Tsar, and his heir apparent, Alexander III, to cooperate with the kind of alliance generally favoured by Nikolai Nikolayevich and other members of the Russian State Council. Whether or not these diaries ever existed, or whether (as I suspect) they were the fantasy of a vexatious mind, or even a forgery, they nevertheless provided the necessary route to the confidences of like-minded militarists in France who the Duke was keen to ally.¹¹² As a means of launching this bid an anonymous article is believed to have been put together by de Cyon and published in Madame Juliette Adam’s *La Nouvelle Revue*, pursuant to the wishes that the Grand Duke is alleged to have given to the physician.¹¹³ The article, entitled, *Guerre*

¹¹¹ *The Curious Monsieur Cyon*, George F. Kennan, *The American Scholar*, Autumn 1986, Vol. 55, No. 4, pp.461-462.

¹¹² One has only to look at that other ‘fake diaries’, ‘fake news’ and ‘dodgy dossiers’ has had over the years to appreciate the effectiveness of ‘dezinformatsiya’ and deep-fakes (The Zinoviev Letter, the Black Diaries of Roger Casement, the 2016 Steele Dossier, the ‘Hitler Diaries’, The Donation of Constantine, the Red Diary of Marilyn Monroe; the list goes on). Fake News was as rife then as it is now. In fact, the Internet and other forms of Mass Communication have probably lessened their effectiveness if anything. Access to information has made them easier to interrogate. Circulation has certainly increased, but not impact necessarily.

¹¹³ *The Curious Monsieur Cyon*, George F. Kennan, *The American Scholar*, Autumn 1986, Vol. 55, No. 4, pp.461-462/ *The Decline of Bismarck’s European Order*, George F. Kennan, Princeton University Press, 1979, pp. 57-58. Sadly, from what I can gather, Kennan, provides

Russo-Turque D'après Des Documents inédits was published in several parts and provided a radically different take on the conclusion and peace agreements negotiated by Turkey and Russia in the final months of the war just two years before. The story really gets interesting however, when de Cyon is introduced to Russian Finance Minister, Ivan Vyshnegradski. If the first coarse yarns of the tapestry that produced *The Protocols* began to be weaved anywhere, it was here.

A book published by de Cyon in 1895 gave a frank and detailed account of his wirepulling activities in France on Russia's behalf. Over the course of 500 kiss and tell pages, the scientist-turned-propagandist explains how he had been tasked with securing the financial support of the Rothschild and Bleichröder banking houses of France and Germany in the years 1887-1892 — the very same syndicate that Jacques de Biez would place at the centre of his conspiracy of a Jewish Global takeover in his 1891 publication, 'Les Rothschild et le Péril Juif'.¹¹⁴ A detailed account of these business dealings can be found in George Frost Kennan's 1979 book, *The Decline of Bismarck's European order: Franco-Russian relations, 1875-1890* and Cyon's own book, *Histoire de l'entente Franco-Russe, 1886-1894*. Suffice to

no form evidence that de Cyon had been responsible for authoring the articles that appeared in La Nouvelle Revue and concedes that the article did little to smooth relations between France and Russia. See: *Guerre Russo-Turque D'après Des Documents inédits I-IV, Le Drame De Plewna*, La Nouvelle Revue, June 1880 at www.Gallica.bnf.fr

¹¹⁴ Histoire de l'entente franco-russe, 1886-1894: documents et souvenirs, Élie de Cyon, A. Charles, 1895. p. 240, 273, 301

say that both books provide a rather astonishing insight into the series of complex negotiations being entered into by the Rothschilds and Bleichröders, and the supporting and often contradictory input of propagandists like Rachkovsky's friend, Juliette Adam and Cyon's patron, Katkov — who through their combined loathing of the Germans would eventually be pulled into the orbit of anti-Semite Republicans, Jacques de Biez and Édouard Drumont. In what must rank as one of the most perplexing political marriages in history, the child of the Jewish Pale, Ilya Fadeyevich Tsion (pronounced *Zion*) had found himself unloading secrets of high-level Jewish 'meddling' in global financial affairs to the men who are generally recognised as having commissioned *The Protocols*. The discovery is more surprising still when we learn that Cyon himself had regularly been touted as the first man to have plagiarised Joly's *The Dialogue in Hell between Machiavelli and Montesquieu* for toxic political ends.

After being accused of taking too large a cut of the deal made with the first of the Rothschild- Bleichröder loans in 1889, Cyon was rudely ejected from his role as financial agent by Finance Minister Vyshnegradski. It was all the excuse he needed to embark on a sustained campaign of whistle-blowing, first against Vyshnegradski and then against his successor, Count Witte. His removal, it might be noted, also coincided with the death of his patron, the much discredited, Grand Duke Nicholas Nikolaevich, whose fraudulent

activities whilst in government had all but destroyed his reputation. The journal de Cyon used to launch the fiercest of his attacks against Witte was Juliette Adam's *La Nouvelle Revue*. The titles speak for themselves: '*Where is the parvenu Witte leading Russia?*' and '*S. Yu Witte and projects for the deliberate bankruptcy of Russia*'. Almost immediately Russia revoked his citizenship. Now in permanent exile, Cyon published a series of books that promised to reveal the full extent of Witte's dealings with his 'Jewish German Masters': *M. Witte Et Les Finances Russes D'après Des Documents Officiels Et Inédits* (1895) and *Les finances russes et l'épargne française : réponse à M. Witte* (1895). The views expressed in the books were that Witte had been determined to "dwell at length" on the advantages of a commercial alliance with Germany and Austria-Hungary at the expense of the trade deals and 'special' relationships being sought with France and Britain. Spy chief, Pyotr Rachkovsky was right behind him on this point and many others. As an enthusiastic supporter of the Franco-Russo Alliance in Paris with Adams, Rachkovsky, like de Cyon, detested the soft, pro-German liberal bent of the reformer Witte. Both men, for their unique reasons, were uncompromising supporters of absolute monarchy for the Tsar of Russia. To make matters worse, de Cyon had confirmed what hardliners like Rachkovsky had suspected all along; the loan that Witte had negotiated with the Rothschilds of Paris and Berlin had been dependent upon a "sine qua non" — some qualified "assurances as to the treatment of the Jews" in Russia. The liberalism of the

“movement of 1860”¹¹⁵ had first given rise to anarchism, and then to slow and incremental conquest of Russia through Jewish cash.¹¹⁶ In the opinion of the former financial agent the “habitual road” that led from “moderate Liberalism to Revolutionary radicalism” had been too “rapidly traversed”.¹¹⁷ As far as de Cyon was concerned his “co-religionists abroad” — the Jews of Germany, France and England — reserved no right to intervene in the issue of civil and national rights of the Jews in Russia.¹¹⁸ As a patriot of Russia he viewed any attempt to intervene in its complex domestic issues as a classic example of Western hubris. And he wasn’t alone either. In fact, it wasn’t at all uncommon among the assimilated Jews of the Russia to think this way. Some Russian Zionists felt the same. Daniel Pasmanik, Zionist leader and fellow physician, regarded himself as having a ‘dual nationality’; on the one hand he was uniquely Jewish and on the other, he was a proud and conscientious Russian. Similar issues of identity would be felt in America, where National self-images tended to be somewhat stronger than in Britain and France.

¹¹⁵ The Government reforms introduced by Tsar Alexander II of Russia, also known as the ‘Great Reforms’

¹¹⁶ *A Plea for Autocracy* (a review of de Cyon’s *La Russie Contemporaine, Les Principes de l’Autocratie, La France Et La Russie, La Question Des Juifs*), Morning Post 29 December 1891, p.3

¹¹⁷ *A Plea for Autocracy, La Russie Contemporaine*, Morning Post 29 December 1891, p.3

¹¹⁸ *M. Witte Et Les Finances Russes D’après Des Documents Officiels Et Inédits*, E. de Cyon, Chamerot et Renouard, 1895, p.95-99

Although de Cyon's attacks on Witte went largely unnoticed by Dreyfus-obsessed reading public, one man who showed no small amount of interest in his series of leaks in *La Nouvelle Revue* was proto-fascist Édouard Drumont, who welcomed de Cyon's efforts to spill the beans. Honing in on the Jewish financiers who had reneged on loan in 1891, Drumont wrote:

“The Jews took securities on the great states like they did on the little ones. It is pointless to deny that everyone in France can see this. With the help of well documented publications by Elijah of Cyon that no one wanted to talk about, we have proved that the same is true for the Russia. After having done everything to prevent a loan for a billion, which Russia needed to complete its armaments and which was a perfectly right and justified, the Jews abruptly changed their tactics. Witte, the damned soul of Israel, husband of a Jewess, affiliated and partnered with all the bankers of Berlin, took advantage of the weakness and inexperience of Nicholas II to introduce a system of a steady stream of loans. Once in the gear, Russia had, within a few a few years, borrowed seven billion, which is significantly above of its current resources to repay, putting it well on the way to being a prisoner of the financiers, by losing, in terms of foreign policy, the freedom of its movements ... Doctor Herzl therefore speaks like a wise man when he says to his co-religionists: “My children, wind up quickly, wind up while he is there is still time; it will end badly for you ... you an ark, the

flood is near.”

— Russia, The Case of M. Elie de Cyon, *Journal des débats politiques et littéraires*, Edouard Drumont. 27 August 1895, p.8

The Times of London had been no less critical of Witte in both his handling of Russia's loans and his treatment of de Cyon. Writing in response to news that Witte had deprived de Cyon of his Russian citizenship in September 1895, the newspaper described how the move was not just totally “unprecedented” in Russia but also anywhere else in the world. All honorary titles had been stripped from him, as well as all the rights and all the prerogatives belonging to him as a Russian. Attempting to convey in the gravity of the situation *The Times* reiterated the heroic part played by de Cyon as chief promoter of the ‘Franco-Russo rapprochement’, claiming that it was almost entirely due to his “original efforts” that the rapprochement existed at all, a rapprochement that changed not just the existing state of play between France and Russia, but of the “arrangement of political forces throughout the whole of Europe”. Like Drumont in France, and no doubt Rachkovsky in Paris, *The Times* viewed the development in the most critical of terms: the quarrel explained more about Witte's financial schemes and the colossal demands that a steady stream of loans from Germany would have placed

on Russia's relations with others, than it did about de Cyon himself.¹¹⁹ In fairness, Witte's Prussian heritage had always determined how his actions had been perceived by those who disagreed with his politics; his default anti-war setting regularly being misinterpreted as a disquieting pro-German bias. The commercial treaty with Germany he had won as Finance Minister just twelve months previously had only aroused further suspicion. Furthermore, Witte's acceptance of Germany's 'Black Eagle' medal in August 1897, the highest award it could grant, would do little to allay those fears.¹²⁰ In August 1903 Witte was dismissed as Finance Minister, allegedly on the advice of von Plehve who had suspected him of Jewish intrigues in the wake of the Kishinev massacre. The global fallout from the event had been immense. Russia had been placed in a corner and heads would need to roll. A series of fake disclosures had put Witte in the nation's crosshairs.¹²¹ However, at the time of his removal, negotiations were also underway for a new commercial treaty with Germany. For those who viewed Witte as a tough but fair negotiator, his loss would be seen as Russia's loss. To those who thought the Count had conceded too much in Germany's favour during the last round of the

¹¹⁹ *M. de Cyon and the Franco-Russo Alliance*, The Times, September 14 1895, p.5

¹²⁰ *Allied Nations*, Globe 28 August 1897, p.4

¹²¹ *State Intrigues*, Globe, November 7 1903, p.4

tariff wars, his departure couldn't have been more urgent.¹²² Either way, an announcement was made by the Tsar in September that Witte would be moved from his post as Finance Minister and resume his government services as President of the Committee of Ministers. And with this his eleven year tenure as dealmaker extraordinaire would terminate with immediate effect.¹²³

Whilst the assassination of von Plehve in July 1904 breathed some fresh life into the negotiations, the strategy that Witte had devised would be beset by further accusations of Jewish intrigue. By summer 1905, the arrival of Jewish bankers at the peace negotiations in America resulted in dangerous speculation about foreign stakes in Russia's war with Japan.¹²⁴ The Jewish Press in America, quite rightly in my view, saw things in more practical terms, the *Hebrew Standard* observing that that one of the main purposes of Witte's mission to the country had been to "conciliate the American people" and to "bolster up the so-called traditional friendship between the United States and Russia". They hit the nail squarely the head when they wrote that the "astute Russian rightly

¹²² *Germany and Russia*, The Times, September 1 1904, p.3

¹²³ *M. Witte's Position*, The Times, September 4 1903, p.3; *M. Witte's Position*, The Times, September 7 1903, p.3; *Russo German Treaty Negotiations*, September 7 1903, p.3;

¹²⁴ *The Bankers and the Peace Negotiations*, Lucien Wolf, *To the Editor of The Times*, August 18 1905, p.5

regards the American Jews as a potent factor” and was “desirous of placating them”.¹²⁵ This factor would be more potent still in 1917.

In all fairness, Witte had had little option but to meet with the Jewish deputations of bankers in America, owing to the extraordinary success that a small number of Russian revolutionaries had been enjoying at theatres in New York, Boston and Washington. In the immediate aftermath of Father Gapon’s *Bloody Sunday* demonstration, the novelist Maxim Gorky, an associate of the priest in St Petersburg, had promptly embarked on a fund-raising tour of the US with anarchists Nikolai Tchaikovsky, Ivan Narody and Bund-leader Maxim Romm. The group were joined in the US by millionaire Socialist, Gaylord Wilshire, the novelist Mark Twain, *Forverts* editor, Abraham Cahan, Russian-American theatre mogul Joseph Mandelkern and super lawyer Morris Hillquit. By August 1905 Witte would have had some serious catching up to do in the publicity and diplomatic stakes. The most sensible way of restoring some balance would have been to put the liberal face of Russia back under the American spotlight; the future of Russia lay not in its revolutionaries but in its Duma. And what’s more they were willing to trade.

¹²⁵ *Promises, But ...*, The Hebrew Standard, 18 August 1905, p.8

A RAID, A THEFT AND THE PROTOCOLS IS BORN ... PERHAPS.

In view of their shared loathing of Witte and their respective commitment to the Franco-Russo Alliance, the next part of the story takes some believing, not least because the details surrounding the raid are so sketchy and the evidence so thin on the ground. In his 1966 book, the historian Norman Cohn writes of a break-in that is alleged to have been carried out by spy chief, Pyotr Rackhovsky on de Cyon's Swiss apartment:

"... in 1897 Rachkovsky and his men, on the instructions of Witte, burgled de Cyon's villa at Territet, Switzerland, and removed large quantities of papers. They were writings directed against Witte, and it may be that they found an adaptation of Joly's book."

— *Warrant for Genocide: the Myth of the Jewish World-Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Norman Cohn, Scholars Press, 1981, p.106

In the absence of detailed end notes and sources, I am only left assume that Cohn is recycling a series of claims made by French journalist Henri Rollin in his 1939 book, *L'Apocalypse de Notre Temps*, generally regarded as the first detailed investigation into the origins of *The Protocols* and which Cohn mentions rather casually and quite generally in one of the book's rare

footnotes.¹²⁶ The story of the burglary may well be true, but as I don't have access to a copy of Rollin's book, establishing its provenance remains impossible. It's plausible enough, certainly. The book by Joly that Cohn refers to was his 1861 publication, *The Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*, substantial chunks of which were, as we learned earlier, chopped-up, reworked and then cynically recycled in the first edition of Nilus' *Protocols* in 1905. We know that *The Protocols* was chiefly perfected in Paris, where de Cyon had lived on and off for many years. We also know that de Cyon was in touch with France's foremost anti-Semite and anti-Dreyfus activist, Édouard Drumont, who had known both Joly and his book during his early years as a journalist at *La Liberté*.¹²⁷ The story being retold by Cohn is supported by other circumstantial evidence too. Drumont's Private Secretary was François Bournand who had included a portion of Hermann Goedsche's fictional, *The Jewish Cemetery in Prague* in his vaguely factual 1896 book, *Les Juifs et nos Contemporains*, another unqualified rant against Jewish plots. Goedsche's book was, as you've probably already guessed, also used as source-text for *The Protocols*. Cohn is also correct in pointing out that much

¹²⁶ A footnote by Cohn suggests the same claim was made by former Menshevik, Archivist and Marxist, Boris Ivanovich Nikolaevsky in a private communication to Henri Rollin. Boris Nikolaevsky claims to have examined Rachkovsky's personal archives in the 1930s, using them as the basis of his book, *Istoriia Odnogo Predatel'ia: Terroristy i Politicheskaia Politsiia*, 1932. Nikolaevsky ended his days in California as curator of the Russian archive at the Hoover Library. Historian John Joseph Brock claims these files were subsequently lost. Cohn's book was first published by Harper & Row in 1966.

¹²⁷ *The Curious Monsieur Cyon*, George F. Kennan, *The American Scholar*, Autumn 1986, Vol. 55, No. 4, p.472

of the political criteria used to satirise Napoleon III in Joly's book were very like those used to criticize Count Sergei Witte in de Cyon's kiss and tell series of books in the mid-1890s. But in spite of this, I think we'd all agree that whilst much of the evidence puts Édouard Drumont in the frame, it's fairly unpersuasive where de Cyon is concerned. In fact, in terms of the 'raid' at least, it didn't make much sense.¹²⁸

On the issue of de Cyon's alleged anti-Semitism we'd really need to turn to his 1892 book, *La Russie Contemporaine*. In this he shows no small amount of sympathy for the Jews of the Russian Pale. However, his frustration was based not so much on any deep, abiding connection with the Jewish faith (which he'd relinquished some years before) but to the harm that the "cruel" and "zealous" actions of certain officials was having on Russia globally. De Cyon did his best to put an argument together against the inhumane treatment and corralling of Jews in ghettos and designated colonies like those of the Pale. Expulsion was not the answer and Russia's recent support for the emigration of three million Jews to Palestine, as proposed in 1891, would only result in robbing Russia of the necessary skills and financial resources that would keep its economy strong. A Zionist he certainly wasn't, dismissing the

¹²⁸ Drumont had form where forgeries were concerned. In 1896 he had resurrected another famous fabrication for the purposes of anti-Russian and anti-Semitic purposes: *The Will of Peter the Great*. This resulted in counter-accusations of Drumont being a 'secret Jew' by Catholic Priest (and anti-Semite) Father Charles Renaut: see: *L'Israélite Edouard Drumont et les sociétés secrètes actuellement*, Chez l'auteur, 1896

whole campaign launched by Baron Hirsch to colonise a “Hebrew Kingdom” as “ridiculous, grotesque and compromising”. De Cyon was utterly convinced that the “inappropriate interference” of their co-religionists in Europe would have disastrous impact on Russia and provide the “rabid anti-Semites” with all the moral ammunition they needed. There was another issue that concerned him too. As a result of continuing persecution by a large body of Russian peasants and the corrupt state and police officials who encourage them, more and Jews were turning to Socialism and to Nihilism. The more divided the nation became on the issue, the better foothold the radicals would have, and as a consequence the Monarchist autocracy would continue to decline. The success of the Jewish Bund and the growth in popularity of Political Zionism was slowly eroding national loyalty. The Zionist concept was, he lamented, one of the “craziest and most chimerical” anyone could dream of. They would leave the rich fertile soils of their homeland to suffer in one that was barren. The true solution to the Jewish question, he wrote, was total cultural assimilation. If the economic and moral stability of the nation was to be maintained Jews would need to cause to lose “all their peculiarities of custom and religion” and convert to Russian Orthodoxy as rapidly as and as absolutely as possible. It wasn’t a unique approach by any means. American Jewish bankers like Jacob Schiff had preaching much the same gospel for years. Ethnicizing the Jewish religion was not only turning it into a nation without soils, it was alienating them from their host nations in the process. If de Cyon

had played a hand in the plagiarism of Joly, then it was more likely to have been as a satirical response to the “inappropriate interference” of Jewish bankers outside Russia and Witte’s slightly embarrassing courtship of them.¹²⁹ More and more *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, in its initial phase at least, was beginning to look less like a dangerous repeating firearm and more like an Internet meme: copied, spread and mutilated with uneven success and hilarity by the world’s most odious pamphleteers and typesetting warriors; dodgy rather than deadly.

There was another reason that it made it pretty unlikely that de Cyon had deliberately contrived to produce a work that would do untold harm to the Jews. In the same year that he had published his thoughts on the Jewish Question, he published another work: *Études Sociales: Nihilisme et Anarchie*, a social study of Russia’s Nihilist and Anarchist movements. It stands to reason that if de Cyon had formed any sincere belief in a ‘global Jewish conspiracy’ hell-bent on destroying the civilised world, it would almost certainly have registered here. This four-hundred page analysis of the threat being posed to Imperial Russia by the “miserable” unholy trinity of Prince Kropotkin, Sergei Stepniak and Vera Zasulich, certainly didn’t pull any punches. The ultimate goal of these reprobates was perceived as nothing less

¹²⁹ La Russie Contemporaine: Études Politiques; Les Principes de l’autocratie, La France et la Russie, La Question des Juifs, E. De Cyon, Calmann Levy, Paris, 1892.

than the final “destruction of everything ... the social bond, of any society, of any government”¹³⁰ Although he was at pains to point out that this “microbe revolution” had been imported from hostile forces *outside* of Russia, de Cyon makes absolutely no attempt at all to root this growing mischief in Jewish influences or Masonic intrigue, either within or without its borders. His explanation is, by contrast, much more scientific; it was a contagion that thrived on the suffering of exploited workers, greed and state corruption:

“in a world where, thanks to universal suffrage, the fools and the wretched oppress the intellectual elite agencies and characters, where the direction is given by those who would need to be stupid conduits, where ignorance takes the place of science, where the great lady and the vulgar assassin, the scholar and hairdresser, statesman and the sweet merchant also aspire to see their names spread everywhere by the advertisements of the press, where the capitalists and industrialists join forces with the cabaret-keepers and the failures of all professions that exploit the worker in the name of false socialist systems ...”¹³¹

From de Cyon’s point of view, a new unhealthy brew of laissez-faire attitudes and religious tolerance had allowed anarchy to spread across Russia with promiscuous ease. He’d clearly been reading his Edmund Burke: *the only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing.*

¹³⁰ Études Sociales: Nihilisme et Anarchie, Élie de Cyon, 1892, Calmann Lévy

¹³¹ Études Sociales: Nihilisme et Anarchie, Élie de Cyon, 1892, Calmann Lévy, p.6

However, as fanatical as he was, he was not unsympathetic to the unmanageable radicals, neatly surmising that “misery undeserved is not much more common than ill-gotten wealth.” De Cyon had been quick to recognise that the various inequalities and injustices that accompanied a weak autocracy had provided the necessary conditions in which these evils had taken root and naturally welcomed the support that Russia was now receiving from the Roman Catholic Church, surmising that the pressure that would be brought to bear on the country’s Liberal classes (and with whom the nihilists enjoyed a fractious yet nonetheless advantageous relationship) would prove “fatal” to its spread and growth.¹³²

It’s clear from the above that Elie de Cyon bore a grudge against the Socialists and the anarchists. He also perceived Zionism and Bundism as credible (if delusional) threats to the preservation of a national pride. But despite the various opportunities he had to draw a parallel between the two perceived dangers, he never once tried to say that Nihilism and Anarchism was a uniquely Jewish (or Masonic) phenomenon.¹³³ Which leaves us with the

¹³² *Études Sociales: Nihilisme et Anarchie*, Élie de Cyon, 1892, Calmann Lévy, p.9. A joint war had been launched on Nihilism and Socialism by the Vatican and Imperial Russia some twelve years before with the publication of *In the Encyclical Letter* entitled *Socialism, Communism and Nihilism* on Dec 28, 1878. A fresh policy was rolled-out between 1890 and 1892 when clergy received ‘secret instruction’ on how best to battle ‘the evil’.

¹³³ Somewhat confusingly, Henri Rollin’s book sought to establish a connection between Elie de Cyon and Juliette Adam and French Masonry. Drumont, however, wrote on French Freemasonry several times. See: *La France Juive*, essai d’histoire contemporain (1900)

question: did he author the text that would eventually become *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*?

If you were to take a more rigorous line with Rollin's story, the only time that de Cyon ever really gets close to trading on the works of Joly is in his 1897 publication, *Où la dictature de M. Witte conduit la Russie? — Where Mr Witte's Dictatorship will Lead Russia?* The last in the series of kiss and tell stories that de Cyon published in France, this slightly mocking review of Witte's tyrannical reign at the Ministry of Finance certainly seems to have taken many of its cues from the satirical stream of protests made by Joly against Napoleon III in *Dialogue in Hell Between Machiavelli and Montesquieu*. But herein lies another problem; this, and the two books de Cyon had published on Witte some two years earlier, weren't part of a secret trove of documents stashed under lock-and-key at his villa in Territet, but a highly publicised and easily accessible body of work you could pick up at all good bookstores. It really came down to this; as the book had been published in the year that the raid is alleged to have taken place, where would the logic be in Rachkovsky storming into de Cyon's villa and making some belated attempt to suppress it? On the evidence currently available, I could certainly see how Rachkovsky may have 'raided' de Cyon's book in a plagiaristic sense of the word, but I failed to see how it would have necessitated an actual heist. In short, I wasn't convinced by the story at all.

This particular line of enquiry takes another extraordinary turn when we learn that de Cyon and his Parisian sponsor, Juliette Adam are said to have used the collective pseudonym, ‘Paul Vasili’ for several volumes of “sparkling and malicious diatribes” published under the auspices of *La Société de Paris* and *La Société de Londres* in the 1880s, a pseudonym that has traditionally been ascribed to Princess Ekaterina Radziwill — the first person to reveal the true authors of *The Protocols* in February 1922.¹³⁴ To this day the 1885 book *The World of London* is credited to all three authors: Radziwill, Adam and de Cyon.¹³⁵ However, we will deal with Princess Radziwill a little later in the book, as her story is just as perplexing.

UNCLEAR MOTIVES, AMBIGUOUS LOYALTIES

In an article that Rollin had published in Lucien Sciutto’s Cairo-based *L’Aurore* newspaper in August 1933, de Cyon isn’t mentioned at all. The firm only conclusion that Rollin had been able to draw at this stage of his investigation is that *The Protocols* had been produced at the end of 1901 by

¹³⁴ Spoiler! Princess Radziwill’s version of its origins doesn’t feature de Cyon. There’s certainly evidence that Count Paul Vasili and *The Society of London* (Paris and Berlin) were part of the *La Nouvelle Revue* franchise under the editorship of Juliette Adam and Elie De Cyon. See: *Le Livre, Revue du Monde Littéraire*, Gazette Bibliographique Moderne, Paris, Sixième Année 1885, p.389. The greater likelihood is that de Cyon edited the stories written by Radziwill and which she had published under the pseudonym, Count Paul Vasili. See: *Polybiblion: Revue Bibliographique Universelle*, Partie Technique, Paris, January 1885, Vol.45, p.209

¹³⁵ see: <https://www.worldcat.org/title/world-of-london-la-societe-de-londres/oclc/1102331929> and *The Letters on Society in London*, Truth May 7 1885, p.6

Rachkovsky in Paris as a means of destabilising the influence of Christian faith-healer ‘Vachod’ in the court of the Tsarina Alexandra Feodorovna.¹³⁶ Like Rasputin some years later, ‘Vachod’ was rumoured to be in Russia as a German secret agent promoting a new ‘Bismarkian’ alliance intended to help preserve the sovereign of the two countries. A key part of Rachkovsky’s campaign (which was rumoured to be supported by Nilus) was to present Vachod as an agent of global freemasonry, and his various dabblings in spiritualism and esoteria as evidence of his practising the society’s occultic rituals. It’s a convoluted story that contradicts much of what had already been learned by *The Times* newspaper in 1920.¹³⁷ And like most things in this tale it was a fiction from start to finish.

The approach taken by Rackhovsky on this occasion was in many ways an extension of an idea he had developed in Paris some fifteen years earlier when he and professional con-man, Adalbert-Henri Foucault de Mondion — an agent that he is alleged to have been running for France’s General Boulanger and Russian Military Intelligence — had colluded in the so-called ‘Ferdinand Documents’.¹³⁸ Again it was pure John Le Carre. According to a

¹³⁶ Dr Nizier Anthelme Philippe. Vachod appears as a footnote in Vladimir Burtsev’s 1938 essay, *The Elders of Sion: A Proved Forgery for The Slavonic and Eastern Review*.

¹³⁷ *Les Secrets des Sages de Sion*, L’Aurore, Henri Rollin, August 10 1933, p.3. Bismarck had done everything in his power to prevent an alliance between France and Russia. Rollin was recycling a similar story told by Alexandre du Chayla in *Le Tribune Juive* in May 1921.

¹³⁸ An account of his death and various activities spy and agent in *M. Foucault de Mondion, Le Pays : journal des volontés de la France*, June 19 1894, p.3, <https://gallica.bnf.fr>

version of the story that first appeared in George Frost Kennan's *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order* in 1979, the story starts with the top secret *Reinsurance Treaty* of June 1887. As tensions increased over spheres of influence in the Balkans, attempts were being made to maintain the general peace and safeguard Germany's ambitions in the Mediterranean and any related threat to the Suez Canal. As a result an agreement was reached between Germany and Russia, which saw both nations pledging to observe 'benevolent neutrality' in the event that either country should go to war with Austria-Hungary, France or Britain — or indeed any Third Party nation. It was a move that would prove deeply unpopular with Rachkovsky and many other ultra-nationalists in France and Russia whose revanchist opposition to Germany demanded direct and uncompromising, aggressive action. The spy-chief's response to the treaty was to leak a series of elaborate forgeries to Alexander III, subtly engineered to undermine his confidence in the policies of Germany and his faith in the promises being made by von Bismarck. The documents, produced by Foucault de Mondion in Paris and presented to the Tsar during a short official stay in Copenhagen, were purported to be copies of letters written by the German Ambassador in Austria, Prince Reuss to Prince Ferdinand of Bulgaria. The content was nothing short of explosive. It was alleged that the German government secretly favoured Ferdinand, an officer in the Austro-Hungarian army, as heir to the Bulgarian throne and that Bismarck would personally endorse any bid the Prince might make to take it (which he

did, and rather successfully). These kinds of backroom manoeuvrings would have been a complete affront to the Tsar of Russia who had thrown the weight of his support behind the Prince's rival, the Georgian-born, Nichols Dadian of Mingrelia. The impact of these documents on the 'top secret' Reinsurance Treaty was catastrophic. By 1890 the Tsar's trust in Bismarck had been shattered completely and the agreement was never renewed. It was this failure to renew the treaty that greased the way for the Franco-Russian Alliance and Russia's eventual rapprochement with Britain as part of the Triple Alliance.¹³⁹

You won't be surprised to learn that the man who forged these documents, Foucault de Mondion was, like Elie de Cyon, another pivotal figure with Juliette Adam's *La Société de Paris*, and had similarly published articles under the group's collective's pseudonym, 'Count Paul Vasili'.¹⁴⁰ As he died in June 1894 it's unlikely that de Mondion played any practical role in *The Protocols* as we know them today, but his signature skills and methods almost certainly bore an influence on its shape-shifting evolution. Indeed, it is worth noting that the man who had brought the fake documents to the attention of the Tsar in the first place was former French Ambassador to St Petersburg, General Appert, who had allegedly done so on the orders of French Foreign

¹³⁹ *The Decline of Bismarck's European Order: Franco-Russian Relations, 1875-1890*, George F. Kennan, 1979, Princeton University Press, pp. 347-361; *L'Apocalypse de Notre Temps*, Allia, 1991 reprint (published originally in 1939), Henri Rollin, pp. 378-379

¹⁴⁰ *The Fortnightly Review*, ed. Frank Harris, Vol. XLVIII, July to Dec 1890, Chapman and Hall, p.303

Minister, Émile Flourens. This last detail would make an awful lot of sense as Flourens, a close ally of Juliette Adam, had been another enthusiastic supporter of the Franco-Russo Alliance, and initially at least, the rapprochement of Britain and Russia as part of the Triple Alliance. A devout Roman Catholic, Flourens would later turn against Britain, claiming that the League of Nations and the International Court of Justice in The Hague were both part of a secret Masonic plot being orchestrated by the “Israelite Bankers” of Britain with the connivance of the British Royal family. These absurd claims, which had little or no foundation, suggested that King Edward VII had devised the Panama Scandal of 1892 to crush the followers of Léon Gambetta and the Dreyfus Affair to cripple the French Militarists. Flourens even went so far as to say that the King had authorized a further series of stunts to help unseat the Roman Catholic Church in France. Given that so many of these claims are still perpetuated to this day, the books that he authored during this period may just hand Émile Flourens the title of ‘godfather’ of Modern Conspiracy Theory. A glimpse of his venom can be found in his 1906 book, *La France Conquise*:

“In London sit the kings of Israel. The rich Jewish bankers of the City, animated by a patriotism of race that bonds them forever, direct the destinies of the Hebrew people, watching over and protecting their interests in every corner of the globe. As victims of various barbarities

under the reign of Alexander III, a deep frustration exists in their hearts and they are desirous of revenge".¹⁴¹

In light of the fact that there were now at least two additional suspects, did the story told by Henri Rollin about de Cyon and the raid hold any water at all? Well maybe yes, and maybe no. I'd be tempted to regard de Cyon as more of a major tributary in a much larger stream of propaganda flowing generously between France and Russia in the last ten years of the 19th Century. It begins life as a convenient political mechanism in a cold war with Germany and Austria-Hungary before degrading into a cliché for all occasions; the Golem that amok, only to be recalled to duty at times of national vulnerability and during periods of intense revanchism. At best, the story being told by Rollin in 1939 was garbled. At worst it was pure invention and with a worryingly unclear motive hatched on the eve of pre-Nazi France by a Frenchman of ambiguous loyalties.¹⁴²

If the source of Rollin's story was former Menshevik and archivist Boris I. Nikolaevsky, as most recent books on the subject seem to suggest, we

¹⁴¹ *Un fiasco maçonnique à l'aurore du vingtième siècle de l'ère chrétienne*, Émile Flourens, L. Cloix, 1912; *La France Conquise, Edouard VII et Clemenceau*, Garnier frères (Paris), 1906. Flourens would die at the age of 79 just days before the League of Nations was formally established on January 10th 1920.

¹⁴² Born in France in 1885, Rollin had entered the French Navy at an early age before serving with the Marine Intelligence Services in Constantinople (1917). After the war he became French correspondent of *Le Temps* in Moscow where he ran a number of Intelligence Agents for the French Secret Service. After service with a counter-intelligence section in France he was exfiltrated to Britain where he sought the protection of Mi6. He died shortly after returning to France in 1955.

may need to scrape away at a further layer of historicity, as Nikolaevsky was not averse to peddling proto-Masonic Conspiracy Theories himself. One of those he is most famous for aligned the founding of the *First International* of Marx with the Masonic Order of the Philadelphes and the Rite of Memphis-Misraim in Paris (“it’s the Illuminati Jim, but not as we know it”).¹⁴³ A full account of his research can be found in his essay, *Secret Societies and the First International*, published by Stanford University Press in 1966. A note of caution, however; this brief history of political and revolutionary masonry and the inner life of the First International comes across like the night of the living dead in Umberto Eco’s *Prague Cemetery*. His opening salvo? “*Secret Societies, outwardly of Masonic form, played a decisive role in the forming of the First (Communist) International.*”¹⁴⁴ I don’t think either Churchill or Shanks could have put it any plainer: the Masonic Peril was pumping the firm black heart of Soviet Russia with its cold, conspiratorial blood. It was part of its DNA.

¹⁴³ Pro-amateur conspiracy theorist David Livingstone cites Nikolaevsky’s work in his book, *Transhumanism, The History of a Dangerous Idea*, but one look at the ‘essential reading list’ on Livingstone’s website, *The Conspiracy School* reveals much about his logic (Judeo-Masonic cults are behind practically everything we don’t like in the world, including Donald Trump) see: <https://web.archive.org/web/20171130201424/http://www.conspiracyschool.com/essential-reading>

¹⁴⁴ *Secret Societies and the First International*, The Revolutionary Internationals 1864-1943, Stamford University Press, 1966, pp.36-56. It was published, moreover, in 1966, the same year as Norman Cohn’s recycling of the de Cyon story. It was a pivotal year on the Communist Calendar: Russia and China had just split and the Communist Party of America had taken up positions in the anti-war movements of the black communities and the campus at Berkley University. In the UK crippling national strike action loomed.

As far as Rollin's account of the 'raid' was concerned, there was still one more problem to address. Rollin alleges that the order for the break-in had come directly from Witte himself. However, as Finance Minister, Count Witte was unlikely to have had enjoyed any real authority over spymaster Rachkovsky and the Okhrana, whose various departments, foreign and domestic, came uniquely under the control of the Ministry of the Interior — the MVD — arguably the most powerful body in Russia at this time. Strangely enough, the Minister of the Interior at the time of de Cyon's mischief-making was Ivan Durnovo, the man responsible for the imperial ukase that demanded the expulsion of thousands of unskilled Jews from Moscow at the time that the Rothschilds of Paris had retracted their offer of a loan in 1891. An order from the anti-Semitic bigot Durnovo would certainly make more sense, but his generally tense and uneven relationship with Witte makes it unlikely. There was another thing too. In the same year that de Cyon commenced his very public exile in Bern, Durnovo would find himself ditched from the Interior Ministry and reappointed to the State Council by the newly crowned Emperor of Russia, Nicholas II. The man who replaced him was Ivan Goremykin, a self-described 'man of the old school' with extreme conservative views, determined to crack down on dissent and whose desire to increase Russia's religious authority in Palestine was almost as great as de Cyon's.¹⁴⁵ Was de

¹⁴⁵ Goremykin had been personally recommended for the post by the Procurator of the Holy Synod, Konstantin Pobedonostsev, possibly the second most important man in Russia.

Cyon's impromptu exit from Paris better explained by a radical reshuffling of the deck in St Petersburg, than it was on some fresh new act of sedition? Just who was running de Cyon? The timeline ran like this: in September 1895, just weeks after publishing his book on Witte in France, de Cyon was expelled from Paris. The following month Ivan Nikolayevich Durnovo was removed from his position at the MVD where he had complete control of Rachkovsky. Did de Cyon jump before he could be pushed? Or was it simply in preparation for a major shift in tactics by the MVD? The feature in *The Times* of London reported that the decision to expel de Cyon and strip him of his national rights as a Russian had come as response to a ukase prepared by the Tsar based upon a report drawn-up by both the Minister of the Interior (Durnovo) and the Minister of Finance (de Witte).¹⁴⁶

The simple truth of the matter is this, the closer you looked the more tangled it got. One thing we might be sure of, however, is that because Rachkovsky loathed Witte's liberalism every bit as fiercely as de Cyon, and supported the Russo-France Agreement every bit as passionately, it seems

Goremykin would subsequently become Chairman of the Orthodox Imperial Palestine Society. See: *Pobedonostsev: His Life and Thought*, Robert Francis Byrnes, Indiana University Press, 1968

¹⁴⁶ Interestingly, the British response to de Cyon's book on Witte focused on a very gracious letter that de Cyon had in his possession from Queen Victoria to Maharaja Sir Duleep Singh, in which she very nobly (and now very publically) pardons him for his temporary disloyalty to the Britain by attempting to raise an insurrection in India with the help of Russia. The shock disclosure had the benefit of presenting a very flattering portrait of Queen Victoria and Russia. See: *The Queen and Dhuleep Singh*, Daily News (London) 02 August 1895, p.6

terrifically unlikely that the spy chief would have harboured any personal grudge against de Cyon, whose contacts and support he'd clearly been drawing on in Paris as part of the Franco-Russo Alliance campaign. The spymaster's partnership with another Jewish 'convert', Ivan Fedorovich Manasevich-Manuilov also suggests Cyon's Jewish heritage would have little or no impact on professional relationship with the man.¹⁴⁷ The same might not be said of Rachkovsky's superior, Ivan Durnovo who is said to have expressed some serious reservations about Russia's alignment with France and Britain. It was a position that would eventually lead his cousin, Pyotr N. Durnovo, the Russian Interior Minister at the time of the First World War, to recommend that Russia withdraw from the Triple Alliance on the eve of war with Germany.¹⁴⁸

The closer I looked at Rollin's story, the harder it was to take at face value. The fact that both Rachkovsky and de Cyon had arrived in Paris to push the Franco-Russo Alliance in the mid-1880s, suggests that de Cyon was more likely to be working *with* Rachkovsky than working against him. Among the hardcore of ultra-Monarchists looking to strengthen the autocracy, dishing the

¹⁴⁷ In February 1922, De Cyon's associate, Princess Katerina Radziwill accused Ivan Fedorovich Manasevich-Manuilov of co-authoring *The Protocols* with Rachkovsky. There are separate entries on them both elsewhere in this guide.

¹⁴⁸ *The Durnovo Memorandum in Context*, David M. McDonald, *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, Bd. 44, H. 4 (1996), pp. 481-502. P. N. Durnovo was Rachkovsky's Chief of Police during the period in which de Cyon and Rachkovsky were both in Paris. Ivan Durnovo, acting as Minister of the Interior and P.N. Durnovo, as Chief of Police both played a vital role in pursuing *Protocols* expert, Vladimir Burtsev across Europe.

dirt on the liberal ‘dictator’ Witte would almost certainly have been seen as a good thing, not a bad thing. If you think the fight for places in the British Cabinet or the American Senate is dirty, then the fight for places in the Council of Ministers in the Russia Empire at this time was a positively filthy affair. A battle for the very soul of the Tsarist Autocracy was now taking place; a clash between Russia’s holy past and its secular future.

It’s also interesting to note that the place where de Cyon spent the first few years of his exile — in Territet on the eastern shores of Lake Geneva in Switzerland — was also within earshot of the brand new headquarters of Russia’s *Socialist Revolutionary Combat Organisation* (the so-called ‘Murder League’) who were now very much in the process of plotting targeted attacks on Russian State officials.¹⁴⁹ It stands to reason that if de Cyon had arrived in Territet with full knowledge that it was close to the anarchist base, then he was probably there under the direction of Rachkovsky in an ‘eyes on the ground’ capacity. And if he wasn’t, then his choice of location was potentially just as curious. The fact de Cyon was able to publish several books from this location suggests any such raid by Rachkovsky would have been an ‘after the horse has bolted’ affair. Much of the “extremely compromising” dirt¹⁵⁰ that de Cyon

¹⁴⁹ A number of revolutionaries had found lodgings in Baugy-sur-Clarens, little more than two miles away. The murder of von Plehve and other senior Russian officials had been planned from their base at Lake Geneva.

¹⁵⁰ L'Apocalypse de Notre Temps, Allia, 1991 reprint (published originally in 1939), Henri Rollin, p. 408

appears to have had on Witte's 'secret' dealings with Germany had already been covered in astonishing detail in the three volumes of work he had recently published in France. So if Rollin's tale was true and a raid had been launched by Rachkovsky, could the spy chief have had another motive?

In light of his new status as a subversive, Rachkovsky is likely to have been just as intrigued as we are to find Russia's No.1 whistleblower bedded down so close to the SR's 'Murder League'. From an Intelligence point of view the long term benefits of covert-surveillance would almost certainly outweigh those of a messy burglary to retrieve a series of documents that had already been published in France. However, if the series of explosive diaries given to him by the Grand Duke Nikolai Nikolayevich had been the object of the raid (providing they ever existed, and it's doubtful) then it may have been enough to warrant a 'bust' in such a sensitive location.

That de Cyon was in Territet at this time is not in doubt. *Ou la dictature de m. Witte conduit la Russie*, published by de Cyon from his villa in the Canton de Vaud bears this out. Even so, given that a full two years had elapsed since the first of his kiss and tell stories had exploded across France, what had suddenly become so urgent that Witte deemed it necessary to launch a raid? In his preface to his 1897 top-up book on Witte, the freshly designated exile expresses his surprise at the force and speed with which his revelations had been circulated around France. Responding to immense

diplomatic pressure, France had had little option but to expel de Cyon but little had actually been done to prevent the books' distribution or its celebration in France's press. In a tantalizing aside, it may be worth pointing out that Territet at this time (and this villa in particular) featured strongly in the lives of British Vice-Consul Auguste Marcel Cuénod (a Swiss banker with William Cuénod & Co) and his staff. By and large, Territet was an English colony, the Protestant St John's Church acting as its spiritual and cultural centre. In fact, the English Colony had swelled so much that by 1890 the church had been extended three times. It also doubled as the colony's semi-official 'British Library'. According to a Thomas Cook handbook for the period, the villa itself — *Villa Mont Riant* — was the site of the colony's 'club house'.¹⁵¹ The English 'Riviera' of Switzerland played host to an annual regatta, a respectable calendar of cricket fixtures and a regular, entertaining schedule of Arthur Sullivan musical theatre.

In 1899, Marcel's brother Ernest Cuénod, then serving as Vice-President of the *Swiss Automobile Club* was asked to supply motorbikes for

¹⁵¹ Cook's Tourist's Handbook for Switzerland, Thomas Cook Ltd, 1908, p.228. Cuénod (born 1868) was related to the Churchill and Spencer family. His family also entertained Polish anti-Semite, pianist and politician, Ignacy Jan Paderewski during a visit in 1913. His banker father William Cuénod served as consular agent for the US from 1893 (director of New York Life Insurance/Cuénod-Churchill Bank). See: United States Congressional Serial Set, Volume 4248, 1902, p.679. This may explain glittering review of de Cyon's services by The Times of London.

the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovich of Russia.¹⁵² As Paris Delegate of the *Touring Club of France*, Ernest would enter a trade partnership in 1906 with the autocratic and curiously unpopular British Conservatives and militarists, Arthur H.L. Bagot, the Earl of Ayresford, the 3rd Baron Raglan and Colonel Frederick Charles Keyser.¹⁵³ British Vice-Consul Marcel Cuénod would die in Syria in 1938.

As a family of bankers it's not unreasonable to speculate that de Cyon's stay in Montreux may have been facilitated in some way by members of the town's most respected banking families, possibly at the behest of interested parties in Britain or America, but it would be speculation of the most creative and spirited kind.¹⁵⁴ That said, the speed with which he was able to exit France at the first sign of trouble and secrete himself at a distinguished English villa in Territet, suggests his escape could have been assisted, at least in part, with some practical assistance from the Brits. Either way, as the man credited with discovering the nerve in the human body that stimulated the human heart, it's certainly curious to think that in a classic Dr Frankenstein

¹⁵² *Royal Motor-cycles for Russia*, *Sporting Life*, 25 January 1899, p.8

¹⁵³ *Bagot's Pneumatic Tyre Company*, *Cycling*, October 24 1896, p.65

¹⁵⁴ In 1897 William was involved in an engineering project with Victor Legrand, the director of Ponts et des Chaussees, and a member of a rightist Bonapartist group, *Appel au Peuple* in France. The group were closely aligned with Drumont and Biez's *Antisemitic League of France*.

fashion, Elie de Cyon may have ended up providing the very first charge that brought this wretched creature to life.

Visitors to the town in the year that Elie de Cyon moved here included the Emperor and Empress of Austria, travelling under the name, the Countess of Hohenembe.¹⁵⁵ It's not an irrelevant detail by any means as the greater part of his book on Witte had immersed its readers in the devious plots and deceptions alleged to have been used by Austria and Bismark to "trick" Russia into an alliance. The following year false rumours of a typhoid epidemic were to starting spread in the world's press. The district councillors did their best to scotch the rumours with a terse and corrective press release and by May 1896, the Arch Duke Franz Ferdinand himself was paying a visit. However, the omens couldn't have been good. Franz had been in Territet little more than a week when news came through of the death of his father, the Arch Duke Charles Louis, brother of the Austrian Emperor and heir to the throne. On the evening of the 18th the Arch Duke had received a blessing by the Pope and by the 10 o' clock the following morning he was dead, triggering a battle over succession rights that would last another twenty years (if not forever).¹⁵⁶ It was strange to think that an event that would change the course of the world's history had started right here in Territet as a choir of baritones, basses and

¹⁵⁵ Glasgow Herald, October 10 1895, p.4 (possibly a mistype of Hohenburg)

¹⁵⁶ London Evening Standard May 11 1896, p.7; Edinburgh Evening News 19 May 1896, p.3.

tenors belted out the first comic strains of Sullivan's *Mikado* opera. It's really just as well they weren't performing Sullivan's latest Savoy offering, *The Grand Duke*. If they had, the Conspiracy Theorists were certain to have a field-day, especially when they discovered that Franz's father, the deeply religious and fiercely anti-Liberal, Arch Duke Charles Louis had died as a result of drinking contaminated water from the River Jordan in Palestine during a recent trip to the Holy Land. In a World Top Ten of Ironic Deaths, it was certainly pushing for a top five entry.

THE MURDER ON THE LAKE

Just two years later, the Grand Duke's sister-in-law, the Empress Elisabeth would be confronted by a similar dark turn of events. Arriving at Territet on Saturday the 3rd of September 1898 the Empress had made a mid-week trip to Geneva where she duly checked-in incognito at the Hôtel Beau-Rivage. A few days later she made arrangements to return to her villa at Territet, booking one of the late boats departing from the quayside just yards away from the hotel. What Elisabeth didn't know is that her presence in area had been brought to the attention of anarchist, Luigi Lecheni, a 25-year former soldier born in Paris but brought up at various orphanages and institutions in Italy, who had travelled to Lausanne and Geneva with the intent (or so he alleged) to murder

any monarch or prominent capitalist he could lay his angry hands on.¹⁵⁷ The Empress had been walking back to the quayside with her lady-in-waiting, the Countess Sztáray, to take the boat back to Territet when the assassin struck. Approaching her from the other side of the road, Lecheni rushed up to the woman and lunged, thrusting a four-inch stiletto blade into her heart. According to witnesses, the Empress appears to have stumbled in the direction of the waiting steamer, made a frantic attempt to embark as it blew its whistle and then collapsed. The weapon had been filed so thin that it had pierced her body like a needle, drawing little more than a few drops of blood. She clearly had no idea of the seriousness of the assault and died of her injuries a short time later. There had been numerous attempts on male heads of state across the globe, but never an attack on a woman. People were horrified, stunned and griefstricken in a way they hadn't been before. It was an emotionally charged event with a sickening sense of futility. Newspapers weren't able to cope with the sudden demand and certain titles were distributed for free. For 48 hours the world just simply to a halt. Mark Twain, who some ten years later would come out in some support of the Anarchist cause in America, wrote to the Reverend Joseph H. Twichell that the Empress's death had "electrified the world". The snow-capped peaks of the Ausrtrian Empire were suddenly draped in black.

¹⁵⁷ Lausanne was riddled with Russian, French and Italian Anarchists, Socialist Revolutionaries and agents of the Russian Secret Service at this time. The Revolutionary Union had their base here. See: Sheffield Daily Telegraph 21 April 1892, p.4; *The Anarchists*, The Times, July 10 1894, p.5; *Serious Dynamite Explosions*, The Times, May 2 1892, p.5

Speaking of the lightning speed and intensity with which news had spread around the world, Twain remarked that this was “the first time in history that the entire surface of the globe has been swept in a single instant with the thrill of so gigantic event”. It was that classic Diana moment: this was the ‘blameless’ Empress Elisabeth, the Queen of People’s Hearts.¹⁵⁸

The assassin, who had made no serious attempt to escape, was arrested by Policemen standing at a nearby cab-stand. A darker twist was yet to come, when *The Times of London* reported that the Empress, whose presence in the region is believed to have been unknown to Swiss Police (or indeed anyone that week), had arrived in the town to meet the Baroness Julie de Rothschild, herself a Territet regular.¹⁵⁹ Despite her attendance of a show at the theatre the previous evening, *The Times* was at pains to point out that the Empress had met with no other person during the visit and had refused all pleas for a Police escort. Rumours and speculation inevitably followed. The Empress is believed to have called on the Baroness at Château de Pregny on the Friday before spending her last night alive in Geneva. She had been offered the loan of the Rothschild’s yacht, but had politely declined the offer on the grounds that she

¹⁵⁸ *Memorable Assassination, What is Man? and Other Essays*, Mark Twain, Harper & Brother, New York, pp. 167-181

¹⁵⁹ *The Late Austrian Empress*, Graphic, September 17 1898, p.8; Assassination of the Empress of Austria, *The Times*, September 12 1898, p.3. Julie de Rothschild was the wife of the Viennese Adolphe Rothschild. Elisabeth’s sister, Maria Sofia was the former Queen Marie of Naples. Adolphe Rothschild had, until the arrival of Garibaldi in the 1860s, been head of the Rothschild House in Naples.

had promised to visit a small patisserie back in Geneva. As mark of appreciation for the quality of their work she was keen to sample their goods and make some polite purchases before returning to her villa in Territet. It was a classic ‘the very last person to see her alive’ scenario and *The Times* took much delight (and just as many liberties) in telling it.

As tributes to the Empress came pouring in from leaders worldwide the Russians wasted little time in getting to the heart of the problem: Switzerland had become a haven for terrorists. A liberal asylum system was allowing this cancer to metastasize and spread. Whilst expressing their utmost sympathy for the Emperor’s family, their profoundest emotions were reserved for the anarchists responsible, recognising immediately the generous amount of capital that this unexpected tragedy would provide in their fight against the Socialists. The disastrous shortcomings of Liberal societies around the world, was now plain for all to see. The monarchist press held nothing back; the mania of anarchism was the “blighting stain” and “venomous hydra” of the world that had been too generously allowed to flourish. Blood was on the hands of the world’s Liberals who’d let them prosper. St Petersburg’s daily newspaper, the *Novosti* did what many would have expected and laid the blame squarely at the feet of global liberalism — the so-called “armed peace” that many Conservative Russians believed prevented the vital prosecutions and extraditions that were necessary to eliminate anarchism worldwide. A period

of relative harmony had been brought to a bloody and vociferous end by one of the most senseless, disturbing and extremely sad spectacles the civilised world had ever seen.

The tension that had existed between Russia and Austria for generations had calmed considerably the months prior to the assassination, a rare state visit by the Emperor Franz Joseph to St Petersburg the previous spring having contributed much to the developing thaw. There was, moreover, a new “general understanding” over the issue of the Balkan Peninsula and Austria’s previous support for Turkey during the Russo-Turkish War. However, the burgeoning alliance wasn’t to everyone’s satisfaction. In the immediate aftermath of the Emperor’s visit a regular flow of disinformation started to emerge in the world’s press, much of it produced in Russia and cleverly leaked via channels in Germany to achieve as much confusion as possible. Propping up the campaign was another outrageous fake.

THE SECRET COMMUNIQUÉ

In his 1895 book, de Cyon had made no attempt to hide his belief that the Austrian Emperor had been acting as a “valuable auxiliary” to the anti-Catholic Bismark.¹⁶⁰ And sure enough, in January 1898, just several months

¹⁶⁰ Histoire de l'entente franco-russe, 1886-1894: documents et souvenirs, Élie de Cyon, A. Charles, 1895. p. 41

after the Emperor's surprise state visit, it was being reported by Austria's *Fremden-Blatt* newspaper that there were certain individuals in Russia who were somewhat "dissatisfied with the intimate relations" that were developing so rapidly between Austria-Hungary and Russia. Again it was left to the *Novosti* newspaper to do much of the muck-raking, speculating as it did on the presence of the ex-King of Milan in Serbia and the influence the former Royal exerted on Austria-Hungary. In a slight extension of this, the *Moscow Gazette* blamed a conflict that arose during the war between Turkey and Greece on the sinister machinations of a "Catholic Clan receiving its order from the Austro-Hungarian Consulate" in Italy.¹⁶¹ Either way, someone somewhere seemed determined to jam relations. Given the tensions that were evidently building among Russia's monarchists and industrialists, it would be foolish to overlook one vital piece of evidence needed to make a case of trickery and undue influence on the part of Austria and Italy: the Empress Elisabeth and her husband, Franz Joseph had retained strong family ties to Milan — which at one time had been under Austrian Habsburg rule — and it was perhaps only natural that it should stoke the paranoia of Russia's warring chauvinists.

In May, the disinformation campaign appeared to be taken up a gear when reports began to emerge of a semi-official treaty that had been signed during the Emperor's state visit to St Petersburg the previous year. At the heart

¹⁶¹ *Austria-Hungary and Russia*, The Times, January 17 1898, p.6

of it was a ‘secret communiqué’. Although few had seen the actual document, tensions were on the rise as rumours began to circulate of a formal agreement about the Balkans.¹⁶² Like most things in this tale, the story about the ‘communiqué’, which had first appeared in Germany’s *Frankfurter Zeitung* (a strong critic of German militarism), turned out to be fake. A statement made by a Russian Minister did its best to assure the world that the document was a “ludicrous and clumsy invention”. Similar denials were made by the government of Vienna, who calmly explained that the entirely fictitious communiqué had been “palmed-off” on that journal for the specific purpose of causing as much disruption as possible within the British-Russian and German-Austrian spheres of influence.¹⁶³ It was a forgery that was every bit as preposterous and ingenious as *The Protocols*; plausible and convincing enough to provide the necessary measures of chaos and confusion to stimulate discussion and practically impossible to disprove. Someone had obviously discovered the perfect currency exchange mechanism for trading in fear: the concoction of a ‘secret plot’.

Whilst opinions remained split as to the authorship of the forgery, one thing most people could agree on was that its timing was “psychological” and was unlikely to be the work of the Germans, whose plans for a Triple Alliance

¹⁶² Elie de Cyon, was as you might expect, one of the few people who *did* claim to have seen the treaty.

¹⁶³ Austria-Hungary and Russia, *The Times*, May 18 1898, p.7

would have suffered the worst of the damage. The presence of Elie de Cyon in Territet at this time— Rackhovsky's most powerful ally in the Franco-Russo Alliance and his most resourceful agent in his personal war with Germany — is, from this perspective, deeply troubling indeed. It was only two years before that de Cyon had published a bestselling kiss and tell about Austrian trickery and Bismarkian deception. As Rackhovsky's eyes and ears on the ground in Territet, de Cyon could have kept close tabs on the various trips made by the Empress to Territet over the years, and, more to the point, where and who the Empress was visiting. She as here for health reasons, and de Cyon was a leading physician. For masters of conspiracy like Rackhovsky and de Cyon, the Empress's intimacy with the Rothschilds, already at the centre of de Cyon's sinister pro-German plots, would have made it too good an opportunity to miss. Rackhovsky knew more than anyone that if you presented people with the picture they most wanted to see, the more prepared they'd be to accept it. Like Shakespeare's *Hamlet* he was literally willing things into existence. Setting the word to the action, and the action to the word; holding a mirror up to nature to reveal the secret wishes of the people of his time. As anyone who has studied the spectacularly complex operations of the Russian Secret Service abroad will know, Rachkovsky traded in tapestries, and putting together the right tapestry was down to finding the right fibres, and then going back and forth to create the right illusion. And the pictures he created were both a product of and product perpetuating conspiracy, weaving the various fibres of

fear and loathing, fact and fiction into one complex, completed work — matching the right problem with the right provocation to produce the right solution. The fact the Empress had been born in Munich just made the target all the more legitimate, and her regular meet-ups with the Rothschilds just made it that more urgent. As a liberal modernizer of the monarchy she would have presented a further series of problems, not just to Russia but to Austria-Hungary. It was simply a case of bringing all these threads together, and then giving them the gentlest of tugs to have the whole thing fall apart in favour of Imperial Russia. And like most conventional tapestries, the threads that created this illusion needed to be hidden from view. The Empress Elisabeth upon seeing the churning, thundering foam of the Gastein waterfall in Salzburg wrote of it *'The body tired, the ear still listens ...Turning sparkling pearls into a dream'*. Rachkovsky was the thundering water and the 'nebulised' foam' of the falls were the innermost vapours of people's wishes — however dark, and however ghoulish. The pearls were not dreams this time but nightmares.¹⁶⁴

It was extraordinary proposition: Rachkovsky working with de Cyon to engineer a breakdown in relations with Austria that would eventually give rise to the declaration of World War One? At first glance it sounded preposterous,

¹⁶⁴ Kaiserin Elisabeth: *Das Poetische Tagebuch*, Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1997, p.72

but it may be supported by evidence ... *of sorts*. Shortly before her death, the Empress had been undergoing treatment for sciatica, as well as a range of other physiological and mental health problems. The doctor who had managed that treatment in the 1880s had been one of de Cyon's peers, Dr. J.G. Mezger, who could also count among his patients, the son of Kaiser Wilhelm, Lionel Walter Rothschild and Pope Leo XIII. In 1892 Dr Metzger had spent time in St Petersburg offering treatment to the Tsarina Maria Feodorovna, wife of Alexander III. As the former physician to Alexander II and Nicholas I ¹⁶⁵, it's almost certain that Dr. De Cyon and Dr. Mezger would have rubbed shoulders at some point, as central as they were to the health and well-being of the world's leaders, as well as being forward-wits in the understanding of deep massage, neurology, and blood circulation.¹⁶⁶ For various spells between 1888 and 1909 the doctors had also been practically neighbours in Paris – Mezger based at 18 Avenue d'Antin, and de Cyon at 44 Rue de la Bienfaisance (about a 15 minute walk). ¹⁶⁷ Both men would in fact die in Paris: de Cyon in 1912 and Mezger in 1909. Hammer away at your keypad long enough and you may find additional references to the pair in the archives of the French press at *Gallica* that have them colliding in the same medical orbits. Either way there's

¹⁶⁵ *Reuter's Telegram*, Morning Post March 1 1892, p.5

¹⁶⁶ *Corotid Massage*, Human Baroreflexes in Health and Disease, Dwain L. Eckberg, Clarendon Press, 1992, pp.110-111.

¹⁶⁷ Communication, M. le Docteur Mezger, Figaro: Journal non Politique, November 4 1893, p.3

a very good chance that either as a result of a personal consultation or contact through a mutual medical acquaintance, de Cyon and the Empress Elisabeth, who was in the resort as part of a health-cure, had come into contact of sorts in Territet, and that he may have played a part, consciously or otherwise, in tipping someone off about her movements that week. Peut-être que oui, peut-être que non.¹⁶⁸

The global response to the murder of the Empress, who enjoyed a special place in the heart of all the world leaders couldn't have played out better for someone like Rachkovsky, whose sole objective abroad was to contain the revolutionary threat and prevent all the town and cities of Europe from becoming sanctuaries where they could thrive. Just one month after the Empress's death reports were beginning to emerge of an International Congress that was to be held at the Palazzo Corsini in Rome, the intention of which was have 'anarchy' formally recognised as a purely terrorist and criminal concern by all the world's governments. Additional agreements were also being sought to grant a special Select Committee with all the legal powers needed to suppress sympathetic press coverage of their activities and propaganda.¹⁶⁹ Existing extradition treaties would also need recalibrating. The

¹⁶⁸ The details surrounding the life of de Cyon in this period are vague to say the least. His obituary in the *Revue générale des sciences pures et appliquées* in December 1912 says he abandoned politics in 1897 and continued his work on pituitary glands in Bern, Switzerland but supporting evidence from journals and press continues to be elusive.

¹⁶⁹ *The Anti-Anarchist Conference, Rome*, The Times, November 25 1898, p.3

support of the Vatican, which had all but been assured as a result of the death of the Empress, had already proved an enormous boost and hopes of a breakthrough were better than ever. A goal that had once seemed ambitious to the point of being practically delusional was now well within reach. The only remaining hurdle was in securing the cooperation of Britain.¹⁷⁰ The skills and resources available to Rachkovsky in being able to bring off a victory of this scale are not in any doubt. So of course it needs to be asked: was quayside killer Luigi Lecheni an agent of terror or an agent provocateur used to deepen and extend the sinister mythologies that were being willed into existence by de Cyon and the Russian Secret Service?¹⁷¹

LOSING ONE'S REASON, KEEPING ONE'S WITTES

In all fairness, it's a story that is full of contradictions. Norman Cohn was one hundred percent correct when he wrote that de Cyon's "congenital secretiveness" and the "paucity of the historical record" had given rise to a life-story that was "scattered and confusing." There is so much that doesn't make sense. Cyon's stellar ascendancy was a direct result of the liberal

¹⁷⁰ *An International Congress*, The Times, October 27 1898, p.7

¹⁷¹ It sounds like Rachkovsky may have gone to enormous lengths to plan an assassination that would have all interested parties blaming it on a sinister religious blood feud between the Catholics and the Jews. I'd hazard a guess that this was set up to look like the work of the Rothschilds and to elicit the strongest reactions of the Vatican in Rome against the 'Jewish' revolutionaries. Stories that the Emperor and Empress of Austria were going to buy a property in Territet had been rumoured for some years.

reforms under Alexander II in the 1860s ¹⁷² and yet it's these very reforms that he lambasts as the source of Russia's troubles at the time that he launched his diatribe against Witte. It was London's *Morning Post*, ironically enough, who were the first to acknowledge the internal contradictions that defined Cyon's rather eccentric world view, explaining that the writer's "honest and searching examination of the abuses which flourish under the shelter" of the "Russian Absolutism" he so evidently cherished was "the most complete refutation of his arguments in favour of that gigantic anachronism of European Politics (Tsarism)". ¹⁷³ A more perplexing development was to come in the autumn of 1905 when quite without warning, de Cyon put the full weight of his approval behind the very man whose fortunes he had done his utmost to destroy just ten years previously.

According to a cable from their correspondent in Paris citing an interview he had given to André Mévil of the *Echo de Paris*, de Cyon announced that he "heartily approved" of the Tsar's rushed-released Manifesto declaring the creation of a legislative parliament (a State Duma) and the immediate appointment of Count Witte as Russia's first Prime Minister. These were, de Cyon insisted, the only means of restoring stability in Russia and

¹⁷² These reforms included the modernization of military and educational institutions (including the Medical Surgical Academy which the young Tsion was fast-tracked to in 1852) and improved rights for Jews.

¹⁷³ A Plea for Autocracy, *Morning Post* 29 December 1891, p.3

“grouping around the throne all the moderate and reasonable men” who constituted the best of what Russia had to offer. In his own robust, and as usual, rambling opinion, Count Witte was the one man qualified to preside over a Liberal Duma. He had the confidence of all the Liberal parties and the full support and respect of the Tsar. As a non sequitur, it must have ranked as one of the finest and most unlikely in Russian politics to date. Just several years earlier he had been bemoaning the fact that the liberalism of the “movement of 1860” had first given rise to anarchism; that the “habitual road” that led from moderate Liberalism to Revolutionary radicalism was all too “rapidly traversed”. On the surface at least, de Cyon had done a u-turn, but what is it that he’s actually saying? Faced with a revolution the Tsar had had no other option but to concede to the demands of the liberals. The options were too dire to contemplate: a vicious military junta or a socialist republic. The autocracy had already been overcome by crippling bureaucracy. It no longer existed, except in name. As a consequence, de Cyon was now thoroughly convinced that the only man for the job was Witte and had drafted a telegram urging the Tsar to grant a liberal constitution on the model of that in England. In a telegram the previous year he had begged him to “concede immediately to the Russian people the larger liberties and fundamental rights” that went hand in hand with legislative assembly. And more crucially, one

might suspect, handing over control of the budget.¹⁷⁴ But what did it all mean? How on earth had it come to this? It isn't immediately obvious, but there may be clues in a report published *The Times* some two weeks earlier. The report, citing a previous interview that de Cyon had conducted with the *Echo de Paris*, saw him warn of the dangers of Russia accepting the terms of rapprochement being offered by Germany and his additional concerns about Austria's throne. Once again he had found himself strongly advocating the maintenance of the Franco-Russo Alliance, which would help safeguard the increasing tensions between Britain and Germany, which had been eased in part, through Presidents Roosevelt's peacekeeping efforts in Portsmouth, New Hampshire in 1904. The desired upshot of all this was the completion of an entente with Britain.¹⁷⁵ And perhaps it was this that had been the intention all along. If the perfectly affable Count Witte had expressed some commitment to the triple entente with Britain a little earlier perhaps the whole crazy 'бендетта' that de Cyon had launched against him ten years earlier could have been avoided. With just a few days before the opening of the first Russian Parliament in April 1906, it was announced that Witte had secured loans in excess of 89 million (sterling) from French and British syndicates to help restore the fortunes of a crippled post-War Russia. The shock of defeat against Japan had clearly got Russia to completely reassess her options and the man

¹⁷⁴ *A Russian Writer on the Situation*, *The Times*, November 3 1905, p.3

¹⁷⁵ *Anglo Russian Relations*, *The Times*, October 23 1905, p.4

who had done more than anyone else to turn a good old fashioned drubbing into tasty late equaliser was the peace deal's chief negotiator (and central defender), Sergei Witte. The great game was finally turning in Britain's favour.

The *Financial Times* of London remarked that as Russia's interest account, which was already "ruinously high", would be weighted by an additional four and half million pounds in a single stroke. The new legislative assembly created by the Tsar was thought dangerously ill-equipped to deal with the challenges faced by the treasury and the handling of Imperial finance — something that may have played to the advantages of the lenders.¹⁷⁶ The most conspicuous absence from those lending the money was Germany, a bonanza indeed for those looking to renew the influence of the Franco-Russo Alliance. It wasn't long before newspapers were speculating about political maneuvering by Britain and France, and sure enough, just a short time later the *Anglo Russian Convention* ended years of mutual distrust between London and St Petersburg when plans were finally set in motion for the Triple Entente that would not only define the route-map of the coming war but carve out whole new spheres of influence in Persia and the Ottoman Empire. Whether they were aware of it or not at this time, the first coordinates of a British Mandate

¹⁷⁶ *The Russian Loan*, *Financial Times*, April 18, p.2. A more detailed account of the loan can be found here: *Obscure History: The 1906 loan that paved the way for the Entente Cordiale*, Avram Altay Liebenau, 5 March 2019, <https://www.pushkinhouse.org/blog/2019/3/1/obscure-history-the-1906-loan-that-paved-the-way-to-the-entente-cordiale>

Palestine had been punched into political Sat Nav.¹⁷⁷ Sadly, Witte wasn't around long enough to enjoy the fruits of his labours, as by May he'd been forced to resign as a result of emergency measures to control the tide of chaos still rippling across its empire. *The Times* was quick to point out that since the conclusion of the loan "the chief obstacle in the way of dispensing with his services had been removed".¹⁷⁸ With the loan completed, the backroom masters of Imperial Russia could restore their iron-grip and Elie de Cyon, his scientific career in Russia so cruelly destroyed by the Nihilists in the 1870s, was once more back in the lab and winning international respect.

NOT FORGERIES, BUT GENUINE DOCUMENTS THAT HAVE NEVER BEEN PRODUCED

At this point in the story I was going use a mining metaphor to express something quite grand and highfalutin about the discovery of unexpected deposits during surface-to-seam-drilling, and then casually tagging on to it some flippant remark how when panning for gold, you sometimes might well find diamonds. I decided against it on the basis that it revealed more about my weak and pretty mixed-up grasp of mining science than it did about these

¹⁷⁷ The Anglo-Russian Convention would give rise to informal discussions that would eventually take shape as the Constantinople or the 'Straits' Agreement of 1915, a secret treaty for the Middle East that would help protect the Turkish Straits (waterways) and the Suez Canal from German influence and future aggressions.

¹⁷⁸ *Count Witte's Position, Reported Resignation*, *The Times*, May 1 1906, p.7

exciting new routes of enquiry I had started to explore in the origins of *The Protocols*. In reality it was more like arriving at a station, stepping on to the wrong train and finding much to your surprise that it whisked you to a platform of some town you'd never seen before and where you could make another connection and arrive at your destination slightly later than you'd anticipated, but in a way that left you feeling all the more satisfied (if slightly bewildered) for it. But as useful as the adventures of de Cyon might be in explaining the broader context of Biez's *The Rothschilds and the Jewish Peril*, it doesn't shed much light on the text used for the translation of *The Protocols* by Burdon and Shanks. For this we need to move forward a couple of years.

“Let it be clear; my boy,” he explained, all formality now gone, “that what I produce are not forgeries but new copies of a genuine documents which have been lost, or by simple oversight, have never been produced, and which could and should have been produced.”

— *The Prague Cemetery*, Umberto Eco, p.109.

According to Socialist Revolutionary-turned anti-Bolshevik Vladimir Burtsev (who was already something of an expert on the *Protocols of the Elders* at the time of its revival in 1920), the first copy of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which was clearly identifiable as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was published by Black Hundred activist Pavel Krushevan in 1903. He claims that it ran as part of a series of essays in the Saint Petersburg daily newspaper

Znamya between August 28–September 7th.¹⁷⁹ However, any surviving copies of these essays have yet to be found.

In all honesty, nobody really knows when *The Protocols* first appeared in print. It was and remains a plagiarism in progress, a modern fairy tale, and one that is ‘free to use and re-use’ under Public Domain. You could no more say that Nilus or Golovinski was the author of *The Protocols* any more than you could say the Brothers Grimm were the original authors of Hansel and Gretel. *The Protocols* had become a tale of global heritage. At the base of the story were just simple, generic units of narratives structure; a collection of ‘mythemes’, tossed-up and reassembled whenever the Christian empire sensed some vague and predatory threat to their global sovereignty. In one way or another *The Protocols* is still being created to this day. It’s reborn with every translation. With books it’s sometimes difficult to know what is what sometimes, where one text begins and another ends. Fact can pass for fiction, influence and inspiration can pass for plagiarism, and plagiarism can pass for a forgery. Talking to *The National Post*’s Mark Medley about his book *Prague Cemetery* in 2011, the novelist Umberto Eco did however make a point of acknowledging a difference between the two: “There’s a difference between forgery and plagiarism ... Sometimes the forgery is absolutely the original.” To

¹⁷⁹ *The Elders of Sion: A Proved Forgery*, The Slavonic and East European Review , V.L Burtsev, Jul, 1938, Vol. 17, No. 49

illustrate his point Eco cited the case of the *Donation of Constantine*, a book that the Emperor Constantine is reported to have gifted to the Vatican. Eco characterised it not as the shameless fake that it was but as an “absolutely brilliant invention.” His point? The man who created forgeries was not unlike the man who invented fictions, like the poet or the novelist. With every imperfect copy came a tiny change. Unlike digital images, however, where every attempt to copy and compress an image results in a slight degradation, the forgery and the plagiarism adds the smallest touch of invention. There was nothing at all ‘lossy’ about what was going on here. With every reinvention comes an insidious new layer, a reattribution, another meaning. And the process is irreversible. The words may be roughly similar, but as book, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* just keeps getting heavier, bearing the weight of every Jewish injury or fatality it has ever incurred. It’s a work whose fictions had been decanted into works of quasi fact, strained through further falsehoods, drip-fed through to the press where the intense fury of revolution and counter-revolution had seen it distillate into loathing. Trying to separate the two compounds now was almost impossible. *The Protocols* Golem had been unleashed with all the consistency of petroleum and all the discrimination of a raging bushfire.

And as we approach what might be a beginning of sorts, what better time than the present to take things forward?

1891
388

(Conserve la couverture)
Biquième Mille

JACQUES DE BIEZ

Supplément au "Petit Poitevin"

LES
ROTHSCHILD
ET LE
Péril Juif

Dix six!

Réponse à M. le Commandant BLANC

Rédacteur en chef du *Petit Caporal*

DIX CENTIMES

10/90

Chez l'Auteur
48, rue Lepic — PARIS

1891

Part II

The Protocols 1919-1920

The Other Beginning

WHEN THE BRITISH EMBASSY IN PETROGRAD WAS RAIDED IN 1918 VICTOR E. MARSDEN OF THE MORNING POST WAS IMPRISONED & TORTURED BY THE BOLSHEVIKS. HE NEVER RECOVERED HIS HEALTH AND DIED IN OCTOBER 1920. DESPITE HIS DEATH HIS NAME APPEARED ON THE LATER EDITIONS OF THE PROTOCOLS. NO ONE KNOWS WHY.



THE HOUSE SHOULD KNOW THAT ON THE 31ST AUGUST, 1918, THE EMBASSY AT PETROGRAD WAS RAIDED BY OFFICIALS OF THE BOLSHEVIK GOVERNMENT. CAPTAIN CROMIE, THE NAVAL ATTACHE, WAS SHOT ON THE STAIRCASE OF THE EMBASSY AND HIS BODY MUTILATED. VICTOR E. MARSDEN OF THE MORNING POST HAS ALSO BEEN ARRESTED & DETAINED.

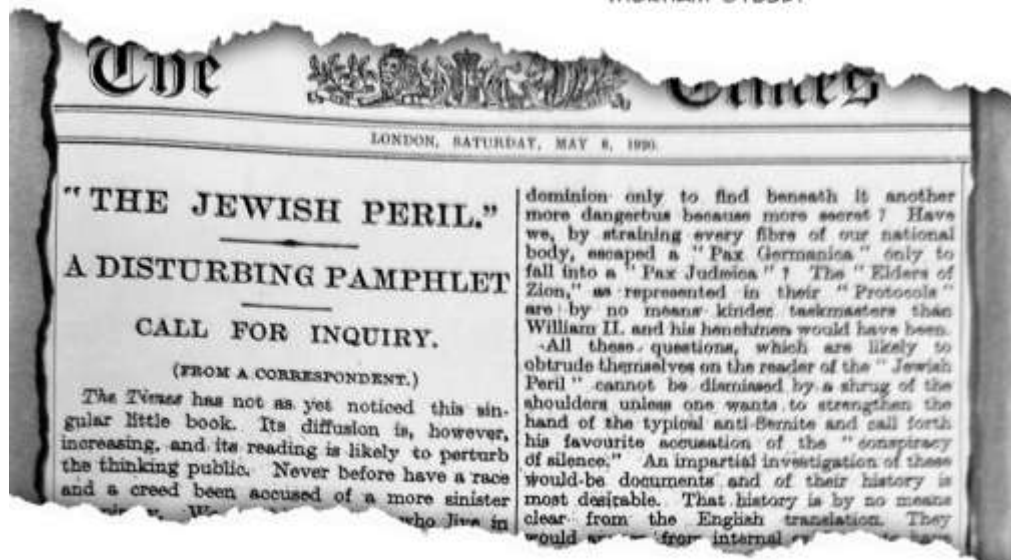
COMMANDER LAMPSON IS RIGHT. CAPT CROMIE WAS FULLY MURDERED. HOW CAN WE EVER TALK TRADE WITH KRASSIN AND THE BOLSHEVIKS?

COULD THE FOREIGN OFFICE SAY WHAT STEPS HAVE BEEN TAKEN BY KRASSIN & THE SOVIET TO COMPENSATE CAPTAIN CROMIE'S FAMILY?



ON APRIL 28TH 1920 THE SAN REMO CONFERENCE CONCLUDED IN ITALY, RATIFYING THE TERMS OF BALFOUR DECLARATION OF 1917 IN WHICH BRITAIN HAD PROMISED A NATIONAL JEWISH HOME IN PALESTINE.

ON SATURDAY MAY 8TH 1920 THE TIMES PUBLISHED A REVIEW OF SHANKS' JEWISH PERIL. IT HAD BEEN WRITTEN-UP SPECIALLY BY THE PAPER'S EDITOR, HENRY WICKHAM-STEED.



George Shanks

THE ACCUSED



According to the editor of the 1920s gossip journal *Plain English*, Lord Alfred Douglas, the man responsible for having taken the 1905 Russian copy of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and translated into English was George Shanks. The revelation was later confirmed by respected Art Historian, Robert Hobart Cust in a private letter to H. A. Gwynne, the long-time Editor of the *Morning Post*.¹⁸⁰ It seems that in a review of *The Jewish Peril* published in February 1920, the newspaper had misattributed the translation to a Russian exile. It appears that they were wrong, and Cust wasted no time at all in correcting them: “*Your reviewer suggests the translator is Russian. The actual translator is a Mr George Shanks, son of a highly respected English Merchant.*” Cust went on to reveal that Shanks, who had served in both the Royal Navy Air Service and the Anglo-Russia supplies committee during the war, had been assisted in the translation by Edward Griffiths George Burdon OBE, a decorated Temporary Major previously attached to the 4th Northumberland Fusiliers. Despite all this, scholars and historians still routinely trot out the story that the English translation of *The Jewish Peril*

¹⁸⁰ Box B, R.H. Cust to H.A. Gwynne, 11th February 1920, Gwynne Papers, University College Swansea.

pamphlet had been commissioned for publication by Gwynne and *The Morning Post*, yet the discovery of the letter plainly disproves that. If Cust had needed to inform Gwynne that the man who had translated *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* was an Englishman called Shanks and not a Russian, then Gwynne clearly had no idea who was behind the pamphlet, dispelling any notion that Gwynne had a hand in its original publication in February 1920.¹⁸¹ However, a more astonishing find was yet to come.

After requesting a copy of the *Plain English* journal dated January 22 1921 from the Special Collections archive at Trinity College Dublin, first published little more than twelve months after Shanks' *Protocols* pamphlet, I finally unearthed the truth; Shanks wasn't just some random vitriolic exile out to vent his fury on Lenin and the 'Jewish' Bolsheviks, he had in fact been very dutifully employed by the British Government under Prime Minister David Lloyd George:

"This Sir Philip Sassoon, private secretary to Lloyd George, also has a private secretary of his own. Who is he? He is one Edward Shanks, a good looking young man who is by way of being a poet, and who (and here is the rub) was the first translator into English of the Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion. Mr Shanks's mother was a Russian, and he was

¹⁸¹ Box B, R.H. Cust to H.A. Gwynne, 11th February 1920, Gwynne Papers, University College Swansea.

born in Moscow. He obtained a copy of the Protocols in 1917, and translated it in 1920 for Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode, who published the translation in London ... Mr Shanks was made much of and taken to Downing Street, where he was installed in the Chief Whip's Office as a Clerk. From this office he was removed a few weeks ago and promoted to be private secretary of Sir Philip Sassoon."

— *The Blue Faced Ape of Horus*, Plain English, No.29, Vol. II, January 1922, p.66

The Chief Whips office that was being referred to in *The Plain English* report wasn't just any Chief Whips Office but *the* Chief Whips Office at 12 Downing Street, at that time under the direction of Chief Liberal Whip of the Coalition, Captain Frederick E. Guest (Freddie Guest), first cousin and adviser of War Secretary Winston Churchill.¹⁸² More curiously still, by the time that the report in *Plain English* had gone to press, the "good looking young man" who had obtained a copy of *The Protocols* back in 1917 was believed to have been promoted to the position of Private Secretary to Sir Phillip Sassoon, himself the Private Secretary to Prime Minister David Lloyd-George.¹⁸³ A few weeks later the Editor was corrected on a number of minor issues:

¹⁸² The Scotsman 14 October 1922, p.9, The Scotsman May 7 1920, p.4; Leeds Mercury 09 November 1920, p.6

¹⁸³ *The Blue Faced Ape of Horus*, Plain English (journal), No.29, Vol. II, January 1921, p.66 (Department of Early Printed Books and Special Collections, The Library of Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin).

“In regard to your statement about young Shanks, the “private secretary” to Mr. George’s private secretary, there is a slight error. He certainly did translate The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion into English for Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode, His Majesty’s Printers, but I doubt if his English was good enough to enable him to do it unassisted. He was, as you state, born and educated in Moscow, but his first name is George, not Edward”

— The Blue Faced Ape of Horus, to the Editor of Plain English, Patrick Hamilton, Tring, Plain English, No.31, Vol. II, February 5th 1921

After a period of three weeks the Editor of *Plain English* apologised for an error. In their haste to print the story they had misreported his name as Edward instead of George. A series of complaints had subsequently been received in the journal’s offices from not one but three men of that name:

“Some weeks ago we referred in the course of an article called “The Blue Faced Ape of Horus” to a certain Mr. Shanks, who is translator of The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion and occupies a position in the Chief Whips Office ... By an inadvertence we endowed him with the Christian name ‘Edward’ whereas his real name is ‘George’ ... we have been asked by no less than three different persons to correct that they are not the Mr Shanks referred to in our article.”

— The Blue Faced Ape of Horus, to the Editor of Plain English, Plain English, No.34, Vol. II, February 26th 1921

The three men demanding a correction were Edwards Shanks, poet and private secretary to the Editor of the *London Mercury*, the American Edward Shanks, the ‘Poet Laureate of Virginia’, and a gentleman by that same name in the offices of the journal’s printing house. It would perhaps be unwise to attach too much significance to the slip. Several additional details, corroborated by finds in correspondence between Robert Hobart Cust and H. A. Gwynne during the 1970s suggest that the information published in *Plain English* between January and February that year was for the most part correct, even if the journal’s editor had confused Shanks at first with the respected war poet and assistant editor of the *London Mercury*.¹⁸⁴ Given the regularity and speed with which *Plain English* would receive complaints in short but eventful lifetime, it’s perhaps significant to note that no one ever wrote-in to correct its most explosive claims: that George Shanks had worked in the Chief Whip’s Office and, furthermore, that he was now employed at No.10 Downing Street by Sir Philip Sassoon, Private Secretary to the British Prime Minister. The man who had written in to correct the editor of *Plain English*— Patrick Hamilton of Tring —must have known George reasonably well as he was quite keen to make the point that Shanks’ language skills were not adequate enough to complete the translation alone, which as we learned

¹⁸⁴ Apparently Wikipedia made exactly the same mistake in 2012. In 1920 Edward published his anti-Bolshevik fantasy novel, *The People of the Ruins*.

in the 1970s was absolutely true. The name of the man who assisted Shanks in his translation was indeed a man called ‘Edward’: *Edward Griffiths George Burdon*. Perhaps this had been the source of the journal’s initial confusion about Shanks’ name.¹⁸⁵



Sub-Lieutenant George Shanks, Royal Navy Air Service 1915-1919

¹⁸⁵ Sadly, in the collection of *Plain English* journals digitised and uploaded to archive.org by an archivist at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign in December 2014 the edition for January 22nd 1920 appears to have been omitted. When I contacted a representative of the University’s Oak Street Library in September 2021 they confirmed that the item is available in their collections. I can offer no explanation for why this one edition of *Plain Journal* was not included for digitization (Email, *Plain English journal* - no.29, vol. II, Collection Management Services, Oak Street Library Vaults, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Sep 7, 2021, 3:39pm).

Several days after the *Plain English* journal had published its startling revelations about Shanks and the Chief Whip's Office, the journal's Editor, Lord Alfred Douglas made a rather unpleasant discovery: his obituary had been printed prematurely in the *London Evening News*. Douglas had been pouring over the morning's headlines over breakfast in his bed at his home in Pembridge Gardens when he learned that the very maid who had just laid out his tea, toast and marmalade on his large decoupaged breakfast tray had that very morning discovered him stone-cold dead in bed. Douglas notified the press immediately that he wasn't in the least bit dead but was, on the contrary, in the "very best of health". Initially he had seen the funny side but this had changed as the day wore on: "*I was at first inclined to be amused, but on considering the alarm the announcement may cause my relatives, I felt more annoyed than amused*".¹⁸⁶ The newspaper that had greatly exaggerated news of his death was owned by the Ministry of Information's Lord Northcliffe. The report itself had been prepared by journalist and author, Arthur Machen.¹⁸⁷ Machen, an old friend of Douglas, had been a senior propagandist for Northcliffe's newspapers during the war and had been personally responsible inventing the famous 'Angel of Mons' story. Lord

¹⁸⁶ 'I am Not Dead', *The Globe*, February 4 1921, p.4

¹⁸⁷ *London Evening News*, February 4 1921

Douglas sued for libel and Machen was removed from the newspaper after a legal challenge from Douglas.¹⁸⁸

In 1928, George married his wife Diana, the daughter of an accountant who'd made his fortune on the success of a lucrative welding patent. When Diana's father died she was left her father's estate at Duneevan in Weybridge. After acquiring a 'secret process' for the production of a British fake champagne that same year (they were already the owners of Palatino Wines), George and his father Henry launched *Corona Wines Ltd* with a starting capital of £230,000. The agency handling the floating of the company's shares was his father's *Henry Trust Ltd* whose head office, like that of *Corona*, was based ironically enough at 27 and 28 Old Jewry in East London. Apparently this former Jewish Ghetto had been transformed into a thriving financial hub after the Jews' expulsion from Britain in the late 1200s. Among its directors were Conservative MP, F. A. Macquisten of Glasgow and the resident manager of the Alexandra Hotel in Hyde Corner, George Henry Pitt Hurst.¹⁸⁹ In the House of Commons Supply Debates of March 1922, MacQuisten can be observed talking in a frank and characteristically flippant fashion on the issue of 'Jewish Bolshevism'. Reviewing the

¹⁸⁸ Years earlier, Machen had been a member of Douglas' New Bohemian Society. It was Douglas who had given Machen his first real break in publishing.

¹⁸⁹ *Corona Wines Ltd*, *Sunday Mirror* 14 October 1928 p 27

supply plans for British Mandate Palestine, MacQuisten said he had met with the Palestine Arab Delegation and repeated their claim that the vast majority of Jews in the region were of Bolshevik tendencies. He also opposed the Zionist Policy and the campaign to increase the volume of immigration, remarking sarcastically that “they are a race to whom the Lord has given every gift in the world except popularity”. As far as MacQuisten was concerned, Britain was not “bound by the Balfour Declaration at all”. For once, he was with the Arabs: “We do not want them. A great many of them are very undesirable Russian Jews with Bolshevik tendencies, and we are an ordinary law-abiding people.”¹⁹⁰ However, as brazenly anti-Semitic as he was, he was certainly no fascist, dismissing the leader of the British Union of Fascists, Oswald Mosley as little more than a glory-seeking megalomaniac and his party of mindless drones terrifically “misguided”, even if he did share their belief that ongoing attempts to disrupt the Blackshirt rallies were largely Jewish (and of course, Bolshevik) in origin.¹⁹¹ In all fairness, like many hardcore Tories, MacQuisten remained sympathetically aloof where British Fascism was concerned, neither embracing nor rejecting it.

¹⁹⁰ Hansard, 9 March 1922, Commons Sitting, Middle Eastern Services, House of Commons, vol.151 cc1535-604. MacQuisten was very much part of Makgill and Curzon’s anti-Socialist clique. See the MacQuisten Anti-Union Bill, Hansard, Trade Union (Political Fund) Bill, House of Commons, March 6 1925 vol.181 cc807-33 — a Churchill-led attempt to block left-wing dominance and fund-raising through union membership.

¹⁹¹ 24 July 1934 House of Commons, British Union of Fascists, vol. 292 cc1644-6

A few years later the same *Henry Trust Ltd* would take up a central role in the merger of Germany's *Tobis Films* with *British Phototone* (part of the Klangfilm AG Syndicate that had Cosimo and Antony Bosdari as major share holder and director)¹⁹². Tobis Films would eventually become one of the main producers of movie propaganda for the Nazis, working closely with legendary propagandist, Leni Riefenstahl on a number of films.¹⁹³ Tobis's owner was Italian lothario, Count Antony Herbert 'Tony' de Bosdari, nephew of the Italian Ambassador in Berlin, Count Alessandro De Bosdari and cousin of the King of Italy.¹⁹⁴ His father Maurice had once served as Italian Charge d'Affaires in London, and as Councillor of the Italian Embassy at Constantinople.¹⁹⁵ Given the family's close ties to Mussolini and his pro-Nazi sympathies, it may be reasonable to speculate on some shared romance with fascism but in view of the family's loyalties during the war, I suspect it may have been brief and not extended to a fling with Herr Hitler. In fact, in a deeply unexpected twist it turns out that Babe Plunket-Greene, the breezy actress wife of 'Tony' Bosdari would later remarry Lothar Mendes, a Jewish

¹⁹² The Times, 17 July 1928, p.22

¹⁹³ The Bioscope 20 March 1929, p.26, Kinematograph Weekly, 21 March 1929, p.77

¹⁹⁴ It's possible that George named his first child, Antony after him. Antony's name appears on a list of British servicemen captured in France and held at Frontstalag 122 in Compiègne during WWII: *Anthony Herbert De Bosdary, Date of Birth: 23/10/1899, War Office 416/93/111*. His brother Cosino served with the Special Operations Executive.

¹⁹⁵ Sheffield Independent 12 April 1926, p.5.

director most famous for directing *Jew Süss* (1934).¹⁹⁶ Written by Bavarian novelist, Lion Feuchtwanger, the story follows the fortunes of a Jew who contrary to all expectations achieves astonishing success as adviser to a German noble, only to discover that he is not a Jew at all.¹⁹⁷ He subsequently dies reciting a Jewish prayer after being framed for murder and corruption. It's one of those plots in which you will go mad trying determine whether the story is anti-Semitic or not (the hero first encourages the Duke's plan to dismiss parliament, and then exposes it). On the orders of Joseph Goebbels, the film would be remade in 1940 and remains one of the most terrifyingly anti-Semitic films of all times. Just how far the Shanks family were embroiled in all this is hard to fathom, but that the fact they shared their *Corona* address with Tobis' London agents *The Henry Trust* suggests some kind of affiliation, however small, and their links to the Italians might yet prove to shed some light on the 'Papal Gentleman' honour that Shanks was awarded by the Vatican in the mid to late 1920s. The Bosdari family were certainly well seated in that city, Antony's Uncle, Alessandro regularly acting as conduit between Mussolini and the Vatican in Rome and the regular rotation of Chancellors and Presidents in Berlin during the volatile interwar period.

¹⁹⁶ *Countess Marries Film Director*, Yorkshire Post and Leeds Intelligencer 29 November 1935, p.5

¹⁹⁷ Feuchtwanger, who clearly drew on identity issues faced by Russian Jews under the Tsarist Regime, visited Russia in 1937 and said he "greatly admired Bolshevism" but denied being a communist. See: Sheffield Independent 05 August 1937, p.4

But there may have been other players too, acting a little more in the shadows. These we will come to later.

WHAT ELSE WE KNOW ABOUT GEORGE SHANKS

Shanks was born Moscow 27 August 1896 to Henry Robert Shanks, son of Moscow Jeweller and merchant, James Steuart Shanks, born 1826 in St. Giles in London. His mother was Emilie Shanks, of French-Scottish extraction, was born Emilie Catoire on September 03 1868. Between 1914 and 1918 Shanks enrolled as a student at University College London alongside his friend and future business partner, the radio pioneer, Leonard Plugge. In 1915 Shanks enlisted with *Royal Navy Air Service* as Sub-Lieutenant where he was duly made a member of the illustrious Royal Aero Club (where he listed as flying a Caudron Bi-plane). In 1916 Shanks was deployed on 'Special Service' with the Imperial Russian Navy at RNAS Kingnorth. On 20th December 1916 George was seconded to the *Russian Government Committee* at Canada and India House in Kingsway, London, where he processed the day-to-day demand for military supplies under Boris Anrep. After the winding down of the supplies Committee in February 1918 his secondment to the *Russian Government Committee* was terminated. The October Revolution in Russia, and Lenin's subsequent peace deal Germany had rendered the supplies committee obsolete. Imperial Russia was no longer in the war and a question

mark hung over its displaced representatives in Europe. The ‘Whites’ were moving out, and the ‘Reds’ were moving in. As a result of the Committee’s closure, Shanks was redeployed to the East as part of Seaplane Squadron at Alexandria in Egypt.¹⁹⁸ However, his records show that on 19 April 1919 Shanks resigned his commission at his own request. The addresses listed in his wartime service records during his time with the MOD in London include 10 Addison Crescent, Kensington, London, the former home of Reverend John Moncrieff Smyth, Canon of Westminster. Other addresses provided in his papers include the luxury Carlton Hotel in London.

As mentioned in the introduction to this guide George Shanks was the nephew of Louise Maude Shanks and Aylmer Maude, friends and translators of the famous Russian novelist, Leo Tolstoy. In the long journey we are about to embark to determine Shanks’ guilt, we have arrived at a critical moment as by the time that Shanks had published *The Protocols*, his Uncle, Aylmer Maude had already played a small but significant role in the anti-Bolshevik propaganda campaign launched by Winston Churchill in the immediate post-war period; and it was *this* campaign that George’s handy little translation was ostensibly propping up. One thing was for sure; Shanks’ relationship to Maude was certainly looking like it could upset the popular notion of a venomous lone-wolf fascist out to make a little mischief.

¹⁹⁸ Flight, 3rd September 1915: Volume 7, No.36, p.649

George's proud and notable family links didn't end there either. After moving to London in 1913, another aunt, 'Emily Shanks', a Polenov artist and sculptor with an affectionate impressionist touch, exhibited her works at the *Royal Academy of Arts in London* in 1916 and 1918. On his mother's side George was also the nephew of Léon Lvovitch Catoire of the *Moscow State Bank and Moscow State Duma* (see separate exhibit: Léon Lvovitch Catoire). Before calling any witnesses there are things we may need to address that have arisen as a consequence of discovering his paid-employment at the Chief Whip's Office in Downing Street at such a dramatic and critical time for Soviet and Near East issues.



DID SHANKS WORK AS PRIVATE SECRETARY TO SIR PHILIP SASSOON?

According to the article that appeared in Lord Alfred Douglas' *Plain English* journal in January 1921, Shanks served as Private Secretary to Sir Philip Sassoon at the Chief Whip's office in Downing Street. Despite its dubious reputation of peddling odious racist gossip and anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, there's every reason to suppose its claims about George Shanks are for the most part accurate. It wasn't so much the facts being printed in his journal that were wrong but the rather shameless and grotesque way in which *Plain English* would distort them in pursuit of an injurious point – usually at the expense of Jewish businessmen and prominent Liberals.¹⁹⁹ Although an associate of Shanks writes a letter to the editor of the journal to correct his name (it was not 'Edward Shanks' he explains, but 'George' Shanks) his role at the Chief Whips' office is not corrected and his awareness of personal details relating to Shanks' family suggest the information the journal provides is credible. From this, it might be possible to infer that other details published in the journal on January 22 1920 were indeed accurate.²⁰⁰ The claims made in the 1921 article were later repeated in the *American Gentile* in June 1936. The

¹⁹⁹ Modern equivalents might include *Lobster* or *Private Eye*, with more than a dash of 'truther' websites like Prison Planet and Above Top Secret.

²⁰⁰ Correspondence, The 'Blue Face Ape of Horus', *Plain English*, No.31, Vol. II, Feb 5th 1921

man correcting *Plain English* on the matter of Shanks' forename also makes the claim that George's paternal grandmother was a woman of German-Jewish extraction called 'Schilling'. If online genealogy records are correct, Shanks' paternal grandmother was indeed *Marie Louisa Schilling* the wife of James Steuart Shanks, born in Brandenburg.²⁰¹ However, it cannot be determined if Schilling was of Jewish extraction as the author of the letter suggested. Whether the family had been Jewish or not it's entirely likely that she converted to Roman Catholicism or Russian Orthodox upon her arrival in Moscow. One thing we can be quite certain of is that contrary to what *The American Gentile* added its own version of the *Plain English* article some seventeen years later, Sir Philip Sassoon was NOT the Chief Whip of the Conservative Party, although he did enjoy prominent status within that party (serving as the Conservative MP for Hythe). This is where the story went wrong. As the years went by and the original source of the claims became marginalised and forgotten, the thin, weak threads of confabulation were inevitably woven in. The report in the *Plain Journal* makes no mention of the Conservative Party (as you might expect from a Tory journal). This was something that was added by the editor of the *American Gentile* some twenty years later. Incidentally, the Chief Whips of the Conservative Party during the 1911 to 1922 period were book and art collector David Lindsay, 27th Earl of

²⁰¹ <https://www.geni.com/people/Mary-Louisa-Shanks/6000000053599181982>

Crawford, Lord Edmund Talbot and Captain Leslie Wilson. But the Liberal Chief Whip was Captain Freddie Guest, a close friend of Philip.²⁰² Many people may need reminding that it was the Liberal Party who continued to hold the majority in the post-war coalition government and under whose direction Sassoon was working. During the period in which *Plain English* was making its claims, Sassoon was serving as Private Secretary to British *Liberal* Prime Minister, David Lloyd George. The *Plain Journal* article of January 1921 specifically says that Shanks “was taken to Downing Street where he was installed in the Chief Whips Office as a clerk” and appointed as Private Secretary to Sassoon at a later date. 12 Downing Street has always been the Chief Whips office of the serving British Government. As a Coalition Government the office has been under two Chief Whips: Freddie Guest, Chief Whip of the Liberal Coalition Government and Edmund Talbot, Chief Whip of the Conservative Party.²⁰³ If Shanks had worked for Sassoon (somewhat briefly) as *Plain English* claimed, his new office would have placed him at No.10 Downing Street, the home of the British Prime Minister. Although a Conservative Member of Parliament for the best part of forty-years, Sassoon was serving at No.10 Downing Street under the direction of Lloyd George. The Chief Whips office was next door at No.12 Downing

²⁰² You can read about the various dinner parties and polo matches the pair organised in Mary S. Lovell’s *Straight On Till Morning* (2012), David Stafford’s *1921 and the Making of Winston Churchill* (2019) and Horace A. Laffaye’s *Polo in Britain: A History* (2014).

²⁰³ The Round Table, Volume 11, December 1920, Carfax Publishing Company, p.616

Street. In view of the devastating direction that *The Protocols* would take under Hitler and the Nazis, it was quite an extraordinary situation: according to claims made in a 1920s journal, the new Master of the Protocols Golem had found himself engaged in the super-charged atmosphere of policy-making right at the heart of the British Government.

How credible is the claim that Shanks worked for Sassoon?

As outrageous as it sounds, it's likely to be perfectly true, although I don't share Lord Douglas's view that it represented anything sinister. Evidence that supports the claim falls into two distinct categories: the family and social circles in which both men moved, and the skills, resources and contacts that Shanks had been in a position to bring to his Downing Street post. A critical phase in Anglo-Soviet relations was imminent and the shadowy web of intrigue that would accompany those discussions would require on the spot reactions and decisions. With plans to hold formal discussions already in progress, Lloyd George would need someone with first-hand knowledge of Russian industry: its strengths, its weaknesses, its aspirations. Shanks had them in abundance. On his mother's side were prominent Moscow bankers and on his father's, some of Russia's most successful Anglo businessmen. But first, let's take a look at Philips' family.

Philip Sassoon's uncle, Arthur Sassoon was both a close friend of King Edward VII and Sir Lionel Cust, the uncle of the man whose letter to H.A. Gwynne in 1920 had done so much to reveal the truth about Shanks and *The Protocols*.²⁰⁴ In Cecil Roth's book *The Sassoon Dynasty*, the author writes of a moving personal tribute made by one of the Cust family. It's believed that upon the death of Philip's father Arthur Sassoon in March 1912, Sir Lionel Cust had placed a wreath of lilies of the valley on his coffin bearing the note, "*As a token of friendship and in remembrance of many happy days spent at Tulchan -George R. and I*".²⁰⁵ As casual and anecdotal as it is, the gesture would seem to suggest that Lionel's nephew, and Shank's friend, Robert Hobart Cust and Lloyd George's private secretary, Sir Philip Sassoon were active (and indeed popular) in the same social circles. The 'days spent at Tulchan' referred to in the story was Tulchan Lodge in Speyside, a handsome Highland retreat used by King Edward VII and managed by Sassoon for shooting, stalking and fishing. There are other curiosities too. A cousin of Sir Philip Sassoon, Captain Sassoon Joseph Sassoon served alongside Raphael Farina in the Russian Section (G Branch) of Mi5 from 1918 until his death in 1922 (National Archives, KV 1/52). The maternal grandfather of both men was Russian Philanthropist, Baron Horace Günzburg, the former-treasurer to

²⁰⁴ Robert Hobart Cust was a friend of Major Edward Griffiths Burdon OBE, the man who had helped George Shanks translate *The Protocols* from Russia into English. Cust claims to have introduced Shanks to Eyre & Spottiswoode, 'His Majesty's' printers.

²⁰⁵ *The Sassoon Dynasty*, Cecil Roth, 1941, p. 166

the Tsar of Russia who had offered no small amount of financial assistance to Russia's six-month Prime Minister, Alexander Kerensky and S. An-sky's *Jewish Ethnographic Expedition* some five years earlier.²⁰⁶ As a founder of the *Society for the Promotion of Culture among the Jews of Russia*, Günzburg had spent years promoting the acculturation of Jews in Russia, something of a compromise or rescoring of traditional ethnic territories in the divided Jewish consciousness; in short, to decide to what to preserve, what to reject and what to embrace in their composite new lives as religious Semites and secular Russian Nationals. For want of a better word, it was a controversial yet deeply passionate campaign of experimental *Russification* that was for the most completely at odds with the Political Zionism that flourished in the 1890s under its leader Theodore Herzl.

Regularly described by the Press as the 'Rothschild of Russia', Günzburg had been in a circle of key British ally for years. In 1906, Günzburg was in partnership with Arthur Balfour Haig, Basil de Timiriazeff (Russia's Minister of Commerce) and Frederick William Baker (Chairman of the Venture Corporation). The company they founded, *Russian Mining Corporation Ltd* had been registered at 3 Princes Street in Mayfair. His son

²⁰⁶ *The Life and Work of S.M. Dubnov, Diaspora Nationalism and Jewish History*, Sofia Dubnova-Ėrlikh, Indiana University Press, 1991, p.264. Ansky's expedition (1912-1914) set-out to explore and record the various Jewish folktales and customs of Russia's Pale Settlement (Jewish reservations). After the death of Günzburg in 1909, the donation was made by his son, with the expedition carried out in his name.

Baron Alexander Günzburg (Captain Joseph Sassoon's uncle), had been made President of the Commission that had been duly dispatched to Europe and America by Russian Prime Minister Kerensky in July and August 1917. It's certainly an interesting series of connections in light of how the blood-letting events of post-Revolutionary Russia began to spill across into the battle for British Mandate Palestine. However, one thing that it makes absolutely clear is that the Sassoon and the Günzburg families had invested little importance to Herzl's vision of a National Homeland. In fact the more that the Zionists pushed for this solution, the more determined acculturated Jews like Sassoon were to reject the solution outright. And for those British politicians keenest to pursue Palestine as a new Imperial Outpost and 'protectorate' of the Suez Canal, this refusal to get on board' presented its own unique challenges.

Simply put; the crude innuendo of anti-Semites like Lord Alfred Douglas and his French counterpart, Roger Lambelin which lumped all the world's Jews under the crude banner of a sinister 'la Conspiration Israélite' was as flawed as it was it was stupid.²⁰⁷ Palestine was an issue that divided rather than united the world's Jewish communities at this time, as was Russia. I am sure you will agree that the evidence provided so far goes a long toward disproving the various confabulations so carelessly forged in the *Plain*

²⁰⁷ In 1921 Roger Lambelin published *Le Pêril Juif: Le Règne d'Israël chez les Anglo-Saxons*, an anti-British and anti-American review of the Palestine issue which made liberal mention of 'influencers' like Sir Philip Sassoon and the Rothschilds. It also pays homage to the Protocols fairy godfather, Édouard Drumont.

English; influential Jews like Sassoon was not part of some diabolical pro-Zionist plan to seize control of Britain, but part of a determined counter-effort to provide the Jews of Britain with alternative solutions. In contrast to the pugnacious attitude and single-mindedness of his friend Churchill on the Palestine issue, there's every indication that Sassoon was remaining neutral.

Churchill, Sassoon and the San Remo Conference (April 1920)

The San Remo Peace Conference that took place at 'castle' Devachan in mid-April 1920 had been arranged, among other things, to thrash-out a route plan for Balfour's Jewish National Home in Palestine. The launch of the League of Nations in January that year had energised the allies and work immediately got underway in deciding the future of the former Ottoman territories in the East, currently being shared-out between France, Britain and Italy. The French and the British partitioned Greater Syria, whilst less generous slices of the pie like Smyrna, were eventually served out to Italy. It sounds like a smooth affair, but it wasn't; far from it and many held their breaths as they contemplated what revisions might ensue as the various countries responded to the violent pogroms that had recently broken out in Jerusalem.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁸ ²⁰⁸ *Trial and Error* (autobiography), Chaim Weizmann, Hamish Hamilton, 1949, p.260-261

Although Philip Sassoon was the only Jewish member of the British Delegation to attend, historians generally agree that Philip had little interest in issues on matters relating to a Jewish homeland. Israel's first President, Chaim Weizmann, would even go so far as to comment on what seemed to be his complete indifference to the issue of National identity. Writing of his great surprise to find that the Arabs, the Allies and even Lord Curzon, who had attended in less than enthusiastic frame of mind, were getting on famously with the Jewish representatives, Weizmann wrote that "the only man to ignore the whole business was Philip Sassoon, another of Lloyd George's secretaries".²⁰⁹ Sassoon's biographer, Professor Peter Stansky would also write that if Philip had been active on the issue "he would probably have been an anti-Zionist".²¹⁰

In complete contrast, the racist insinuations made by Douglas in his article for *Plain English* dated January 22 1921, suggested that Sassoon was using his "immense wealth" to have the "affairs of the whole nation" in the "complete grip" of a sinister Jewish cabal, who were also out to suppress the *Plain English* journal.²¹¹ Similar claims would be made in Roger Lambelin's *Le Pêril Juif: Le Règne d'Israël chez les Anglo-Saxons*, published that same

²⁰⁹ *Trial and Error* (autobiography), Chaim Weizmann, Hamish Hamilton, 1949, p.260-261

²¹⁰ *Sassoon: The Worlds of Philip and Sybil*, Yale University Press, 2003, p.101

²¹¹ *The Blue Faced Ape of Horus*, *Plain English* (journal), No.29, Vol. II, January 1922, p.66 (Department of Early Printed Books and Special Collections, The Library of Trinity College Dublin, the University of Dublin).

year, who had himself been relying heavily on the series of articles compiled by H.A. Gwynne for the *Morning Post*.²¹² For a man who had rubbed shoulders with Elie de Cyon and Édouard Drumont in Paris, it was definitely a case of what goes around, comes around. Lord Douglas, a fellow Catholic would surely have appreciated the irony. It must have been like having William Shatner turn up as guest of honour at the launch of *Star Trek Next Generation*. In a twist as complex and surreal as any illusion thrown by an Infinity Mirror, Lambelin's book even went so far as to acknowledge the ongoing legal battle between *Plain English* and Winston Churchill over slurs made about his role in the Dardanelles fiasco. It was probably only luck that Lambelin missed the January 22nd edition that spilled the beans about Shanks and Sassoon. Having Lord Alfred Douglas and Roger Lambelin occupy the same vitriolic post on different sides of the English Channel, was rather like having the First and Thirteenth official 'Time Lords' appearing on the same screen on BBC's *Doctor Who*, using their combined 'chronon energies' to further twist and distort the timeless fantasies of *The Protocols*; the old and the new colliding in a cloud of spectacular regenerative bullshit.

Interestingly, at the time that Shanks' *Protocols* pamphlet started picking up its first reviews in the British Press in the spring of 1920, Winston

²¹² 'Le Peril Juif', L'Action Française: Organe du Nationalisme Intégral, October 9 1920, p.3

Churchill, author of a supporting article 'Bolshevism versus Zionism'²¹³ was staying as a guest at Sassoon's luxurious coastal mansion *Belcaire* near Lympne in Hythe.²¹⁴ During his stay Churchill's anger and frustration was intensifying as a result of Britain's failure to suppress the Bolsheviks and the decision made by Prime Minister David Lloyd George to withdraw all British troops from the North Western Front the previous October. Winston's frustration was doubly compounded by rumours that Lloyd George was preparing to negotiate trade with Lenin and formally recognise his Soviet Government. Curiously enough, when *The Times* of London reviewed Shanks' *Jewish Peril* on May 8th 1920, a report in an adjacent column wrote that the British Government was about to enter talks with Russia's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Georgy Chicherin (Tchitcherine) in Moscow.²¹⁵

Ultimately it's pretty obvious how Sassoon's presence at the San Remo Conference would be seen by your common-or-garden Conspiracy Theorist; he'd be depicted as some kind of sinister Jewish magi ensuring that the leaders of the western world were doing the bidding of a Zionist master race. But it wasn't like that. In all likelihood Sassoon was there to fulfil the slightly awkward obligation of having a Jewish representative at a meeting deciding

²¹³ 'Bolshevism versus Zionism', Winston Churchill, Illustrated Sunday Herald, February 8th 1920

²¹⁴ 'Churchill at Lympne', Pall Mall Gazette 15 May 1920, p.3

²¹⁵ 'General Wrangles Woes: The Negotiations with Tchitcherine', The Times, May 8 1920, p.15

the future of a Jewish Homeland. That he cared little for the outcome practically ensured his attendance. The last thing the British needed at this stage was to have someone who represented the genuine schism that was fast evolving among Jews in Britain over the Palestine issue. In this respect Sassoon's complete indifference is likely to have been a distinct advantage in negotiations. The Brits could be seen to be in close consultation with British Jewry, when the reality is that they didn't care at all. At best it was probably little more than a token effort. At worst he may have been there solely in his capacity as Private Secretary to Lloyd George.

‘The Sassoons of Iraq’ and Russian Intrigue

In an attempt to unravel the series of knots have developed around this confused and slightly chaotic period of British history, it's necessary to recognise the peculiar binarity that the Soviet and Palestine issues had in British Politics. It was a deeply paranoid time in which the failure of the West to understand the full enormous complexity of the divisions among our allies had given rise to a dangerously fragile atmosphere which found us eavesdropping on our friends and divulging secrets to our enemies. It was truly schizophrenic and the fault-lines that were now appearing between British cabinet members did little to restore that much needed sense of balance. Churchill sought a complete severance with Lenin's 'Jewish' Bolsheviks, the

restoration of 'White' Russia and ideally, that Jews in Britain would get behind Project Palestine as the natural alternative to Communism. Others were sensing an economic catastrophe in the making if some kind of trade deal could not be struck and sanctions at least partially lifted. Something needed to be done. So imagine how it was when news came in of the following.

In the days and weeks leading to formal trade discussions between Britain and the Soviet, Mi5 had found themselves in the very awkward position of having intercepting encrypted messages between Soviet trade representative Georgy Chicherin and Russia's exiled Prime Minister, Alexander Kerensky, a former revolutionary whose membership of the progressive block in the Russian State Duma and his outspoken views on the monarchy had made him the go-to choice as leader but no match for the populist energy of Vladimir Lenin, the ultimate Lord of Chaos. As a result of his weak command, Kerensky had been unseated from power and forced to escape abroad. The time we are looking at is July 1920. Shanks *Protocols* had just been published, the San Remo Conference had been concluded and all eyes are on Lenin's Soviet. Whilst it was assumed that the 'Socialist-lite' Kerensky wished to have no further dealings with Russia's Bolsheviks, there were others who weren't so sure. A former member of the Tsar's Secret Police, still in deep-cover in Moscow, was reporting that Kerensky was still being frequently alluded to at the Kremlin, and it was his belief that he was "now taking an active role in helping the

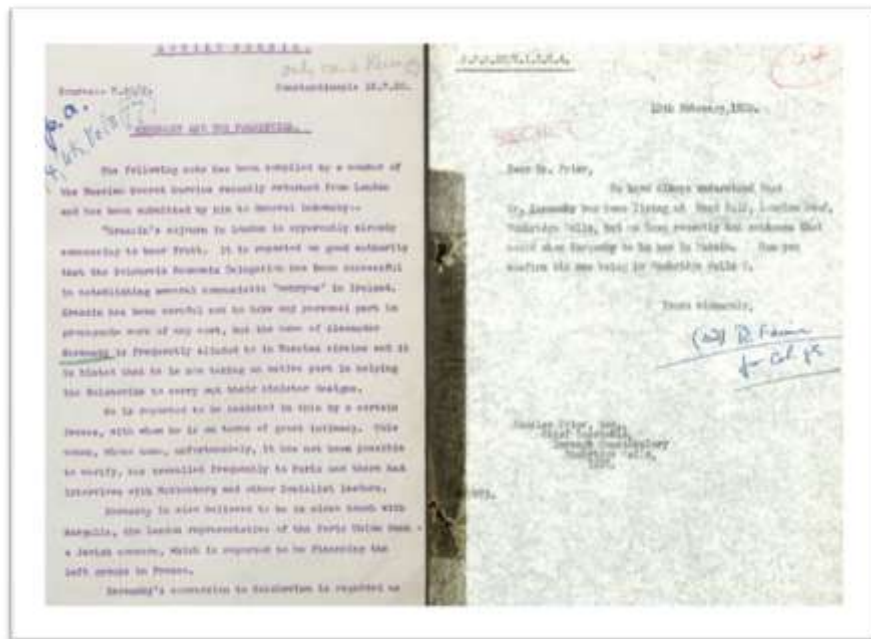
Bolsheviks carry out their sinister designs”.²¹⁶ A letter dated July 12th 1920 quoting sources from a former member of the Russian Secret Service now bedded down in Constantinople, claimed that Kerensky was also in touch with former Socialist Revolutionary (now leading Zionist), Pinchas Rutenberg, who had become something of a key player in Churchill’s restoration plans for Palestine. The letter, signed and dated Constantinople July 12th 1920, claimed that Kerensky had been assisting Rutenberg and a “certain Jewess” in Paris as part of the “sinister designs” of the Bolsheviks.²¹⁷ Rutenberg, who had been arrested alongside Ze’ev Jabotinsky in the aftermath of the ‘Jerusalem Massacre’ in April 1920, had been appointed a governor in St Petersburg by Kerensky shortly after the First Revolution of February 1917. Whilst the two had been close, it would have been a short-lived marriage of convenience, quickly arranged on the fly to please British and American interests. Whilst the author of the report isn’t revealed, it would certainly be interesting to know if Mi5’s man in Constantinople was Mikhail Raslovlev, the man who would eventually provide Philip Graves of *The Times* of London with all the sources he needed to expose *The Protocols* as a plagiarised fake in August 1921.

Although his motives remain unclear, Raslovlev is believed to have told

²¹⁶ Alexander Feodorovitch Kerenski, alias Miloutine Markavitch, The National Archives, KV 2/659

²¹⁷ *Political Report, Soviet Russia, Kerensky and the Bolsheviks*, July 12 1920, Alexander Feodorovitch Kerenski, alias Miloutine Markavitch, TNA, KV 2/659. The part about “a certain Jewess” and “sinister designs” may be a mischievous attempt to link Britain’s most precious agent in Palestine with the Bolsheviks. The legend that the ‘semi Jew’ Kerensky was a puppet of Jewish Freemasons was already taking shape within émigré circles in France.

Graves (who in turn would tell his editor at *The Times*, Wickham Steed) that he believed the danger the Jews presented arose not from their revolutionary ideals but from their greed ²¹⁸ (see separate witness: Mikhail Raslovlev).



Enquiries being made by Raphael Farina of Mi5 into Kerensky at Rust Hall

Whilst the identity of this former Okhrana agent is likely to remain unknown, it's certainly possible that by sharing his intelligence on Kerensky and Rutenberg with Mi5 in July 1920, the ex-spy, whoever he was, had been secretly trying to undermine the increasingly successful relationship being built between Rutenberg, Kerensky and the British Government whilst simultaneously maintaining an air of loyalty and cooperation.

²¹⁸ See Colin Holmes, 'New Light on the Protocols of Zion', *Patterns of Prejudice* 6, Nov-Dec 1977

It was shortly before trade talks started in earnest in October 1920 that the stream of encoded messages between Chicherin and Kerensky began to be picked-up and de-coded by signals specialists. As a fugitive of the Bolshevik Government, Kerensky was in-hiding at Rust Hall near Tunbridge Wells.²¹⁹ Without knowing the exact reasons for his stay here, I'm going to speculate that he had been invited as the guest of Rachel Beer (née Sassoon) who had been equipping and financing Rust Hall as a VAD Hospital during the war.²²⁰ Beer was not only the daughter-in-law of German-born banker, Julius Beer and a former Editor-in-Chief of the *Observer* and *Sunday Times*, she was also an in-law of Baron Horace Günzburg, former-treasurer to the Tsar and supporter of Kerensky's Socialist Revolutionary Party.²²¹ The Provisional Government was something that the whole family had contributed to, the Baron's brother, Alexander Günzburg having been made President of the Commission that had been dispatched to Europe and America by Kerensky in July and August 1917. This made the reasoning all the more sound. A resourceful and capable woman, Günzburg's in-law Rachel Beer had played a magnificent, barnstorming role in exposing the truth behind the *Dreyfus Affair*

²¹⁹ Letter from Raphael Farina to Chief Constable Charles Prior, Tunbridge Wells Police, 12th February 1920, TNA, KV 2/659

²²⁰ *The First Lady of Fleet Street, The Life, Fortune and Tragedy of Rachel Beer*, Eilat Negev, Yehua Koren, Biteback Publishing, 2012, p. 291. The house was loaned to Beer by the house's owner, the author and Palestine explorer, Simon Henry Leeder. Kerensky was staying at Rust Hall with Dr. Jacob Osip Gavronsky who served as Kerensky's publicist and press attaché during his short-lived government (March 1917-November 1917).

²²¹ Rachel's brother Joseph Sassoon Sassoon (1855–1918) had married Louise de Gunzburg, a daughter of Horace Günzburg

in the late 1890s — the notorious miscarriage of justice in France, in which a 35 year Jewish Officer had been wrongly charged with espionage and which had effectively made *La Libre Parole's* Édouard Drumont a particularly loathsome household name.

During the period in which Mi5 signals officers were picking up messages between Kerensky and the Soviet, Rachel's nephew, Captain Sassoon Joseph Sassoon was working in Mi5's dedicated Russian Department, G Branch.²²² Among other members in the family (the 'Sassoons of Iraq' as they were known) was David Lloyd George's dedicated assistant, Sir Philip Sassoon, the Captain's cousin. Whilst little of this is likely to provide any definitive answers to the authorship of *The Protocols*, it may help in our understanding of the paranoid atmosphere in which the *Plain English* article was produced and the kind of responses that publishing it at that time was hoping to provoke.

'Russia: "The Land of Unreality"'

There's another curious entry in Kerensky's security file. This one is dated May 12th 1920 and reveals that Kerensky's friend, the Moscow-born Vladimir Zenzinov had been approached by celebrated *Protocols* dragon-slayer and

²²² *Organisation and Administration 1915-1919: appendices, staff lists and organisation chart*
The National Archives, KV 1/52

former war correspondent, Herman Bernstein in New York to write a book on the counter-revolution. Bernstein and his publishers are alleged to have been keen to convey a message to Americans that it was not only the ‘Whites’ who were challenging the Bolsheviks, but former Socialist Revolutionaries like Zenzinov. Maintaining the cooperation of left-wing radicals in the fight with Soviet Russia would almost certainly gain more traction if it could be seen to be less of a battle between Monarchists and Marxists, and more of a fight over the path that Revolutionary Socialism should take: the fight between authoritarianism and libertarianism, freedom and oppression. Although the book was never published in America a selection of extracts did appear in the *Revue de Paris* in April that year.²²³ It was an interesting move in the circumstances. It was only in January that year that monarchist General Kolchak had been handed over the Bolsheviks by Socialist Revolutionaries disturbed by his decision to share power with the even more ruthless, Grigory Semyonov, the commander of a multi-ethnic force and one of the foremost distributing agents of *The Protocols* in the monarchist White Movement of Russia. Semyonov’s proximity to intelligence officers serving with supporting anti-Bolshevik forces from Japan eventually gave rise to the deeply complex, *Fugu Plan*, a scheme devised by the Japanese Government of the 1930s to use the sheer chaotic energy of *The Protocols* to attract thousands of skilled and

²²³ Letter to Krymoff from V. Zenzinoff, 12.05.1920, TNA, KV 2/659. Zenzinov is also alleged to have played a role in the assassination of Russia’s Minister of the Interior, von Plehve.

affluent Jews, displaced by the ongoing pogroms in Germany and Russia, to resettle in Manzhouguo and Shanghai.²²⁴ Such a scheme it was thought would help boost American investment in Japanese goods and maintain stronger political and cultural ties with the US super-power. By imbuing them with the almost supernatural gifts being perpetuated in *The Protocols*, it was thought the Jews of Manzhouguo and Shanghai could perform magic for Japan's economy. Was the sudden interest in pacifying the moderate Left an indication that America and Britain were beginning to view the movement as a more legitimate or credible ally in the fight against Bolshevik Russia? They were certainly a less divisive group at this time than the vicious monarchists, who from the perspective of many Americans were more likely to repeat the sins of the past.

When reading Kerensky's security file there is one thing that becomes abundantly clear: what Philip Sassoon and the Prime Minister's office needed most during this intense and momentous period was someone not only with the skills of being able to translate into Russian at a moment's notice, but someone with first-hand experience of Russian culture, and more crucially still, a sound grasp of the strength and weaknesses of Russian trade and

²²⁴ The *Fogu Plan* was named after the Japanese blow-fish, *Takifugu*, whose poison, tetrodotoxin could kill if consumed without being prepared with the utmost care by the chef. It's possible to argue that Churchill undertook a similar course of action when he used *The Protocols* as the kinetic trigger for re-homing thousands of Russian Jews in British Mandate Palestine – which the Japanese similarly backed at this time. Prepared correctly, it was thought the 'toxic Jews' of *The Protocols* could benefit Britain and the world.

industry — talents that would have been equally beneficial to Churchill and Mi5. Shanks' families, both the Shankses and the Catoires, had operated at the highest levels of Moscow trade and industry, but even this would have been unlikely to swing it alone. What would have been truly indispensable at this time were the utmost qualities of secrecy, discretion and loyalty to British interests. Not to put too fine a point on it, Shanks may well have been recruited as much for his ability to report *on* Lloyd George and Sassoon, as for his talents in being able to report *for* Lloyd George and Sassoon. Much to the consternation of Churchill and the pro-White lobby, the Prime Minister was engaged in largely secret talks with the Bolsheviks, and among those he was likely to be excluding from developments, would be members of his own cabinet. This would put Shanks in an ideal position not only to assist in Lloyd George's efforts to strike a deal with Lenin and Krassin (perhaps using any remaining support Kerensky could draw on among the Russian Trudoviks and the Socialist Revolutionaries) but to keep the likes of Churchill in the loop. Introductions could have been made, references provided and by the time of the Anglo-Soviet trade talks took place those members of the British Cabinet still backing the Whites in Russia would have eyes and ears where they needed them most — No.10 Downing Street. It was an arrangement in which no one was set to lose: Lloyd George would have someone who had firsthand knowledge of trade negotiations in Russia, and the linguistic skills to match, and Churchill and his friends could look forward to some realtime reporting on

any unorthodox and unparliamentary deals being struck, or any worrying promises being made via back-channels in the PM's office.

For Churchill and Mi5, any back-channel contact between Prime Minister Lloyd George and Kerensky would have represented a significant security concern. Fantasies about pacts with German Jewish Bankers were already in circulation. And the concern about both men was being expressed not just by vitriolic rags like *Plain English* but in the various memos and cables shuttling between the floors of Mi5 at 73-75 Queen's Gate. A letter from Raphael Farina (Chief of Mi5's G Section) to Commander Ernest Boyce in November 1919 expresses grave concerns about Kerensky's relationship, real or imagined, with the Germans: "*Has been recently in Berlin and is now reported to be in league with the Germans to the detriment of allied interests and to influence Russian public opinion against Admiral Kolchak's government.*" Within hours, another letter went out to the Postmaster General from the British Home Office demanding the interception and inspection of 'all postal packets and telegrams' addressed to Kerensky in London and Tunbridge Wells.²²⁵ The new Director of British Intelligence at the Home Office Sir Basil Thomson was no less concerned, believing that no compromise with Bolshevism was ever going to be possible, contradicting the belief of Balfour and Lloyd George that not only was it possible but absolutely

²²⁵ Alexander Feodorovitch Kerenski, The National Archives, KV 2/658.

necessary. Whilst many of their more hysterical suspicions were likely to have been totally unfounded, hardcore anti-Socialists like Sir Walter Long and Winston Churchill were given all the excuse they needed to pursue a much tougher agenda against talks with Lenin's Soviet in January 1920 when news that leading counter-revolutionist and monarchist General Kolchak had been handed over to the Bolsheviks by Kerensky's old party, the Socialist Revolutionaries and duly executed.²²⁶ Churchill and the Allies' determination to discredit the Bolsheviks using the 'Iron Maiden' mechanisms of existing anti-Semitism and anti-Socialism had left the Socialist Revolutionaries — who had an abundance of Jewish radicals in their ranks — little option but to withdraw their support from Kolchak and the monarchist movement; if the monarchists re-took Russia then it would be the Jews who would be made to suffer. A reluctant transfer of power to his Japanese-supported rival, Grigory Semyonov had left Kolchak vulnerable and he was seized by the SR forces on his way to the British Mission in Irkutsk.

In America, belief in Kolchak was already on the wane. A book by American missionary and journalist William Hard, written on his return from Siberia in 1919, had painted the most disturbing of portraits. Reformed

²²⁶ *The Fate of Admiral Kolchak*, Peter Fleming, Harcourt, Brace & World, 1963, p.177. Fleming also speculates that Czech commanders may have had a hand in his handover too. Grigory Semyonov, the man that Kolchak capitulated to, was known to be distributing copies of *The Protocols* as part of his war effort. It was through Semyonov that the book was introduced to Japan.

Marxist and pro-intervention propagandist John Spargo had done his best to present Kolchak to the American people as a “disinterested person” who was doing his utmost to “establish a democratic government in Russia”. The reality was far different, and Spargo’s rival, William Hard wasted no time in setting the record straight. Drawing on his own experiences of White Russia terror in Siberia, the journalist redrafted Kolchak as a man who was determined “to purge the sacred ground of Russia of Jews, Poles, Bolsheviki, infidels and foreigners” by any means possible. The man who Americans had been led to believe would drive the Red Terror from Russia and give birth to its fairer new liberal future was a “merciless” executioner who used torture and humiliation to suppress dissent.²²⁷ For the Brits who had been fanning the flames of anti-Semitism and anti-Socialism back at home, and who had practically ignored the various ‘White Terrors’ being carried out by Kolchak’s troops on Jewish communities in Siberia, it was a disastrous miscalculation.²²⁸ Raising the spectre of anti-Semitism, and indeed failing to denounce the allegations of

²²⁷ *Kolchak, Autocrat and Tyrant. The Actual Story of Kolchak and his Methods, Anti-Bolsheviks and Mr Spargo*, William Hard, D.E.C. Socialist Party of Canada, July 1919. Spargo and Hard, both anti-Bolsheviks, would both make efforts to regain the support of Jewish America with their two books, *The Great Jewish Conspiracy* (William Hard, June 1920) and *The Jew and American Ideals* (John Spargo, January 1921). Both books express horror at the re-publication of *The Protocols* and refute its credibility.

²²⁸ It may be possible to argue the point that it wasn’t a miscalculation at all. At this stage of the war, Kolchak had become a profound liability in the Allies’ war with the Bolsheviks and something of an inconvenience for David Lloyd George who was determined to press ahead with trade talks. It’s a situation that may well have been engineered.

abuses carried out by the monarchists in parliament, was losing them their most formidable ally.

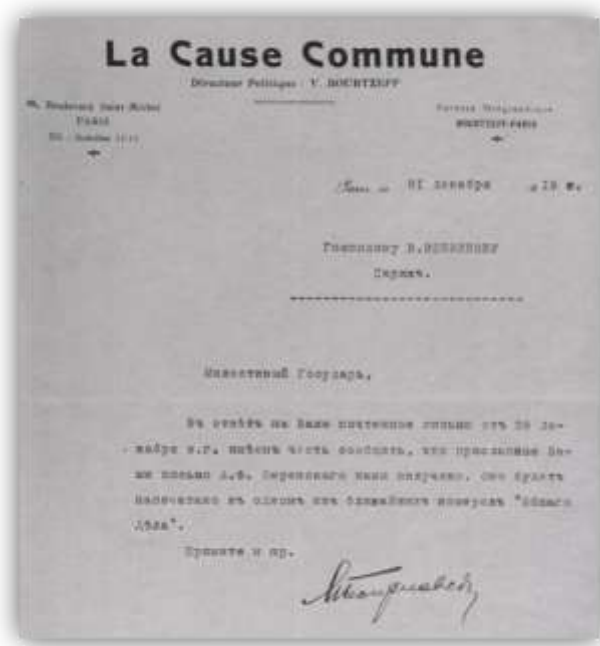
Mi5's initial concerns about Kerensky had, predictably enough, focused on his friendship with his 'Jewish publicist', Dr. Jacob Osip Gavronsky. In a Counter Bolshevism report prepared for Sir Basil Thomson in August 1919, the agent responsible conveyed his concerns in the most predictable of ways: "*Kerensky has more or less sold his soul to the Jews and Germans, and the former now look upon him as their saviour.*" The agent may have been trotting out the same old prejudiced guff as his masters in Whitehall, but he was correct about one thing: the Jews of Russia were more vulnerable now than ever before, realising that their position in a future monarchist Russia had been dealt a devastating blow "by the actions of their co-religionist Bolshevik leaders".²²⁹ And indeed, this was something that Britain (and Churchill in particular) could work with on several fronts. Played correctly, the Jews wouldn't need a place in Russia if they could be immigrated en masse to a new National home in Palestine. The anger that Jews in Russia were now feeling against the Bolsheviks made them an increasingly soft target for Zionist propaganda pushing the merits of a home in Palestine. As per usual, Churchill was staring into the jaws of certain (and entirely preventable) defeat and eyeballing an unlikely triumph. More will be

²²⁹ Counter Bolshevism, Agents Report, Copenhagen to London, 13.08.1919, TNA, KV2/658

said of this later when we look at the impact that Sir Stuart Samuel's report on his mission to Poland had on our war with Russia in the spring and summer of 1920.

At the time that Mi5 were picking-up chatter between the Soviets and Kerensky at Rust Hall, fears were also being expressed about possible attempts to blackmail the former Prime Minister by Lenin's Bolsheviks.

Kerensky had arrived in England alone, his wife Olga and their two boys Oleg and Gleb having been unable to escape when the Bolsheviks had taken control of Moscow. As a result, they were being retained as leverage in negotiations with the West; guests of Lenin and the Cheka at the notorious Katorga labour camp.



Letter to dated December 31st 1919 with news that Kerensky’s letter would be published in *Common Cause* in Paris, the journal run by *Protocols* expert Vladimir Burtsev.

The head of Lenin’s new Secret Police, Felix Dzerzhinsky was unambiguous about the matter: “As long as they in our grasp,” he wrote, “Kerensky cannot do much harm abroad”. By the unlikely coincidence, the family’s eventual release at the beginning of October 1920 just happened to coincide with Britain publishing a copy of a draft Trade Agreement with Lenin’s Soviet.²³⁰ The release of a further 62 British prisoners followed, but with little or no fanfare in the press. We may never know for sure, but it is probably fair to say that Churchill’s concerns on this one issue hadn’t been totally unreasonable. Kerensky’s position may well have been compromised by fears for his family

²³⁰ *Trade With Red Russia*, The Times, October 5 1920

and the future of Russia's Jews. The timing of their release, coinciding as it did with the publication of a draft agreement with Russia, is peculiar to say the least. Kerensky's insider knowledge on cabinet rifts and trade and investment weaknesses at this time could certainly have given the Soviets an edge in negotiations.

Exactly how Kerensky's friends, Pinchas Rutenberg and Vladimir Burtsev featured in the Churchill-Kerensky matrix at this early stage remains unknown. However, one thing is for sure; the pair do make repeated appearances in Kerensky's security file during the 1919 to 1920 period, with Burtsev himself (described in one intelligence report as Kerensky's Chief of Police in St Petersburg²³¹) specifically mentioned in relation to information he was sharing with the Brits. Churchill's response to the draft trade agreement was nothing short of furious. In fact, he opposed the draft so vigorously that he threatened Lloyd George with his immediate resignation. At a Cabinet meeting in November that year Churchill let rip with his frustration. It was his sincere belief that agreeing to the draft in principle would amount to formal recognition of the Soviet Government and that the counter-revolution would be terminated for good. Winston told his colleagues in the frankest of terms that they were "on the high road to Bolshevism".²³² Within eight weeks Lloyd

²³¹ Kerensky report, 31.05.1918, Captain Francis Cromie, Director of Naval Intelligence, 'The Russians in Spain'

²³² C. 62(20), November 18 1920, Cab. 23/23, ff. 106-107

George found that Churchill's skills were perhaps better employed as Secretary of State for Colonies, his regular tours of the Empire ensuring that the quarrelsome minister remained out of the country and away from Whitehall for more protracted periods of time. Lloyd George, clearly recognising his worth as a patriot, placed him where he could least harm and most good. If Churchill felt so strongly about a new British colony in Palestine, then it would be wiser to have him channel his energies more directly, and minimise his reliance on the Red Menace to achieve his goals.

H. A. Gwynne's *The Morning Post*, whose name would be eternally entwined with *The Protocols* legend, was responsible for a particularly aggressive anti-Kerensky report in July 1918:

"Made of the same paste as Rasputin and Protopopoff— the one a mystic the other a madman— Kerensky is the connecting link between them and the leaders of Bolshevism, Lenin and Trotsky. Russia, that land of unreality and immeasurable greatness, has beaten the record of the impossible in letting itself be governed for two years by this quintet of political epileptics. Intervention on the part of the Allies, must take place and they must hurry ..."

— *Kerensky: Russia's Evil Genius*, Comte Gaston de Merindol, *The Morning Post*, 6th July 1918

It wasn't enough to have an evil Jewish plot behind the Bolsheviks. They also had to be behind the party's main political adversary, the 'Rasputin-like' Kerensky.

Sassoon, Churchill and the Hythe Peace Conference (May 1920)

"One Ring to rule them all, One Ring to find them, One Ring to bring them all, and in the darkness bind them."

— The Shadow of the Past, The Lord of the Rings, The Fellowship of the Ring, J.R.R. Tolkien

If there was one thing about Sassoon that angered the editor of the *Plain English* journal more than all others, it was his slightly nebulous ubiquity within the mainframe of British politics. He was a Zelig figure, as comfortable entertaining Kings and Queens as pacifying the bull-headed, barrel-chested and bloody-minded Generals and Majors banging at the doors of the PM's office. He was a fabulously well-connected man whose dazzling circle of friends included some of the world's foremost artists, thinkers and politicians. As man whose relatively poor upbringing in Wales and Manchester had brought him into politics without any kind of pomp or gravitas, this was something that Lloyd George could draw on. He was the rich velvet lining to a threadbare old coat worn by the schoolmaster's son from Pembrokeshire. By

that same token, Sassoon's stellar rise through the ranks and ubiquity at Whitehall had left him with something of a reputation for being a key figure within the imagined 'dark forces' who were 'really' running the show. This was never more dramatically realised and expressed than when Sassoon's sumptuous Belcaire mansion had been used to host the so-called Hythe (Lympne) Peace Conference in May 1920. In attendance that week were Sassoon, General Maxime Weygand, Marshal Ferdinand Foch, Field Marshal Henry Wilson, David Gubbay, David Lloyd George, Philip Kerr, Alexandre Millerand, Austen Chamberlain and Maurice Hankey. His appearance at the conference meant only one thing: installed in his private room, with the right to open all his letters, Sir Philip Sassoon, was the chief agent of Lloyd George's Jewish paymasters.²³³ A second conference was held at Sassoon's mansion in June and a third in August that same year. During this latter period discussion was naturally dominated by the situation in Poland and the escalating problems in Russia. It was agreed that the allies would continue to assist Poland in her struggle for independence against the Bolsheviks. There was just one thing. Although he was not believed to have been there in any official capacity as minister, one portly figure occasionally being picked out by press photographers was the then serving Secretary of War, Winston Churchill. Although Churchill's visit certainly did coincide with the

²³³ *The Conservatives to the Rescue*, Plain English, edited by Lord Alfred Douglas, No.31, vol. II, February 5 1921

conference the press were being told that his stay at the luxury mansion was not in any way related.²³⁴ He was here, he insisted, on holiday. Inevitably, a slew of conspiracy rumours regarding Winston, Sassoon and the Conference began to be circulated by Lord Douglas in his magazine *Plain English*. These rumours were duly resurrected in America in 1938, braced by a similar ring of innuendo.²³⁵ The *Pall Gazette* was likewise keen to point out that the Rothschilds were similarly connected with this particular locality, and had been since the beginning of the 1800s. Baron Mayer Amschel de Rothschild, had like Sassoon represented the Liberals in Hythe for over 25 years. Although the precise point the newspaper was making wasn't at all clear, one might guess that it had something to do with the same 'dark forces' alluded to elsewhere. Was it possible that Sassoon had been drawn into the intrigues of the Prime Minister's office by those specialists of intrigue who were most anxious to add flesh to the bones of *The Protocols* mythology? The timing was certainly curious, entering the Prime Minister's office the very same month that Shanks had published *The Protocols* pamphlet.²³⁶ Was his appointment the result of his easy charm and his matchless political and society connections or a devious to cast a flamboyant Jewish figure as the "unobtrusive stage director" of a fiendishly clever plot by a Jewish 'Master Race' to take control

²³⁴ *Pall Mall Gazette* 15 May 1920, p.3

²³⁵ *Jewish Post*, Indianapolis, Marion County, 20 May 1938, p.8

²³⁶ *Post for Sir Philip Sassoon*, *The Times*, Feb 19 1920, p.14

of a New World Order? *The Fugu Plan* of 1930s suggests the Japanese had for one had been completely sold on this idea. Had Churchill and his friends been able to produce the magic necessary to ensure that British Jews remained in some almost supernatural high estimation by rival nations; a ‘secret weapon’, so to speak? Had Sassoon’s presence at the Lympe Peace Conference been intended as some powerful totem? A piece of stagecraft designed, rather like the monolithic statues of Easter Island, as a symbol of authority and power at both a political and mystical level? If you could convince the world that the Jews of Britain and America had some paranormal grip over world affairs, they would make the most formidable and persuasive of allies in peace and trade negotiations; the ‘wearers of the ring’, indeed. It wasn’t an explanation I particularly favoured, but it was one that was hard to shake off completely. It was indeed like the Fugu delicacy being used by the Japanese as a metaphor: prepared carefully the fantasy could be delicious, but as we saw in 1930s Germany, it could be completely poisonous to those people willing to ingest it without due mind.

Just how ‘penniless’ was George Shanks?

As frivolous as it seems, this is a question that’s central to the fairly conventional revenge narrative put forward as an explanation for Shanks’ *Protocols* translation to date. Historians tend to report that the Shanks family arrived as penniless refugees in London in 1917/18, as a result of being stripped of their businesses and their assets during the Bolshevik revolution. As revenge narratives goes it all seemed rather plausible, and it was perhaps as good a way as any of trying to account for the grit and determination shown by Mr Shanks in first translating and then publishing the first 30,000 copies of *The Protocols*. But on the evidence currently available it’s not in the strictest sense of word, true. Not entirely, anyway. According to broadcaster Roger Bickerton, both Shanks and his mother Emilie were, by the late 1920s, living at 10 Great Stanhope Street in Mayfair. The former home of Liberal Peer Baron Wandsworth (Sydney Stern) the property was on one of the exclusive streets in London. The family also had property at Addison Street in Kensington and in France. During his time with the *Russian Government Committee* in Kingsway, Shanks’ address is listed as The Carlton Hotel, a luxury hotel on the corner of Haymarket and Pall Mall (see service records).

In all fairness, the image of a ‘penniless’ exile stripped of his dignity and his fortune seems to have been something of a distortion from academics a

little too eager to account for the malicious course of action he would embark on. Fair's fair, the Bolsheviks had robbed his family of vast reserves of their wealth and income but they weren't as destitute as some of their friends in Paris and Constantinople who had been forced to escape with nothing. As an explanation for the extreme course of action that he took, the revenge story alone lacks credibility in my view. In the first instance; Shanks hadn't arrived penniless from Russia in 1918. His war records show that he had been enrolled as a student at the University College London since before the war. Besides, if he had arrived without a penny in England, just where did he get the money to pay the 'King's printers', *Eyre and Spottiswoode* for the initial publication of the 30,000 copies of the headline-popping pamphlet? It is one thing to have the motive, quite another to have the means.

One man who had both of these in abundance however, was Shanks' partner, Edward G.G. Burdon. And it's Burdon that I would now like to call before the jury.

Some other mysterious facts

The Pope's Gentleman

On June 12th 1929 Shanks was made a *Chamberlain of the Sword and Cape* by the Pope in the Diocese of Southwark.²³⁷ Curiously, this was a period in

²³⁷ The American Ecclesiastical Review 1929-10: Vol. 81, Issue 4

which mysterious British Intelligence asset and bagman, Maundy Gregory (involved in the equally crude fake, the Zinoviev Letter) was alleged to have been selling Papal Honours.

French Colonial Award

According to the official bulletin of France's Ministry of Colonies, *Protocols* translator George Shanks was in receipt of a Colonial Orders award in January 1939 alongside his Radio Normandy co-founder Leonard Plugge. He was awarded by Minister, Socialist and staunch defender of Alfred Dreyfus, Georges Mandel.²³⁸

Radio Pioneer

In the 1930s Shanks became a founding-director of the *International Broadcasting Company* with radio pioneers Leonard Plugge and Roy Plumley (Desert Island Discs). The company played an initial role in British propaganda efforts in Europe but was controversially decommissioned during the early stages of the war.

A Box Containing Letters

In August 1937 Shanks' co-translator Major Edward Griffiths George Burdon

²³⁸ Bulletin Officiel du Ministère des Colonies, 1939. It's curious to note that Shanks and British-Armenian financier, James Aratoon Malcolm who hired Shanks' partner Edward G. G. Burdon, both had close dealings with radio-pioneer, Marconi. Malcolm, as holder of 'Chinese Marconi' took Marconi to court in the mid-1920s in an attempt to recover commission on transactions with the Chinese Government. See: *Ways of the Chinaman*, Westminster Gazette 22 March 1924, p.7

left Shanks £5,000 in his will. A regional newspaper reported that Burdon asked for the remainder of his \$104,000 estate to be distributed among family on the condition that NONE of his family should ever become Freemasons. Burdon also stipulated that a “box containing letters must be sent to George Shanks unopened” and that he “might deal with the contents according to instructions communicated to him”.²³⁹



Major Edward Griffiths George Burdon OBE leaves Shanks a box of letters in his estate in 1937

²³⁹ £104, 000 Estate, *Directions in Bequeathing*, Kington Times, 14 August 1937 p.4

Edward Griffiths George Burdon

(1873-1937)

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



According to Robert Hobart Cust it was Temporary Major Edward G.G. Burdon who assisted former Royal Navy pilot, George Shanks with his post-war translation of *The Jewish Peril* — the first-ever British imprint of the bizarre and malicious forgery, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, originally published in Russia in 1905. An account of the fake's revival can be read in Professor Colin Holmes' ground-breaking book, *Anti-Semitism in British Society 1876-1839*, which not only provides a detailed exploration of anti-Semitic thought and its expression during the late Victorian and early Edwardian period, but also dismantles some of the stereotypes and misconceptions that many of us still have about the fascists of post-war Britain. In his book, Holmes explains how Burdon had personally showed an early draft of the notorious pamphlet to H.A. Gywnne, Editor of *The Morning Post*, in November 1919. This claim was made in a letter that Cust had written to Gywnne in which the respected art historian was keen to correct him on a

number of minor issues relating to a review of the pamphlet his newspaper had published in February 1920.²⁴⁰

In subsequent attempts to unravel the mystery, Burdon has been either dismissed as figment of Cust's imagination or quickly glossed over, but in doing so historians have neglected a critical part of the narrative, as Burdon had played a key role in helping manage Britain's often confusing abundance of Anglo-Russian (and anti-Bolshevik) pressure groups in the immediate aftermath of the February Revolution in Russia.

Browsing again through Holmes's book some twenty years after I had read it originally, I am struck by just how little attention has been paid to Burdon over the years. Holmes is not alone in this. In another account of the story, Gisela C. Lebzelter similarly refuses to be side-tracked by the biographies of minor characters in the evolution of British Fascism — a reasonable enough decision in the context of building a tight chronological narrative about the history of a movement, but an approach that becomes ever more inadequate when dealing with personal motivations of individual threads in a web of broader intrigues. What both writers agree on, however, is that the information that Robert Hobart Cust had on Shanks had come to him via Burdon, a “most accomplished linguist”. Burdon is said to have shown him a draft copy of their

²⁴⁰ *Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939*, Colin Holmes, Edward Arnold, 1979, pp.47-51

work in November 1919, and requested his friend's assistance in finding a publisher, for which Cust duly obliged. Beyond that there's been nothing at all. In the hundred and one years that have now elapsed since the work was first published, no one has attempted to dig any deeper. A few words of explanation have occasionally been expressed about Shanks, in which he is invariably presented as a vexatious refugee without a penny to his name and only the weariest of old axes to grind, but not a single attempt has been made to understand why Major Burdon used his considerable language skills to assist Shanks in this intensely malicious project. However, in revisiting the life of Burdon it is now possible to shed some light on some of the dark and invisible forces that may well have been at work behind the scenes when the pair set about preparing the first-ever English translation of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. In fact, Edward G.G. Burdon may eventually prove every bit as important as Shanks himself, perhaps more so, as the Association that had been paying Burdon as Paid Secretary since 1917 featured some of the most influential men in Anglo-Russian Relations, as well as some of Britain's most pernicious racists and anti-Bolsheviks during the post-revolutionary period.

Contrary to the narrative currently favoured by modern British historians, discoveries I have made more recently were beginning suggest that Edward G.G. Burdon and George Shanks may not have been acting as part of some acrimonious fringe-fascist group, letting off steam about Britain's Jews

for their own simple sadistic pleasure, but advancing the fiercely reactionary policies of a powerful government lobby that inhabited a tight political circle in Edwardian Britain.

The group that Burdon was appointed to represent as ‘Paid Secretary’ just two years before the pair commenced work on the ‘The Jewish Peril’ was the *United Russia Societies Association*. Launched with little or no public fanfare in February 1918, U.R.S.A, as it became known, had been set the almost impossible task of uniting the various Anglo-Russian interest groups that had evolved since Tsarist Russia had joined the allies in the war with Germany. The association was, in actual fact, a more all-embracing version of *The Russia Society*, set-up to support the entry of Imperial Russia on the side of Britain and her allies in the first few years of the war. This was an awkward moment for Britain whose default position, rather like that of America, had been to publically condemn the draconian abuses meted out as a matter of course by Tsar Nicholas on his people. Perceived rather negatively as the land of “slaves and tyranny” it was thought that the average Brit viewed our first-time alliance with Russia — “our gallant new friend” — as a difficult pill to swallow. Britain at this time had a very distinct yet outdated image of Russia; it was the land of serfs and conscripted peasants, either toiling in the fields or marching to certain death in the battlefields of Turkey and the Crimea. The general perception among most Brits was that the country was tyrannical,

ultra-orthodox, un-modernized and stubbornly un-modernizable. The Tsar was seen as ruling absolutely, and his entourage of ministers and advisers were not unreasonably perceived as being absolutely corrupt.

Drawing from an enviable pool of respected academics, former diplomats, War Cabinet advisors and religious leaders, U.R.S.A did its best to change those old perceptions and re-draft this Colossus of the North as a kindred cultural spirit which was nothing at all like the “mischievous and distorted” image its neighbour Germany had been promoting for all those years. We just needed to adjust our reading of Russia, that’s all. It was all too easy to compare the mighty Empire of Snow to Britain or America, we needed to understand it on its own terms — not in comparison to our own Constitutional history, which had been steadily maturing for the best part of three hundred years, but to the more Liberal path that our Russian friends had been taking since establishing its first democratically elected assembly in 1905, the State Duma. As undesirable as it was, Russian autocracy it was now being reasoned, was “the only possible alternative to anarchy” and that the Russian people “did not want and would not understand, any other form of government”. The people really to blame were the country’s rivals. Russia had been our friend all along. All previous attempts to reconcile the two nations in

the past had failed it was now being said, as a result of “German intrigues”.²⁴¹ Every attempt was now being made to mobilise public opinion in favour of Imperial Russia, something that had never been done before. The British public were being asked to appreciate that only thing that had ever come between the two empires in the last few hundred years had been the ‘Bosche’. And if the Brits should need any further proof, they had only to look at the Kings themselves, George V and Nicholas II, who bore an extraordinary likeness to each other (and would often dress similarly in front of the press just to ram the point home).

In a rather peculiar twist, it appears that the man who had appointed Burdon to the position of ‘Paid Secretary’ to the new association was none other than, James Aratoon Malcolm²⁴²— the founder of its predecessor *The Russia Society* and a long time confidante of the Sassoon dynasty. According to statements made by Malcolm in the 1940s, he was also one of Britain’s earliest and most passionate champions of a Jewish National Home in Palestine, whose suggestions were taken up at the very highest levels of the British War Cabinet.²⁴³ Whilst we will explore the various details of Burdon’s

²⁴¹ *The New Russia Society*, Dundee Courier, Dundee Courier May 15 1915, p.4; The Russia Society, The Scotsman January 25 1915, p.11

²⁴² *The Russian Revolution and Who's Who in Russia*, Zinovy N. Preev, T.J. Bale & Danielsson, May 1917, *Anglo-Russian Friendship*, The Times of London, February 21 1917, p.9

²⁴³ Vice-Presidents of the *Russia Society* included Winston Churchill and Lord Ullswater. In His book, *The Origins of the Balfour Declaration*, James A. Malcolm alleges that other

Association and Malcolm's grandiose claims in a separate article, here is a summary of what we do know about the early life of Burdon and the United Russia Societies Association he joined in 1917.

The Upper Ten Thousand

Burdon wasn't just your average Brit. He was part of England's highly regarded 'Squirearchy', taking practically all his income from those who lived on his land and the various farming activities performed thereon. The best insight we have into Burdon's relatively advantaged status within the distinguished upper strata of English civil society is revealed in Edward Walford's Royal Manual of the Titled and Untitled Aristocracy of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland, an ambitious tome of some 1100 pages that identifies all the "highest families of the three kingdoms", or, in common parlance, a 'Dictionary of the Upper Ten Thousand', republished, not unsurprisingly, by Spottiswoode & Company in 1909. Skip to page 156 of the manual and you will find an entry that reads: "Edward Griffiths George Burdon, Capt. and Hon. Major 3rd Battalion Northumberland Fusiliers; b.1872, New Court, Lugwardine, Herefordshire". His father was George Burdon and his mother, Frances Jane Griffiths of Heddon House,

prominent members included Chief British Rabbi, Joseph Herman Hertz and Zionist Propagandist, L. J. Greenberg of the Jewish Chronicle. He says both men felt that a greater understanding of Russia could help Britain better appreciate the plight of its Jews.

Northumberland. After the death of George, his brother, the Reverend Richard Burdon, the eldest son of Edward's grandfather George Burdon Esq, was declared the new Lord of the Manor. Here he would spend the remaining years of his life doling out fines, and settling local disputes as Justice of the Peace and Deputy Lieutenant of Northumberland.²⁴⁴

This ancient Northumbrian family could boast several baronets including John Burdon Sanderson (the respected physiologist) and the First Viscount Haldane, Richard Burdon Haldane, the British Secretary of State for War from 1905 to 1912.²⁴⁵ Despite his birthrights in Northumberland and Herefordshire, Edward Griffiths George Burdon was baptised in Torquay before the family took up residence at Batheaston Villa in the village of Bathampton in Bath. The surroundings may have been rather more provincial compared with Heddon House, but Edward's father, who describes himself as an "living on own means" in a census entry of this period, could nonetheless count the Duke and Duchess of Beauford and former Ambassador to Russia, the Marquess of Clanricarde among his peers during his regular visits to

²⁴⁴ *Royal Manual of the Titled and Untitled Aristocracy of England, Wales, Scotland, and Ireland*, Edward Walford, Spottiswoode & Co, 49th Edition, 1909, p.156. Richard was born in 1798 at Bywell Castle.

²⁴⁵ Edward George Griffiths Burdon was related to Viscount Haldane on his Haldane's mother's side, Elizabeth Burdon-Sanderson (her father was Richard Burdon, born 1821). Another distant cousin, Rowland Burdon MP owned the mighty Castle Eden. It's possible there was a relationship between the Burdon Sanderson Haldanes and the family of Sir George Buchanan, British Ambassador to Russia at the time of the 1917 Revolution.

London.²⁴⁶ An additional source of income for the family were the dividends (interest) returned on Government ‘consols’ — loans made to the government in support of the state-owned infrastructure propping-up the British Empire.

As small as it was, Burdon’s home in Bathampton wasn’t without its charm. The 18th Century novelist, Horace Walpole writing to George Montague Esquire in 1766, described Batheaston Villas as a “small new-built house with a bow window, directly opposite to which the Avon falls in a wide cascade, a church behind it in a vale, into which two mountains descend, leaving an opening into the distant country. The garden is little but pretty, and watered down with several small rivulets among the bushes. Meadows fall down to the road; and above, the garden is terminated by another view of the river, the city and the mountains.”²⁴⁷ Lying two miles from Bath, this “diminutive principality, with large pretensions” was the former home of Lady Anna Riggs Miller whose poetry and literature salons in its lavishly Italianate grounds provided Walpole with some of the inspiration for Britain’s very first Gothic novel ‘The Castle of Otranto’. Surrounded on virtually all sides by high walls and lofty, ancient woodland and cut-off from the main part of the village to the

²⁴⁶ Newcastle Guardian and Tyne Mercury, September 4 1847, p.4, p.23, see also: 1881, 1891 Census, George & Frances Burdon.

²⁴⁷ The Letters of Horace Walpole, Fourth Earl of Orford. R. Bentley, 1891, p.19. The Walpoles were a family of clergymen, politicians, antiquarians and art historians, each descended from British Prime Minister Robert Walpole. Hugh Walpole, who Burdon joined at the United Russia Societies Association belonged to the same line. The Walpoles and Batheaston’s previous owners, the Millers inhabited the same social circles as Rowland Burdon, owner of Castle Eden and Conservative MP.

south by an almost infinite, winding driveway, the Villa would have been very well protected from prying eyes.

The Villa itself was a sophisticated fantasy, reflecting the deep admiration that Lady Miller had for her spiritual home of Italy, whose lush, exotic lands she had spent years of her life exploring. On her return to England in the 1760s, the “Arcadian patroness” had built Batheaston — part-fairy-tale, part-folly, part-Palazzo. The Temple of the Apollo, the God of Truth and Prophecy that stood in its gardens at the time Miller built the property, can be seen in its garden still, proving that its follies were nothing if not permanent. If Rupert Brooke had attended one of the many poetry salons that Lady Miller hosted in its gardens, he might very well have revised the most famous of his verses: The rich earth and rich dust concealed some corner of a field in Bath that was forever Italy. Some two hundred years later during the counter-culture revolution of the late 1960s these same eccentricities would transform Batheaston Villa into a free-spirited hippy commune with its own dedicated Maharishi.²⁴⁸

During the Burdon family’s time at Batheaston, Edward’s father George was, in all likelihood, surviving on a relatively generous allowance, making any attempt to explore his employment or business dealings a difficult

²⁴⁸ Another mock-Gothic mansion, Strawberry Hill House has also been credited as providing inspiration for the novel.

if not futile undertaking. It's likely that that whatever his family wanted for in life, he was given. One thing we do know, however, is that the family was Catholic and may well have possessed some personal or business links to France and Germany. We know this because, in a copy of the Catholic journal *The Tablet* in October 1889, Edward's mother Frances Burdon had placed a small ad. She was looking for a French Governess, well-recommended, of 'Brevet' stock with good German.²⁴⁹ Given that these languages were fairly dominant in the civil service and military professions, another plausible explanation is that the family were already busy planning the children's futures. In 1892, the Batheaston Villa was put up for sale where it was picked up by the Reverend Clement Reginald Tollemache and his wife Frances. Their daughters Grace and Aethel would subsequently become explosive branch secretaries of Pankhurst's Suffragettes, both sisters eventually being arrested in 1914 on charges relating to the Defence of the Realm Act after protesting at Buckingham Palace.²⁵⁰

After serving with distinction in the Second Boer War (1899-1902) Edward Burdon was awarded the rank of Major and given leadership of Northumberland's Special reserve at the outbreak of the war with Germany in

²⁴⁹ *The Tablet*, Vol. 74, July-December, Tablet Publishing Company, October 19 1889, p.623. I believe the Brevet was a Higher Diploma awarded in France.

²⁵⁰ Mrs Tollemache at Bath, *Votes for Women* 14 March 1913, p.13

1914.²⁵¹ However, an injury the following year saw him placed on other duties and he was duly downgraded to Temporary Major. I have yet to view his full military service record but it does seem to be available at the War Office.²⁵² How Burdon made the transition from decorated field veteran to Secretary of the United Russia Societies Association isn't yet clear, but if the letter from Robert Hobart Cust to H.A. Gwynne is anything to go by, it may well have been on account of his competence as a Russian linguist, although where he picked up such skills is something I have yet to fathom. Relevant or not, it's probably worth noting that Burdon's appointment as Secretary at the *United Russia Societies Association* (U.R.S.A) coincided with another important merger, when the War Propaganda Bureau and the Neutral Press Committee combined to form the Department of Information in February 1917 — an indication perhaps of changes in the direction the war was taking, and Britain's increasingly cosy relationship with a rapidly evolving Russia.

Nourishing Falsehoods for Popular Consumption

According to the minutes of the first meeting of the group, the United Russia Societies Association that had recruited Burdon in February 1917 had been formed under Malcolm just one month before at the invitation of Harry Cust, the first cousin of Burdon's close friend, Robert Hobart Cust whose letters to

²⁵¹ E.G.G. Burdon, 1914-1922, TNA, WO 339/72239

²⁵² War Office, WO 339/72239, Major E.G.G. Burdon

H.A. Gwynne would be the first to divulge the secret of his collaboration with George Shanks on The Protocols forgery (The Jewish Peril).²⁵³ As Chairman of the Central Committee for the National Propaganda Organisation, Harry Cust had been among the first to recognize the considerable part being played by specially prepared propaganda in the war efforts of enemy Germany. Responding to this, Cust launched the C.N.P.O in August 1914 with British Prime Minister H.H. Asquith dutifully sworn-in as Honorary Secretary. A statement published on page five of the *Pall Mall Gazette* on October 9 1914 in support of the group's launch reads: "*The German Government it may be noted has recognized the importance of the same function by preparing a first-rate service of nourishing falsehoods for popular consumption, and making truth contraband of war*". If it was 'falsehoods' Britain needed most in its hour of need, Cust and his friends were about to provide them in droves.

Cust's *Central Committee for the National Propaganda Organisation* and the *Neutral Press Committee*, set-up by the Home Office the following month to concentrate efforts in countries outside the British Empire, had arisen as a result of a lack of coordination among the various groups attempting to support the war effort on British soil. It was inevitable that similar calls for the centralisation of activities in support of Imperial Russia would be made some

²⁵³ The influence brought to bear on the launch of U.R.S.A by Harry Cust can be found on page 4 of *U.R.S.A Proceedings*, Committee Members, vol.1, 1917 -1918, London, David Nutt. See separate entries, *United Russia Societies Association* and *Robert Hobart Cust* in this guide.

three years later when the cracks in the Tsar's autocracy would see the resolve of the Triple Alliance begin to fall apart; the upshot of which was the formation of U.R.S.A.

As skilled and influential propagandists during the war the men that made up U.R.S.A's executive committee also had firm ties to British Military Intelligence, making the scope for possible intrigue especially broad and complex. But in order to understand both the need for the Association, and the need for appointing Burdon, we need to take a step back and take a look at the man whose last act as Honorary Secretary of *The Russia Society* was to appoint Burdon as 'Paid Secretary' of the new amalgamated alliance — James Aratoon Malcolm.²⁵⁴

A statement made to the British Press by Malcolm in February 1917 tells us that he will shortly retire as Honorary Secretary to The Russia Society, a group he had founded some two years previously, and take up a new position on the committee of the new parent association. His first task at the new association would be to appoint a paid secretary at the group's temporary offices at 123 Pall Mall. A public notice published in The Times of London on February 21st 1917 reads:

²⁵⁴ *Anglo-Russian Friendship, The United Russia Societies Association*, The Times, February 21 1917, p.9

“It has been felt for some time that it would be an advantage if the several organizations in London having for their object the promotion of friendly relations with Russia were consolidated. Owing to the formation in Petrograd of the Anglo-Russian Society under the Chairmanship of the President of the Russian Duma and the auspices of the British Ambassador, steps have been taken to bring this about, and it largely due to the good offices of Sir George Buchanan and the Speaker of the House of Commons (President of the Russia Society) that an agreement has been reached to amalgamate that society, the Anglo-Russian Friendship Society and the Anglo-Russian Committee, with the cooperation of the Russia Company. The speaker has suggested the new title “The United Russia Societies Association”, and a meeting will be held at the Speaker’s House on March 2 at 4.00pm, to pass the necessary resolutions for bringing about this fusion.

*Mr James A. Malcolm, the founder of the Russia Society and its honorary secretary, will retire from his office. He has, however, consented to join the Committee of the new association, which will appoint a paid secretary and have temporary offices at 123 Pal Mall, London, SW. ”*²⁵⁵

The “President of the Russian Duma” who was overseeing the amalgamation of these societies back in his home country of Russia was the deeply religious Liberal and conviction politician, Mikhail Rodzianko, the fifth Chairman of Russia’s State Duma. It’s not always easy to find a modern-day equivalent, but in view of his noble birth and his ruthless, razor-sharp political timing,

²⁵⁵ *Anglo Russian Friendship*, The Times, February 21 1917, p.9

Rodzianko might well be regarded today as a cross between Britain's Jacob Rees-Mogg (a meddlesome minor aristocrat) and a born-again Jonathan Aitken (a resourceful Archangel).²⁵⁶ Little more than three weeks after this notice was published, Rodzianko would become a leading figure in the history-changing events that would culminate in the abdication of Tsar Nicholas II on March 15.²⁵⁷

There are a number of things I'd like to draw your attention to before moving on. The first is the revival and cooperation of the practically defunct Anglo-Russia trading body, *The Russia Company*, whose senior members, certainly in previous years, included the grandfather of Burdon's co-author, George Shanks. Founded in the 1500s as a means of exploiting and expanding the Caspian trading routes between Persia and Southern Russia, The Russia Company had maintained an impressive monopoly on English-Russian trade until the early 1700s when it finally lost many of its remaining privileges under Peter the Great. Until recently the Society's fortunes had dwindled to such an extent that it could no longer boast any real influence, its activities confined to strictly charitable endeavours, providing outreach, maintaining

²⁵⁶ The State Duma was Imperial Russia's version of the British Parliament or the US Congress.

²⁵⁷ During the allied-war against the Bolsheviks, Rodzianko would come out in support of White Russian Generals Deniken and Wrangel. He had also been a leading voice in protests regarding the relationship between Empress Alexandra Feodorovna and Grigory Rasputin. By the time of the February Revolution a coup d'etat is alleged to have been already under discussion.

churches in the English Colonies. By 1915, however, things were looking up. *The Russia Company* had been founded for the purpose of exploiting trade between Persia and Russia, now it was being revived on that same principle. As news began to emerge of allied control of the Caspian, traders in Moscow announced plans for a new Anglo-Russian shipping bank. As Malcolm had built his reputation as the world's foremost Caspian trader, his sudden ubiquity in Near East war efforts was interesting to say the least.

The second point worthy of mention is that Malcolm was stepping down as Honorary Secretary of *The Russia Society*, which was little more than an administrative role (taking minutes, dealing with correspondence, hiring venues) and taking a more hands-on position on the Executive Committee of the new association, meaning less paperwork and more influence on decision-making and strategic planning. It was an unusual move in the circumstances. Unlike other members of the committee, Burdon's chief, James A. Malcolm couldn't really boast any formally recognised status. He wasn't a Lord, he wasn't a leading academic, he wasn't an elected Member of Parliament and he didn't have a commission with either the Ministry of War or the Ministry of Information. There was another thing too. With the possible exception of Russian Consul, Baron Alfons Heyking and Chamberlain to the Tsar, Vladimir Mouravieff-Apostol, Malcolm was also the only member of the U.R.S.A

committee not to have been born in Britain. So if you are wondering why he is there at all, you're not alone.

In a follow-up advert placed by the associations' chairman, Lord Carnock in *The Spectator* and *The Times* in March 1917, it becomes clear that the man given the role of 'Paid Secretary' at the new parent association was Protocols translator, Edward George Griffiths Burdon:

To the Editor of the Times

*Sir, —I should be obliged if you would permit me to bring to the notice of the public, through your columns, that the United Russia Societies Association, of which the Speaker of the House of Commons is President, would welcome applications for membership. The subscription for members is 10s. per annum, but further information would be given, if desired, by the secretary of the association—Major Burdon, 123 Pall Mall, S.W 1. —who will receive contributions.*²⁵⁸

The impact that Burdon's appointment would have on *The Protocols* narrative shouldn't be underestimated. What knowledge the other members had of Burdon's involvement in the translation and dissemination of *The Jewish Peril* pamphlet may not be known, but it's almost certain that his work as coordinator for U.R.S.A had played no small part in his encounter with George

²⁵⁸ *Anglo Russian Friendship*, *The Times*, March 28 1917, p.13. A similar advertisement placed in Russian journalist Zinovy N. Preev's *The Russian Revolution and Who's Who in Russia* in 1917 includes his full initials: 'Major E.G.G. Burdon'.

Shanks, his introduction to the Russian forgery, and the essential part it would come to play in Britain's propaganda campaign against the Bolsheviks, at this time regarded as the 'Jewish Menace'. Incidentally, the man who had been tasked with drawing up a syllabus for an elementary and advanced language school for both *The Russia Society* and its successor, U.R.S.A at 37 Norfolk Street, The Strand was Shanks' uncle, Aylmer Maude.²⁵⁹ The Norfolk Street address is interesting as Britain's Ministry of Information, first under Charles Masterman and later under U.R.S.A's John Buchan, had requisitioned several properties on this street for the duration of the war.

Many of the individuals appointed to the executive board of U.R.S.A had formed the backbone of the *Anglo-Russian Bureau*, the propaganda and political intelligence-led unit that had worked so closely and so diligently with Military Intelligence in Petrograd during the war. Many more of them, including Sir George Buchanan (British Ambassador to Russia), Aylmer Maude, Archibald Sinclair, Samuel Hoare, John Buchan and Hugh Walpole²⁶⁰ would also go on to play vital roles in the aggressive pro-Intervention campaign launched by Britain in the immediate aftermath of the Second Revolution of October 1917, a revolution that was being blamed, somewhat

²⁵⁹ *Tests for Proficiency in Russian*, Derby Daily Telegraph February 9 1917, p.2. The address was also use for Maude's Leicestershire Colliery and Pipe Company Ltd.

²⁶⁰ U.R.S.A Proceedings, Committee Members, vol.1, 1917 -1918, London, David Nutt, p.220

predictably, on the relatively small number of Jewish Maximalists and Internationalists seizing control of Russia under the banner of the Bolsheviks.

Within a year of U.R.S.A's formation, the British War Cabinet requested that a White Paper be drawn up that would give a blow by blow account of the abuses being carried out by the new ruling power in Russia. If Britain was to go 'all out' with Lenin's Bolsheviks after the Armistice had been declared, then its Coalition Government would need a firm moral basis to convince both its public and its Prime Minister to enter another war.

The report, which would eventually become known as the Russia No.1 White Paper (April 1919) — and more informally as the 'Bolshevik Atrocity Blue Book' — drew up a catalogue of abuses that portrayed Lenin's upstart Bolsheviks as power-hungry Jewish radicals out to unleash their venom and frustration on the capitalist world at large. The war with Germany had officially ended and decisions would need to be made about continuing British efforts on the North Western front. For the White Russian generals leading the counter-revolution against the Bolsheviks, time was running out, and allied support was fading. The pressure to mobilise British opinion moved across to Britain's press.

The Daily Chronicle, whose commentaries on the latest developments in Russia were being peddled by Intelligence and propaganda man, Harold

Williams at this time, was the first to draw attention to the fact (inaccurately, it has to be said) that practically all of the main Bolshevik officials were Jewish (and just quite possibly Lenin too). The magazine *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, the official organ of the *National War Aims Committee* chaired by Churchill's cousin (and Shanks' employer at the Chief Whips Office) Freddie Guest, repeated the claims just one week later on November 17th.²⁶¹ By the time that the Russia No.1 report was published, Sir Mansfeldt Findlay chief of the Legation in Christiana was able to provide all the clarity and sense of moral purpose that was needed to move things forward. In a telegraphic to the British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour dated September 17th 1918, Findlay had written:

"I consider that the immediate suppression of Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the war which is still raging, and unless, as above stated, Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world, as it is organised and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things. The only manner in which this danger could be averted would be collective action on the part of all Powers."

²⁶¹ *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, vol. 97, Nov 17 1917, p.4

— *Russia No.1 White Paper (April 1919) A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia, p.6*

By the time that Burdon and Shanks had published *The Jewish Peril* in January 1920, the most passionate anti-Communist of them all, Sir Winston Churchill was talking of ‘possible new military commitments’ to stave-off the ‘Bolshevik Peril’ in the Near East. Britain had made the decision to withdraw from North Russia in October 1919. America had followed suit. But Britain’s new bulldog War Secretary was not prepared to give up so easily (see separate entry: *Zionism versus Bolshevism*).

A Box Containing Letters ... to Remain Unopened

What became of Edward Burdon after his appointment to Malcolm’s U.R.S.A is a little vague, as his next appearance in the press comes in the Supplement to the *London Gazette* on August 21st 1919, when it is announced that Temporary Major Edward Griffiths George Burdon (Army Special List) had been awarded an O.B.E. As the ‘Special List’ is a reference to officers who may have had ordnance, linguistic or intelligence skills, it may be reasonable to suppose that the award was given for his contributions to translation, either as part of communications from the White Russian command in Omsk, or part of signals or intelligence duties. According to the British Army lists, published monthly during the war, Burdon was promoted to the Special Lists on April

8th 1918 alongside British Liberal Politician and former attaché in Constantinople, Lord John W. Monk Bretton, whose reports on the Armenian Massacres of the late 1890s are likely to have found favour with James Aratoon Malcolm and Britain's war efforts in Asia and the Near East. Given that Malcolm, now serving as London representative to the National Delegation for Armenia was responsible for recruiting Burdon, it's entirely possible that there is some as yet unknown connection between the appointment of Burdon to the desk at U.R.S.A and the pair's joint appearance on the 'Special Lists'.²⁶² According to file at the British Admiralty, Monk Bretton had spent the previous years of the war attached to Naval Intelligence, using his code breaking skills in the legendary Room 40 under Rear-Admiral Sir W. Reginald Hall.²⁶³

After the war Burdon was to inherit and then quickly resell the family's Heddon House Estate in Northumberland. After this, he appears to have lived mostly in Pau in South Western France, a region close to the Spanish borders. The French Press records his various residencies at hotels in and around Biarritz. Interestingly his final home at Villa Belle Rive in Trescoey was also the registered address of Radio Luxembourg pioneer and journalist, Louis Merlin, appointed head of propaganda at the *Havas* news and broadcasting

²⁶² The Monthly Army List, Great Britain, Army, July 1918, War Office, H.M. Stationery Office, 355.0942 G786a. I

²⁶³ ²⁶³ The Navy List, United Kingdom, H.M. Stationery Office, 1917, p.548

agency during the Liberation of France from the Nazis. This may suggest a link between Merlin and his old friend George Shanks, both of whom were associated with the founding of Radio Normandy and Radio Luxembourg in the mid-to-late 1930s.²⁶⁴

His next appearance is a little more bizarre. In March 1937, it emerged that Burdon had died and left an estate of over £100,000 in his will, £5,000 of which was to go to his old friend, George Shanks. The details were duly reported in Sussex newspaper, *The Kington Times*. So peculiar are the conditions that Burdon attaches, that they are rather worth quoting in full:

Major Edward Griffiths George Burdon, late 4th Battalion, Northumberland Fusiliers, of Lugwardine (Herefordshire), formerly of Folkestone and of Heddon (Northumberland), left gross estate of the value of £103,993, on which estate duty of £15,833 has been paid.

Lieutenant-Colonel Walter Boyd Chadless Burdon, retired, of West Crudwell, Malmesbury and Captain Herbert Laurence Charles Burdon, retired, of Newcourt, brothers, and Mr George Shanks of Weybridge, director of the International Broadcasting Company, are the executors.

²⁶⁴ Burdon's Villa Belle Rive address can be found in Wills & Probate Records, Findmypast, Edward Griffiths George Burdon, 1937. The same address for Merlin can be found in Radio Amateur Callbook Magazine, Spring 1935, p.264

Testator left his real estate, including the manor or lordship of Lugwardine, and lands at West Heddon, on trust for his nephew George Boyd Burdon, on attaining the age of twenty-four, with remainder to his sons or daughters in tail, directing that the person in possession should within one year assume the final name of Burdon, any such person neglecting to do so, or who shall marry or have married his first cousin, or shall become a Freemason, to lose the life interest therein, and the property to be held as if such person had died intestate and without issue.

He also directed that his nephew should take the additional name Griffiths before the surname of Burdon. If he neglects or refuses to do so, Newcourt Estate is to be sold and the proceeds to go to George Shanks, whether or not a Freemason, and the other settled land is to remain subject to the trusts.

*Testator said that a box containing letters must be sent to George Shanks unopened, so that he might deal with the contents according to instructions communicated to him.*²⁶⁵

A mysterious box of letters must be sent “unopened” to his old pal, George Shanks? It was a move worthy of the best Agatha Christie novel. What on earth could have been inside the box and what was so top secret that they had to remain unopened? It’s a career that starts with a mystery, and ends with a mystery. What could be more fitting?

²⁶⁵ *Major E.G.G. Burdon’s £104,000 Estate*, Kington Times 14 August 1937, p.4. Burdon’s Gothic New Court mansion is now a luxury hotel.

James Aratoon Malcom

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



At the risk of buying into the rather dubious claims being made about Sassoon in the *Plain English* journal for a moment, it transpires that the man who had been responsible for recruiting Major Burdon — James A. Malcolm — had been the lifelong acquaintance of Sir Philip's father, Alfred Sassoon. To make matters more confusing still, it was Alfred's son Philip who was now being accused by Lord Douglas of appointing Burdon's friend, George Shanks as his own private secretary at No.10 Downing Street under Prime Minister Lloyd George. Certainly the coincidences were stacking up, even if it was difficult to draw any firm conclusion from the various odds and ends turning up during an initial trawl through the archives online. So who was James A. Malcolm and what was he doing here?

When the man with a disarmingly English-sounding name arrived in England from Baghdad in the early 1880s his family had placed him with Sir Philip Sassoon's father, Albert. Albert had made that same journey some years and was now comfortably ensconced in Britain, acting as agent to the Malcolm

family from his homes in Brighton and Westminster.²⁶⁶ Styled by the likes of Samuel Landman as a Christian Zionist Sympathizer, the Oxford-educated Malcolm belonged to a family of Catholic merchants and ship owners operating in the Persian Gulf.²⁶⁷ By 1915, however, the shady arms dealer and well-connected financial agent had become a key diplomatic figure in Britain's response to the tragic situation in Armenia. According to his memoirs, Malcolm, a habitual meddler in Imperial and Home Rule affairs, had been handed this position by His Holiness George V, the Russian-born Catholicos of Armenia, at that time organizing relief efforts as a response to the Christian massacres being committed by the Ottoman Turks. It had been something of a chequered career till this point, having gone bankrupt after the collapse of his newspaper ventures, *Financial Standard* and *Imperial Post* in the mid-1890s, before regaining some form as a result of Britain's opium trade with China and arms running to the Transvaal during the Second Boer War. His concern in the sorry state of Armenia, however, predated all that and by 1917 he was back composing headlines for the *Hayastan Daily*, the leading

²⁶⁶ *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict*, Jonathan Schneer, Bond Street Books, 2010, pp.174-175, *Origins of the Balfour Declaration, Dr Weizmann's Contribution*, James A. Malcolm, 1944, reprinted 1983 by the Institute for Historical Review, p.1

²⁶⁷ In the mid 1930s Landman is alleged to have introduced Malcolm to 'Revisionist Zionism', a more Maximalist ideology, conceived by Ze'ev Jabotinsky, who features elsewhere in this guide.

paper for the Armenian Resistance during the great purges of 1915-1918.²⁶⁸

By 1917, through either luck or sheer determination, Malcolm had found himself acting in some vague and utterly casual capacity as adviser to the British Government on Asiatic Affairs. It was during this phase of his career that Malcolm laid-out his plans for how local Jewish Zionists could provide support in bolstering Allied defences in the Ottoman region, and how this increasingly popular movement might also act as a bridge for bringing America into the war.²⁶⁹

Whilst here in his official capacity as delegate, Malcolm had found himself in regular contact with all of the major wirepullers for the three main government offices contributing to the British War effort: the Cabinet, the Foreign Office and the War Office. Officially, at least, Malcolm had been tasked with ensuring the welfare and safety of the Armenian refugees fleeing

²⁶⁸ A very early reference to his Armenian concerns can be found in the Inverness Courier, October 3 1890, p.3

²⁶⁹ Contrary to what author and British propaganda specialist John Buchan claims, Malcolm was not Jewish, which clearly explains his recruitment by His Holiness George V, Catholicos of Armenia (Supreme Patriarch of the Oriental Orthodox Church in Armenia) appointed to unite Armenian and Russian Orthodox Christians in the face of Turkish hostility. Malcolm joined a National Delegation of five that included Boghos Nubar Pasha in Paris. Malcolm was its London representative. For more on all this see: *The Armenian Crisis, 1912-1914*, Roderic H. Davison, The American Historical Review Vol. 53, No. 3 (Apr., 1948), pp. 481-505, Oxford University Press.



James Aratoon Malcolm (1929)

en-masse from Turkey. First among those duties was coordinating the efforts of Armenian volunteer forces supporting the British under General Antranik in Northern Mesopotamia. Unofficially speaking, he was most likely here as ‘fixer’, working on elaborate and very secretive trade plans to restructure the Near East as part of the as yet unpublicized *Straits* and *Sykes–Picot Agreement*. According to the not entirely convincing memoirs that Malcolm published in the 1940s, the man that fellow U.R.S.A member, John Buchan

once incorrectly described as looking like an “exceedingly unpleasant Jew”²⁷⁰ claims to have played a surprisingly central role in the origin of British Mandate Palestine. The story as Malcolm tells it is that at the end of autumn 1916 he had found himself talking to Sir Mark Sykes of the Middle Eastern Affairs Committee and the Arab Bureau, an Intelligence-led department set-up to balance British political activity in the Near East with the country’s military and security objectives. Sykes was demonstrably less buoyant than usual and confided in Malcolm his fears of a “military deadlock” in France. Things were looking bleak for the Allies. The situation in Russia was deteriorating fast and just to add to his concerns, there was the “growing menace of submarine warfare”. To frustrate things further still, the Arab revolt in Turkey had also failed to deliver the killer blow to the Turks from within. All eyes were now on America, but little progress there was being made on this front. The substantial Jewish influence in the States had, according to most sources, virtually guaranteed a Pro-German bias among its most successful banking houses. Missions from Italy and France had both failed to bear fruit and Tsarist persecution of the Jews was turning American cooperation into a ticking time bomb with the US electorate. An alliance with an oppressive regime like Tsarist Russia was against all its core principles of equality and

²⁷⁰ The claim appears in Jonathan Schneer’s *The Balfour Declaration: The Origins of the Arab-Israeli Conflict* (Random House, 2010, p.175). The source cited, dated August 1916, is The National Archives, FO668/1601, which I have yet to locate. Malcolm was Catholic, not Jewish and his statement, as wrong as it is, is likely to renew claims of Buchan’s anti-Semitism.

freedom. The seven spikes in the crown of the Statue of Liberty would have been monstrously transformed into a poisonous crown of thorns, representing a betrayal of its most cherished ideals. Public opposition made it a deeply impossible sell. The Jewish influence they had hoped to bring to bear on the US President had been undermined by their pro-German bankers, who were in turn dictating the shape of opinion among Jewish American journalists.

Sensing his frustration, Malcolm says he went on to quiz Sykes about any “special argument” the Allies might have been putting to American Jews. Sykes came back in the negative; there had been no special argument at all. The War Office had courted American Jews with the crudest of arguments: it was far better to be on the winning side than the losing side, and it was a mantra that the Brits had kept pushing in the hope that one day it might stick. At this point in discussions, Malcolm says he had a brainwave. He had a much better way of ensuring American Jewish commitment to the Allies. The War Office were going the entirely wrong way about it; they should seek the cooperation NOT of the comfortable and naturalized Jews of America but the more radical extremist voices within the Zionist Movement in places like Brooklyn, the Bronx and the Lower East Side of Manhattan. As far as Malcolm was concerned, the best way of winning the sympathy of Jews everywhere, irrespective of their Zionist sympathies, was by offering to try and secure Palestine as a National Home. They needed a problem that could

only be solved by America entering the war. Malcolm went on to explain how one of President Wilson's most intimate friends and advisers was US Justice, Louis Brandeis, himself a convinced Zionist. In a more potted version of the story told by Malcolm's friend, the Zionist campaigner, Samuel Landman some twenty years later, Malcolm is introduced to future Israeli President, Chaim Weizmann by the editor of the *Jewish Chronicle*, Leopold Greenberg in 1916. Weizmann at this time is working in explosives for the Ministry of Defence. After several informal conversations with Weizmann, Malcolm fixes a date for Weizmann to talk to Sykes — all carried out with the full knowledge of Sir Maurice Hankey, the Secretary of the War Cabinet. Sykes is then said to have brought fellow Catholic, G.H. Fitzmaurice on board, who then arranges a meeting between leading Zionist, Nahum Sokolow and Pope Benedict XV, who informs him that the Vatican was “favourably disposed to the idea of Palestine for the Jews”.²⁷¹ Within months the British Cabinet are said to have signed-off on the Belfour Declaration.²⁷²

Or at least that's the story that Malcolm and Landman were telling in later years.

²⁷¹ *Secret History of the Balfour Declaration*, S. Landman, World Jewry, Mar 1 1935, pp.6-7

²⁷² *Origins of the Balfour Declaration, Dr Weizmann's Contribution*, James A. Malcolm 1944, reprinted 1983 by the Institute for Historical Review, pp.1-6

Despite his story being backed up, at least in part by Landman, Malcolm's rather grandiose account of its inception is not without some very serious problems. The journey that the Allies took on the road to the Balfour Declaration is a notoriously complex affair and at the centre of it is a pledge as vague and misleading then as it is now, nearly 105 years later. A much more detailed, and probably far more reliable version of the story is provided by Mayir Vereté's seminal article for the *Middle Eastern Journal* in 1971, a journal which generally spoke more favourably of Western Intervention in Eastern issues. In Vereté's version of the story Malcolm doesn't feature at all. The chief architects of the British Government's Zionist Policy on this occasion are Sir Mark Sykes, Naval Intelligence commander, Reginald Hall, Hugh O'Beirne and G.H. Fitzmaurice, the "former Dragoman of the British Embassy in Constantinople". According to Vereté, O' Beirne had been lobbying Sykes on the issue since early 1916. Both of them were moreover, "two true Catholics".²⁷³ The sequence of events runs much the same, only without the lightning-bolt flashes of wisdom and devoted consultation provided by James A. Malcolm. The one major difference in the story being told made by the Israeli historian is that it was the British who approached the Zionists with the scheme, not the other way around, quite fairly pointing out that if Zionists hadn't existed in 1916 then the British would have had to

²⁷³ The *Balfour Declaration and Its Makers*, Mayir Vereté, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Jan., 1970, Vol. 6, No. 1, p.66, p.70, p.72

invent them.²⁷⁴ That said, the one constant in both Malcolm's self-flattering account and Vereté's more fully referenced, but not entirely satisfying take on the origins of the Declaration, is that the British needed 'turning on' to Zionism in 1916. But this is certainly *not* the case.

Britain had been turned on to Zionism as early as 1903 when the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Joseph Chamberlain had approached Britain's leading Zionist Propagandist (and future *Russia Society* member), L.J. Greenberg of the *Jewish Chronicle* with a proposal to create a Jewish 'homeland' in Uganda, in Eastern Africa. A short time later, Greenberg relayed the offer to godfather of Zionism, Theodor Herzl who put the proposals to the vote at that year's Zionist Congress in Switzerland. The plan was to meet such fierce resistance within the Greater Actions Committee of the Zionist Organisation that it threatened to split the already fragile movement in two. Options were, however, limited. All previous attempts by Herzl to strike a deal with the Turks in Constantinople had been firmly rejected by the Turkish Sultan, and futile though it was, the leader had had little option but to back the Ugandan proposal very sneakily put forward by Chamberlain.

²⁷⁴ The *Balfour Declaration and Its Makers*, Mayir Vereté, Middle Eastern Studies, Jan., 1970, Vol. 6, No. 1, p.50.

Whilst Chamberlain may have died in 1914, one man who was still around to remember Herzl's repeated approaches to the Sultan and the Ottomans regarding the issue of Palestine, and the counter-point offer from Tsarist Russia to strike a deal with Turkey on Herzl's behalf, was G.H. Fitzmaurice, at that time serving at the British Embassy in Constantinople under Ambassador Nicholas O'Connor. The situation they had found themselves in was nothing new. By 1916 a total of three major nations — Russia, Germany and Britain — had all had imperial designs on the Zionists that dated back some twenty years or more. We need to keep a tight rein on the chronology here: Herzl made the first of his approaches to Kaiser Wilhelm of Germany about a homeland during the Emperor's trip to Palestine and the Levant in 1898. He then put the same proposal forward to the Russian Interior Minister, Vyacheslav Von Plehve in July 1903 ²⁷⁵. The Brits arrived with their Uganda proposal that same year, a response to the rapid escalation in violence which had culminated in the pogrom in Kishinev in Southern Russia during Easter 1903. The move by Chamberlain inevitably led to several American members of *Hovevei Zion* accusing Herzl of being in the pay of the English. The man hurling the most ferocious of the insults was the celebrated Austrian Arabist, Dr. Eduard Glaser who had been sharing his view that Zionism was "nothing but an English catspaw for the partition of Turkey and the creation of a petty

²⁷⁵ The Complete Diaries Of Theodor Herzl, p.1509-1628

State” as far back as 1898.²⁷⁶ The charge wasn’t without some merit. A contingent of some 2,000 Zionists had been actively engaged in fighting alongside Britain in the Second Boer War little more than twelve months previously, whilst a smaller number of Zionist mercenaries had assisted the US in Cuba and the Philippines.²⁷⁷ No one doubted their capabilities. They were indeed a force to be reckoned with, picked up and put down as circumstances dictated. A cause lost and a cause found whenever the Brits saw fit.

If we can be certain of one thing, it’s that even as far back as 1903, the Uganda proposal had not been plucked out of thin air. Although a formal proposal had only been put together by Joseph Chamberlain in the immediate wake of the pogroms in Kishinev in April 1903, Herzl had been reviewing suggestions of an African colony as early as August 1902 when he had held discussions with Lord Henry James, a member of Balfour’s Cabinet and Chairman of the UK *Aliens Commission*.²⁷⁸ The proposal during this period was no less timely. When Chamberlain made his proposal to Herzl, Britain was engulfed in domestic crisis that had placed Lord James and Joseph

²⁷⁶ Philadelphia Jewish Exponent, 04 February 1898, p.6. See separate guide entries: *Witness for the Defence: Arthur Balfour* and *A Russian Mandate Palestine*

²⁷⁷ *Zionism*, The Jewish Voice, January 16 1902, p.5

²⁷⁸ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl English Volume I-V, August 2 1902, Herzl Press, e. Raphael Patai, 1960, p.1336. James was also responsible for a campaign to lure more women to South Africa in the post Boer period.

Chamberlain in the rather awkward position of having to explain the building of the exorbitantly expensive Uganda Railway, dubbed the 'Lunatic Line' by Britain's press. By the time that Chamberlain was to approach Herzl, the project had already cost the British taxpayer in excess of £600,000 and it was still some years from completion.²⁷⁹ Enticing European settlers to the region had also proved impossible, so much so that by March 1902, Sir Charles Eliot, the Commissioner for the British East Africa Protectorate, had no other option but to set-up an association specifically dedicated to promoting emigration to Uganda.²⁸⁰ However, lurid tales of an assault by a tribe of cannibals at Fort Boni had done little to improve its appeal to Westerners. According to a short but dramatic report in *The Times* of London, an entire platoon under Lieutenant de Magnee had been murdered and eaten by a tribe of the Valindos.²⁸¹ A report from the Chief of Customs in the UK duly reported that revenue and trade in the region had been falling incrementally over the previous 12 months. As a result of failures to complete the railway the region's small but courageous colony of merchants were now in the position of trading on the narrowest of margins.²⁸² Herzl had acknowledged British concerns in protecting the analogous (and likewise, never complete) *Cape-To-Cairo* railway in January 1901, responding to rumours in the American Press

²⁷⁹ *Uganda Muddling*, Dundee Evening Post, December 13 1902, p.4

²⁸⁰ *European Colonists for East Africa*, St James's Gazette 25 March 1902, p.15

²⁸¹ *The Congo State* (Uganda Frontier), January 1 1903, p.3

²⁸² *The Times*, October 8 1902, p.12.

that Britain was about to trade Cyprus with Germany in an attempt to extend its Protectorate in East Africa and thereby safeguard the strategic and commercial value of the intended route.²⁸³ The logic that Herzl had applied when considering the proposal was fairly straightforward: if he could prove that the Jewish colonies in Africa had been a success, he believed he had every chance of persuading the Sultan that the Palestine colony could work too. In return, the Turkish Sultan, who had already expressing his sympathy with Jewish persecution in Russia and Central Europe, would be rewarded with handsome fiscal management of a potentially lucrative region.²⁸⁴

The Turkish Sultan needed little persuading on the issue of their worth, the Russians neither, making any suggestion that Britain hadn't heard of Zionism in 1916 patently absurd. The setting up of the *Jewish Colonial Trust* at Companies House in England in 1899 had certainly not occurred by chance, Lord Rothschild regularly reminding Herzl that the decision they had made to do so had rendered a highly regarded "patriotic service to England".²⁸⁵ Both the British and the Russians had absolutely no doubts about the economic long-term benefits of a colony of entrepreneurial Jews in either Africa or the

²⁸³ The Complete Diaries Of Theodor Herzl, Volume I-V, August 2 1902, Herzl Press, e. Raphael Patai, 1960,p.1022.

²⁸⁴ The Complete Diaries Of Theodor Herzl, Volume I-V, August 2 1902, Herzl Press, e. Raphael Patai, pp. 1302-1303.

²⁸⁵ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, Volume I-V, August 2 1902, Herzl Press, e. Raphael Patai, p.1296.

Middle East. The cards being played by Balfour and Lloyd George in 1917 had been on and off the table for years. The cogs of the global enigma machine had been working on the Jewish Question for quite some time. Finally those cogs had started clicking into a place and a solution was being offered. It had simply been a matter of getting the right players with the right game plan together at exactly the right time.

A solution, no less pragmatic, had been brokered by Anglo-Russian merchant Edward Cazalet in 1878, a wealthy British ex-pat, who for a short time in 1866 had acted as British Consul in St Petersburg. The bimetallism advocate, whose friends included some of the most eminent Liberals of his time, had sketched-out a proposal for a Jewish Homeland under a British Mandate, as a means of supporting plans for the construction and maintenance of the much talked about *Euphrates Valley Railway*, a project first conceived in Austria by Baron Kuhn von Kuhnfeld in the late 1850s and then dutifully translated and republished by Captain Charles William Wilson of the Royal Engineers some six years prior to Cazalet's efforts as a warning about Russian expansionism.²⁸⁶ In a pamphlet entitled, *The Eastern Question*, Cazalet explained how the railway would go some way toward redeeming Britain's

²⁸⁶ Edward Cazalet, *The Nice Times*, March 16 1883, p.1; *The Eastern Question: An Address to Working Men*, Edward Cazalet, Edward Stanford Publishing, 1878; *Euphrates Valley Railway*, *Morning Post* 03 April 1872, p.2; *The Strategic Importance of the Euphrates Valley Railway*, Franz Kuhn von Kuhnfeld/Sir Charles William Wilson (translator), Edward Stanford Publishing, 1873

original opposition to the Suez Canal, revealing that this “long-projected scheme” was a way of accelerating trade and communication between Europe and the Middle East. With a portion of its fleet anchored along the coasts of Syria, Britain would also be able to exercise a “protectorate over the Suez Canal” that was likely to prove more efficient and less controversial than the annexation of Egypt, currently being considered by Britain. In his determination to add a noble philanthropic edge (and perhaps even incentive) to von Kuhnfeld’s original proposition, Cazalet was quite unequivocal about the role that the Jews would play: “last, not least—under English protection, the Jewish nation, after eighteen hundred years of exile, would have it in their power to return again to their own country.”²⁸⁷ It was yet another of those *quid pro quo* situations the British Liberals (and international merchants) so loved; the Jews of Russia would provide the labour and investments necessary for the project, and in return the Jewish labourers and merchants would be allowed to build settlements around the more fertile soils of Haifa and Palestine, generally regarded to be the terminus of the planned railway.²⁸⁸ As director of the *St Petersburg International Commercial Bank*, Edward had no small amount of influence with the Tsar and his vision for the colony of Russian Jews, specially enlisted for the purpose closely anticipated the plans

²⁸⁷ *The Eastern Question: An Address to Working Men*, Edward Cazalet, Edward Stanford Publishing, 1878

²⁸⁸ *Quarterly Statement*, Palestine Exploration Fund, 1879, p.12; *The Russian Jews*, Portsmouth Evening News 13 May 1882, p.2

of Herzl and von Plehve in 1903. His friendship with Sir Arthur Sassoon and his brother Reuben Sassoon, who he had joined on the committee put together by César Orsini for the 1885 World's Fair, had certainly placed him in the orbit of Jewish philanthropists, although the exact shape and depth of his sympathy with them as an ethnic group remains unknown.²⁸⁹ Sadly, Edward didn't live to see his dreams realised. In March 1883, after a short stay in Rome he arrived in Constantinople to present a formal proposal of his plans to the Ottoman Sultan, Abdul Hamid II. Whilst here he contracted a fever, and died some four weeks later at the Hotel d' Aostleterre.²⁹⁰

Cazalet's family, the elder branch of the exiled Huguenots of France, had taken up residence in Orthodox Moscow in the late 1600s. Like the Shanks family, they were also much respected veterans of the two hundred year-old *Russia Company* whose status was in the process of being revived by Malcolm's U.R.S.A at the time that the Second Revolution took place in October 1917. The family's fractious relationship with Lloyd George at the time that he was commencing trade negotiations with Bolshevik Russia is described in candid detail in Thelma Cazalet's 1969 memoirs, *From the Wings*.²⁹¹

²⁸⁹ L'Avenir diplomatique, December 8 1881, p.360

²⁹⁰ *Death of Mr Edward Cazalet*, East Kent Gazette 28 April 1883, p.8

²⁹¹ *From the Wings*, Lloyd George at the Summit, Thelma Cazalet Keir, Bodley Head, 1967.

Despite their persecution by Catholic France, these protestant Cazalets had maintained strong monarchist sympathies, with Edward's father even having provided succour to Louis XVIII of France after his retreat to Russia and England after the Revolution in France.²⁹² Curiously enough, Edward's son, the Royal Racehorse trainer, William Marshall Cazalet would join Major Edward G.G. Burdon, George Buchanan and James A. Malcolm on the executive board of U.R.S.A, his royal connections having clearly given him the 'trusted-source' status the Allies sought.²⁹³ Edward's son-in-law, Major John Fraser Neilson would play an even greater role still in Anglo-Russian relations after being appointed Military Attaché at the Russian Embassy in Petrograd alongside fellow U.R.S.A member Sir Bernard Pares in 1916. After the October Revolution of 1917, Neilson found himself in command of the British Mission at Omsk, and was long rumoured to be the brains behind the dramatic coup d'état that placed the White Russian, General Kolchak in charge of the anti-Bolshevik Russian Government in Siberia in 1918. Cazalet's family of ultra-Monarchists retained firm ties to the British Royal family well

²⁹² *From the Wings*, Thelma Cazalet Keir, Bodley Head, 1967. Louis XVIII brought the persecution of the Protestantism to an end in 1787 with the Revolutionary Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen in which they won back certain rights and privileges (1789).

²⁹³ William Cazalet's daughter Helen Vera Cazalet married Major John Fraser Neilson in February 1916. In 1945 his son Peter Cazalet would become racehorse trainer to the House of Windsor under George VI and Elizabeth II. Although a supporter of Spanish fascist, Francisco Franco, their brother Victor Cazalet would become a leading voice in the call for a State of Israel. Both Victor and his sister Thelma were Christian Scientists, whose American leader, Augusta E. Stetson was accused of launching an aggressive anti-Jewish campaign in the mid 1920s. The family were good friends of Winston Churchill, Rudyard Kipling and H.A. Gwynne. Persecution resurfaced among members of France's far-right in the 1920s.

into the 20th century. In terms of Anglo-Russian relations, William Cazalet was the bookie's choice.

In the simplest of terms, Major Edward G.G.G. Burdon's appointment as Secretary at the *United Russia Societies Association* had come at a delicate stage in Anglo-Russian rapprochement, when players like William Cazalet and James A. Malcolm were assuming their positions on the game board, and when strategists like Buchan and Walpole were preparing them with their objectives and scoping out all the various routes and options available to the Allies. Yes, there clearly *was* a link between Anglo-Russian relations and Palestine, even if it didn't really correspond to the version of the story told by James A. Malcolm in the 1940s.²⁹⁴ But even as supportive as many of these men were for the idea of a National Homeland, it didn't mean they were entirely sympathetic to the Jews themselves, as the following tale makes clear.

²⁹⁴ The most obvious link in the chain is U.R.S.A member William Cazalet, whose father Edward was the very first person to propose both a Jewish Homeland under a British Protectorate in 1878, and whose son Victor as chairman of the House of Commons Palestine Committee went on to be the leading British advocate of a formal Jewish State in Israel during the late 1930s and early 1940s.

The Zionist who wasn't a Zionist

There was in fact was no one more so acutely aware of the Zionists' worth, and equally, the perceived supernatural threat they posed, than Palestine lobbyist, Gerald Henry Fitzmaurice, recalled somewhat mysteriously from Constantinople at the behest of Sir Edward Grey at the outbreak of war in 1914. Never one to ignore the 'dark forces' of conspiracy whenever and wherever he suspected them, Fitzmaurice had determined that Zionist groups and Crypto-Jews active in the Ottoman Empire in the first years of the 20th Century had been largely responsible for the Young Turk movement of 1908, when a multi-ethnic group of liberal revolutionaries forced Sultan Abdul Hamid II into restoring the Empire's constitution and recalling its parliament.²⁹⁵ At that time the 43 year old diplomat's assessment was less than favourable, seeing the activity of the Zionists in the Young Turk movement as nothing less than a Jewish Masonic conspiracy and making his objections to the group well known. Sharing his views was Malcolm's ally, Gerald Lowther, younger brother to U.R.S.A's president, James Lowther, Speaker of the Commons, who had been pushed somewhat unexpectedly into the role of British Ambassador in Turkey after the sudden death of former Russian and Turkish Ambassador, Nicolas O'Connor in March 1908. In a series of letters that wouldn't look out of place on the pages of Umberto Eco's *Prague*

²⁹⁵ *Britain and the Balkans*, Westminster Gazette, 15 October 1915, p.3

Cemetery, Fitzmaurice and Lowther exchange a bizarre series of statements regarding the “hidden implications and esoteric explanations” at the heart of Jewish intrigues in Turkey: “*Freemasonry in France, mutatis mutandis— this will explain a lot of what is going on here. The Jews, Socialists and Freemasons are all supreme, latter making great strides. That will probably produce another counter-revolution unless it gets too strong*”. A short time later the pair wrote again of the “combination of self-seeking spurious freemasons and Jews that represent the Committee of Union and Progress.”²⁹⁶ In view of the sentiments expressed above, it’s quite extraordinary that Samuel Landman, a close friend and supporter of Malcolm both during and after his time at U.R.S.A could provide any reasonable basis for subsequently describing Fitzmaurice as a “very devoted friend of Zionism”. Perhaps there was a less than positive subtext to what he would tell Landman in 1917: that any nation “who had a Rothschild and an Einstein” couldn’t fail to triumph, whatever the conflict²⁹⁷ Whilst Landman clearly regarded it as praise, it’s entirely possible that Fitzmaurice had been expressing his secret fears of the almost supernatural influence he perceived the Jews as having on global politics. Like many of his Catholic peers, he probably sensed that it was better to have the world’s most powerful Jews permanently engaged in conflicts in

²⁹⁶ *Young Turks, Freemasons and Jews*, Elie Kedourie, Middle Eastern Studies , Jan 1971, Vol. 7, No. 1, pp.90-91

²⁹⁷ *Secret History of the Balfour Declaration*, S. Landman, World Jewry, Mar 1 1935, pp.6-7.

and around Palestine and Syria, than have them causing insurmountable chaos in Europe. If you were to continue that same logic with Mr Burdon and Mr Shanks; it wasn't impossible that committed anti-Semites like Lord Curzon and Winston Churchill had found themselves backing a National Homeland for the Jews in Palestine not through any sense of injustice for the suffering they had been forced to endure in Russia, but for the solutions that they could provide in the Middle East, and the insurmountable 'anarchist' burdens it might relieve them of back at home in Britain.

In all fairness, it seems terrifically unlikely that the British Foreign Office had forgotten about any of their earlier proposals to have Zionists colonize Uganda, especially when the *Jewish Chronicle's* Leopold Greenberg as acted as go-between not only for the offer put by Chamberlain to Herzl in 1903 but also during Balfour's appreciably more generous offer to Weizmann and Rothschild in 1917. Even if several members of the British Colonial Department had suffered somekind of mass amnesia in the years that followed, there was another reason why neither Malcolm's nor Vereté's sugar-coated stories made a terrific amount of sense. In 1915 the legendary Russian Zionist, Ze'ev Jabotinsky had offered up his services as leader of the Jewish Legion (or Zion Mule Corps as they were known by some). The corps had been formed in Alexandria under the 'veiled protectorate' of Egypt at the invitation of its Governor, General Maxwell. A book, *'Zionists in Gallipoli'* had even been

published by the Legion's commanding officer, Lt. Colonel John Henry Patterson and both the Corps and Jabotinsky had received a rapturous welcome by *The Times*.²⁹⁸ Two years later Jabotinsky would respond to John Buchan at the Department of Information who had put to the leader of the Jewish Defence an informal proposal to establish dedicated bureau committed to pro-Ally Zionist interests. Responding on October 30th 1917, Jabotinsky encouraged the Brits to make good on their promise of a National Home before any such commitment could be made.²⁹⁹

The idea that the British War Office had only learned of the Zionists during the spring or autumn of 1916 was plainly the stuff of nonsense. In complete contrast to what was being claimed, both the timing of the thing and the recruitment of the group itself was all entirely logical: who better equipped to fight against the Turks than their fiercest rivals, the Political Zionists? His outrageous anti-Semitism aside, Fitzmaurice had recognised their worth to the Young Turk movement. It was just a case of harnessing that same energy now as Britain prepared to remove the Turks from Palestine.

Leaving aside Malcolm's fairly self-aggrandizing account of the Balfour Declaration for a moment, one man who certainly had played a key role in

²⁹⁸ *With The Zionists in Gallipoli*, J.H. Patterson, Hutchinson & Co, London 1916; *Foreign Jews and the Army*, Vladimir Jabotinsky, *The Times*, July 15 1916, p.7; *Military Orders in Hebrew* (Zion Mule Transport Corps), *Daily Mirror* 30 April 1915, p.2; *Jewish Soldiers March, An Enthusiastic Reception*, *The Times* in February 5 1918, p.3

²⁹⁹ *Rebel and Statesman*, Joseph B. Schechtman, 1956, Thomas Yoseloff Inc, p.252

developing a convincing argument for Palestine was Hugh O'Beirne. Beirne had been educated at Beaumont and Balliol College, Oxford and entered the Diplomatic Service in 1892. His first posting was in St. Petersburg, where he learnt to speak Russian, and after service at Washington, Constantinople and Paris he returned to the Embassy as Counsellor in July 1906. He remained in Russia for the next nine years and played a valuable role in the development of UK-Russian relations, symbolised by the signing of the Anglo-Russian entente of 1907. He was promoted to the rank of Minister in August 1913 and by 1916 was Chief of the Imperial Staff at the War Office, one of the most influential people at the British Foreign Office. Hugh would play a valuable role in developing Anglo-Russian relations and would be among the first officials in Britain to formally endorse a Jewish Nation in Palestine. This support is evident in a memo Hugh had composed in February 1916, linking the fate of Palestine with Jewish interests and British chances of victory in World War I. This report for the British Foreign office proposed that bringing forward the creation of a Jewish State might assist in the collapse of support among Jewish Zionists, at this time active in the Young Turk movement. They would shift their backing of that movement to support of the British.³⁰⁰ In June that same year, shortly after his report was written, the ship that O' Beirne was travelling

³⁰⁰ *The Balfour Declaration and Its Makers*, Mayir Vereté, Middle Eastern Studies, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Jan., 1970), pp. 48-76, Taylor & Francis.

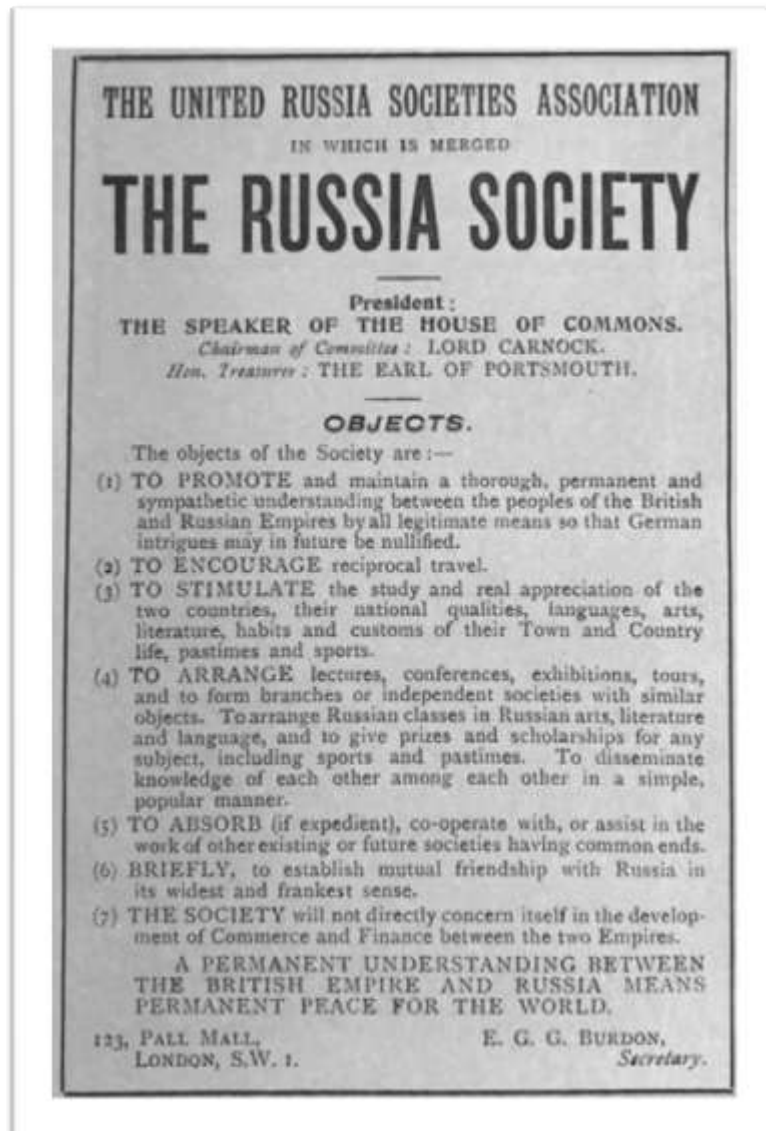
on with Lord Kitchener was sunk off the coast of Orkney. The ship had been on its way to Russia when it had struck a German U-Boat mine.³⁰¹

Whilst it's seriously doubtful that Malcolm featured in the evolution of the Balfour Declaration as prominently as he claims,³⁰² one thing is almost certainly true: the Jewish Zionists were being used as a pawn in a sophisticated campaign to draw America into the war and balance-up the caution (and sometimes complete disinterest) of Pro-German American Jewry. The Israeli historian, Mayir Vereté was right about one thing: if you wanted to understand the romance between Britain and Zionism, you had to look at Palestine "within the complex of British Imperial Interests" and the back-scratching machinery of war. The same might also be said of the position taken up by Russia in those schemes. That Malcolm's U.R.S.A appointment, Major Edward G. G. Burdon, should play such a pivotal role in the creation and publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, seems that suggests the machinery of those campaigns was just getting more and more complex and more and more cynical as time wore on and the territories of Russia and Transcaucasia slipped ever deeper into chaos. Still not entirely sold on the Palestine idea, British and

³⁰¹ *Loss of Lord Kitchener and Staff at Sea*, Nottingham Evening Post 06 June 1916, p.1

³⁰² Malcolm's grandiloquent account leaves out the key role played by another Catholic, Gerald Henry Fitzmaurice in the evolution of the Balfour Declaration. The former British Consul at Constantinople had drafted reports on the Massacres in Armenia which gave rise to Malcolm's Delegation. Fitzmaurice was a fierce opponent of the Young Turk movement whose ranks he believed to be dominated by Jews, Crypto Jews and Freemasons. See: *Young Turks, Freemasons and Jews*, Elie Kedourie, *Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (Jan., 1971), pp. 89-104, Taylor & Francis

American Jews were being press-ganged into supporting it as a deterrent to an entirely new threat: Russian Bolshevism. The one thing that is clear in Churchill's article for the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* in February 1920 is that you either got behind Zionism, or you got out.



Burdon's name in an advertisement placed by U.R.S.A in Zinovy N. Preev's *The Russian Revolution and Who's Who in Russia* (J. Bale & Danielsson, May 1917)

Robert Hobart Cust

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



Cust was a respected art historian and associate of George Shanks and Major Edward G. Burdon. In a private letter to the newspaper editor H.A. Gwynne of *The Morning Post* in February 1920 Cust revealed that it was Burdon and Shanks who had been responsible for translating the first edition of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* published by Eyre & Spottiswoode in London in January 1920. The letter was unearthed in the archives by historian, Gisela C. Lebzelter in the 1970s, meaning the authors had remained virtually unknown for the best part of fifty years.³⁰³

Cust's revelation came in a letter he had written to Gwynne shortly after *The Jewish Peril* had been reviewed in *The Morning Post* in February 1920. He was taking it upon himself to correct Gwynne on several minor points after the editor of *The Morning Post* had mistakenly informed his readers the man behind the pamphlet's translation was Russian. Cust curtly

³⁰³ There have been a few minor references to Shanks throughout the years, including one from the Institute for Diaspora Studies at Tel Aviv University in 1972 (see: 'Michael: A Collection of the History of the Jews in the Diaspora, p.104'). An even earlier reference to both Shanks and Sassoon appeared in the 4th Volume of *The Universal Jewish Encyclopaedia* in 1939 (eds. Isaac Landman, Simon Cohen, 1939. p.58). However, this volume erroneously refers to Sassoon as Chief Whip of the Conservative Party. Lebzelter and Professor Colin Holmes were the first British authors to reveal the contents of Cust's letters to Gwynne.

responded that the English translation had not been produced by a Russian at all but by an Englishman, George Shanks. He knew this because Burdon had shown him a copy of the manuscript in November 1919 and had asked for help in securing its publication, and for which Cust had duly obliged.³⁰⁴

The choice of *Eyre & Spottiswoode* may well have been a reflection of the proximity of the Cust family to His Majesty, Edward VII. Robert's cousin was Lionel Cust, son of Sir Reginald Cust, who had not served not only as *Director of the National Portrait Gallery* but also as 'Gentleman Usher' to the King and Surveyor of the King's Pictures.³⁰⁵ *Eyre & Spottiswoode* was 'His Majesty's' printers, and attached to the Stationery Office of the British Government (the HMSO). Since 1901, the company would have handled practically anything relating to public information including government white papers and the various Gazettes.³⁰⁶ In any other circumstances, the link between *The Protocols* and the King's Printers would be a fairly casual connection, but the Cust family's reputation and status in the Royal household would certainly account for the clinching of a deal with such a highly regarded printing house from such unproven authors. Cust's status at the *National*

³⁰⁴ Anti-Semitism in British Society, 1876-1939, Colin Holmes, Taylor & Francis, 2015, pp.148-149

³⁰⁵ *King Edward VII and his Court: Some Reminiscences*, Lionel Cust, John Murray, London, 1930. In later years, Sir Anthony Blunt, a member of the notorious spy-ring, the 'Cambridge Five', would come to occupy this same position.

³⁰⁶ The London Gazette, 28 May 1901, No. 27318, p.3634

Gallery and the *Burlington Fine Arts Club* would also place him in the same orbit as Shank's employer, Sir Philip Sassoon, the art lover and collector who had acted as trustee of the *National Gallery* from 1933 to 1935. In my view, this makes Shanks' alleged internship with Sassoon in 1920 and 1921 all the more plausible.

In a more curious twist it transpires that Lionel Cust's son was none other than Lionel George Archer Cust, appointed *District Officer of Jerusalem* in July 1920 and former Aide de Camp to Sir Herbert Samuel, Palestine's very first High Commissioner and whose Cabinet proposal in 1915 marked the first formal argument for establishing a British protectorate in the region.³⁰⁷ Whilst I am not suggesting that was any direct engagement from Jewish lobbyists in the publication of *The Jewish Peril*, there's evidence that the issues of a Jewish National Home in Palestine were synced in various ways with the campaign that was being mounted by Churchill and his men against the so-called 'International Jews' — Lenin's Bolsheviks. Remarkably, Archer and Robert's cousin, Ronald Storrs, the son of Lionel's cousin, Lucy Anna Cockayne-Cust, was serving alongside him as the Governor of Jerusalem, and would work just as closely with Samuel during the first five years of British Mandatory Palestine. There wasn't just one Cust in Palestine, but two, each

³⁰⁷ *Palestine Commission on the Disturbances of August 1929* (The Shaw Report), Minutes of Evidence, p.167. *The Status Quo in the Holy Places*, L.G.A Cust, 1929, British Plans for the Partition of Palestine, 1929-1938, *The Historical Journal*, March 2009, vol. 52, pp.131-152

with a central role to play in preparing the soil with the right political, commercial and religious supplements that would allow this new national outpost to flourish.

In the late 1920s, Archer Cust would perform a critical role in protecting the Holy Sepulchre in the Christian Quarter of the Old City and draw up one of the very first serious plans to partition the region in the mid-1930s.^{308 309} Although his military commission in Palestine ended in 1935, his election as Secretary of the *Royal Empire Society* the following year meant Cust would continue to play a part in Israel's ongoing development and attempts to resolve its internal conflicts. His address to the *Royal Central Asian Society* in the March 1936 set out the details for his plans to 'Cantonise' the region after a series of violent disturbances between Arabs and Jews renewed his commitment to stabilising the Palestine region.

At the centre of his recommendations was a proposal to set-up up a series of 'cantons'. The idea drew significantly for inspiration on a similar administrative model in Switzerland in which a confederation of semi-

³⁰⁸ *Saving the Holy Sepulchre: How Rival Christians Came Together to Rescue their Holiest Shrine*, Oxford University Press, Raymond Cohen, Oxford University Press, 2008. See also *The Memoirs of Sir Ronald Storrs*, G Putnam & Sons, 1937, p.415

³⁰⁹ *British Plans for the Partition of Palestine, 1929-1938*, Penny Sinanoglou, *The Historical Journal*, vol.52, March 2009, pp.131-152. Additionally, James Aratoon Malcolm, the man who recruited Protocols translator, Edward G.G. Burdon for U.R.S.A, also drafted a proposal for a partition. See: *Partition of Palestine. Suggested alterations in proposed frontiers*, James A. Malcolm, Apollo Press, London, Mar 1938; *The Times*, May 19 1936, p.12, July 21 1936, p.12; Aug 3 1936, p.6; Aug 7 1936, p.11; Dec 24 1936, p.8

autonomous 'sovereign' states would govern its own people. As far as Cust was concerned, this was the only logical way of fulfilling both responsibilities of the Balfour Declaration: *ensuring the rights of the Arabs were as equal to those of the Jews*. As things stood, the Arab population, now significantly overwhelmed by the volume of Jews, would become completely disenfranchised in any legislative assembly that would inevitably possess a strong Jewish majority. A 'Cantonized Palestine' would guarantee the Arabs some form of self-government without undermining Jewish interests. Cust, backed up by a formal proposal made by Lord Peel in the House of Commons, proposed that Arab areas within the Holy Land be combined with Transjordan into dedicated Arab cantons with Nablus as the capital, and that Jewish cantons be formed from districts settled by the Jews such as Sharon, Emek Acre and Huleh, and would have Tel Aviv as its administrative centre. The various cantons would have practically full-autonomy under federal Mandatory administration Jerusalem and Bethlehem would be exempt, coming under full control of the British.³¹⁰ Cust's report had been drafted up in February 1935.

Within months of broaching the scheme Cust's commission with the Palestine Administration was terminated. Revisionist Zionists (and former

³¹⁰ Canton Plan Debated by British, The Jewish Sentinel, April 2 1936, p.33, Cust, Lionel George Archer. Cantonisation: A Plan for Palestine, 1936.

Anglophiles) like Ze'ev Jabotinsky immediately rejected the plans seeing them as nothing less a betrayal of the British promise of an autonomous Jewish State.³¹¹ Not only that, Jabotinsky and his followers were increasingly dissatisfied with any form of British rule. The Brits were now faced with a problem on both sides; Hitler's Nazi Party and Mussolini's Fascists were now thought to be courting the region's Arabs by deluging Palestine with anti-British propaganda. In short, every attempt was being made by fascists to aggravate the situation by cynically flooding the Arab regions with dispossessed Polish and German Jews now desperately fleeing persecution.³¹² The Arabs, increasingly volatile over the scale of Jewish immigration had found themselves sympathizing with the Fascists and their hostility to Britain was increasing. You can argue over the finer details of all this forever but it may be possible to put forward an argument that shows Cust's dramatic proposal as a not unreasonable attempt by some members of British Military Command to restore the support of the Arabs and prevent the eventual entry of Germany into the Near and Middle East; a small concession now to save its future.

³¹¹ Jabotinsky wants Jewish State, *The Jewish Sentinel* 18 February 1937, p.33

³¹² *Nazi Propagandists in Palestine*, *The Jewish Weekly News*, 17 August 1934, p.8, *Palestine and Italian Propaganda*, *Palestine Post*, 27 December 1937, p.1. Antony Eden is pressed to stop advance of Italians in the Near and Middle East, *Jew and Arab*, *The Times* May 16 1936, p.15

Interestingly enough, the momentous address that Cust provided on the partition issue in 1936, was made to the same *Royal Central Asian Society* that Robert Hobart Cust's father had served as Honorary Secretary of during the late 1800s.³¹³

In the likely event that you are finding it hard to fathom just how Robert Hobart Cust and Archer Cust were related, then let's take stock for moment: Robert Hobart Cust was the First Cousin (once removed) of Archer Cust. Archer's Grandfather was the brother of Robert Hobart's father, Robert Needham Cust. Both families were descendants of Rev. Hon. Henry Cockayne Cust (1780-1861).³¹⁴ The family's influence on both foreign and domestic policy during this period was nothing if not remarkable. Ronald Storr's uncle, 'Harry' Cust — another prominent member of the Sassoon circle — founded the war-time propaganda collective, *The Central Committee of National Patriotic Organisations* in 1914, operating from its base at No. 8 Carlton House Terrace in London.³¹⁵ Among its executive members were Vice

³¹³ *Robert Needham Cust, Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Linguistic and Oriental Essays, Written from the Year 1840 to 1903, Robert Needham Cust, Trübner & Company, 1887. The Society had been closely aligned with the Palestine Exploration Fund between the years 1880 to 1900. As a matter of curiosity, Robert Needham Cust at 63 Elm Park Gardens had lived just doors away from British Fascisti founder, Rotha Lintorn Orman at 71 Elm Park Gardens in Chelsea.

³¹⁴ Archer's father Sir Lionel Henry Cust was the son of Sir Reginald John Cust (1828-1913). Robert Hobart Cust was the son of Reginald's older brother Robert Needham Cust (1821-1909). See: www.geni.com/people/Sir-Reginald-Cust/6000000004867686689

³¹⁵ *The War That Used Up Words American Writers and the First World War*, Hazel Hutchison, 2015, p.106-107

Presidents were Arthur Balfour, American newspaper magnate, William Waldorf Astor and George Prothero.³¹⁶ Harry, the distinguished former editor of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, would die suddenly of a heart attack in March 1917 sparing him all the dramatic fall-out of Russia's February Revolution, and the establishment of the formal government replacement for the CCNPO, the *National War Aims Committee* that August.³¹⁷

Although little has been written on his early life, according to records available in the British War Office, there's some indication that Cust had served with the *Young Men's Christian Association* in Italy during the war, educating the young Italian conscripts on the spiritual practicalities of war, a reflection perhaps of the years he spent as a graduate in Rome.³¹⁸ Given that Cust was able to make substantial progress on his book on the Italian sculptor, Benvenuto Cellini during this period suggests his efforts and his time there weren't completely wasted. It was cushy post, no doubt about it, and what better preparation for combat could young troops get than having a solid

³¹⁶ *Central Committee's First Meeting*, The Times, October 9 1914, p.3

³¹⁷ The National War Aims Committee was set up at 12 Downing Street under the direction of Liberal Chief Whip, Captain Freddie Guest on August 4th 1917, on the third anniversary of war being declared. The Committee had already been acting as conduit for the Propaganda Bureau under Masterman and Buchan at Wellington House.

³¹⁸ Medal card of Cust, Robert H. H. Corps: Young Men's Christian Association, WO 372/5/139487. He had originally enlisted with the British Royal Navy Reserve but was deemed medically unfit. The YMCA also worked with organisations like the Workers Education Association and the forerunner of the Royal Army Education Corps to put on lectures for the men. Shanks' uncle Aylmer Maude served in the same capacity in Russian between October 1918 and June 1919.

understanding of Mannerist art before they marched into battle. It was unlikely to have come in handy at Passchendaele, that's for sure.

In a world in which the iron grip of nepotism has loosened on industry and politics somewhat, it may be difficult to appreciate the full significance of the Cust family's relationships. The pair's cousin, Ronald Storrs even draws attention to the issue in his 1937 memoirs: "*Neither Sir Herbert nor I had occasion to blush for what I may term our two mutual nepotisms*" (Samuel's son Edwin to the Governate, and Storr's first cousin, Archer).³¹⁹ This was an old baronial family with an extended reputation in 19th century and early 20th century Royal circles. Trust and discretion were always an issue. In circumstances like these you were obliged to keep it in the family. Whilst we should be cautious in our attempts to 'confabulate' all this in the wrong way, it's an unusual twist in the tale.

³¹⁹ *The Memoirs of Ronald Storrs*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1937, p.415

The Other Chief Whip's Office

Freddie Guest

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



As it has been noted already, if Shanks *was* working in the Chief Whip's office in during the 1919-1921 period, as the article in the *Plain English* journal claims, then he was almost certainly working under Captain 'Freddie Guest' at No. 12 Downing Street.

A first cousin and confidant to Britain's No.1 anti-Bolshevik, Winston Churchill, Captain Frederick E. Guest had served as Lloyd George and the Coalition Liberal Government's Chief Whip from 1917 to April 1921 when he replaced his cousin Winston as Britain's *Secretary of State for Air*. Guest's promotion took place little more than eight weeks after Shanks had been exposed as a clerk in the Chief Whip's office, a time when *The Protocols* was continuing to tear holes in the Bolshevik's defences. If there is any truth at all in the story published by Lord Douglas and *Plain English*, then the arrival of Shanks at 12 Downing Street under Guest makes a little more sense. During the war Guest had served as Chairman and founder of Britain's cross-party propaganda commission, *The National War Aims Committee* whose weekly

newspaper, *Reality: The Searchlight on Germany*, managed to keep the British threat level fixed rather comfortably at ‘severe’ and enlistment relatively buoyant for the full four years of the war. In November 1917, it was Guest’s NWAC newspaper that had been among the first to publically conflate Bolshevism with the so-called ‘Jewish Peril’.³²⁰ The report, published under the no-holds barred title, ‘A Boche Government’, was a reworking of an article possibly prepared by Harold Williams, Special Correspondent in Russia for the *London Daily Chronicle* on November 10th 1917 in which the real ‘Jewish’ names of several Bolshevik ministers had been sensationally (and somewhat incorrectly) revealed. According to other reports published the same day, Lenin’s name wasn’t Lenin at all, but ‘Leiderblum’.³²¹

As Chief Whip to the Liberal Party, Freddie Guest was on very close terms with *Times* Editor Wickham Steed, the man who had made it his personal responsibility to review Shanks’ *Protocols* translation, the *Jewish Peril* in May 1920. As was fairly commonplace among men of high-standing in Liberal circles — and those wishing to retain a tight grip on security matters — both men were regularly seen in the company of Churchill’s Personal Secretary, Sir Archibald Sinclair and Intelligence man, Bruce Lockhart. Like

³²⁰ ‘Names of Leninite Leaders’, *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, Issue 97, November 17th 1917, p.4

³²¹ *London Daily Chronicle*, November 10 1917 (see: ‘A Boche Government’, *Globe*, Nov 10 1917, p.5). As previously mentioned, Harold Williams was a member of the Committee on Russian Affairs set-up by Pares and Buchanan. He was also a close friend of Shank’s uncle, Aylmer Maude.

Shanks, Captain Guest was also a keen and experienced aviator. During a Commons debate in November 1918 Guest was warned by Liberal John Howard Whitehouse “not to use this propaganda (the National War Aims Committee) to increase the hatred of the world” but to make it “constructive” in the path that led to peace.³²² At this time *The National War Aims Committee* was operating in tandem with John Buchan and Lord Northcliffe’s *War Propaganda Bureau*, the propaganda wing of the Ministry of Information. Guest also featured prominently in the ‘Secret Memo’ affair of April 1919 when it was discovered that Churchill had sent out a circular to various military divisions to assess the attitude among troops for possible deployment in Russia and a review of prevailing attitudes among men to trade unions.³²³ George Lansbury’s *Daily Herald* went ballistic: Churchill, the brand new Secretary of State for War, was placing Downing Street in a compromising situation. His memo marked ‘most secret and urgent’ had been addressed to the commanders of all British forces asking whether or not soldiers, many of whom are soon to be discharged, would be willing to serve in Russia. But there was another damning detail: the new Secretary of War was commanding officers if soldiers would be prepared to shoot on striking workers in event of protests and civil unrest.

³²² Hansard, Commons Sitting, *National War Aims Committee*, November 13 1917 vol. 99 cc285-347, Mr Whitehouse to Captain F. Guest.

³²³ *Trade Unionism and the Army*, Daily Herald, May 13 1919, p.1

Whilst I've seen little to suggest that he embraced the same vitriolic anti-Semitism that characterised *The Protocols*, it is interesting that like his cousin Winston Churchill, Freddie Guest was perfectly content in using the energy of anti-Semitism as collateral in his war with 'Jewish' Bolshevism. If Shanks had indeed served as a clerk in his office it would certainly tally with the approach taken by *The National War Aims Committee* in portraying the October Revolution as a Jewish coup d'état. How much he knew of Shanks' extracurricular activities, however, remains unknown.

Russian No.1 Report (1919)

EXHIBIT NO.2



By September 1918, the clumsy efforts being made by Chief Whip Freddie Guest and the *National War Aims Committee* to conflate Bolshevism with the ‘Jewish global plot’ and the ‘Unseen Hand’ fantasies of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* received a substantial boost when diplomats like Sir Mansfeldt Findlay and Sir Ralph Paget drafted the first of several reports for British Foreign Secretary, Arthur Balfour describing the chaotic scenes in Russia under the Bolsheviks.³²⁴ These and other reports were eventually included in the infamous *Russia No.1 White Paper: A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia* (April 1919).³²⁵ Historian Sharman Khadish writes that the report also became known alternatively as the ‘Bolshevik Atrocity Bluebook’ and the ‘Emmott Report’. This parliamentary White Paper had been produced at the urgent request of the War Cabinet from the British High Command in January

³²⁴ It’s interesting that Sir Henry Bax-Ironside who co-founded the *Society for Upholding Political Honour* with Shanks associate Frank Dashwood Fowler (1855-1940) had offered considerable support to Ralph Paget and George Buchanan in setting up *The Balkan League*. Likewise his proximity to Balkan expert Robert Seton-Watson of *New Europe* (printed like the *Jewish Peril* by Eyre & Spottiswoode).

³²⁵ ‘Russia. No. 1 (1919), A collection of reports on Bolshevism in Russia’ (Diplomatic Papers), His Majesty’s Stationery Office, April 1919, Proquest Parliamentary Papers, Command Papers, Cmd paper. 8, vol. page LIII.987, vol. 53

1919 and it will come as no surprise to learn that it punched-in the coordinates that the direction of propaganda would take for the next two or three years.³²⁶ The claims made in the No.1 Report ('the Bolsheviks were composed largely of Jews', 'the Bolsheviks were in the pay of Germany', the 'Jews were behind the execution of Tsar Nicholas and his family') would remain at the centre of the anti-Bolshevik narrative for years, before being picked-up, re-heated and re-served by the British Fascists in the 1920s and then by Hitler and the Nazis in the 1930s. In a telegraphic to Balfour dated September 17th 1918, Sir Mansfeldt Findlay, chief of the Legation in Christiana wrote:

"I consider that the immediate suppression of Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the war which is still raging, and unless, as above stated, Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world, as it is organised and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things. The only manner in which this danger could be averted would be collective action on the part of all Powers."

— Russia No.1 White Paper (April 1919) A Collection of Reports on Bolshevism in Russia, p.6.

³²⁶ 'Boche, Bolshie and the Jewish Bogey, 'Bolsheviks and British Jews, *The Anglo-Jewish Community, Britain and the Russian Revolution*', Sharman Kadish, 2013, p.17

RUSSIA. No. 1 (1919).

A COLLECTION OF REPORTS
ON
BOLSHEVISM IN RUSSIA.

No. 6.

Sir M. Findlay to Mr. Balfour.—(Received September 18.)

(Telegraphic.)

Christiania September 17. 1918.

"The foregoing report will indicate the extremely critical nature of the present situation. The danger is now so great that I feel it my duty to call the attention of the British and all other Governments to the fact that if an end is not put to Bolshevism in Russia at once the civilisation of the whole world will be threatened. This is not an exaggeration, but a sober matter of fact; and the most unusual action of German and Austrian consuls-general, before referred to, in joining in protest of neutral legations appears to indicate that the danger is also being realised in German and Austrian quarters. I consider that the immediate suppression of Bolshevism is the greatest issue now before the world, not even excluding the war which is still raging, and unless, as above stated, Bolshevism is nipped in the bud immediately, it is bound to spread in one form or another over Europe and the whole world, as it is organised and worked by Jews who have no nationality, and whose one object is to destroy for their own ends the existing order of things. The only manner in which this danger could be averted would be collective action on the part of all Powers.

"I am also of opinion that no support whatever should be given to any other Socialistic party in Russia, least of all to social revolutionaries, whose policy it is at the moment to overthrow the Bolsheviks, but whose aims in reality are the same, viz., to establish proletariat rule through the world. Social revolutionaries will never fight any foreign Power, and any profession which they may now make in this sense

Sadly, the challenges being presented by Findlay and his colleagues had been based on a complete failure to understand the complex nature of issues pertaining to Jewish identity in pre-Revolution Russia. Findlay's weak grasp of the issues at hand ("Bolshevism ... is organised and worked by Jews who have no nationality") fails to recognise that Bolshevism and International Communism was seeded on a complete *rejection* of Jewish National Identity and an *embrace* of a pan-National Communist Identity. As far as Lenin and even Trotsky were concerned, all other religious and ethnic loyalties were to be suppressed or eliminated entirely in the pursuit of a Communist

International — an ideal that would transcend all religious and regional boundaries. The *Russia No.1 Report* of 1919 would be the first of three volumes of white papers produced between 1919 and 1921.

A selection of entries reads:

“All trade and commerce—except illicit trading which is still carried on by the Jews—is at a complete standstill” (Memorandum on Conditions in Moscow by a British subject, who left Moscow on December, p.23)

“The Bolsheviks comprised chiefly Jews and Germans, who were exceedingly active and enterprising” (Lord Kilmarnock to Earl Curzon, p.32)

“Witnesses further stated that Bolshevik leaders did not represent Russian working classes, most of them being Jews. ” (Mr Alston to Lord Curzon, Vladivostoch February 8th, 1919, from Consul at Ekaterinburg, 6th February, 1919)

“With regard to the murder of the Imperial family at Ekaterinburg, there is further evidence to show that there were two parties in the local Soviet, one of which was anxious to save the Imperial Family and the latter, headed by five Jews, two of whom were determined to have them murdered. These five Jews, by name Vainen and Safarof, went with Lenin when he made a journey across Germany. ” (General Knox to War Office, p.41)

“During the autumn of 1917 whilst visiting British Missions and hospitals, and had ample opportunity of studying Bolshevik methods. It originated in German propaganda, and was, and is being carried out by international Jews. The Germans initiated disturbances in order to reduce Russia to chaos. They printed masses of paper money to finance their schemes, the notes of which I possess specimens can be easily recognised by a special mark.” (Rev. B. S. Lomhard to Lord Curzon, March 23 1919, p.56)

“So effective is the Terror that no one daps to engage in anti Bolshevik propaganda. People have been arrested for a simple telephonic conversation, in which the terms seemed ambiguous, or could be interpreted as adverse to the Bolsheviks. An arrest is the prelude to every kind of corruption; the rich have to pay huge exactions to intermediaries, who are usually Jews, before they can obtain their release.” (The Progress of Bolshevism in Russia, Memorandum by Mr.B—, p.65)

“At the Putilof Works anti-Semitism is growing, probably because the food, supply committees are entirely in the hands of Jews—and voices can be heard sometimes calling for a “pogrom.” (The Progress of Bolshevism Abroad, Memorandum by Mr. B—, p.68)

The report may not have mentioned *The Protocols* by name but the spirit that shaped it is clearly there in abundance. We are little more than two pages into the report when an entry by British Diplomat, John Oliver Wardrop reads:

*“August 7 1918,—I called at temporary prison and saw Greenep, Wishaw, and Jerram. They are all well treated by their guards who are real Eussians, unlike most of their leaders, who are either fanatics or Jewish adventurers like Trotsky or Eadek.”*³²⁷ That Wardrop was appointed as the first British Chief

Commissioner of the South Caucasus by Lord Curzon in July 1919 had been earned in part by Wardrop’s 1894 translation of *The Book of Wisdom and Lies*, a lively book of fables written by ‘Super Catholic’ and Fabulist Sulkhan-Saba Orbeliani, who had served as the emissary of Georgia to France and the Vatican under Pope Clement XI. What could have been more apt?

³²⁷ A series of despatches from Mr. John Oliver Wardrop, at Moscow, ‘Russia. No. 1 (1919), A collection of reports on Bolshevism in Russia’ (Diplomatic Papers), His Majesty’s Stationery Office, April 1919, Proquest Parliamentary Papers, Command Papers, Cmd paper. 8, vol. page LIII.987, vol. 53, p.2

Zionism versus Bolshevism

(Winston Churchill, Illustrated Sunday Herald, February 1920)

EXHIBIT NO.3



This must rank as one of the most controversial press articles in the history of British Politics. In a generous two page spread published on February 8th 1920 Britain's Secretary of State for War, Winston Churchill, was to draw-up a rambling, ham-fisted case for a establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine, the only possible solution that he could see to the spreading Bolshevik menace whom he summarised rather grotesquely as "the International Jews". If there is one single piece of evidence to suggest that George Shanks and Major Edward G.G. Burdon had been actively colluding with the pro-Interventionist lobby that was then gaining mass under Lowther and Aratoon's *United Russia Societies Association* it is probably this. Firstly, the article's timing with *The Protocols* translation is nothing short of miraculous. Shanks and Burdon's *Jewish Peril* had received its first review on page eight of the *Westminster Gazette* on February 9th 1920. The sabre-rattling

article by Winston Churchill was published in the *Illustrated Sunday Herald* just 24-hours before.³²⁸

It isn't a moderate affair by any standards, Churchill's 2000 word article having been published as a blistering full page special on page five of the newspaper on February 8th 1920. Anyone who has managed to preserve an otherwise high regard for the cantankerous wartime Prime Minister may be disturbed to learn that this intensely provocative article draws substantially on the preposterous claims being made in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*; namely that the Jewish Internationalists under their leader, Vladimir Lenin were engaged in a diabolical plot to dominate the world and destroy the established order of things. Any attempt to square this off neatly with Winston's stunning and very sincere triumph over Nazi Germany in World War II is an almost impossible task. In fact for most Brits, if not for most of our allies, past and present, the article won't make a fat lot of sense. More often than not the problem will be dismissed fairly involuntarily as the ambiguous actions of a very complex man and a very inconvenient truth. In actual fact, it was neither that inconvenient nor that complex. Churchill had embraced Zionism as a colonial and economic necessity. The real problem, if there is one, is not that he was anti-Semitic. Like most in his class, he was.

³²⁸ Westminster Gazette, 09 February 1920, p.8. At this time, the Westminster Gazette was under the careful editorship of undiminished Liberal, J.A Spender.

The problem for readers of the 21st Century is that Winston was embracing Zionism at the same time he was expressing sympathy for conspiracy theory of Jewish Bolshevism. There was no subsequent epiphany that put a redeeming wedge of virtue between this and his later actions. The image we have of Winston wrestling Adolf to the floor and plunging the sword of righteousness into the heart of his evil empire, whilst not a myth entirely, has is one that is rather crude and one dimensional. Winston was more like Cerberus, the multi-headed dog guarding the gates of the Empire from his twin Cerberus rival opening the gates of his. Whilst his perception of the “International Soviet of the Russian and Polish Jew” may have been similar to that of Hitler, their politics and their loyalties couldn’t have been further apart.

Perhaps the fairest way viewing the article was that it was a knee-jerk reaction, conceived in the midst of totally unparalleled events rattling along at a furious pace. It was a weak, opportunist effort from a complex and unpredictable character attempting to solve two problems with one instrument as fast as politically possible. No matter how much we may judge him by modern standards it would be unreasonable, if not downright incorrect, to present Churchill as a closet-fascist.

His article is not a pretty read on any level. Even by the standards of the day, this was a deeply offensive appeal, worded to pump as much venom as possible to the fangs of an anxious and exhausted post-war public, reluctant

to do battle with a big new threat from the continent. In his rush to make his point, Churchill literally lumps together “malevolent” Jews like Karl Marx, Leon Trotsky, Bela Kun, Rosa Luxembourg and Emma Goldman for preaching the “gospel of the antichrist”. He also heaps no small amount of praise on fascist conspiracy theorist, Nesta Webster who had “so ably shown” that Jews had been the mainspring of “every subversive movement during the Nineteenth Century”. His worst fear was coming true: Jews were rising to prominence in these movements and seizing control. The exception to all this was Zionism which, as far as Churchill was concerned, presented a “more commanding” option for building Jewish national identity. Zionism was moreover, already becoming a factor “in the political convulsions in Russia, as a powerful competing influence to Bolshevism”. The struggle between the Zionist and Bolshevik Jews, Churchill enthused, was “little less than a struggle for the soul of the Jewish people”. Establishing a Jewish home in Palestine would “vindicate the honour of the Jewish name”. It was a simple proposition the War Secretary was putting forward to the Jews of Britain: *you were either with us or against us*. The Jew was being asked to either support Britain’s not terrifically well defined plans for the Jewish National Home in Palestine or Britain would have no other option but to treat them as a Bolshevik and public enemy number one.³²⁹

³²⁹ *Zionism versus Bolshevism*, Winston Churchill, Illustrated Sunday Herald, February 8th

Building on the breathtaking wave of anti-Semitism currently steamrolling across Britain in the wake of Churchill's article was new Director of Intelligence at the British Office, Sir Basil Thomson who was likewise trying to convince the Cabinet of the Jewish Internationalist threat. Just 48 hours before a review of Shanks' *Jewish Peril* appeared in *The Times* of London, Thomson would write in his weekly 'scare bulletin' for the British Home Office that "Jews of East End London" were fomenting rebellion over the brutal campaign in Poland. Thomson had quietly assured the government that a more aggressive policy against the "Jewish alien" would be a popular signal among the electorate. In the heading, 'What the Working Man Thinks' in his bulletin of May 6th 1920, Thomson was cheerfully reporting that a member of his Home Office team who had conversed with "workers selected at random" described how they all had a "hearty dislike for the alien" and would like to see "powder and shot used freely among the Labour leaders and the Jews". Another wished all Jews to be given "free passage to Palestine" where he had served as a soldier during the war.³³⁰ An entry dated July 3rd 1919 had provided the clearest indication yet of the global 'Jewish Menace'. According to his fortnightly bulletin, "direct evidence had been received that the leaders in the Bolshevik movement in England, France and America are in touch with

1920, p.5

³³⁰ Report on Revolutionary Organisations in the United Kingdom. No 53, May 6 1920, CAB 24/105/39, Report on Revolutionary Organisations in the United Kingdom. Report No. 37, February 5 1920, CAB 24/97/81

one another and with Moscow, and that the Bolshevik movement is an International Conspiracy of Jews”.³³¹

By February 1921, Lord Curzon and Sir Ronald Graham, the British Minister at The Hague and a leading advocate at the Foreign Office of a British commitment to Zionism, were still discussing the influence of Jews in the Soviet administration in cables in February 1921. In one such cable, Graham says that he has the “honour” of presenting to Curzon one of two documents translated from its original native Dutch that showed “ the influence of the Jewish element in the Soviet Administration” A second document communicated by Graham, dealt with “the instructions issued to Soviet agents abroad”. The document concluded with a statistical statement showing the alleged number of Jews that made up the senior Soviet ranks: Council of Peoples Commissars (18 out of 22 are Jews), Commission of War (34 out of 43 are Jews), Commission of Finance (13 out of 17 are Jews), Commission of Justice (20 out of 21 are Jews). And so it went on.³³²

³³¹ Report on Revolutionary Organisations in the United Kingdom. Report No. 10, 03 July 1919, CAB 24/83/16, TNA

³³² The British National Archives, LG/F/203/2/8, Ronald Graham, The Hague, to Earl Curzon of Kedleston No.102, February 12 1921. Sir Ronald worked closely Vladimir Jabotinsky’s Zion Mule Corps when serving as Chief Staff Officer, G.O.C. Egypt. For more see: The Question of Palestine, 1914-1918; British-Jewish-Arab relations, Isaiah Friedman, pp.119-143. Graham was the British Ambassador in Italy during the rise of Italian Fascism under Mussolini in 1922.

Contrary to what many modern readers might think, Zionism wasn't popular America, Germany or Britain at this time. You'll probably guess where it found its strongest support; in the battle weary warzones of Russia and Eastern Europe, where pogrom after pogrom had left Jews with the bleakest of ultimatums. Churchill and his team were effectively creating a problem that only Palestine could solve. They were turning up the Fahrenheit and applying the pressure.³³³

Although it would be grossly inaccurate to say that the Jews of Britain and America had responded positively to Churchill's article in Britain, the Zionist Press of America were suggesting that the article had indeed been giving fresh "impetus" to the British Palestine Mandate and that donations to the recently formed Restoration/Foundation Fund, *Keren Hayesod* had increased.³³⁴ It was certainly curiously timed. It seems that every attempt was being made to make Britain an increasingly hostile target for Jewish immigrants. Whether or not Churchill's anti-Semitism was sincere, or whether it was a cool and totally dispassionate tactical manoeuvre, it was fair to say that the Jewish communities that had been fractured and scattered in exile were having a route-map for a whole new journey rather violently thrust upon them.

³³³ 'Zionism versus Bolshevism', Illustrated Sunday Herald, February 8th 1920, p.5

³³⁴ B'nai B'rith Messenger, March 5 1920

The following month (April 1920) saw the Jerusalem Riots, the first alleged pogrom in the region and tough reminder for Britain of the challenges that lay ahead. But to what extent did Zionist leaders get behind the War Secretary's divisive appeal and to what extent did they support the White Russians?

Unlikely support among Zionists

There's no doubting that Zionist fighting units throughout Russia and Eastern Europe were supporting White Russian monarchists and Liberals in their conflict with Lenin's Bolsheviks. In May 1920, just days after *The Times* of London threw the spotlight onto Shanks' translation of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (May 8th 1920) the *New York Evening World* ran a report that revealed details of how authorities in Soviet Russia had arrested seventy-five members of the *All Russian Zionist Congress* after discovering "compromising documents" that was said to reveal close contact between members of the Congress and representatives of the governments of Britain, France and America. It was alleged that the group had been operating a courier service between Russia and London. A further claim stated that over 30, 000 Jewish legionnaires had pledged their service to White Russian armies through an agreement with England. In a separate claim, it was alleged that former American Ambassador to Turkey, Henry Morgenthau had visited Poland on behalf of the Zionists and instructed them to get behind the Polish Imperialists.

³³⁵ Morgenthau had been dismissed from his role as Turkish Ambassador in February 1916 after it had been found that he had been engaged in ‘secret’ land purchases from the Ottomans in Palestine for the purpose of colonising the region after the war.³³⁶ Zionism at this time divided the Jewish communities and was particularly unpopular among the Jewish ‘assimilationists’ and ‘Reformist Jews’ of Great Britain, Germany and America (see separate exhibit: ‘The Letter of the Ten/League of British Jews’). In the most extraordinary twist, the Jewish journalist and diplomat, Lucien Wolf, perfectly contented with his place in British culture, caused quite a stir in October 1904 when he explained his hostility to Zionism in a provocatively-titled article for the *Jewish Fortnightly Review*. *The Zionist Peril*, a 24-page indictment of the movement under Herzl and Zangwill, pulled little in the way of punches, sensationally revealing Zionism to be the “gravest peril to the Jewish people” which would ultimately present the most serious of set-backs to their history and their mission. Based on a letter he had circulated to the press in response to the Zionist Congress in Basel in September 1903, in which the Uganda Scheme had been discussed, Wolf rejected any notion that the Jewish religion and way of life was in ethical decay, pointing out, not unreasonably, that seeking racial and religious autonomy in Europe was

³³⁵ ‘Soviet Blames Morgenthau in Zionists’ Plot’, *The Evening World* (New York), May 18, 1920, p.13

³³⁶ *The Sentinel* July 28 1916

leading to a whole scale rise in anti-Semitism.³³⁷ It was Wolf's belief that "Old-world prejudices" had been revived by "political factions for political purposes rather than because of any genuine belief in the Semitic peril".³³⁸ He had even been told by the Russian Minister von Plehve that he "counted on Zionism" as a means of re-directing the appetites among Jews for civil and religious emancipation away from the Socialist Revolutionary Party and Jewish Bund.³³⁹ Bearing in mind that this piece was written a full fifteen years before Britain and White Russia harnessed the energy of anti-Semitism to justify a four year assault on the Bolsheviks, one has difficulty in regarding Wolf's assessment as anything less than visionary.

It's worth noting at this point that at least one article in *The Cause of World Unrest*, the book whose publication was so passionately endorsed by the editor of *The Morning Post* H.A Gwynne in October 1920, went to considerable lengths to dissociate the plans of the Zionists with the Jewish Internationalists plotting global domination from all the major capitals in Europe, even to the extent of rejecting the origins of the book put forward by Sergei Nilus, whose book on *The Protocols* they otherwise quote at length:

³³⁷ 'The Zionist Peril, Letter to the Editor, Lucien Wolf', *The Evening Mail*, September 9 1903, p.4

³³⁸ 'The Zionist Peril', Lucien Wolf, *Jewish Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 17, October 1904, pp.11-12

³³⁹ 'The Zionist Peril', Lucien Wolf, *Jewish Fortnightly Review*, Vol. 17, October 1904, pp.17-18.

“As to the date on which the protocols were delivered we have the assertion that they were known to the Zionist Congress at Basle. That Congress brings us to the date 1897. But there is no evidence in the document that the authors have any concern with the Zionist Movement; indeed, their project of a universal domination might appear to render Zionism unnecessary.”³⁴⁰

Despite the fact that the first edition of *The Protocols* published by Nilus says quite categorically that secret extracts of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* were lifted directly from a speech made at a closed-meeting hosted by Herzl at the First Zionist Congress in August 1897, Chapter 7 of *The Cause of the World Unrest* bends and twists the facts to fit the sinister vision of the ‘New World Order’ being put forward by Churchill: The Jewish Internationalists (the Bolsheviks and the assimilated Liberal Jews of Europe) were the problem, not the Zionists. The version of *The Protocols* legend which appeared in Georgy Butmi de Katzman’s 1907 book, “The Enemy of the Human Race” was to make a similar departure; the plot as told by Butmi — dedicated to the ultra-Monarchist Black Hundreds — presented the diabolical bid for Jewish world supremacy as Masonic rather than Zionist in origin, the outcome of a secret convocation of Jews of the Masonic Lodge of Egyptian ritual that should not be confounded with leaders of the Zionist Movement in Russia or abroad. Butmi

³⁴⁰ *The Cause of World Unrest*, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, September 1920, p.85

makes one thing very clear: the ‘Representatives of Zion’ should not be confused with the leaders of the Zionist Movement.³⁴¹

In an ideal world this would probably prove beyond reasonable doubt that the publication of Shanks and Burdon’s *Jewish Peril* was an attempt to draw a clear distinct line between the aims of the ‘International Jews’ (the Bolsheviks and the Masons) and the emerging Zionist movement. But there are several problems with this. The first is that Shanks and Burdon’s *Jewish Peril* was sub-titled, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. If it had been the authors’ intent to exclude the Zionists, then what logic was there in preserving the word itself? Secondly, nobody actually knows who authored the collection of articles included in H.A. Gwynne’s *The Cause of World Unrest*. Whoever wrote that the “universal domination” sought by Lenin’s Bolsheviks might “render Zionism unnecessary” in Chapter 7 of the book may well have been correct, but their identity is not known. As a result, it may be possible to surmise that some chapters of the book are written by those qualified to make the distinction (and whose feelings about Bolshevism may just about be possible to disentangle from sheer antipathy toward Jews) and those whose judgement was based on pure racial or religious prejudice. As Nesta Webster viewed both as “external manifestations of the general movement to establish Jewish Nationalism”, it’s unlikely to be her, unwilling as she was to make any such concession or

³⁴¹ *The History of a Lie, The Protocols of the Wise Men of Zion: A Study*, Herman Bernstein, J.S. Ogilvie Publishing Company, 1921, pp.60-61

distinction.³⁴² Jewish Bolshevik or Jewish Zionist, they were seen as separatists and extreme nationalists all the same.³⁴³

Whatever the exact truth is about the book's authorship, such is synchrony that exists between *The Cause of the World Unrest* and the anti-Bolshevik campaign being led by Churchill that the book begins by quoting a speech that Winston made in the House of Commons on November 5th 1919, in which he breathed fresh life into the legend that Lenin had been sent into Russia by the Germans, "in the same way that you might send a phial containing a culture of typhoid or of cholera to be poured in to the water supply of a great city."³⁴⁴ Zionism wasn't off the hook by any means, but the series of articles that make up *The Cause of the World Unrest* did their utmost to shift the greater burden of guilt at the doors of the Jewish Bolsheviks and the neutral Jews of Europe who failed to express disapproval of their revolutionary principles in the strongest terms required of them. As Gwynne writes in August 1920, "*Is it not time to ask those our Jewish fellow citizens who do not share the views of their fellows to speak out openly and fearlessly?*" In recent years, the Mosques of Europe and America have been accused of much the same failure: "the clerics

³⁴² 'Boche And Bolshevik', Nesta H. Webster, The Beckwith Company, NY 1923, p.48. I would hazard a guess that the distinction being expressed in Chapter 7 of *The Cause of World Unrest* was made by a peer or diplomat with a legal background (Nb. the phrase "in any event it is plain from" on p.87 — common parlance among Justices of the Peace).

³⁴³ *The Cause of World Unrest*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, September 1920, Introduction, H.A. Gwynne, pp. XXIII-XXIX

³⁴⁴ *The Cause of World Unrest*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, September 1920, pp.1-2

are not doing enough to counter the narratives of extremism being circulated among its young”.³⁴⁵

There is absolutely no doubt that a powerful section of British and American Jews like Jacob H. Schiff — regarded as high priest of Capitalism by supporters of Lenin — were actively supporting the pro-Interventionist (anti-Bolshevik) movement.³⁴⁶ Lucien Wolf had already written of the leverage that Zionism had given Tsarist Russia in its fight against ‘Jewish’ Socialism and it was only natural that those content with their own complex ethnic balance — not to mention their own wealth — would take objection to any political faction that sought to squeeze them into the corner of two artificial extremes. Wolf had been proved right. “Old-world prejudices” had been revived by “political factions for political purposes rather than because of any genuine belief in the Semitic peril.

Although the level of Anglo-Jewish commitment shown to the White Movement remains for the most part unclear, it’s certainly possible that Shanks’ translation of *The Jewish Peril* was being using to polarize debate and

³⁴⁵ *Mosques launch anti-radicalisation scheme as alternative to Prevent*, Haroon Siddique, The Guardian, March 22 2018

³⁴⁶ Joseph H. Schiff, leading fundraiser for the American Jewish Congress cut off all ties with the Bolsheviks. His various banks had made substantial Liberty Loans to Kerensky’s Provisional Government (in March 1917 he had also donated a Liberty Statue). Although he supported a sizeable settlement for Jews in Palestine prior the Bolshevik revolution, he was against the idea of a nation’. He revised this opinion in 1919, and backed the British Mandate before his death that same year. Although Lionel Rothschild allowed his business address to be used by the Free Russia Press, he was closer in terms of politics to Burtsev and the Liberal Cadets.

have the whole thing collapse into a passionate confrontation between pro-Zionist and anti-Zionist Jews. The battle lines were being drawn: those Jews who refused to get behind the pro-Interventionists (pro-Whites) and the plans for the Palestine Settlement were lumped unjustly with the Bolsheviks.³⁴⁷ In many ways, Churchill's 'Zionism versus Bolshevism' article for the *Sunday Illustrated Herald* in February 1920 sought to define the conflict order. This is afterall, the fundamental principle of all Culture Wars: polarizing groups and building increasingly dominant voting majorities. Sometimes the more outrageous and more emotive the issue, the more quickly and more securely the sides would split into their respective rivalries. It's one way of re-directing the energy flow from the centre (and often neutral) ground to either one of the two extremes. The manufactured narratives of division create the necessary 'bloc' for political gains. If Sassoon had in any way sanctioned the publication of the *Jewish Peril* (which I doubt), or approved in any way Churchill's rather disturbing 'Bolshevism versus Zionism' article of February 1920, then it was because it served the pro-Interventionist cause, and was not because of any emotional, religious or ideological commitment to a Jewish National Home in Palestine.³⁴⁸ Men like Churchill and Gwynne were not demanding that we ask

³⁴⁷ *The Cause of World Unrest*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, September 1920, Introduction, H.A. Gwynne, pp. XXIII-XXIX

³⁴⁸ It's worth noting that the Plain English article says attempts were made by prominent Jews to purchase practically all the first editions of Shanks and Burdon's *Jewish Peril*. The same claim was made when *The Protocols* was published by Nilus in Russia in 1905 (see: *The Cause of World Unrest*, G.P. Putnam's Sons, September 1920, p.85).

the question, “What is the *true* nature of Jewish identity?” they were demanding that the Jewish community choose one of two impossible options. ‘Good Jews’ were being asked to choose Zionism whilst ‘Bad Jews’ were being corralled into taking their place alongside Lenin’s Bolsheviks where they could be designated and detained as enemy combatants in a war being fought at a cultural level.³⁴⁹ And this is exactly how both men put it:

“It is particularly important in these circumstances that the national Jews in every country who are loyal to the land of their adoption should come forward on every occasion ... and take a prominent part in every measure for combating the Bolshevik conspiracy. In this they will be able to vindicate the honour of the Jewish name and make it clear to the world that the Bolshevik movement is not the Jewish movement, but is repudiated vehemently by the great mass of the Jewish race.”

— ‘Zionism versus Bolshevism’, Illustrated Sunday Herald, Winston Churchill,
February 8th 1920

In the wake of the San Bernardino attack in the US and the Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris in 1915, the usual cry went up: it was the responsibility of Muslims the world over to condemn acts of terror. Much the same thing was taking place in 1920: Jews in Britain were being asked to disavow the acts of a regime some 4,000 miles away. As Asim Qureshi explains in his introduction

³⁴⁹ The terms ‘Good Jews’ and ‘Bad Jews’ are Churchill’s (‘Zionism versus Bolshevism’, Illustrated Sunday Herald, February 8th 1920).

to his 2020 book, *I Refuse to Condemn*, “meeting the expectation to condemn in order to be labelled safe carries with it an automatic excommunication from normality — for in the process of condemning we, we justify our coming into humanity, a humanity from which we had been excluded until that moment.”

³⁵⁰ Jews of the world were no longer being offered the option of practising Judaism as a religion. It was to be remodelled at the level of nation in which the demand for basic rights was to be routinely misrepresented as advocacy for political and cultural separation: “*Are Jews working as distinct race or merely as members of a distinct religion?*” ³⁵¹

³⁵⁰ ‘I Refuse to Condemn: Resisting Racism in Times of National Security’, Manchester University Press, 2020

³⁵¹ *The Cause of World Unrest*, G.P. Putnam’s Sons, September 1920, Introduction, H.A. Gwynne, p. XXVI

By the Rt. Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

Mr. Chaville speaking in all respect, he will discuss at length his work

The National Russian Jests, in spite of its facilities under which they have suffered, have managed to play in Moscow and a vital part in the national life even of Russia. In America and in other lands they have continuously promoted the development of Russia's economic resources, and they are working in the raising of their national organizations, the Russian Cooperative Societies. In politics they support the American Government, and they have been active in the most part, in social and economic movements, and they have been among the staunchest adherents of friendship with Russia and Great Britain.

In contrast, opposition to all this reform of Jewish civil law, the reform of the International Law. The adherents of this doctrine are mostly non-Jews among the Ashkenazi population of countries where Jews are persecuted or almost of their kind. What, if not all, of them have learned the truth of their brotherhood, and dreamed how they might of spiritual hope, of the

[illegible][illegible]

1. Plans for the Decade.

President Carter has placed a high priority on the environmental issues of the decade. In the 1970s, he has called for a new environmental approach to the development of the United States. This approach is based on the principle of sustainable development, which is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This approach is based on the principle of sustainable development, which is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

[illegible]

of a multinational community. Many new immigrants are already becoming part of the fabric of the country, and the language of the immigrants is a variety of a new, not a foreign, dialect. The new immigrants are not a threat to the Jewish people, but a strength for the Jewish people.

[illegible]

The Times of London: The Jewish Peril

‘A Disturbing Pamphlet: Call for an Enquiry’ May 1920

EXHIBIT NO.4



In May 1920 *The Times* of London had been teasing curiosity from its readers by describing Shanks and Burdon's *Jewish Peril* as “disturbing”, “prescient” and “just possibly authentic”.³⁵² The report had been written and prepared personally by *The Times* Editor Wickham Steed, a man with astonishingly close ties to Bernard Pares, Harold Williams and Robert Seton-Watson of the *Committee of Russian Affairs* and *United Russian Societies Association*, whose unflagging support of White Russia was still dominating debate on the ‘Jewish Bolsheviks’. Although the report made a fair if not entirely sincere effort to convey a sense of judicious neutrality regarding the source of *The Protocols*, it was a provocative little piece that did its best to pique the interest of its readers, reporting that the circulation of this “singular little book” was on the increase and that readers should be prepared for something that would make “disturbing reading”. Wickham Steed, wisely perhaps, frames his report within the context of an impartial review of the pamphlet's reception and distribution.

³⁵² ‘The Jewish Peril: A Disturbing Pamphlet’, *The Times*, May 8th 1920, p.15

He starts by demonstrating his awareness of existing prejudices and the existence of the ugly ‘Semitic’ bogey. He even notes that it includes some very insidious allegations. But whereas most newspapers either refused to review the pamphlet on that basis, or perhaps revealed it for what it was — an unintelligent “hoax” and the “ramblings of a clever but cranky brain”— The Times affected a thoroughly disingenuous air of neutrality, even going to the extent of demanding a formal enquiry into its authenticity, perhaps as a platform for further debate and (one might surmise) further promotion and sales of the pamphlet. Afterall, few things sell better than controversy.

That the Times had any time for it at all is something of a mystery. By March 1920, Dr Hagberg Wright had already exposed the book as hoax, explaining how it had been conceived as a fierce attack on England as a friend of the Jews and its reluctance to form the Entente. The *Daily Herald* had already described it as a “wild farrago of anti-Semitic and anti-Bolshevik propaganda” based on alleged secret documents which set out the plans of the Jews to conquer the world through the Bolsheviks.³⁵³ Even the Acton Gazette had had no problem seeing through it: *“I hope I am not abnormally unintelligent but I confess that both the purpose and the purport of this publication are beyond me. At best it is a bad joke, and at worst it is calculated to foster prejudices and bigotries that the 20th Century can well*

³⁵³ ‘Jewish Peril’, *Daily Herald*, March 15th 1920, p.4

dispense with.” The author of the review finished by saying that whilst he had no idea who was responsible for giving the book an English edition, whoever the gentlemen was “might have been better employed”.³⁵⁴ And better employed he was. At 10 and 12 Downing Street, in fact.

The Times didn’t ignore these things entirely. It casts doubt on attempts by *The Jewish Guardian* and *The Nation* to expose the book as a fake by claiming that these newspapers focused too narrowly on the author of the book (Sergei Nilus) and the political and religious context in which it was published originally. But in fairness, it’s just going through the motions and it wastes little time in revealing its true intent. The phony sense of neutrality that Wickham Steed has less than convincingly tried to maintain is destroyed in an instant when *The Times* editor writes dryly that that “some of the features of the would-be Jewish programme bear an uncanny resemblance to situations and events now developing under our eyes” (i.e. Bolshevism). In support of this argument, he goes on to cite a number of passages from the *Jewish Peril* that chime with events in Russia (“we create a universal economic crisis”, “best results are obtained by violence and intimidation” and so forth). This statement was repeated in the later editions of *The Protocols* printed by The Britons.

The jury might also like to consider the timing of the review in The Times. Cast your eyes over the broadsheet and you will notice that Steed’s

³⁵⁴ ‘Is it a Hoax?’ Acton gazette, February 28th 1920, p.3

report is framed on the page by stories in other columns that build or extend the narrative (and perhaps even reveal the motive) in some way. These include the defeat of General Wrangel and the subsequent advance of Bolsheviks as well as developments in Warsaw, Poland. Indeed its worth pointing out that the Palin Report on the Pogroms against the Jews which had had the support of White Russians (and become a huge embarrassment to Britain) had been prepared but was being delayed when this article went to press, and it may be reasonable to speculate that a fabricated 'Jewish Menace' may have been intended to somehow justify (at least in part) the mob-handed tactics of Britain's allies, or if not justify completely, at least better absorb their actions. Vladimir Burtsev, brought in as expert 'Protocols' witness at the Berne Trials of the 1930s, claims that the first edition of the book had been published in 1905 to justify the pogroms in Russia, making the suggestion all the more plausible (see separate exhibit: 'Sir Stuart Samuel's Report on Poland'). Was the publication of Shanks' *Jewish Peril* in February 1920 attempting to manage the crisis in a similar way? It may certainly have helped take the sting out of the atrocious allegations made in the final Samuel Report which eventually came after a considerable delay in July 1920. As another report on the page makes clear, the San Remo conference had also just finished and some progress was being made with the Zionists and the Palestine Mandate.

It may also be worthwhile to note that at the time that the English translation went to press in January 1920, the anti-Jewish riots in South Wales in 1911 would have still been playing out vividly in the minds of Home and Foreign Office officials. Whether as the result of the natural vagaries of civil disorder or more cynical attempts to create a scapegoat, the tsunami of unrest among the country's coal and dock workers had found itself being re-routed toward Jewish homes and businesses in a week-long orgy of looting and violence.³⁵⁵ Channelling Britain's vast reserves of ancient anti-Semitism into the path of a brand new threat was probably just too good an opportunity to miss. Curiously enough, *The Bolshevik Peril*, a 'bombshell' play written by dramatist Ronald Grahame and resoundingly endorsed and licensed by Liberal MP and Royal Chamberlain, Lord Sandhurst, made its debut at a theatre in Tredegar, ground zero of the 1911 riots, in March 1919.

One thing is for sure, the positive effects of negative (or in this case, slightly cautious) promotion has seldom been so profound — or so deadly.

³⁵⁵ British Theatre and the Red Peril: the Portrayal of Communism, 1917-1945, Steve Nicholson, p.x, pp.31-33, *The Bolshevik Peril*, Wanted: Leading Man, Tredegar, South Wales, The Stage 13 March 1919, p.22, The Tredegar Riots of 1911: Anti-Jewish Disturbances in South Wales, Colin Holmes, Welsh History Review, vol. 1, 1982, pp. 214–25. As Home Secretary, Winston Churchill played a pivotal (and controversial) role in the Tredegar Riots of 1911.

The Times of London: Jewish World Plot

‘An Exposure, Truth at Last’ August 1921

EXHIBIT NO.5



On August 16 1921 Henry Wickham Steed, the Editor of The Times of London who had penned the first rather ambiguous response to Shanks’ *Jewish Peril* pamphlet in May 1920, finally revealed that *The Protocols* had been a cruel and audacious hoax all along. Other newspapers on the both sides of the Atlantic may have already rejected it as the product of Tsarist fantasies, but the way that *The Times* approached it was a little different. On this occasion, the newspaper said it had clear evidence of how it had been faked, and what textual sources had been used to fake it. The ‘sensational’ report had been written by newspaper’s correspondent in the Near East, Philip Graves after being approached by Mikhail Raslovlev, a White Russian émigré and monarchist now in exile in Constantinople. Raslovlev is believed to have handed Graves a copy of Michel Joly’s *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel* and painstakingly gone through its pages, demonstrating, beyond all reasonable doubt that *The Protocols* was not only a hoax but also a pitiful work of plagiarism. Raslovlev, who had described

himself as a fanatical anti-Semite, would subsequently move to Paris where he would have come into regular contact with *Protocols* expert Vladimir Burtsev.

Just as it was with their original scoop in May 1920, the article had been framed on the page by two rather curiously related articles: an update on Palestine and the League of Nations (announcing the terms and administration for British Mandate Palestine) and Lord Northcliffe's visit the White House to meet President Harding.³⁵⁶ In the days that followed, Northcliffe would also meet a committee of Zionist Leaders at the *Hotel Graham* in New York.³⁵⁷ The group would include Louis Lipsky, General Secretary of the Zionist Organization of America. The following January, America and Italy would announce that they would prevent the ratification of the Mandate for Palestine.³⁵⁸

You certainly have to wonder at the timing of the report, coinciding as it did with Lord Northcliffe's own change of heart on the Palestine issue (he thought Palestine was on course to becoming a second Ireland). Strangely enough, The Times exclusive printed another story in a neighbouring column, describing how Lord Northcliffe, still owner of The Times at this point, had been snubbed by the British Embassy during his recent visit to America. Was there some kind of additional narrative being hinted at in the arrangement of these stories on the page? Did the newspaper's withdrawal of support for *The Protocols* mythology reflect Northcliffe's opposition to Britain's

³⁵⁶ Lord Northcliffe was the owner of The Times and the former chief of the Ministry of Information during the war.

³⁵⁷ 'Northcliffe Sees Zionists', Hebrew Standard, 5 August 1921, p.2

³⁵⁸ 'US & Italy Prevent Ratification of Palestine Mandate', The Sentinel, 27 January 1922, p.3

Palestine strategy? Was this an attempt to pour coldwater on the powder-keg payload
The Protocols was carrying and which had so boosted support for the mandate?



Harold Williams

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



Born to a Methodist family in New Zealand in 1876, and able to converse in over fifty languages, the handsome if slightly starchy Harold Williams had served as foreign editor and special correspondent for *The Manchester Guardian*, *Morning Post*, *Morning Chronicle*, *London Daily Chronicle* and *The Times* in St Petersburg before, during and after the 1905 and 1917 Revolutions. He was also a friend and colleague of Aylmer Maude, a fellow Russian scholar who was also the uncle of *Protocols* translator, George Shanks. It was whilst Williams was serving as the newspaper's special correspondent in Russia that the *London Daily Chronicle* published its report revealing the 'true' Jewish names of several Boshevik leaders in November 1917.³⁵⁹ The report was duly picked up by 'Chief Whip' Freddie Guest, Chairman of the *National War Aims Committee* and republished in its *Searchlight* journal.³⁶⁰ Interestingly, Williams encountered Vladimir Burtsev,

³⁵⁹ *London Daily Chronicle*, November 10 1917 (see: 'A Boche Government', *Globe*, Nov 10 1917, p.5). As previously mentioned, Harold Williams was a member of the Committee on Russian Affairs set-up by Pares and Buchanan.

³⁶⁰ 'Names of Leninite Leaders', *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, Issue 97, November 17th 1917, p.4

expert witness at the *Protocols* Berne Trials, for the first time in autumn 1905, shortly before the publication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* by Sergei Nilus in December 1905. Although eager to print his rejection of Nilus' work, Burtsev claims that he was persuaded by members of the Russian State and St Petersburg police *not* to expose it as a fake, on the pretence that it would draw unnecessary attention to a hoax that had clearly been designed with provocation in mind.³⁶¹ Williams' significance within the anti-Propaganda campaigns of Churchill and the *Committee of Russian Affairs* shouldn't be underestimated, with at least one historian, Charlotte Alston, describing Williams as Soviet Russia's 'Greatest Enemy'.³⁶²

It was an exceptional life by any standards, marked by episodes of quiet, reflective withdrawal and extraordinary, explosive intrigue, the latter set of affairs being no better illustrated than by an incident in September 1911, when Williams and his wife Ariadna Tyrkova were investigated on suspicion of military espionage in Russia. In copies of telegrams mailed by Williams to his newspaper editor, H.A. Gwynne, and unearthed by Williams' biographer Charlotte Alston in 2004, he describes how the Tsarist Police, led by a pro-

³⁶¹ 'The Elders of Sion: A Proved Forgery', Vl. Burtsev, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Jul., 1938, Vol. 17, No. 49, p.96

³⁶² *Russia Greatest Enemy? Harold Williams and the Russian Revolutions*, Charlotte Alston, Bloomsbury 2007

German officer by the name of Kurz, had launched a series of raids on the couple's apartment following the death of Russian Premier, Pyotr Stolypin:

“Without having any orders to do so and despite protests, they searched the effects of my brother [Aubrey] and myself and finally carried off all our correspondence, manuscripts, notebooks and photographs. Special attention was paid to newspaper cuttings. The search lasted five hours. No explanation was given of the motives for this extraordinary proceeding. No arrests were made. The number of police present was sixteen.”

The return of his papers, which included an Officer's account of Russia's disastrous naval campaign at Tsushima in May 1905 ³⁶³, was eventually secured by a mixture of moral reasoning offered by Pares and the political influence of Gwynne – the leading voice in support of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in Britain — whose protests to the British Foreign Office were duly advanced by the Russian Ambassador, Sir George Buchanan. ^{364 365}

Holding a series of urgent discussions with Russia's Minister of the Interior,

³⁶³ Such an account brings to mind the anti-Tsarist activities of Elie de Cyon who was alleged to be using similar documents about the disastrous campaign in Turkey (again from a serving Russian officer) as a means of proving the incompetence of Alexander II as Russia's leader.

³⁶⁴ *Russian Liberalism and British Journalism: The Life and Work of Harold* (PhD Thesis), Charlotte Alston, School of Historical Studies, University of Newcastle-up on-Tyne, May 2004, pp.92-93.

³⁶⁵ Arkadii Tyrkova, the brother of William's wife, Ariadna Tyrkova was exiled to Siberia for his alleged involvement in The People's Will (Narodnaya Volya), the group responsible for the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. See: *Women Journalists in the Russian Revolutions and Civil Wars: Case Studies of Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams and Larisa Reisner, 1917–1926*, Katherine McElvanney, Queen Mary University of London, September 2018, p.60.

Aleksandr Makarov, Pares had pointed that expelling Britain's most talented Russian Scholar would be the "sharpest rebuff" Britain could have in its attempts to promote the study of Russia in England. A short time later, all charges against Williams were dropped and he was allowed to travel freely in and out of Russia.³⁶⁶

On November 10th 1917, just days after the triumph of the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution, *The Daily Chronicle* published a report revealing the 'real' Jewish names of several top Bolshevik ('Leninite') leaders including Trotsky (Bronstein), Zinoviev (Apfelbaum) and Kamenev (Rosenfeldt). It may be reasonable to speculate that the man making these claims was Harold Williams, at this time serving as *The Daily Chronicle's* special correspondent in St Petersburg where he was also carrying out semi-official work for the Ministry of Information and the *British Russia Bureau* (Intelligence/Propaganda unit) — a post he had volunteered to fulfil without receiving payment. Despite carrying out the role on a purely voluntary basis, by October 1917 Williams was acting Joint Director of the Bureau with Hugh Walpole, his extensive contacts within the extremist parties of Russia having greatly extended the reach and influence of the Britain's Russian Ambassador,

³⁶⁶ *A Wandering Student, the Story of a Purpose*, Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, pp.181-183

George Buchanan.³⁶⁷ The claim made in the *Daily Chronicle* in November was repeated almost verbatim by *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, the vanguard publication for Captain Freddie Guest and the British Government's *National War Aims Committee* in a report published on November 17th 1917.³⁶⁸ His regular series of 'vivid dispatches' from St Petersburg were also syndicated in the *Daily Telegraph* and the *New York Times*.

It was one of his despatches for The New York Times that Williams himself endorsing the view put forward by U.R.S.A's Aratoon Malcolm and Colonel Mark Sykes Williams in which they were to formally recognize the potency of Russian Zionists in Britain's 'secret war' with Lenin's Bolsheviks. In a cable for the New York Times dated December 7th 1917 Williams writes: "Besides their manifold efforts in general Russian politics, the Jews are swelling the tide of the National Movements. The Zionists now are the strongest party among Russian Jews and they are overjoyed at the promise of Palestine."³⁶⁹ A later report from Williams in the spring of 1919 claimed that the Zionist Organisation of Russia had succeeded in enrolling over 600,000 adult Jews for the movement to establish a commonwealth in Palestine. Unlike in Europe and

³⁶⁷ *Russia's Greatest Enemy? Harold Williams and the Russian Revolutions*, Charlotte Alston, I.B. Tauris, 2007, p.108. Even if Williams has not written up the dispatch, it's unlikely to have been published without his knowledge or his blessing.

³⁶⁸ *Reality: Searchlight on Germany*, vol. 97, Nov 17 1917, p.4

³⁶⁹ The Jewish Tribune, 21 December 1917 p.29/ 'Jews Turn to Palestine, Russia in Throes of Huge Upheaval', New York Times, December 7 1917 p.4

America, the Zionist ideal in Russia was reported to have “swept the Jewish masses ... like a tidal wave”. In Moscow and St Petersburg well known Zionists were being arrested for promoting Jewish National interests rather than the International interests of Communism.³⁷⁰

Williams was not alone in his dedication to the anti-Bolshevik cause. His Russian wife, the Liberal politician, Ariadna Tyrkova (the first woman member of the Russian Duma) matched his passion and dedication blow for blow. The couple were long-time friends and supporters of Tolstoy and Christian Socialism, a movement that the young Methodist became increasingly frustrated by in the years leading up to the war, as he became more and more engaged with the Russian Liberalism of activist and economist, Petr Struve and the producers of the *Osvobozhdenie* newspaper.³⁷¹ It was through his earlier association with J.C. Kenworthy’s Tolstoyan colony at Purleigh in Essex that Williams was brought into contact with Aylmer Maude and Louise Maude Shanks, uncle and aunt of George Shanks.

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³⁷⁰ ‘Zionists Make Splendid Propaganda in Russia’, Hebrew Standard, 9 May 1919, p.11

³⁷¹ *Russian Liberalism and British Journalism: The Life and Work of Harold Williams* (PhD Thesis), Charlotte Alston, School of Historical Studies, University of Newcastle-up on-Tyne, 2004, p.57

³⁷² *Russia's Greatest Enemy? Harold Williams and the Russian Revolutions*, Charlotte Alston, I.B.Tauris, 2007. It will also be noted that like Aylmer and Louise Maude, Kenworthy was a key figure in the bid to provide passage from Russia to Canada for the Doukhobors.

In 1916 Williams and Sir Bernard Pares, who would become lifelong friends and colleagues after meeting outside the Zemstvo Congress in Moscow in July 1905³⁷³, had been enlisted to work as part of an almost informal coalition of journalists and literary figures working in support of the British propaganda effort in St Petersburg. The *Anglo-Russian Bureau*, as it became known was intended to operate under the strict control of the British Foreign Office and the Ministry of Information; first under Charles Masterman and then John Buchan at Wellington House. Here the men specialised in writing articles for the Russian Press that would justify and explain the strength of the alliance to a war weary and sceptical public, both in Russia and at home. For the blustery young radicals of Britain's union with Tsarist Russia had shown an extraordinary lack of ethics. By the summer of the 1916, newspapers like the *Labour Leader*, the official organ for Britain's Independent Labour Party, had been developing a dangerous counter-narrative. In their estimation the Imperial Russian Government was at the present time "more reactionary than ever". It was also keen to stress that and that "Prussianism at its worst" was nowhere as "tyrannical" as Russian and British militarism was today. Writing in early September 1916 the newspaper explained how the traditional prejudice against the Russian Government, "so fully justified by the history of her ruling class, is hard to kill" regardless of every effort that Britain was

³⁷³ *Russian Liberalism and British Journalism: the Life and Work of Harold Williams (1876-1928)*, Charlotte Alston, 2004, p.105

making to convince the public otherwise. The “new democratic spirit” said to have been inspiring the Russian government was nothing but a lie. According to the newspaper, the number of administrative exiles Russia was deporting to Siberia without trial was still running into the tens of thousands. The 120 people that the Tsar had proudly announced he had liberated were simply “a drop in the ocean”.³⁷⁴ The Mass Amnesty demanded by the former Revolutionary Vladimir Burtsev at the outbreak of the war and endorsed by the Liberal Press of Russia had never materialised.³⁷⁵ Even at that early stage the Labour Party of Britain had expressed them selves quite plainly on the subject of Britain’s alliance, the Scottish Socialist, William Crawford Anderson writing almost one year before to the day the Tsarist autocracy “was cruel, stupid and unchanging”. Choosing between Germany and Russia was like choosing “between the devil and the deep blue sea”. He had worse fears still; if the “tyrannous autocracy” had been “unbending in the hour of stress and difficulty”, what would be its attitude “in the hour of victory”?³⁷⁶ Morgan Philips Price serving as correspondent for the *Manchester Guardian* was to express much the same sentiments at this time. In parliament, questions had opinions had already been expressed that Russia was tyrannical power who

³⁷⁴ ‘The New Russia’, Labour Leader, September 7 1916, No.36, Vol.13, p.1

³⁷⁵ ‘Russia Our Ally; An Unchanging Tyranny’, Labour Leader, September 17 1915, p.5

³⁷⁶ ‘Russia Our Ally; An Unchanging Tyranny’, Labour Leader, September 17 1915, p.5

simply wanted to extend its Empire in Eastern Europe and “eat up Northern Persia”.

The man who oversaw the management and recruitment at the Bureau (also known as the *International News Agency* in Moscow) was the British Ambassador in St Petersburg, Sir George Buchanan with Hugh Walpole being brought in as Head of the group. Pares, who Williams had muscled-out of a role at the *Manchester Guardian* some ten-years before, would later describe his friend as the “greatest scholar whom we had ever sent to Russia”.³⁷⁷ A year after being appointed ‘Reader in Modern Russian History’ at the University of Liverpool, Williams would become one of the founding members of the ‘School of Russian Studies alongside George Shank’s uncle and fellow Tolstoyan, Aylmer Maude.’³⁷⁸ Some ten years later Williams and Pares would collaborate again, this time on *The New Europe* journal, a weekly review of predominantly Slavic politics that Pares had launched with Robert Seton-Watson of *The Times*. The journal not only featured contributions and support from Harold Williams but also from news editor, Wickham Steed the man who had personally reviewed Shanks and Burdon’s *The Jewish Peril* for *The Times* of London in May 1920. Readers may also be surprised to learn that

³⁷⁷ *A Wandering Student, The Story of a Purpose*, Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p.122

³⁷⁸ *Russian Liberalism and British Journalism: the Life and Work of Harold Williams (1876-1928)*, Charlotte Alston, 2004, p.106

The New Europe journal was at this time being printed by *Eyre and Spottiswoode* — the very same printing company that Shanks and Burdon had used to print the first 30,000 copies of the English *Protocols*. It was around this same time that Wickham Steed offered Williams a position as a lead writer at *The Times*. Just two years later he was appointed the Director of its Foreign Department.³⁷⁹

In the post-Revolutionary period of 1918 Williams and Tyrkova were recruited into the pro-interventionist *Committee on Russian Affairs*, the Churchill-backed pressure group comprising of current and former staffers of British intelligence and the propaganda units in St Petersburg whose members, as we've already mentioned, included the writers John Buchan, Hugh Walpole, and the historian Sir Bernard Pares. In many ways this was a regrouping and redeployment, of the *Anglo-Russian Bureau* which been functioning just as casually in St Petersburg prior to the October Revolution.

In June 1918 Harold Williams had written to *Protocols* expert and anti-Bolshevik campaigner, Vladimir Burtsev saying it was necessary for him to come to Britain. Writing in his 2017 book *Vladimir Burtsev and The Struggle for Free Russia*, Dr Robert Henderson explains that on June 10th 1918 Williams had sent a telegram to Burtsev in Stockholm asking him to come

³⁷⁹ *Russian Liberalism and British Journalism: The Life and Work of Harold Williams* (PhD Thesis), Charlotte Alston, School of Historical Studies, University of Newcastle-up on-Tyne, 2004, pp.222-224

back to Britain to take part in discussions and that he had succeeded in obtaining an entry-permit for him.³⁸⁰ Immediately after this visit, Burtsev organised an operation base for his journal, *Common Cause* in Paris which was now at the centre of White Russian emigration (its production had been suspended for 12 months after his flight from St Petersburg in the aftermath of the October Revolution).³⁸¹ The journal was re-launched on September 17th 1918 and on the evidence of his discussions with Williams and other members of the former Bureau at least, possibly with British support and financial backing. By October 1920, just five months after the review of *Protocols* in *The Times*, Burtsev's journal had changed from being a weekly and fortnightly publication to a daily publication.³⁸²

In September 1919, just two months before George Shanks and Edward G.G. Burdon would publish *The Protocols* for the first time in English in Britain, Burtsev had been recalled to London by Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Personal Military Secretary to Secretary of State for War (and Air), Winston Churchill, and generally regarded as Churchill's direct link to British Military Intelligence. According to letters unearthed by Dr Robert Henderson in the Churchill Archives Centre, Winston had got wind of Burtsev's inspiring reports in support of Liberal Russia and was "most anxious to assist those

³⁸⁰ *Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia*, Robert Henderson, 2018, pp. 214-215

³⁸¹ *Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia*, Robert Henderson, 2018, p.220

³⁸² *Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia*, Robert Henderson, 2018, pp. 214-215

Russians who wished to place their anti-Bolshevik viewpoints” in the strongest possible terms before the world. It is understood that Sinclair was looking for Burtsev, a talented publicist and respected voice, to ramp-up the propaganda effort on behalf of the White Russians and the *Committee of Russian Affairs*.³⁸³ However, herein lay a problem. Burtsev, as we know, had been aware of the existence of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* since it was first published in Russia in December 1905.³⁸⁴ What’s more, Burtsev had been assured by Russia’s Ministry of the Interior and Police at that time that not only was it a fake but that it had been designed with provocation and murder in mind. If *U.R.S.A* and the *Committee of Russian Affairs* had played a role in the production and translation of Shanks and Burdon’s *Protocols*, and if Burtsev had been so closely engaged in their work during this same period, then why did Burtsev not expose it as a fake until almost a year after the book’s English translation had received its sensational review in *The Times* — a newspaper that his friend Williams had such close links to? He had every opportunity of course. *The Times* report had caused a worldwide stir, and it’s terrifically unlikely that Burtsev, a voracious reader and barometer of public opinion on Bolshevism, would have been unaware of it. But this is something we’ll need to come back to.

³⁸³ *Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia*, Robert Henderson, 2018, p.220

³⁸⁴ ‘The Elders of Sion: A Proved Forgery’, Vl. Burtsev, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Jul., 1938, Vol. 17, No. 49, p.96

As strange as it may seem, the casual and slightly confused anti-Semitism that defined Churchill's 'Bolshevism versus Zionism' article in February 1920 had its roots in *'From Liberty to Brest-Litvosk'*, a book written by Harold's wife Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams. On one page she writes:

*"Besides obvious foreigners Bolshevism recruited many adherents from among the émigrés who had spent many years abroad. Many had never been to Russia before. They especially numbered a great many Jews. They spoke Russian badly ... they behaved as invaders in a foreign country. Throughout the revolution generally and Bolshevism in particular the Jews occupied a very influential position. In the Tsarist Government the Jews were excluded from all posts. In the Soviet Republic all the committees and all the commissaries were filled with Jews."*³⁸⁵

It's probably fair to say that the Jewish-German-Bolshevik myth that began to take shape during this period was cultivated first by Russian Liberals like Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams, before being taken-up by British Liberals. From here it would take a sharp turn right where it would eventually find its place among the vitriolic narratives of *The Britons* and *British Fascisti*. Additionally, it may be possible to argue that the challenge faced by Tyrkova-Williams and other Russian Liberals had its roots in the 1905 Revolution and the demands made by some groups and individuals for Jewish self-determination and national representation within

³⁸⁵ *From Liberty to Brest-Litvosk: The First Year of the Russian Revolution*, Ariadna Tyrkova Williams (Mrs Harold Williams), McMillan & Co Ltd, 1919, pp.298-299

the First Duma. The issue of Nationality had been divisive even then. Much later, British and Irish fascists like Reverend Denis Fahey would quote Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams' book during the fascist resurgence of the 1930s.

In 1922 Harold Williams and Ariadna Tyrkova-Williams published a novel called *Hosts of Darkness*. The novel used the same 'Antichrist' motif of Nilus' original *Protocols* and which was again repeated by Churchill in 1920 article, 'Zionism versus Bolshevism'. Williams was in fact, highly regarded by Churchill and remains a fascinating figure in Britain's 'scholarly' war with the Bolsheviks.

Sir Bernard Pares

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



A highly motivated swashbuckling academic and old school adventurer, Pares earned himself the distinction of being the most respected authority on Russia and the Slavic States from the early 1900s until the 1940s and the weight this “wandering student” of Baltic history carried in the anti-Bolshevik campaigns of the 1918 to 1922 period may be crucial to understanding the contexts for Shanks’ actions and the sheer weight of scholarly opinion favouring a Liberal rather than Bolshevik Russia. Pares may also represent the point at which the scholarly enthusiasm of Russophiles like Williams and himself collided with the forces of commercial enterprise, and the economic realities of international relations that formed the bedrock of bi-lateral treaties with politically divisive and often unpopular regimes. When governments were not able to draw on the in-roads made by their various diplomats and ambassadors, self-funded individuals like Pares and Williams would provide the only available access to foreign governments and world leaders, their contacts and expertise very often producing more effective policies and their timing and serendipity providing greater opportunities to act. However, to what extent Pares was acting of his

own volition, and just how immune he was the influence from trade magnates like Sir Alfred Jones and Thomas Henry Barker, in agreement with the British Foreign Office, during the first phase of his career, is rather more difficult to ascertain.

Just like his father and grandfather before him, the small but spirited Pares was educated first at Harrow and then at Trinity College, Cambridge ³⁸⁶. During his travels abroad in the mid to late 1800s, this restless young man would plunge himself into the work, arts and culture of his host country, before making any attempt to unravel and predict its deeply unfathomable politics. His experience of Russia, much like his experience of Italy, France and Germany, was rooted in an obsessive immersion in its mysteries, which he would then strip down to the bone after tearing away at the flesh of its many falsehoods to reveal the raw elements of its character and its soul. As far as Pares was concerned, Britain's understanding of Russia had been totally mismanaged by Germany, believing that from Bismarck onward, it was the "settled policy of Germany to keep England and Russia in permanent misunderstanding". ³⁸⁷ After extended fact-finding stays in Paris, Metz,

³⁸⁶ Members of the 'untitled aristocracy' who were associated with the radical Unitarian movement, the Pares family had built a fortune around hosiery and banking businesses (Pares, Heygate & Co) in Deryshire and Leicester. Bernard's Grandfather Thomas Pares (MP for Leicester) of Hopwell Hall in Derbyshire, served as Sherriff & Deputy Lieutenant of Derbyshire. His father John also stood as Liberal MP for Portsmouth.

³⁸⁷ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, Preface Xiii

Stuttgart , Berlin and Florence, Pares finally arrived in Russia in 1898, desperate to learn the language but without any formal reason for being there. After becoming acquainted with a young and liberal newspaper correspondent called 'Basil', a recent graduate, Pares found work at the Volga newspaper, *Golos Samary* (The Voice of Samara), with 'Basil' as its editor.³⁸⁸ Writing in *Mobilizing the Russian Nation* in 2016, historian Melissa K. Stockdale describes the newspaper as one of many covertly funded and privately owned periodical used by the Imperial Government to influence public opinion. The scale of these secret subsidies, which were only revealed after the February Revolution, showed the extent to which the regional monarchic press had gone to maintain conservative and loyalist narratives. In 1912 alone it was estimated that over 600, 000 roubles had been secreted to the right-wing press, with at least one of them, *Mir Islama*, directed at Muslims.³⁸⁹ After an introduction from Bishop Mandell Creighton of London to Professor Paul Vinogradoff of Moscow University, Pares was given the privilege of hearing lectures on a free and fairly casual basis. MORE HERE

³⁸⁸ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, pp.72-75. The 'Golos Samary' was published by moderate, right-wing Zemstvo leader, Aleksandr Nikolaevich Naumov.

³⁸⁹ *Mobilizing the Russian Nation: Patriotism and Citizenship in the First World War*, Melissa K. Stockdale, Cambridge University Press, 2016, pp.58-59

After returning to England, the thirty-year old Pares found himself enrolled into the University Extension Movement, a scheme developed in England to provide tertiary teaching for those unable to attend University, an early attempt to grease the wheels of social mobility and improve essential knowledge on complex issues that were likely to have some bearing on the policies of the day among the rising middle and working-class masses. Between 1898 and 1904 Pares would lump his suitcase and his papers across the length and breadth of England holding talks on everything from ‘The Rise of Napoleon’ to ‘Austro-Hungarian Dualism’.³⁹⁰ His switch across to the Extension Movement under Liverpool University in 1902 allowed him to “go deep” in a more concentrated area, an approach that would help foster the growth of supplementary reading groups. It was here that Pares encountered shipping magnate, Sir Alfred Jones, the President of the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce who had only that year launched a Russian Trade Section of the Chamber under Jones’ long-term partner, Thomas Henry Barker after a visit from another Cambridge graduate, Henry Arthur Cooke, the British Commercial agent in Moscow. Cooke had arrived from Russia in February that year and was determined to make good on the promises made by Lord Salisbury and Balfour in a scheme that had been conceived in the final years

³⁹⁰ ‘The University Extension Lectures’, *Sunderland Daily Echo and Shipping Gazette* January 17 1898, p.3; ‘University Extension Meeting’, *The Times*, August 7 1902, p.6. Cooke, the former British Vice Consul in Archangel, had been appointed to the post by Prime Minister Lord Salisbury (Robert Gascoyne-Cecil) in November 1899 (‘Court Circulars’, *The Times*, November 23 1899, p.6)

of the 19th Century to adjust the relations between Russia and Britain, specifically in relation to China.³⁹¹ According to a report of the meeting published by the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, Cooke had arrived in Britain to address the prospects of developing trade. There was, Cooke believed, a great desire in Russia to open up more markets for their agricultural products. Germany was about to raise the duties on such merchandise, and should the anticipated Tariff Bill be allowed to pass, its trade with its neighbour would be considerably downgraded. As a result, Russia now wanted to increase its exports to Britain, and stimulate greater engagement from British traders at the various exhibitions it held annually in St Petersburg. Cooke hoped it would be possible to create something along the lines of an *Anglo-Russian Chamber of Commerce*, but a lack of understanding of Russia's culture, and an almost insurmountable language barrier was constantly retarding interest among traders and their agents.³⁹² Cooke had encountered another problem. As far as the Moscow region was concerned, the larger proportion of companies were still conducted their trading operations via the British colony in Moscow³⁹³ — the remnants of the old *Russia Company* whose leading agent was James Shanks, grandfather of *Protocols* translator George who was at this time conducting much of his finances

³⁹¹ *The Board of Trade Journal of Tariff and Trade Notices and Miscellaneous Commercial Information* 1902-12-24, Vol. 39 Issue 317, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, p.611;

³⁹² 'Anglo-Russian Trade', *The Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, February 13 1902, p.5

³⁹³ The National Archives, FO 65/1647, f. 157, Cooke to Scott, May 12, 1902

through his nephew, Léon Lvovitch Catoire, board member of the Moscow State Bank and later adviser to the Moscow State Duma. As Cooke explains in correspondence to the British Foreign Office, the naturalised English colony resented any government interference in their business. All attempts at developing trade were likely to need their cooperation. By 1919, *The Russia Company's* last President, Evelyn Hubbard was sitting alongside fellow Company members, James Aaron Bezant, John P. Blessig and Professor Bernard Pares on the executive board of U.R.S.A.³⁹⁴

On the 28th October, 1902, steps were taken the Liverpool Chamber's Secretary, Thomas H. Barker, to form a Russian Trade Section of the Chamber and the very first meeting was held in November. By December, Hermann Decker had been elected Chairman and Mr H. Clements, Vice-Chairman. Decker conceded that whilst the Russian Government was difficult to access, if reasonable proposals could be put through the Russian Trade Section they were guaranteed to receive the most careful attention. In August the following year, Thomas H. Barker met with Russian diplomat, Paul Lessar, who gave him a letter of recommendation to the Russian Authorities in Siberia. By February 1903 it was being reported that a new Russian General Customs Tariff had been approved and sanctioned by the Tsar now favouring trade with

³⁹⁴ *U.R.S.A Proceedings*, vol.1, 1917-1918, London, ed. David Nutt, p.220.

Britain and discouraging trade with Germany.³⁹⁵ Whilst Pares omits any suggestion that his move across to the University Extension program at Liverpool from Cambridge in 1902 was not in any way related to the formation of the Russian Trade Section under Barker and Sir Alfred Jones, its curious timing to say the least. In his 1948 memoirs, *A Wandering Student* Pares suggests that only once did Sir Alfred ever put to him a question which could have had interest to him in his own business. He is said to have enquired if there was a shipping line in St Petersburg that would take emigrants directly to America.³⁹⁶ In the context of what we have learned above, it seems doubtful that Jones or Barker had no personal interest at all in feathering their own nests or those of their members. It also seems doubtful that Pares had no interest in politics. A letter published in the *Manchester Guardian* in September 1904 shows Pares expressing his own frustrated response to British opinion of Russia on the Russo-Japanese War and Russia's rejection and misreading of British neutrality. Writing from Smolensk Pares explained, "*Russia as a country did not want war with Japan. The Emperor too, did not want it. The Russians therefore look at the war as an inconvenience. They believe that Japan would not have dared to attack except for the moral support*

³⁹⁵ 'Liverpool Chamber of Commerce: Russian Trade', *Liverpool Daily Post*, February 3 1903, p.6

³⁹⁶ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p.101.

of England. Of what nature was this support?"³⁹⁷ A similar protest published in *The Times* of London the month before thanked the "effective assistance" and "hospitality" that he had received from both the Russian Government and "private individuals". Contrary to what many people may have been reading in England, the support of the Revolutionary movements in the towns was "quite unlikely", and in the country "quite out of the question". Most troubles were described in social rather than political terms, and there was almost a universal feeling that the war came first.³⁹⁸ The considerable progress he'd been making was at risk of being blocked by the knee-jerk reactions of one Colonial power to the protective reactions of its rival, with the whole misguided drama, to Pares mind at least, being none too subtly staged-managed by the envious Germans. Any advances the two countries had made in its commercial program would have to endure a further two years of retardation.

One thing we can be certain of, is that by the time that Pares had initiated plans to launch the *School of Russian Studies* at Liverpool University in 1907, he was delivering highly charged lectures organized by the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce on British trade solutions with Russia. In an event chaired by Sir Alfred Jones and Thomas H. Barker in the first week of November that year, it was explained how there was considerable scope for

³⁹⁷ 'Russia and England, Letter to the Editor', *The Manchester Guardian*, September 14, 1904, p.5

³⁹⁸ 'State of Opinion in Russia, Letter to the Editor of *The Times*,' *The Times*, August 10 1904, p.6

development between Russia and Britain, but that it would depend on a “keener and wider knowledge” of the Russian language among British traders. Just several weeks earlier, the British Liberal Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman had signed the *Anglo-Russian Entente* pact, which would dramatically redraft their respective colonial influences in the Persia Gulf, and ultimately setting the agenda for the war ahead.

Pares followed this up this introduction by assuring his audience that Russia was “big enough in every aspect of trade and in natural resources” to justify the special efforts needed. The country’s ignorance of Russia had put them “at the mercy of Germany”, having based much of their understanding of the nation on German knowledge and German politics. Our antipathy had been influenced by German antipathy. Practically all the Englishmen who had lived in Russia liked the Russians. The Russians also liked them in turn. Pares reserved the greater part of the blame, however, on Britain’s failure to grasp the language and an almost “absolute disregard of the conditions of the country”.³⁹⁹ What they needed was a school dedicated to Russian Studies and by 1908 they had just that. Joining him as faculty members at the school would be Shanks’ uncle Aylmer Maude and Pare’s old friend, Harold Williams. The project would be followed by the *School of Slavonic and East European Studies* with Robert Seton-Watson in 1915. In 1916 the two men

³⁹⁹ ‘Trade Relations with Russia’, *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, November 5 1907,

founded the *New Europe* journal. The journal was published by *Protocols* printing company, *Eyre and Spottiswoode*, as was their subsequent publication, *The Slavonic Review*, which would eventually include contributions from *Protocols* expert witness, Vladimir Burtsev.⁴⁰⁰

The efforts that Pares' sponsors had put in to stimulating trade between Russia and the United Kingdom was duly acknowledged at the end of June 1909 when delegates of the Russian Duma visited the Liverpool Chamber of Commerce. The extremely unpopular constitutional challenges that Russia had met and overcome by granting legislative and executive to its people now meant that the sympathy of Britain and America could be extended to the lands of the Tsar. The reservations that British Capitalists had had were now removed and hopes were being focuses on its generous mineral reserves.⁴⁰¹ After landing arriving on June 21st in London, the delegates were provided with opportunities to talk informally with the Secretary of State for War, Richard Haldane and the then serving President of the Board of Trade, Winston Churchill.⁴⁰²

⁴⁰⁰ Eyre & Spottiswoode would also publish Pares' English translation of Alexander Griboyedov's *The Mischief of Being Clever* (Gore of Uma) in 1925.

⁴⁰¹ 'Commercial Men and Russia', *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, 14 July 1909 p.4

⁴⁰² *Bernard Pares, Russian Studies and the Promotion of Anglo-Russian Friendship, 1907-14*, Michael Hughes, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Jul., 2000, Vol. 78, No. 3, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, p.527

The visit to Liverpool on June 28th in the Senato Room of the University would include the Duma's finance Secretary, Herman Lerche, liberal historian Pavel Milyukov in addition to M. V. Chelnokov and Aleksandr Guchkov.⁴⁰³ As a measure of faith in the relationship and the demonstrated the firmness of their resolution to strengthen their relations, plans were drawn up to form a *Anglo-Russian Committee* with Pares elected as its Secretary at its London branch. Senior members of the Committee in Russia included Nikolay Khomyakov, Guchkov and Boris Suvorin, editor of his father's deeply Conservative newspaper, the *Novoye Vremya* and brother of Alexis Suvorin whose more Liberal *Rus* newspaper had at one time employed the future Zionist and British 'Mule Corps' leader, Ze'ev Jabotinsky.

The engagement in Liverpool was immediately followed up by an address in London in which Sir Alfred and the men of the Chamber enjoyed a personal meet with the Tsar to discuss the launch of a Russo-British Chamber of Commerce in St Petersburg.⁴⁰⁴ As a measure of his appreciation, the Tsar presented Sir Alfred with the highest honour that the House of Romanov could give: the Star of the Order of Saint Stanislaus. Full of excitement after his meet with the Russian Ambassador, Count Beckendorff and the Tsar on board

⁴⁰³ Bernard Pares, *Russian Studies and the Promotion of Anglo-Russian Friendship, 1907-14*, Michael Hughes, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Jul., 2000, Vol. 78, No. 3, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, p.527; 'Duma Members in London', *Daily Mirror*, June 25 1909, p.4

⁴⁰⁴ 'Tsar and Commercial England: The Liverpool Address', *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* 06 August 1909 p.5

the Royal yacht, the *Standart*, during his visit to Cowes on the Isle of Wight, Sir Alfred explained that if special arrangements could not be made by railway companies, then the British Chamber of Commerce would charter a special steamer to St Petersburg next May. The English people had to look for new outlets and avenues of trade, and Russia provided the kind of produce they needed. He also made a point of mentioning the astonishing likeness between His Majesty and the Prince of Wales. It was practically impossible he went on, to distinguish them “without seeing them together”.⁴⁰⁵ As Jones was in the habit of concluding, the “best peacemaker and peacekeeper was trade” bringing as it did “a mutual interest” that provided “an almost unbreakable tie”.⁴⁰⁶ Sadly, the celebrations weren’t to last. In December that same year, just weeks after announcing his scheduled trip to Russia, Sir Alfred died of heart failure at his home in Liverpool. According to Liverpool’s local press, the 63 -year old shipbuilder and imperialist had begun to cancel his engagements after contracting a cold shortly a meeting with Colonial Administrator, Sir Hesketh Bell in London that November. A favourite with the Colonial office and a close personal friend of the former Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain, the pair had been reviewing the success of a series of meetings that Jones had chaired with the German Colonial Secretary,

⁴⁰⁵ ‘Liverpool and Russian Commerce: Sir Alfred Jones Decorated by the Tsar’, *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, August 7 1909, p.5

⁴⁰⁶ ‘Russia and England’, *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, August 9 1909, p.4

Bernhardt Dernburg in the first few days of the month, in which they discussed cooperation between the two countries in their efforts to develop civilisation and commerce in West Africa, in the hope that it might, among other things, alleviate the long-time British dependence on American cotton. In attendance that day was the Imperial Russian Consul, Antoine Wolff (a descendant of a Baron Wolff of Germany) and Julius Pisko, the Consul General for Austria-Hungary.⁴⁰⁷ How the governments of Russia or Germany reacted to the news that Jones was romancing both countries at the same time is open to speculation, but in the context of the intense rivalries between Russia and Germany during this critical pre-war period, one might assume it would have been lukewarm to say the least. The man who a rather perplexed David Lloyd-George was to describe posthumously as “not a man but a syndicate” was certainly walking a thin. In a macabre twist, the picture used to lead the tributes in Britain’s national and regional press was the one that had been taken in August on his receipt of his Tsarist ‘Star’.⁴⁰⁸ Without the funds and resources that Jones was able to bring to the initiative saw the plans the group had made for a reciprocal visit to Russia in spring collapsed, a failure

⁴⁰⁷ ‘German Colonial Minister’s Visit to Liverpool: Important Speech on German Colonising’, *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, November 9 1909, p.5

⁴⁰⁸ ‘The Late Sir Alfred Jones’, *Liverpool Journal of Commerce*, December 15 1909, p.5

that historian Michael Hughes would more tactfully attribute to “a welter of administrative minutiae”.⁴⁰⁹

On the day that his death was announced, Bernard Pares received a telegram from both the President of the Russian Duma, Nikolay A. Khomyakov and Bernhardt Dernburg, the German Colonial Minister that Jones had entertained in Liverpool just one month previously. Both men conveyed their deepest sorrow to Pares and Sir Alfred’s family, with Khomyakov extending his thanks for Jones’ personal contribution to Anglo-Russian rapprochement.⁴¹⁰

Sir Alfred’s death came just days after it was announced that the very first Russian editions of the ‘Commercial Intelligence’ bulletin from the Board of Trade and Commerce were due to be published in Britain. Plans were also being made to print all future publications in Russia. Intended to serve as an organ of the British export trade with Russia, it was believed that the bulletin would launch with a guaranteed circulation of 7, 000 copies.⁴¹¹

There was probably no one more devastated by Jones’ death than Pares himself who had made one of most passionate appeals for further funds just a

⁴⁰⁹ *Bernard Pares, Russian Studies and the Promotion of Anglo-Russian Friendship, 1907-14*, Michael Hughes, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Jul., 2000, Vol. 78, No. 3, School of Slavonic and East European Studies, p.531

⁴¹⁰ ‘Russian Duma’s Tribute’, *Liverpool Daily Post*, December 15 1909, p.10

⁴¹¹ ‘Russian Commerce’, *Dundee Courier*, December 2 1909, p.2

week prior to the arrival of the German Colonial delegation. At noon on November 1st 1909 with Sir Alfred presiding, Professor Pares rose before a panel of Liverpool's most influential men of commerce and engineering in the boardroom of the city's Cotton Exchange Buildings, and put forward his strongest case to date for the development of trade with Russia. Both men were of the opinion that the visit of the Russian Duma to Liverpool and Sir Alfred's private conversations with the Tsar at Cowes was one of the most satisfying things the Chamber had experienced. A formal invitation had now been extended to the Chamber to visit Russia the following spring and it was their strongest intention to go. Sir William Mather, Christopher Furness and W.H. Lever MP were also expressing their desire to go. Negotiations were now taking place and Pares was very much at the centre of them. At present "considerable development was taking place in agriculture", especially in terms of cooperative farming in the Baltic. One third of grain imports were also now from Russia. This was, moreover, "abundant proof" that Russia, for good or bad, had entered into the "capitalist period" of its history. The masses were looking at having more, and wanting more in terms of property. Trumping German in trade with Russia depended on one thing and one thing only: the language skills and knowledge bases necessary to compete. Whilst Pares was cautious enough to see that Russia was likely to preserve its protectionist position for some years to come, the financial reconstruction taking place in that country under the current Liberal Duma offered some

room for hope. This was “not a Duma of Revolutionaries but consisted largely of men that had passed through high administrative positions”. What was needed now was “serious and solid journal that would give information to public bodies”, a steady stream of credible commercial intelligence; a levelling up of knowledge with that of Germany. At this moment Pares tabled the establishment of a further school of research at the University, as no other University in England had taken such an interest in Russia as this one. Sir Alfred set the ball rolling by pledging £100 a year for three years to Pares’ project.⁴¹²

In the days that followed a generous three column piece in *The Times* fleshed out some statistical details. The paper’s special correspondent in St Petersburg, Maurice Baring was like Pares, a graduate of Trinity College Cambridge and shared his obsession with Russia. The report started by pointing out that in just sixteen years Russian imports had practically doubled in size but during that same period had remained "practically stationary". Meanwhile German exports to Russia had more than trebled, increasing from £10, 624, 000 in 1893 to £33, 779,521 in 1908, the proportion of manufactured goods rising by 46%. Russia’s desire to improve trade relations with Britain was coming from a political rather than economic imperative, realising that its reliance on Germany made it vulnerable to pressure. Berlin had poured time

⁴¹² ‘Great Britain and Russia: Closer Commercial and Political Relations’, *Liverpool Daily Post*, November 2 1909, p.10

and expense developing its consular relationship with Russia and Britain had done practically nothing. It also did nothing to promote its manufacturers. The formation of the Russo-British and London Chamber of Commerce looked set to change all that. Representatives from both countries were in the process of organizing an exhibition in London in 1911 for the display of Russian products, and a further exhibition in St Petersburg for the promotion of British products. The paper was at pains to point out that these “noteworthy opportunities”.⁴¹³

In his memoirs, Pares describes how he had been in communication with Sir Alfred in the days leading up to his death, receiving the last of his letters, which he would write at least twice a day, on the very day that he died.⁴¹⁴

Jones had been keen for Pares to address the London Chamber of Commerce and then go to the Foreign Office “to say so and so”. His secretary had mailed Pares another letter that had to make the post, written within hours of their last scheduled meet. It read, “Why didn't you give that little fellow Pares a better chance of seeing me? He was looking dreadfully ill; we must give him a voyage to Madeira.”⁴¹⁵

⁴¹³ ‘Possibilities in Russia’, The Times, November 5 1909, p.13.

⁴¹⁴ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p.101

⁴¹⁵ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p.102

At the onset of World War I, his involvement at the Russian School in Liverpool was put on hold as Pares was dutifully enlisted as Official Correspondent of the British Government on the Russian Front after being introduced to the Intelligence Department of the Russian Third Army as an “Expert of the Foreign Office in East European Matters.”⁴¹⁶ Much of his work, syndicated to the press of Britain, in a typically ‘Boys Own’ adventure fashion, appears to have been calculated as a means managing and perhaps even sanitising the information flow from the various campaigns being carried out by the Russians in Poland. In an interview with *The Daily Chronicle* upon his return to London in August 1915, Pares summed up his impressions of the Eastern offensive:

“The War in Poland has revealed Russia at her best. When I left the Third Army in Galicia at the end of June the Germans were fifty miles from the south of Lublin. They took a month to get there and that's not bad work for the Russians ...

... I say deliberately and emphatically than on the whole of the Russian front, and I could go where I liked and talked to whom I liked, I have not seen or heard anything brutal or beastly done by the Russian troops. They

⁴¹⁶ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p.175.

have fought most humanely in this war, almost too humanely, sometimes think.”⁴¹⁷

The interview had come in response to news that as the Russians withdrew their forces from Galicia and Poland they had embarked on a ‘scorched earth policy’ of looting and destroying anything of practical use to the advancing enemy. This would involve seizing assets and evicting, deporting and neutralizing all locals suspected of collaboration with Germany.⁴¹⁸ The number of those suspected would include over 500, 000 Jews. Inevitably, reports of Pogroms began to emerge, committed for the most part by Russians but also by Polish Separatists. Tales of Russian atrocities against the Jews had been swelling since January when the Jewish Press of America very cautiously printed stories by eyewitnesses like Arthur Levy from Lodz who gave an account of the abuses being carried out by the Cossacks in the village of Chozew near Widawa.⁴¹⁹ Another story, providing much greater detail, emerged in August, when the *New York Sun*, *The Day* and the *Jewish Sentinel* ran ‘The Kuzshi Story’. The story, printed in *Nash Viestnik*, the official news bulletin of the Imperial Russian Army, had circulated an entirely fictitious account of a major betrayal by Jewish villagers who, the Russians had

⁴¹⁷ ‘British official Eyewitness with the Russians’, New York Times, August 8 1915, p.2

⁴¹⁸ ‘The Jewish Question in Russia’, Israel N. Prenovich, The Hebrew Standard, 24 September 1915, p.12; ‘Some Recent Russian Atrocities’, The Sentinel, August 6 1915, pp.6-7 (possibly based on accounts for the New York Sun and The Day newspaper by Hermann Bernstein)

⁴¹⁹ ‘Russian Atrocities in Poland’, The Reform Advocate, 6 March 1915, p.119

claimed, had hidden bands of German soldiers in the cellars of their houses. As news spread, a paralysing terror is said to have spread among Jews of the Poland who now feared instant reprisals from Polish peasants completely ignorant of the truth. In actual fact there were only three Jewish homes in Kuzshi and none of them had cellars. According to the author of the report, “the millions of ignorant peasants in the villages, the Black Hundreds in the cities—in fact almost the entire land—believe to this day that the Kuzshi story is true.”⁴²⁰ Lublin was finally captured by the Austrians on August 1st. Warsaw soon followed.

Shortly after Pares arrived back in Britain, a stream of appeals requesting donations to the *Russian Jews Relief Fund* organised that summer by Sir Leon Levison began to appear in the British Press. In a move that had been clearly designed to spare the embarrassment of the British Government, the appeals, where they were explained at all, were phrased rather tactfully: “*The German advance in Poland had driven vast numbers of Jews out of the country. They are homeless and starving*”.⁴²¹ It wasn’t a lie exactly, but neither was it the truth exactly. The US millionaire Jacob H. Schiff wasn’t quite so tactful. Writing in the *American Jewish World* in September 1915, Schiff first acknowledged his German sympathies before explaining how it was only the

⁴²⁰ ‘Some Recent Russian Atrocities’, *The Sentinel*, August 6 1915, pp.6-7

⁴²¹ ‘The Russian Jews Relief Fund’, *Dundee Courier*, August 28 1915, p.4

ruthless withdrawal of the Russian Army that summer that had heaped such suffering on the Jews. If anything, Schiff continued, it was the arrival of the Germans who had offered them the safety they needed. Schiff also voiced his fears that England had been contaminated with by alliance with Russia: “England doesn't want to do anything that is displeasing to her ally, more through fear to offend than for her respect for her.”⁴²²

After his post as ‘eyewitness’ (or rather, censor) with the Russian armies had been abolished without explanation on his return, and his ‘Day by Day accounts with the Russian Army’ disappeared from the columns of the press, Pares had found himself drafted into organising British Propaganda and Intelligence efforts in Russia as part of the *British Russia Bureau* at the personal request of George Buchanan, the British Ambassador and the Director of Military Intelligence, General Macdonogh.⁴²³ Interestingly, Pares hints at ‘a partial explanation’ in his memoirs of the 1930s and 1940s. “*It was just about this very time that the Empress was starting her great and successful fight against the Duma, and it was at the Dumas requests that I had been brought to England.*”⁴²⁴ It wasn’t his failure as a war correspondent that

⁴²² ‘The Jewish Problem Today’, *The American Jewish World*, September 10 1915, Vol. II, No.2, pp.7-8

⁴²³ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p.215

⁴²⁴ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, p.214

had brought him home, but concerns among the ranks of the Empress's "illicit relations with Rasputin" and her perceived "pro-German views".⁴²⁵

In either 1931 or 1948 memoirs, his account of his dismissal from his post as 'observer' includes no reference at all to the brutal withdrawal of the Russian forces from Poland. Instead, Pares recounts a conversation he alleges to have had with British Munitions Minister, David Lloyd George in which he made a series of four requests put to him by his friends in the Russian Supply Committee to help keep Russia in the war with Germany. Pares claims he had warned the future Prime Minister that without Britain arming the Russians themselves, things were only likely to go from bad to worse, leading almost certainly to revolution. A few weeks later, Pares claims that Sir Arthur Nicolson had called him to the Foreign Office and told him, of his dismissal. There was also to be no successor.⁴²⁶

The reasons behind Pares' removal from the post are hazy, at best. His memoirs suggest that Buchanan had been anxious to keep him in the loop, and had supported the request of the Russian Third Army Commander to return Pares to the front. However, a series of communications unearthed in the 1980s by historian, Keith Neilson suggest Buchanan too had his reservations.

⁴²⁵ *My Russian Memoirs*, Bernard Pares, J. Cape/AM Press, 1931/1969, p.336

⁴²⁶ *A Wandering Student: the Story of a Purpose*, Sir Bernard Pares, Syracuse University Press, 1948, pp.212-13

In minutes recorded by Nicolson in mid-July 1915, Buchanan is alleged to have fretted that the 'Day By Day' accounts that Pares was feeding to the press suffered from the "besetting sin of diffuseness".⁴²⁷ It would be a mistake to draw the wrong conclusion from this. The feeling at both *The Press Bureau* and the *War Propaganda Bureau*, whose members included Robert Donald, editor of the Daily Chronicle, was that British propaganda lacked the teeth and ability to connect that characterised the output of its German rivals. What they needed were journalists whose knowledge and passion for Russia matched that of Pares but whose skills at developing narratives for public consumption and motivation were more sharply defined and capable. The direct hits that Russia and her ally Britain had suffered as a result of the Cossack outrages and the Russian's earth scorching withdrawal from Poland had been nothing short of immense. The propaganda war was being lost, and with it the moral high ground. Allied efforts to bring America into the war has been dealt the heftiest of blows. It was generally perceived that the stranglehold that Germany had been able to place on America had been due in the main to its support from American-Jews whose diverse transcultural duties and commitments somehow binded them to their former homeland. Whilst the reality was far more complex, this was certainly the view being taken in Britain at this time.

⁴²⁷ *Joy Rides?: British Intelligence and Propaganda in Russia, 1914-1917*, Keith Neilson, *The Historical Journal*, Dec., 1981, Vol. 24, No. 4, Cambridge University Press p. 891 (citing Nicolson papers, Buchanan to A. Nicolson, 10 July 1915, PRO, F.O. 800/378)

As Britain finally awoke to the fact that the war was being fought at a narrative as much as ground level, Mi6's liaison chief, Samuel Hoare paid a visit to Russia, reviewing the situation from the ground up and making a series of recommendations not only to improve the flow of Intelligence between its London and Petrograd offices, but to transform the way that information was being distributed to the Allied Press and to counter the overwhelming volume of successful propaganda being unleashed by Germany. To date, the only man they had in Russia fulfilling this role was Pares, whose skills and contacts could be better served elsewhere. It was probably preferable to have him monitoring the direction that support for the war was taking within the Tsarist Court and Duma that it was on the Eastern Front. If Britain was to maintain the support and the military strength of Russia in its war with Germany they would need to be ahead of the game. What was happening domestically in Russia, was now every bit as important as the progress it was making outside its borders. Pares was a trusted man with the Romanovs. If the Tsar was prepared to pull Russia out of the war it needed to know before it happened. As the signing of the Strait Agreement in June 1915 had proved, the possibilities for future trade in the Near East that would arise as a result of Allied success were simply too great to let slip. Hoare may have arrived to review the Intelligence situation in Russia in March 1916, but by July he had returned to take control, considerably ramping up of the work of propaganda specialists Hugh Walpole, Arthur Ransome, Paul Dukes and Harold Williams.

⁴²⁸ It was after their arrival that the informal and quasi-official body of British ex-pats working from a tiny flat at Morskaia Prospekt —eventually becoming known as the *Anglo-Russian Bureau* — was born, with Pares shuttling busily between Petrograd and England in some vague but no less critical auxiliary capacity. Explaining the advantages of the British to the Russians and the Russians to the Brits had never been more urgent. A whole new era in relations was all set to be born.

In all fairness, compared to the more mechanical and finely coordinated approach of the Germans, the British handling of propaganda was a more ad hoc and altogether more improvisational affair with amateur propagandists in abundance. For the most part it was based on voluntary organisations and individuals with often ambiguous remits. During the early phases of the war the British Foreign Office had gradually lost control of propaganda to the ‘Press Gangs’ of journalists working under the direct of Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Rothermere and Lord Northcliffe, much of it coming as a result of the enormously damaging reports produced by Pares, Robert Donald and Arthur Sturgeon of Lloyd-George’s Advisory Committee. As far as the Advisory Committee was concerned, the fairly starchy and academic pamphleteering activities at Wellington House under Masterman meant that

⁴²⁸ *Joy Rides?: British Intelligence and Propaganda in Russia, 1914-1917*, Keith Neilson, *The Historical Journal*, Dec., 1981, Vol. 24, No. 4, Cambridge University Press pp.888-899

whilst it was an impressive printing organisation it was far from being an effective propaganda agency and an even poorer distributor. The largely 'serious works, academic in tone' would eventually give way to a more accessible, more direct and more populist approach. After a further review of Britain's propaganda arrangements in January 1917, a more positive and less defensive line of attack was drawn-up.⁴²⁹ The one thing that would remain consistent in Britain's approaches throughout, however, was that recipients of official propaganda were to receive it through unofficial sources.⁴³⁰ Unlike in Germany it was thought that propaganda that was both produced, consumed and distributed at a 'grassroots' level, and reflected the views of neutral parties, carried far more weight with the public. And it's a climate that clearly played a part in the production and distribution of Shanks and Burdon's *Jewish Peril*. A huge effort had been made by the *War Propaganda Bureau* to recruit men from literary and journalistic backgrounds. John Buchan was an absolute specialist in pulp fiction thrillers, as was Walpole. Compelling narratives were now very much a part of the fabric. In no time at all newsworthy sensationalism replaced the need for intelligent political diatribes. Views were to be changed at an emotional rather than cerebral level. Pares

⁴²⁹ *Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War*, M. L. Sanders, *The Historical Journal*, Mar., 1975, Vol. 18, No. 1, Cambridge University Press, p.123

⁴³⁰ *Wellington House and British Propaganda during the First World War*, M. L. Sanders, *The Historical Journal*, Mar., 1975, Vol. 18, No. 1, Cambridge University Press, pp.119-121

may have been totally inadequate in the production of such material, but he certainly recognised their value.

Between September 1915 and January 1917, we find Pares shuttling back and forth between England and Russia. Despite his dismissal from his post as official observer reports of his experiences of frontline activities with Russian troops continue to find their way to the press, usually via the columns of the *Daily Telegraph* and *Daily Chronicle* but occasionally in Russia's *Novoe Vremya*. A cursory read of his reports during this period suggests the brief he had been given had been fairly narrow in focus: keep reassuring the English that the contribution and support of the English was being warmly received by the troops in spite of their impoverished resources and Lloyd George's continuing failure to procure them the arms necessary to restore control of the Eastern Front. There is a slight change of pace in December 1915 when Pares visits Odessa, which he describes rather bizarrely as 'like Brighton ... only four times bigger'. Published by the *Liverpool Daily Post*, Pares does his best to remind the city investors of the trading opportunities the Ukraine represents, jogging our memories that Odessa's connections to England date back to the 1830s when big names in English shipping dominated its ports. Whilst a large number of the 700,000 inhabitants were Jews, the city had a healthy English colony and a local branch of the Russo-

British Chamber of Commerce.⁴³¹ Sir Alfred Jones may have been dead, but the memory and his plans had certainly not been forgotten.

Back from ten days in May 1916, Pares announced plans to hold a lecture on 'The Russian Front' at Kings College Cambridge. A further string of lectures were carried out in the West Midlands when Pares joined his old friend R.W. Seton-Watson, Peter Struve and Harold Williams for a series of talks on the 'National Life of the Allied Countries' that was to be held in connection with the August Shakespeare Festival in Stratford upon Avon from July 31st until August 5th.⁴³² By autumn 1916 he was back in Russia. As we've touched upon already, by 1918 Pares had been recruited into the pro-Interventionist *Committee on Russian Affairs* and the *Russian Liberation Committee*. These cross-party pressure groups demanded full military engagement against the Bolsheviks alongside Russian 'Whites'. We'll come back to this in entries elsewhere in this guide.

There are a couple of curiosities I'd like to toss out there, perhaps for the sake of future exploration. The first is that it's entirely possible that Pares was among the tutors of a young George Shanks at the University College London. Shanks had attended the college between 1914 and 1915 and we

⁴³¹ 'Russia's Future: Foster Trade with England', *Liverpool Daily Post*, February 7 1916, p.5

⁴³² 'Conference on the National Life of the Allied Countries', *Cheltenham Looker*, June 24 1916, p.13

already know that Shanks' uncle, Aylmer Maude had been on the staff at Pares' School of Russian Studies in Liverpool. The other curiosity is a little more concerning; challenging as it does the common assumption that Pares was a bona fide Liberal. In March 1920 Pares is reported to have addressed a meeting of the newly founded *People's League* with Section-D (Industrial Intelligence) founder George Makgill.⁴³³ Subsequently re-named the *People's Party*, the People's League consisted of an unruly hotchpotch of disaffected Liberals and Conservatives and launched by *John Bull* editor, Horatio Bottomley. Oswald Mosley also once claimed to have been a member.



Bulletins of the Russian Liberation Committee, no.7, 5 Apr 1919

⁴³³ 'Disowned Russians: People's League Respond to Criticisms', *Westminster Gazette* 27, April 1920, p.12

Aylmer Maude

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



If we were to view the bonds of blood as the ‘coagulant’ in this story, then Shank’s uncle, Aylmer Maude probably deserves a little more attention than most. Yet despite whatever expectations we might have about the part he plays, he remains a marginal and rather fleeting figure, who serves more to highlight the close proximity of his nephew George Shanks to the upper echelons of Anglo-Russia relations. For this reason, we’ll keep this entry comparatively short and ‘on task’.

For those who don’t know, Maude was a respected British Russian scholar who was friend and translator of the Christian Socialist and novelist, Leo Tolstoy. His obituary in *The Times* in August 1938 describes how the 80 year old had been born on March 28 1858, the son of the Reverend. F.H. Maude and Lucy Thorpe of Ipswich — his mother of Quaker stock. At the age of sixteen he is said to have enrolled at the Moscow Lyceum, and from there

entered business, first as the manager of a carpet factory and then as director.

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In 1884 Maude married Louise Shanks, the daughter of Anglo-Russia coachmaker and jeweller, James Steuart Shanks and the aunt of George Shanks, the man who with Edward G.G. Burdon translated *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into English. Although it's far from clear what (if any) contact Maude had with his nephew and his friends during this time, Maude's arrival with the British Mission in Archangel in October 1918, as part of the Britain's military operations against the Bolsheviks, suggests he may have been an active, if unofficial member of the pro-interventionist *Committee on Russian Affairs* and *URSA*, alongside his fellow academics Harold Williams and Sir Bernard Pares. This would place closer — operationally speaking — to Shanks' co-author, Major Burdon, *URSA*'s secretary. Even a cursory browse through the records of *URSA*'s 'proceedings' reveals the debt owed by the organisation to Maude, who served not only served on the Board of Examiners at its language schools, but also provided a respectable diary of talks on key aspects of Russian literature and its arts.⁴³⁵

Then some extraordinary happened. Within weeks of his nephew publishing his pamphlet Maude addressed a letter to *The Times* of London

⁴³⁴ 'Mr Aylmer Maude', *The Times*, August 26, 1938, p.12

⁴³⁵ U.R.S.A, *The United Russia Societies Association*, Vol.1 1917-1918, David Nutt, 1919

rejecting Shanks and Burdon's *The Jewish Peril* as a fake — a “strange mixture” of the “most unscrupulous despotism” and a “jumble of embittered nonsense.” He went on: “*The book contains gross ineptitudes, such as the assertion that the propagation of the Darwinian Theory, and its success, is due to, and is part of a Jewish conspiracy; the statement that only Jews have money-power; as though neither Rockefeller, Morgan or Sir Basil Zaharoff had any influence in the financial world.*” Maude concluded his snub with a query about its timing: “*The republication of the book in this country at a time when, not the embitterment but the reconciliation of races is needed is attributable to the fact that some English refugees from Russia, who never before thought seriously about Public Affairs, are now seeking for an explanation of the deluge which has overwhelmed them.*” The scapegoat on this occasion was the Jewish race, and Maude followed it up with a note of extreme caution; hoping that the booklet would not produce in England “the pogroms it promoted in Russia.”⁴³⁶ His letter, which went out on May 12th 1920 had been composed in direct response to the rather ambiguous review of his nephew's work published by The Times just four days earlier.

Despite the thoroughness of Maude's response, however, there was one notable omission. Maude neglects to mention that the offending pamphlet he had before him, and which had caused him such considerable offence, had

⁴³⁶ *Jewish Peril*, To the Editor of The Times, The Times, May 12th 1920

been translated and published by his own nephew, George Shanks. If what he was saying was true, then among those “English refugees from Russia who never before thought seriously about Public Affairs” was his own 24 year old nephew — born and bred in Moscow, and who had taken up a not unattractive position at the heart of the coalition government in Downing Street. If George had, as Maude appeared to be intimating, never thought seriously about public affairs, then that was clearly all about to change.

The letter to *The Times* is signed, ‘Aylmer Maude, National Liberal Club’. Interestingly, *The National Liberal Club* also played host to General Wrangel’s courier, Aleksei Aladin on his visit to London in October 1920. A private wire printed in the *Manchester Guardian* on October 4th tells how an emissary from General Wrangel — commander of the White Russian forces in Southern Russia — had just arrived in London and had wasted little time in re-entering the National Liberal Club in Whitehall, where prior to the war he had become something of a regular. Before the February Revolution and the formation of Kerensky’s government, Aladyn had been a passionate defender of the Tsars ministers, Alexander Protopopov and Boris Stürmer. Aladyn, it was alleged, was being supported in his efforts by Wrangel’s “wirepuller” in Poland, Vladimir Burtsev, whose newspapers had been recruiting Polish force against the Bolsheviks.⁴³⁷ Burtsev had, you may recall, already been head-

⁴³⁷ ‘An emissary from General Wrangel’, *Manchester Guardian*, October 4th, 1920, p.6

hunted by War Secretary Winston Churchill's for Britain's pro-Interventionist *Russian Affairs Committee*. Writing in his 2017 biography of Burtsev, Dr Robert Henderson describes how at the end of September 1919 Burtsev had made a second trip to London at the invitation of Sir Archibald Sinclair, Churchill's Private Military Secretary, who learning of his "stirring reportage" was "most anxious to assist" the former revolutionary in his own anti-Bolshevik campaign.⁴³⁸ The connections don't end there either.

In November 1919 Maude was to write a favourable review of *From Liberty to Brest-Litvost* by his old friends Harold Williams and Ariada Williams Tyrkova, who he had known since his days at the 'Tolstoyan' commune at Purleigh and their various activities in support of the Russian Doukhobors during the late 1890s. In a lavish and rather generous account of the book, Maude describes the work of Mrs Williams as a valuable and useful antidote to the "astonishingly inefficient" accounts written by Russian Socialists. The book had been written with "care and scrupulous accuracy" and left the reader in no doubt that the Bolshevik leaders had been liberally financed by German money, which they used to disintegrate the army. Back in Paris, Vladimir Burtsev was saying precisely the same thing: Lenin was in cahoots with the Kaiser. What Maude's review doesn't mention, however, are

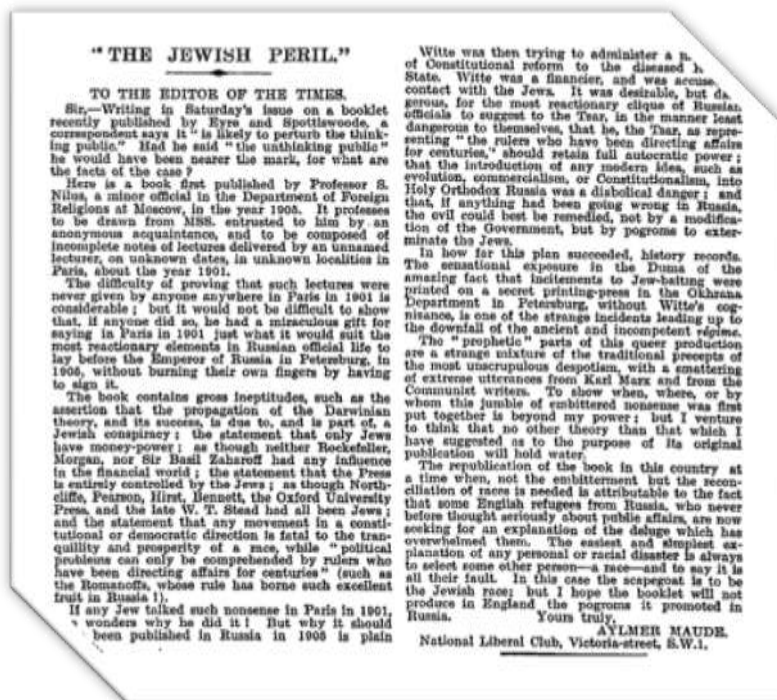
⁴³⁸ 'Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia', Robert Henderson, Bloomsbury Academic, 2017, p.220

the number of deeply disturbing Bolshevik-Jewish conspiracies that appear in 'Mrs Williams' book.⁴³⁹ In fact, it will come as no surprise to learn that a sizeable number of quotes were lifted from the book by the British Fascists of the 1930s to substantiate the idea of a global Jewish plot. How does any of this square with Maude's apparently honourable objections to *The Jewish Peril* in May 1920, which reproduced several of the same delusions?

Between 1918 and 1920 Maude, like his good friend Harold Williams, produced a regular stream of articles and letters for the British Press critical of Lenin and the Bolsheviks including the claim that the Bolsheviks were agents of Germany. His contributions to C.P Scott's *Manchester Guardian* (1919) consisted of 26 'despatches' compiled loosely under the title, 'Letters from Archangel', the city in North Western Russia that became the administrative and military centre of the Allied Intervention (Britain's North Russian Relief Force). Aylmer Maude had been assisting the campaign for the Universities Committee of the YMCA (ostensibly a cover for his propaganda activities). Articles produced for the *Manchester Guardian* during this time included 'Defence of Limited Intervention' (Feb 3 1919, p.9), 'The Bolsheviks and Cheap Literature' (Feb 20 1919, p.10), 'The Abandonment of Shenkursk' (March 29 1919, p.11), 'North Russia Campaign' (April 4 1919, p.9), 'The Bolsheviks in Power' (April 7 1919, p.9), 'Russia and Her Destiny'

⁴³⁹ Observer, Nov 16 1919, p.5

(The Observer Nov 2 1919, page.15) and “Russia and the Truth” (Jan 22, 1920, p.14). The articles performed how you might expect, repeating the point of view put forward by Churchill and the Ministry of War that this was a necessary and morally justified intervention, and that the allies were making significant progress in North Russia. Maude’s sudden appearance at the *Manchester Guardian*, however, may not have taken place without some intrigue of its own.



Aylmer Maude, the uncle of Protocols translator writing into The Times on May 12th 1920, just days after the newspaper had reviewed his nephew's pamphlet

The man that Maude replaced as correspondent at the *Manchester Guardian* was Morgan Philips Price. This took place between January and February

1919, first in a rather causal capacity, and then with continuing regularity during the final stages of the conflict.

Until the Bolsheviks seized power, Philips Price had been the newspaper's chief correspondent in Moscow and Petrograd, but as Lenin's grip on power grew in strength, so did Price's support of the Bolshevik party. The whole thing was immediately brought to the attention Sir Basil Thomson, the acting Director of Intelligence at the Home Office. In actual fact, both Thomason and Mi5 had already begun to suspect Philips Price of pushing Bolshevik propaganda. By 1917 he was believed to be editing a Bolshevik journal (The Call) and promoting the idea that the Liberal Cadet faction of the temporary Kerensky Government was still stubbornly imperialist, and as such was in no way fit for government. The newspapers' popularity with Liberal and left-wing Britain meant the case for Churchill and the Allies demands for full scale military intervention were not being heard. Price was backing the Bolsheviks and his readers were hearing a rather one sided account of the Allies and their efforts to dethrone Lenin.

On January 17th 1919 Maude mailed the *Manchester Guardian's* editor, C.P. Scott a six-part series of articles giving his own rather glowing account of North West Russian Expedition (British and Allied Forces supporting the Whites). Maude was already in Archangel at the invitation of

the British Government to lecture troops on Russia.⁴⁴⁰ The very same day that he received Maude's articles, C.P. Scott would write to Sir Basil Thomson, head of CID at Special Branch thanking him for bringing to his attention his concerns about Philips Price. A pro-Bolshevik pamphlet entitled, 'The Truth about the Allied Intervention in Russia' published the previous August had appeared with Price's by-line and the phrase, 'Correspondent in Russia of the Manchester Guardian'.⁴⁴¹ Scott agreed that his correspondent was indeed stepping over the line.

After reviewing the various letters in his KV2 file, is quite clear that a considerable amount of pressure was being put on Scott to remove M. Philips Price from his post at the Manchester Guardian. Some ten days later, shortly after receiving the six-part series of articles from Maude, Scott wrote to Philips Price informing him that he had no other option but to terminate his job as correspondent for the Manchester Guardian.⁴⁴² In circumstances such as these it's difficult not to view the arrival of a six-part series from Maude as having remarkably fortuitous timing. Maude even draws Scott's attention to the same offending pamphlet as Thomson, adding the ominous line, "I should like to know what I am to say when I am asked whether Mr. M.P. Price has

⁴⁴⁰ Chelmsford Chronicle 25 October 1918, p.3

⁴⁴¹ TNA, KV2/566/University of Manchester, Guardian Collection, Editorial Correspondence of C.P. Scott, GDN/A/P53/14

⁴⁴² University of Manchester, Guardian Collection, Editorial Correspondence of C.P. Scott, GDN/A/P53/17

still any right to call himself a correspondent of the M.G.?” Within days of Price’s departure Scott and the Manchester Guardian began to publish Maude’s six-part series of pro-Interventionist articles beginning with ‘A Defence of Limited Intervention’ on February 3rd 1919 (Manchester Guardian, Feb 3 1919, p.3). Within days, coverage of Allied intervention in Russia had received a much needed propaganda boost. It certainly seems as if the arrival of Maude in Archangel at the invitation of the British Government⁴⁴³ and the arrival of his generous six-part series of articles had been a carefully choreographed stunt to remove Philips Price from the Manchester Guardian in as smooth and painless a manner as possible. Was this work of Churchill and the Russian Affairs (Liberation) Commission?

For more on the pro-Bolshevik pamphlet been written and published by Philips Price entitled ‘The Truth About Intervention in Russia’ see ‘Letter to Major Matthews’, Jan 8 1919, Letter to C.P Scott 24 Jan 1919, TNA, KV 2/566.

⁴⁴³ In a peculiar twist, it transpires that the name Archangel refers to St Michael who Christians believes came to do battle with the ‘Antichrist’ – whom the ‘Jewish’ Bolsheviks were frequently referred to during this period (the analogy features prominently in the Protocols of the Elders of Zion and is repeated in Harold and Ariadna Williams’ novel, ‘Hosts of Darkness’. Was the choice of this base deliberate?

COPY.

The Manchester Guardian
3 Cross Street,
Manchester.

17th Jan. 1919.

Dear Mr Thomson,

I am much obliged to you for sending me the pamphlet by Philips Price and the other pamphlet. I had not seen them before.

Mr Price ought not to have used our name in the way he has done and I propose to take proper notice of the matter.

I will return the pamphlet very shortly.

Yours very truly,

(signed) C.P.Scott.

17th January 1919. Scott bows to pressure from Sir Basil Thomson and removes M. Philips Price from the newspaper (TNA, KV 2/566).

Ans. by Mr. C. P. Scott
See also to Mr. Maude
Back

Y. all. C. P. H. ROOM 11
Archangel
17.1.19
 19 FEB 1919
 Room A M.
 Dept. M.

To the Editor
 "The Manchester Guardian".

Dear Sir,

I am sending you herewith, in six parts, the story of the North-West Russian Expedition. It is the first time it has been told for publication. As indicated in the first article, there are other aspects of the matter which I hope to deal with later.

To-morrow I am off for the Railway Post-Office and Vest 455.

I do not know in how far you are informed of the present activities of Mr. C. P. H. Price, who is said to be acting as editor of "The Call" the English periodical which the Bolsheviks distribute among our troops, & in which they invite them to desert. (Which is obviously treasable in the part of the English editor.) On the title-page of a propagandist pamphlet he has got out, printed in Moscow & dated August 1918, he gives his name on the front page as "Correspondent in Russia of the Manchester Guardian". In it he informs the reader that "the allies... looked upon the Russian workers & peasants either as abjects for economic exploitation or as cannon-fodder to be used by them."

On the same day, 17th January 1919, Aylmer Maude mails C.P Scott several article backing the British Mission in Archangel. Was this simply a coincidence? Or was he tipped off?

Charles Hagberg Wright

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



Charles Hagberg Wright was among the very first men to reject *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as a fake in March 1920. Like Shanks' uncle Aylmer Maude and his aunt Louise Maude Shanks, Hagberg-Wright was a friend of Tolstoy, Burtsev and Teplov of the *Free Russia Library*. His article on Protocols can be viewed in the *Jewish Guardian* of March 5th 1920, *The Jewish Monitor* of 21 May 1920 and *The Nation* of March 27th 1920. It is conceivable that the copy of *The Protocols* that Shanks used came not from the British Museum as alleged (where it was discovered to have disappeared shortly after the publication of the Jewish Peril) but from Teplov and Burtsev's library. Alternatively, it is possible a copy had been loaned from Charles Hagberg Wright's *London Library* which is known to have received generous book donations from both Burtsev and Teplov over the years (see: Aleksei Teplov and the Free Russia Library, Solanus, New Series, Vol.22, 2011, Robert Henderson). Among the founding directors on the board of the London Library was Palestine champion, Arthur Balfour. It seems curious that

both of the two men who were first to reject *The Protocols* as a fake had strong connections to its translator, George Shanks.

Supporting witnesses and exhibits

- ❖ Hagberg Wright was educated in Russia and Germany.
- ❖ He was active in the Russian Doukhobor campaign launched and supported by Aylmer and Louise Maude (the uncle and aunt of George Shanks).
- ❖ Like Maude, Hagberg-Wright was a respected translator of Tolstoy.
- ❖ He provided up the costs of the legal defence for Aylmer and Louise Maude's Tolstoyan friend, Vladimir Chertkov.
- ❖ In 1908 Hagberg-Wright by provided the letter of introduction that got future Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov a job at a publishing house in London.
- ❖ Like Aylmer Maude, Hagberg-Wright was a lecturer at Bernard Pares *School of Russian Studies* with fellow Tolstoyan Harold Williams.

Henry Wickham Steed

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



- ❖ The Editor of The Times of London who offered his support to Balfour's plans for a Zionist/Jewish Palestine Settlement between 1915 and 1922.
- ❖ Credited with personally reviewing George Shank's Protocols (Jewish Peril) pamphlet in The Times of London on May 8th 1920. Although he makes superficial attempts to be seen to reserve judgement as regards the book's authenticity, the coverage he provides makes a strong case for the work being genuine. The evidence he cites for this is based on current developments with the International Jewish Communists — Lenin's Bolsheviks. He views their plots for 'global domination' as in some substantiating the 'Unseen Hand' conspiracy theory at the heart of The Protocols narrative.
- ❖ He was on exceptionally close terms with Sir Bernard Pares and Robert Seton-Watson of the *New Europe* (Eyre and Spottiswoode) journal.

Philip Graves

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



- ❖ Graves was *The Times* of London reporter who sensationally exposed the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as a fake in August 1921. A short time later wrote a book largely critical of Britain's betrayal of the Zionists and the unreasonable arrest of the 'fiery' Ze'ev Jabotinsky — a close associate of Socialist Revolutionary turned Zionist Pinchas Rutenberg and Vladimir Burtsev. The book he wrote was called *Palestine: The Land of Three Faiths* (Jonathan Cape, 1923).
- ❖ Graves is believed to have been handed the evidence that proved that *The Protocols* was a forgery by Mikhail Sergeevich Raslovlev of the American Red Cross. Raslovlev had fled to Constantinople after the Russian Revolution of 1917. Although he was, by his own admission, a passionate anti-Semite, Raslovlev claims to have given the information to Graves because he was unwilling to “give a weapon of any kind to the Jews, whose friend I have never been.” It was never made clear why Raslovlev viewed it in these terms. The only group that seemed to be benefitting from any misplaced belief in their authenticity were the still unpopular Zionist lobby in Britain and America.

The United Russia Societies Association

EXHIBIT NO.7



Over the next few entries we are going to learn a little more about *The Committee on Russian Affairs*, the *British Russian Bureau*, the *British Russian Club* and the *Russian Liberation Committee* and the part that each of them played in the eventual publication of Shanks' *Jewish Peril* in January 1920. The *United Russia Societies Association*, or U.R.S.A as it became known, was James A. Malcolm's ambitious attempt to combine the forces of the drooling learned Russophiles and the common-or-garden military propagandists and Intelligence officers of war-time Britain and hammer them together into a more combat-ready cadre of skilled enthusiasts and educationalists.⁴⁴⁴ The first of these groups was *The Russia Society*, whose aims were put forward in a press release produced by Commons Speaker James Lowther (Earl of Ullswater) and James A. Malcolm:

The objects of the Society are:— To promote and maintain a permanent and sympathetic understanding between the peoples of the British and Russian Empires by all legitimate means, so that German intrigues may in future be nullified; to disseminate knowledge of each other; among each other, in a

⁴⁴⁴ URSA is the Latin for 'Bear'. The significance of the acronym wasn't lost on the founders of the association who remarked that the initials were not a very bad combination for a Society interested in the Russian bear. See: U.R.S.A Proceedings, Annual Meeting, March 2nd 1917, vol.1, 1917 -1918, London, David Nutt, p.4.

*simple and popular manner; to encourage reciprocal travel and social intercourse and generally to establish mutual friendship its widest and frankest sense. The Society will not directly concern itself in the development of commerce and finance between the two empires, but the attainment of its objects cannot fail to exercise a beneficial influence upon the business relations of the two great Empires and their friends. A permanent understanding between Britain and Russia, it is argued, means permanent peace for the world.*⁴⁴⁵

At the Society's inaugural meeting at its 47 Victoria Street address it was decided that an annual subscription would be set at 10 shillings. There would also be a subscription for families and institutions at £1. At its next meeting at the Speaker's house March 1915, a telegram was read from the King offering "heartly sympathy with every effort made to promote and maintain and a complete and lasting relationship" with Russia. Rising before its members, Neil Primrose, the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of Foreign Affairs explained that there was nothing to be gained by simply "professing friendship" anymore. It was the duty of both countries to truly understand each other's "national aspirations". There had been a barrier of "ignorance and prejudice" for too long, before adding that Russia differed from Germany in one major respect: unlike Germany, Russia's aspirations were "natural and legitimate" and it was unlikely it would ever be satisfied with the current

⁴⁴⁵ *British Friendship with Russia, Objects of A New Society*, The Times, January 23 1915, p.6

territorial arrangements. Things desperately needed to change, and change would start with first acknowledging its cultural and economic worth. In contrast to Germany, the products and resources that Russia had to offer would be of “genuine” value to the rest of the world. For any member of the meeting who still doubted the integrity of his claims, Primrose made one last admirable bid: with lasting prosperity would come lasting peace.⁴⁴⁶ As the grandson of Baron Mayer de Rothschild, it was a grim irony indeed when just two years later in November 1917 Primrose would die in a battle to liberate Palestine. Just two prior to Primrose’s death Balfour had published his truly momentous Declaration, and in whose complex matrix of intrigues Burdon’s U.R.S.A group would become increasingly embroiled.⁴⁴⁷

The man who had perhaps, done more than anybody to bring the new Association together was Harry Cust, the celebrated first cousin of Robert Hobart Cust whose letter to H.A. Gwynne in spring 1920 had first revealed the extent of the collaboration between his good friend Edward G.G. Burdon and former pilot, George Shanks. As the much respected founder of Britain’s first propaganda bureau, the *Central Committee for National Patriotic Organizations*, Harry Cust had been among the first to see that a succession of British companies had been losing overseas orders to their German

⁴⁴⁶ *Understanding Russia*, The Times, March 12 1915, p.9

⁴⁴⁷ It was Lionel Walter Rothschild, the 2nd Baron Rothschild who had played such a critical role in putting the Balfour Declaration together.

competitors both before and during the war. To reverse this trend, Cust believed that radical change would be required in the country's approach to business training. Whatever the outcome and whatever the losses, Britain would need to emerge from the war a much stronger trading nation. Sadly, on the day that the U.R.S.A was launched, Lord Weardale of the *Anglo Russian Friendship Society* had the sad duty to inform all who came to its inaugural meeting that Harry Cust had died suddenly that morning at his house in Kensington,⁴⁴⁸ a heart attack brought about by an acute bout of the flu. He was 55 years old. His death on March 2nd 1917 would come just six days before the February Revolution in Russia. It's believed that the intense pressure of his work at the Patriotic Organisation had finally taken its toll.⁴⁴⁹ Despite there being very little in the official record that might explain his interest in Russia, there are some clues to be found in a preface that Cust had written for *Russia and Democracy: A German Canker in Russia*, a book by Serbian scholar and former mercenary, Gabriel de Wesselitsky.⁴⁵⁰

⁴⁴⁸ U.R.S.A Proceedings, Annual Meeting, March 2nd 1917, vol.1, 1917 -1918, London, David Nutt, p.5. In 1877 Liberal MP Lord Weardale had married Countess Alexandra Tolstoy, a relative of the famous novelist, bringing him into the orbit of Tolstoy's friends (and George Shanks' uncle and aunt) Aylmer and Louise Maude. Weardale was a close ally of Lord Curzon.

⁴⁴⁹ *Death of Mr. H. Cust*, The Times, march 3rd 1917, p.9

⁴⁵⁰ Gabriel de Wesselitsky was a Serbian national born in the Royal Province of Tsarskoe Selo in Russia in 1841. In his twenties and thirties he fought alongside Italian revolutionary Garibaldi. He also co-founded the Foreign Press Association.

For the two years that followed, U.R.S.A would grow impressively in size from a dozen or so members to 700 members. When Malcolm's *Russia Society* had been launched in March 1915, its activities and pursuits had a very sharply defined cultural focus: arts and crafts, music and dance, literature and language. Russia had entered the war on the side of the Allies and a fresh approach to an often fractious relationship was being taken by all those involved. The race was now on to repair that relationship. Just a few days prior to the group's official launch, Russia, France and Britain had begun to exchange a series of frantic diplomatic cables agreeing the scope of a secret treaty that would see Constantinople and the Dardanelles, currently under Ottoman rule, divided in new territories between the Triple Entente.⁴⁵¹

The association had been launched on wave of optimism and positivity. The advertisement placed by its founders, James A. Malcolm and Commons' Speake, James Lowther in Zinoviy N. Preev's rather excitable 'Rough Guide' to events in Russia, *The Russian Revolution and Who's Who in Russia*, rush-released in May 1917, sums up the buoyancy of feeling within the group: "*TO PROMOTE and maintain a thorough, permanent and sympathetic understanding between the peoples of the British and Russian Empires by all legitimate means. TO ENCOURAGE reciprocal travel. TO STIMULATE the*

⁴⁵¹ This became known as the Constantinople or the 'Straits' Agreement, which was designed to minimize any chance of future aggressions by Germany and further inroads into the Middle East. The discussion period lasted from March to April 1915. As a result of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 the agreement was never implemented.

study and real appreciation of the two countries, their national qualities, languages, arts, literature, habits and customs of their Town and Country life, pastimes and sports. TO ARRANGE lectures, conferences, exhibitions, tours and to form branches of independent societies with similar objects. To arrange Russian classes in Russian arts, literature and language, and to give prizes and scholarships for any subjects. To disseminate knowledge of each other among each other in simple, popular manner. TO ABSORB (if expedient), co-operate with, or assist in the work of other existing or future societies having common ends.” The last of the pledges couldn’t have been any more ironic: “Briefly, to establish a mutual friendship with Russia”. In light of the rather dramatic turn of events in October that year that brought U.R.S.A to a premature close, it might have been more accurate if it had read: “To establish a mutual friendship with Russia — briefly.”⁴⁵²

On the surface of things, the efforts undertaken by U.R.S.A couldn’t have been more different to the rather cautious attempts at rapprochement made in previous years, the press releases at pains to point out that this time around that the Society, unlike its predecessor, *The Anglo-Russian Friendship* would not directly concern itself “with development of Commerce and Finance between the two Empires”. And initially at least, Malcolm and his group was true to its word. For the twelve month period starting March 1917,

⁴⁵² *The Russian Revolution and Who’s Who in Russia*, Zinovy N. Preev, J. Bale & Danielsson, 1917 (back pages).

the committee members organized a bounty of mutual beneficially lectures and events. In April, founder of the *British Russia Club*, Prof Paul Vinogradoff reported back with his experiences of a recent trip to the Russian capital and the “strange notions and rumours” that were now circulating in England on the subject of the Russian Revolution. In a talk entitled, “Some Impressions of the Russian Revolution” he explained how the spirit driving the revolution had been slow and gradual. The tide of discontent could be seen rising day by day. It wasn't just an accumulation of historical grievances that had done it, but the more practical urgent issues of bread and the prices of grain. The “hypnotiser” Rasputin and his other “quacks” had risen and been brushed aside and the formulas of abdication put to the Tsar in private had eventually been progressed. In May, the celebrated explorer and mining engineer Chester Wells Purington regaled an attentive audience with his Siberian adventures, and the various medieval merchant routes he had been forced to trace during his journey to the region. In June that year, Baron A. Heyking explained the differences that had long existed in the two country's radically opposing views on duelling and notions of status, civic duty and personal honour among its officers and its nobles, a privilege that was now, he explained, likely to be extended to the lower classes. In November 1917 it was the turn of Madame Mouravieff Apostol to explain the part played by the Russian Red Cross and the Zemstvo unions in relief operations.⁴⁵³ One month later in December,

⁴⁵³ Madame Nadine (Tereschenko) Mouravieff Apostol was the wife of Vladimir

Norman Penty would guide us through the intense, romantic gloom of the composer Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky and the signature characteristics of the Russian folk song. January 1918 would also get off to a benign and engaging start when Shanks' uncle, Aylmer Maude, now heading U.R.S.A's Board of Examiners, explored the complex relationship between the novelist Leo Tolstoy and "the present state of things in Russia." Maude had been a key figure at U.R.S.A from the start, when he had been tasked with providing an education syllabus at one of its many language schools. Within a very short space of time over 4,000 students would enrol on his courses.⁴⁵⁴

By April 1918, the whole tenor of events and lectures had begun to change, the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 having brought the tours and cultural exchanges to an unseemly, staggering halt, and gradually eroding any the interest the British public may have had in learning about Russia's art or hearing its Balalaika music. From this point on, reading U.R.S.A's monthly 'Proceedings' becomes quite a painful experience, collapsing as it does from cheers of encouragement to cries of despair. If there was ever a physical violence one could do to 'hope' it would surely be this. That wasn't the sound of regular protest or the lively cut and thrust of debate that you heard on the floor of British Parliament that autumn, it was the sound of the rug being

Vladimirovich Mouravieff-Apostol-Korobyine. Their son Andrew Mouravieff-Apostol would subsequently marry, Ellen Marion Rothschild.

⁴⁵⁴ Derby Daily Telegraph 09 February 1917, p.2, *U.R.S.A, The United Societies Association, Proceedings*, Vol.1, 1917-1918, David Nutt, London, 1919

pulled from under Britain's feet. U.R.S.A moved nervously forward, hosting the usual kinds of events, cautiously optimistic that the Bolsheviks would be out by Christmas.

It was only after Lenin and the Bolsheviks signed the Brest-Litvost Treaty with Germany in March 1918 that the penny finally dropped. Contrary to all expectations the Bolsheviks had not only held on to power, they were indeed beginning to look rather comfortable. Within weeks, several members of U.R.S.A's Executive Committee had resigned. They were replaced by men who not only understood the necessity of first-class propaganda but also had the skills and experience to match. Up the list went members of the former Propaganda Bureau in Petrograd like Sir Bernard Pares, Samuel Hoare and Hugh Walpole, and out went Lord Carnock, Sir Robert Perks, Sir Bernard Mallet and its founding patron, Sir Donald MacKenzie Wallace.

It's well worth pausing a moment to look at other members of the U.R.S.A's executive committee, as it represents quite a broad spectrum of economic, military, academic and political talents. Some of them we've touched upon already. James Lowther was the Speaker of the Commons and younger brother of paranoid anti-Semite, Gerald Lowther, the former British Ambassador in Constantinople. Among its less well known names was Royal favourite, William Cazalet, whose story we touched on earlier. William was the son of wealthy Moscow merchant and Jewish Homeland advocate, Edward

Cazalet. Fifth on the list was Liberal Politician, Viscount James Bryce, British Ambassador to the United States during the 1909-1913 period. Next was Balkans expert, Dr Ronald Montagu Burrows was the principal at Kings College, London. A close associate of Sir Ralph Paget and Bax-Ironside, it was Burrows who had been almost single-handedly responsible for bringing Greece into the war as political ally to the Triple Alliance. A little further down was Reverend Henry Joy Fynes-Clinton, who had started his career as tutor to the families of industrial magnates and art collectors, Ivan and Mikhail Morozov in Moscow and ended it as champion of Protestant-Catholic rapprochement at the Anglican Papalist church, *St Magnus the Martyr* in London.⁴⁵⁵ Below Fyne-Clinton on the list was the famously xenophobic Richard Ashmole Cooper, a chemical manufacturer who that same year would launch the short-lived British *National Party* with Sir Henry Page-Croft and spend the best part of the next five years attempting to derail the premiership of David Lloyd George over the notorious ‘Honours Scandal. Next was Francis William Goodenough, a pioneering marketing executive with the gas industry. The journalists among them included Stephen Graham, the famous travel writer who had become Russian correspondent for The Times of London under Lord Northcliffe in the years before the war. During his most active years for The Times Graham would become known for his idealised

⁴⁵⁵ Mikhail Morozov was an associate of George Shanks’ uncle, Léon Lvovitch Catoire at several banks and trade organisations in Moscow. They were also patrons of his composter brother, George Catoire.

portraits of Russian Orthodoxy and spiritual matters, and for his 1913 book, *With the Russian Pilgrims to Jerusalem* – an account of his epic trip on foot to the Holy Land. Evelyn Hubbard was an Anglo-Russian merchant and director at the Bank of England, whilst the retiring Donald Mackenzie Wallace was the correspondent of *The Times* at the time of the Russo-Turkish War in the mid-to-late 1870s who had served as political advisor to Tsar Nicholas II on issues relating to the Middle East. The list had been calibrated to get the best from youth and experience, diplomacy and creativity — and the most formidable of business talents — to nourish both the trade and religious ties of the two great nations. The likes of Fynes-Clinton could help repair their spiritual bonds, whilst the Cazalet, Bezant, Hubbard and Blessig were on hand to help cultivate fresh trade.

At the annual meeting held at the house of its President, the Right Honourable James Lowther, the recently-retired British Ambassador to Russia, Sir George Buchanan explained the gravity of the situation: recent events in Russia had meant it was now necessary to have on U.R.S.A.'s committee, people who have been in Petrograd and who were “personally acquainted with their conditions and everything else”. After the “kaleidoscopic celerity” of all that had happened in Russia, it was “only natural that there should be a “revulsion of feeling” against Russia whose defection would almost certainly prolong the war. If there was one thing that Buchanan was

absolutely sure about, it was that Russia was a land of surprises and all the anarchy and chaos that was ripping through it now was unlikely to continue indefinitely. When the storm had passed and the Internationalists had been removed, it was the duty of groups like U.R.S.A to be at the forefront of easing the suffering and providing relief.⁴⁵⁶

The two men that Buchanan had played a personal hand in recruiting were those Titans of Anglo-Russian trade, James Aaron Bezant and John P. Blessig. Both men had amassed a considerable fortune in Russia over the years and there was a story going around that the Bolsheviks had stripped Bezant of a lifetime's earnings in little more than 24 hours. Despite his refusal to renounce his British Nationality this proud and capable businessman had become one of Russia's principal shareholders and the Managing Director of its biggest trading company.⁴⁵⁷ The arrival of both men also marked the increasing influence of the oldest surviving group to have improved British and Russian relations: *The Russia Company* (or Muscovy Company as it was also known). It also marked the return of the Shanks family to the tale.

⁴⁵⁶ U.R.S.A Proceedings, Annual Meeting, March 22nd 1918, vol.1, 1917 -1918, London, David Nutt, pp.206-220.

⁴⁵⁷ Hartlepool Northern Daily Mail 27 June 1936, p.2

The Russia Company

Founded in the 1500s as a means of exploiting and expanding the Caspian trading routes between Persia and Southern Russia, *The Russia Company* had maintained an impressive monopoly on English-Russian trade until the early 1700s when it finally lost many of its remaining privileges under Peter the Great. In more recent years, the group had acquired a more titular reputation for maintaining the Anglican Churches of Moscow and St Petersburg, providing outreach to the British and American colonies that had remained in the major cities.⁴⁵⁸ Its financial and political influence may have lessened considerably since the mid-1800s (officially at least) but it remained one of the few credible diplomatic channels between Russia and Britain, regularly bringing together the likes of Britain's Sir Robert Peel and the Russian Ambassador in London, Baron Brunnow. Meeting for their annual dinner at the London Tavern in Bishopsgate, the pair's respective entourages of fanatical Anglo and Russo 'maniacs' would mingle with many of the principal traders in the city, including representatives of the Bank of England and Her Majesty's Customs. Toasts would be made, courtesies would be performed,

⁴⁵⁸ According to a 1989 essay by Chester Dunning, the spoils of trade and influence were so great under The Russia Company that King James I had plans to establish a Protectorate over North Russia.

and all suspicions and attempts at spying would be kindly turned-in at the door.⁴⁵⁹

In the Elizabethan period there were swarms of British merchant adventurers spread across every town of Russia, their enterprises and their factories virtually guaranteeing a monopoly of the maritime trade across the Tsar's generous and vast dominions. Britain's role in building the Russian navy had been just as prominent. By the time of Alexander II most of their once mighty privileges had been withdrawn, leaving about 5,000 British traders forced to confine their activity to the northern and southern extremities around Archangel, Voronezh and Tarangog on the Southern Steppes. Their only significant influence in the central belt was in the cotton mills of St Petersburg and the extensive print works of Egerton Hubbard. Egerton's son, the Tory MP Evelyn Hubbard would not only serve as part of U.R.S.A's 1917 executive he would also earn the distinction of being the last official governor of the once mighty Russia Company.⁴⁶⁰

According to Julia Mahnke-Devlin, author of *Britische Migration nach Russland*, the man who was appointed legal warden of *The Russia Company* in Moscow in 1878 was James Shanks, the grandfather of Burdon's co-translator George Shanks, and almost certainly an associate of Egerton Hubbard, the

⁴⁵⁹ *The Russia Company*, Morning Post 04 March 1844, p.5. U.R.S.A Proceedings, Annual Meeting, March 22nd 1918, vol.1, 1917 -1918, London, David Nutt, pp.206-220.

⁴⁶⁰ *The English in Russia*, Globe 12 January 1877, p.6

father of the man who now served on the U.R.S.A executive. Curiously enough, the appointment of Shanks as Church Warden at *The Russia Company* in 1878 coincided with the end of the Russo-Turkish War, an enormous concern to the British at that time. The Ottoman treatment of Armenian Christians had drawn a fiercely divided response from Britain, whose self-restraint and counsel during a potentially explosive period was rewarded with an invitation to take control of Cyprus. The only thing preventing the Russians seizing the Turkish capital had been a British Fleet. Under pressure from the Brits, the Russians brokered a peace deal with the Turks.⁴⁶¹ Shanks' patronage at *The Russia Company* during this period had been defined by the building of the St. Andrew's Anglican Church ('a little corner of England') in his adopted hometown of Moscow, and the various 'charitable' projects that Shanks undertook in the church's name.⁴⁶² Among the church's sponsors were the 19th Century Moscow Industrialists, Bernhard Wilmar Wartze and Robert McGill, both of them members of Shanks' extended family and both of them

⁴⁶¹ Congress of Berlin, 1878

⁴⁶² *Britische Migration nach Russland im 19. Jahrhundert: Integration - Kultur - Alltagsleben*. Germany, Harrassowitz, 2005, p.182. In October 1917, the Bolsheviks used the tower of the church to launch a machine-gun defence of the Kremlin against Kerensky's provisional government. It was closed in 1920 and its library, archives and valuables confiscated by the Bolsheviks. The church was fully restored in the mid-1990s by President Yeltsin. James Shanks has been memorably described by historian Harvey J. Pitcher as 'the pillar of the British Church' in Moscow.

among the first exporters of modern capitalism to the primitive rural frontiers of Tsarist Russia.⁴⁶³

By 1915 the ghosts of an earlier power-struggle among the world's merchants had returned to haunt the current one, making the appearance of Iraqi-Armenian, James Aratoon Malcolm on the executive committee of U.R.S.A all the more curious. Malcolm had built his reputation as a Persian trader of some considerable worth, and the revival in fortunes of *The Russia Company* just happened to coincide with Britain's attempt to breathe fresh life into Caspian trade, and resurrect, in spirit at least, the objectives of the Euphrates Valley Railway. History was repeating itself. The Russian Company had been founded for the purpose of exploiting trade between Persia and Russia, now it was being revived on that same principle. The Press in Britain weren't ignorant of this coincidence either. Within days of it being announced that the Russian Caucasian Army had captured 2,300 Turks in Mush in Southern Armenia on the Persian frontier,⁴⁶⁴ readers of the *Liverpool Journal of Commerce* were learning about plans for a new Anglo-Russian shipping bank that was being organised by traders in Moscow.⁴⁶⁵ By September 1918, the ghosts of Persian fortune were returning with renewed vigour, *The Times*

⁴⁶³ The German-born, Bernhard Wilmar Wartze was the father-in-law of James Shanks Jnr, whose 'Burke's Grove' home in Beaconsfield features in the 'next of kin' section in the 1916 service records of George Shanks. James Jnr had married Isabella Henriette Wartze in Moscow before moving to Britain.

⁴⁶⁴ *Russian Victory over the Turks*, The Times, August 15 1916.

⁴⁶⁵ *New Russian Shipping Bank*, Journal of Commerce 22 July 1916, p.4

of London commenting that “although never in identical terms, history occasionally repeats itself, as it is doing now for the first time in the Caspian, and the roads leading to it from north and south” which has assumed “important interest” to the British. Some three hundred years may have elapsed since *The Russian Company’s* founder Anthony Jenkenson had heroically hawked his silks and woollens between Archangel and Persia and raised the lofty Royal Banner of England above its seas, but the spirit that had carried him forward was being channelled into whole new trading opportunities.⁴⁶⁶ Among those poised to make a killing were the *Ural Caspian Oil Corporation* (controlled by Anglo-Armenian nobleman, Calouste Gulbenkian, Henri Deterding and Royal Dutch) and Leslie Urquhart’s *Russo-Asiatic*, whose share prices looked to regain some momentum as a result of ports being reopened in spring 1917.⁴⁶⁷ In 1920, the Communist Party of Great Britain was quick to point out the *Ural Caspian Oil Corporation* and the *British Trade Corporation*, established by Royal Charter by Lord Faringdon and Henry Cust’s ‘Souls’ mate, Arthur Balfour within weeks of the February Revolution, had been formed for the specific purpose of facilitating trade in the territories being commanded by White Russian Generals Deniken and

⁴⁶⁶ *The Caspian in Peace and War*, Romance of British Trade, The Times, September 20th, p.5

⁴⁶⁷ *Stock Exchange, Buoyant on the War News*, The Times, March 20 1917, p.10. Leslie Urquhart sat on the Executive Committee of U.R.S.A.

Wrangel who were presently engaged in war against the Bolsheviks.⁴⁶⁸ The issue was taken up in full in Parliament by Cecil John L'Estrange Malone MP in August 1920 when he openly questioned the financial conflict of interests that certain members on the Front Bench and their friends now had in Russia. The *Ural Caspian Oil Corporation* was subjected to particular scrutiny.⁴⁶⁹

A Storm Cloud Gathers

With the cash windfalls of the war being spent before Britain and its Allies had been able to so much as raise a flag, it must have come as a tremendous shock to find that Russia, on whose fortunes in Europe the Brits had depended had, without warning, handed a late and humiliating equaliser to Germany. Even if Germany had failed to triumph outright, the 'Bolshe' had handed the 'Boche' a not totally shameful escape route. And as the penny began to drop, the claws sharpened and the rancour set-in. U.R.S.A's lectures took on a meaner edge: Lenin, like Rasputin before him, was a German Agent and any Bolshevik who wasn't a German agent were "dark horses ... the scum which the tidal wave of Revolution had sprung up" and who now dominated the Workers parties.⁴⁷⁰ In February 1918, the Russian barrister L. P. Rastorgoueff,

⁴⁶⁸ *British Trade Corporation*, Communist (London) 12 August 1920, p.8. This was in partnership with the *Trade Indemnity Company Ltd.*

⁴⁶⁹ Hansard, Commons Chamber, Russia And Poland, Progress Of Negotiations, Statement By Prime Minister, Volume 133: debated on Tuesday 10 August 1920

⁴⁷⁰ U.R.S.A, Proceedings, p.54

who had previously given talks on everything from the legal rights of British firms in Russia to the ‘Disabilities of Russian Jews’, explained that the atrocious pogroms being carried out now in the Ukraine and Poland were a result of “the unscrupulous and oppressive manner” that their landlords, the Jews had imposed on their religious affairs. The Jews, he went on formed practically all of the Polish middle class and retained their estates with all feudal rights.⁴⁷¹ It was a line that was trotted out every time there was a massacre. There nothing really new here. The anti-Semitism of the group had always found itself being expressed in the most casual of ways. Writing shortly after his return from his five year tour of Russia in 1875, the group’s patron Donald Mackenzie Wallace had described the Russian merchants he had encountered as being “comparatively honest in comparison” with the Jews, Greeks and Armenians he had met, and was at a total loss to explain how the Jews managed to undercut their Russian rivals: *“I cannot understand. They buy up wheat in the villages at eleven roubles per Tchetvert, transport it to the coast at their own expense, and sell it to the exporters at ten roubles! And yet they contrive to make a profit!”* As “cunning” as the Russian trader was, their “brother” simply had no chance of competing.⁴⁷² He may have reserved a modicum of sympathy with the violent abuses the Jews had been

⁴⁷¹ U.R.S.A, Proceedings, p.172.

⁴⁷² Russia, Vol.I, D. Mackenzie Wallace, Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1877, p.276. Like Harold Williams, Wallace had served as Foreign Correspondent in St Petersburg for The Times of London

obliged to endure over the years, but as always, there was a peculiar sense of moral justice attached to these accounts, as if the violence meted out to the Jews of Russia had somehow been determined by some perceived transgression of a universal law. Like many Scots, had framed Jewish Reactionarism during the 1905 Revolution in more positive terms: *“Of the recruits from oppressed nationalities, the great majority comes from the Jews, who thought they have never dreamed of political independence, or even a local autonomy, have most reason to complain of the existing order of things. At all times they furnished a goodly contingent to the revolutionary movement, and many have belied their traditional reputation of timidity and cowardice by taking the part in the very dangerous Terrorist enterprises”*. Wallace put the success of their various revolutionaries enterprises like the Bund and the Social Democratic Labour Party down to their greater “business capacity”. Centuries of oppression had, moreover “developed in the race a wonderful talent for secret illegal activity, and for eluding the vigilance of the Police.”⁴⁷³ As long as the actions of the Jews were supporting British policy, it seems their skills as insurgents were viewed not as malicious in nature but resourceful, rather.

A few weeks after L.P. Rastorgoueff’s address in March 1918, Sir George Buchanan, the former British Ambassador who had been forcefully

⁴⁷³ Russia, Vol. II, D. Mackenzie Wallace, Cassell, Petter & Galpin, 1877, pp.463-464. Wallace was the former Foreign Correspondent of The Times.

ejected from Russia in January that year ⁴⁷⁴, warned guests at an U.R.S.A dinner in Piccadilly that the “storm cloud was dark” over that great nation. The “thunders were rolling and re-echoing from north to south, from east to west, and lightning was flashing, and everything looked black”. It was chaos. Whatever it was, this was not the will of the people. The Soviets in charge were not Russians but “Internationalists” who were poised to accept a peace “determined by German Imperialism”. Russia was not dead she merely needed “moral oxygen”. With the help of U.R.S.A she could be revived. God willing, he hoped he lived long enough to see a new Russia arise from the present chaos. He finished his speech by quoting Tennyson: “That good may fall. At last far off, at last to all. And every winter change to spring” ⁴⁷⁵. Lecturing at Kings College, U.R.S.A’s Sir Bernard Pares did his best to polish-up that same silver lining. It was “end-of-war sickness” that Russia was suffering from, and not some Marxist rising. The beginning of Bolshevism had been “pure war weariness, and nothing else”. But doing nothing was not an option. Britain now needed men in Russia. An organized body like the *United Russia Societies Association* could co-ordinate and give impact to public interest in these matters. The universities and colleges could help by acting as conduits with Russia's large commercial entities and improving the language skills

⁴⁷⁴ Hansard, House of Commons Sitting, *Russia, Sir George Buchanan*, 21 January 1918 vol. 101 c642. Answering a question put to him Arthur Lynch MP, the British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour explained that Buchanan was ‘only home on leave’.

⁴⁷⁵ *Russia’s Downfall, A Disregarded Warning*, The Times, March 2nd 1918.

necessary to prevent further German penetration.⁴⁷⁶ A no less direct appeal had been made in November with former Intelligence man, Samuel Hoare in the chair. The Allies' Russian Policy had been rendered useless by "vacillation and inconsistency". A "policy of non-Intervention was not impossible". Sooner or later Britain would be dragged into a Russian policy against its will, and the sooner they took control of that policy the better. To counteract the effect of Germany going to Russia, Britain should get there ahead of them.⁴⁷⁷

The pushing to the fore of hard-faced incorrigibles like Oliver Locker Lampson and slippery agent provocateurs like Robert Bruce Lockhart the following year, suggested a sudden sharp change in tone and direction.⁴⁷⁸ The death of U.R.S.A's much respected patron and veteran of the Russo-Turkish War, Donald Mackenzie Wallace in January 1919 marked the end of its moderate phase, and the beginning of a period in which the group's steely carbon basis was being hammered and ground into something a little more lethal. All the lavish positivity and ebullience that had marked U.R.S.A's formation just 12 months previously was as quiet as the snow falling on the unmarked graves of the Romanovs on Porosenkov Log. The music, arts and dancing that had graced its theatres and discussion rooms was now inaudible beneath the rumbling peal of loathing. At U.R.S.A's offices at 123 Pall Mall,

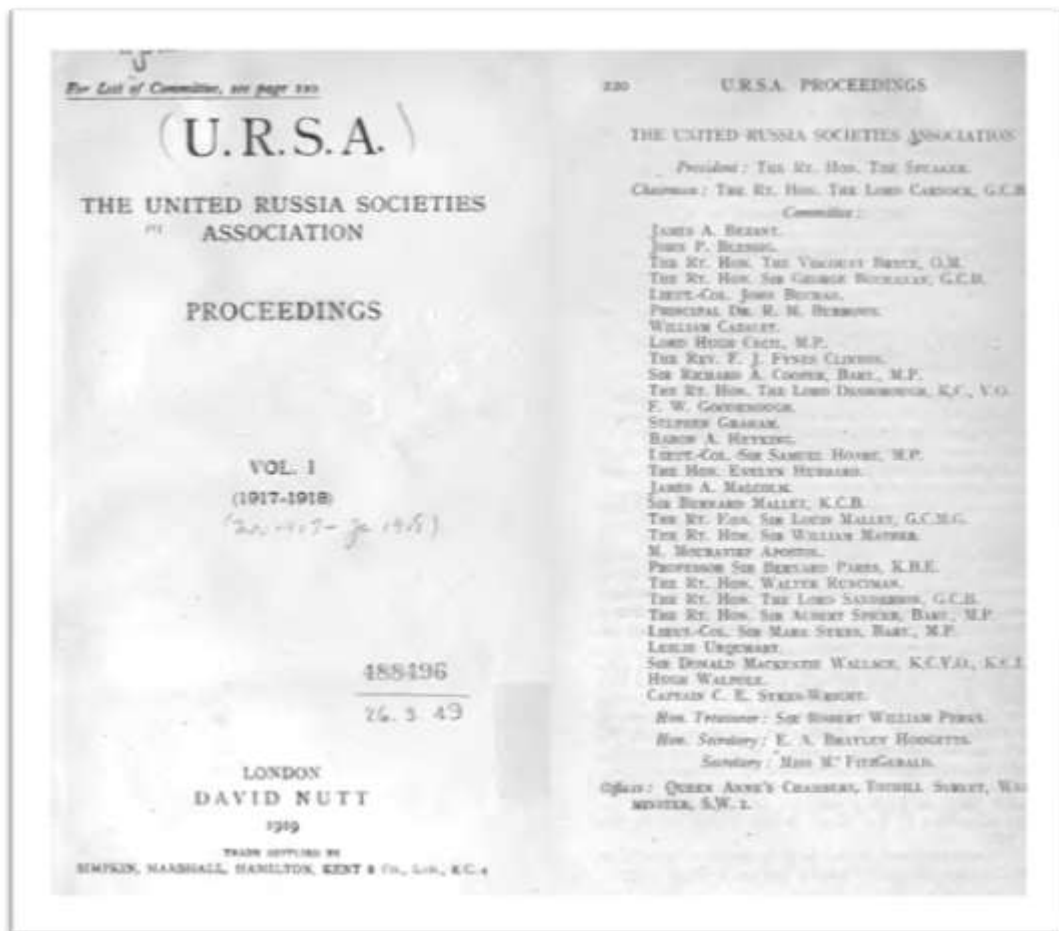
⁴⁷⁶ *Work for Britain in Russia*, The Times, December 18 1918, p.10.

⁴⁷⁷ *British Policy for Siberia*, The Times, November 15th 1918, p.15

⁴⁷⁸ *Russia Under Lenin*, Evening Mail 15 January 1919, p.3

only the whirring cogs of revenge and the muffled drone of desperation could now be heard.

In light of the work being conducted by Major Edward G. G. Burdon for the esteemed members of the *United Russia Societies Association*, I would like to take this opportunity to ask the jury here present to reject any notion that the preparation and publication of *The Jewish Peril* in January 1920, attributed by Robert Hobart Cust to his friends, Mr Burdon and Mr Shanks was a reaction to any personal or financial injury experienced by Mr Shanks as a result of the Bolshevik Revolution, but was rather the expression of a collective fury felt at an ideological, economic and spiritual level by a more influential body of men to be found at the vexatious extremities of the Conservative and Liberal parties, determined to conflate the threat posed by International Communism with some imagined 'Jewish Menace'.



The United Russia Societies Association 1917-1918
with List of Presidents and Committee Members

The Committee on Russian Affairs

EXHIBIT No.6



The mysterious and very elusive, *Committee on Russian Affairs* (aka the Council of Russian Affairs, Central Russian Committee) was founded in October 1918 under the consummate supervision of ex-British Ambassador to Russia, George Buchanan and the respected academic Sir Bernard Pares at the invitation of British Foreign Secretary Arthur Balfour. This pro-Interventionist committee, received strong support from Winston Churchill, was comprised current and former staffers of British intelligence and propaganda units which operated in St Petersburg during the war. Its members included the writers John Buchan, Sir George Buchanan, Hugh Walpole, the historian and academic Sir Bernard Pares, Alfred Knox, Harold Williams, Ariadna Tyrkova and Rex Leeper. Harold Williams' brother Aubrey Williams was appointed the group's Secretary. The fact that Shanks' uncle, Aylmer Maude accepted a post with the British Mission in Archangel in October 1918, provides a strong indication that Maude was also among its recruits. Within weeks of arriving Maude had replaced the pro-Bolshevik reporter, Morgan Price Philips as correspondent for the Manchester Guardian (pressure from Basil Thomson, newly appointed director of Intelligence at the Home Office

had expedited matters). The newspaper took on a pro-Interventionist bias practically overnight (call separate witness Aylmer Maude)

The *Committee of Russian Affairs*’ Rex Leeper, a member of Political Intelligence Department at the Foreign office, is an especially intriguing addition, as just a few years later he would play an unaccredited but no less central role in the circulation of another fake: the ‘Zinoviev Letter’. The Zinoviev Letter fabricated a totally imaginary plot between the Communist Party of Great Britain, members of the Labour Party and Lenin’s Soviet. The fake letter effectively brought to an abrupt end the government of Ramsay MacDonald in October 1924. The letter, faked by Henry Ford’s *Protocols* associate, Vladimir Orlov, was passed to Raphael Farina, Mi6’s ‘passport officer’ in Riga just seven days before Leeper arrived to assume his new post as Chief of the British Legation. Leeper took up his role alongside Farina (ex-chief of the Russian Section — G Branch — at Mi5) on September 22 1924. The incriminating letter that had been passed to his desk (alleged to have been conveyed from Comintern chief, Grigory Zinoviev to Arthur MacManus of the British Communist Party) was dated September 15th, the week prior to Leeper’s arrival. With Leeper at the helm, the letter (which might otherwise have been dismissed) inevitably made its way to Farina’s ex-Mi5 section chief, Sir Joseph Ball and into the Conservative Party Central Office. Instead of enduring the usual protocols of Intelligence screening and analysis, the

letter fell into the hands of a reporter and was speedily published by Lord Northcliffe's *Daily Mail* on October 25th under the headline '*Civil War Plot by Socialist masters: Moscow Orders to Our Reds — Great Plot Disclosed — MacDonald Will Lend Russia Our Money*' (Daily Mail, Oct 25 1924). It was published just four days before the General Election. Mi5's Joseph Ball eventually left the service in the late 1920s to run the Propaganda Department at Conservative Party Central Office. In a curious twist, Leeper had just arrived from propping up General Wrangel's regime in Poland where he had acted as Britain's Charge d'Affaires. He would eventually become Head of the Political Intelligence Department at the Foreign Office in 1939.

Supporting witnesses and exhibits:

- ❖ Russian members of *the Committee on Russian Affairs* included Protocols expert, Vladimir Burtsev and his co-editor at the Common Cause journal, Daniel Pasmanik, a right-leaning liberal and Zionist.
- ❖ To all intents and purposes, the CRA was a regrouping of the *Anglo-Russian Bureau* which had operated in St Petersburg prior to the October Revolution.
- ❖ Both the Committee and Burtsev's recalibrated journal, *Common Cause* was set up specifically to support White Russian monarchists and Russian Liberals in their war with the Bolsheviks during the

Russian Civil War (1917-1922), pressing for direct military engagement from Britain and America.

British Russian Bureau

EXHIBIT NO.7



This was a British propaganda organisation operating in Petrograd on behalf of the Ministry of Information and the Foreign Office during the war. Staff included novelist Hugh Walpole, Major C.J.M Thornhill, Harold Williams and one time, Bernard Pares. According to a report by Hugh Walpole dated October 1917, the organisation was tasked with providing counter-propaganda to German propaganda in Russia. It would also supply Russians with “correct information about the aims and activities of Great Britain in the war and about the life and institutions of the British Empire.” (TNA, FO 395/106, Oct 15 1917). The bureau (aka The Anglo Russian Bureau) operated under the direction of Ambassador George Buchanan.

British Russian Club

EXHIBIT NO.8



The club was a more causal incarnation of the *Anglo-Russian Bureau* (aka. Anglo-Russian Commission) which operated as an official propaganda organisation in Petrograd on behalf of the Ministry of Information and the Foreign Office in Britain. Founded in the summer of 1917 at the invitation of Sir Robert Cecil, Professor Paul Vinogradoff and 'Free Russia' member Sergei G. Svatikov, the club brought together Russophiles and supporters of Allied Intervention from all fields and all parties (Sheffield Daily Telegraph 12 July 1917, p.5). Its founding member, Sergei G. Svatikov (at this time High Commissioner for Russia for the Kerensky government in Paris) was a close associate of Burtsev, both at his *Byloe* journal in St Petersburg and at the pro-Interventionist *Common Cause* in Paris during the Russian Civil War. In the mid-1930s Burtsev and Svatikov were both brought-in as expert witnesses at the so-called Berne Trials, which explored the authenticity of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* as part of a legal bid to sue the Swiss national Front for spreading anti-Semitic propaganda.

Senior speakers and members at the British Russian Club included Secretary John Seymour Keay, Winston Churchill, George Buchanan, Lord Denbigh and Harold Williams.⁴⁷⁹ In the summer of 1918, the Foreign Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Arthur Balfour was forced to address some probing questions about Harold Williams' employment at the Foreign Office in view of his position as a neutral journalist.⁴⁸⁰ Balfour responded by saying that Williams was not employed at the Foreign Office (officially he was an unpaid 'volunteer' at the British Russian Propaganda Bureau under Pares and Buchanan). The *British Russian Club* and Harold and Aridana Williams would subsequently work closely with the *British Russian Relief Committee*. The Club had its HQ at the First Avenue Hotel in Holborn.

The part that Svatikov and Burtsev played in exposing *The Protocols* as a fake in the 1930s was in stark contrast to their rather noncommittal response to the fake in the 1920s. On August 21st 1921, just one week after The Times of London dramatically exposed the *Protocols of Zion* as a forgery, *Le Tribune Juive* in Paris published an article by Svatikov who acknowledged that he Burtsev and other Russian historians had had proof the Protocols was fake since the First Revolution of 1917.⁴⁸¹ If this was the case, then why Svatikov or Burtsev not speak out sooner? Both men had close contact with

⁴⁷⁹ 'Mr. Churchill and Russia', Manchester Guardian, Jul 18 1919, p.8

⁴⁸⁰ Hansard, Volume 108: debate Saturday 15 June 1918, 'Mr King to Mr Balfour'

⁴⁸¹ Les Faux de Ratchkovsky: A propos des Protocols de Sion', Le Tribune Juive, no.87, p.2

the British Coalition government. Why the delay? The pair's activity within the Osvag (White Russian monarchist propaganda) often made them vulnerable to claims of anti-Semitism.

Russian Liberation Committee

EXHIBIT No.9



The Committee was a news and telegraphic agency founded by Russian émigrés Paul Miliukov, Petr Struve and spearheaded by Harold Williams and Ariadna Tyrkova Williams. The Committee was tasked with encouraging British Intervention in the Russian Civil war and discouraging recognition of Lenin's Bolshevik government. It enjoyed good relations with the British Foreign Office. For more see: '*The Work of the 'Russian Liberation Committee in London: 1919-1924'*', Charlotte Alston, Slavonica, 14:1, 6-17, July 19 2013.

Lord Northcliffe and Zionism

EXHIBIT No.10



Lord Northcliffe was owner of The Times of London at the time that *The Jewish Peril* article was published in May 1920 and when it was subsequently exposed as a hoax in August 1921. He is generally regarded as a casual anti-

Semite who supported the Zionist cause from 1915 until 1922, when his position is generally perceived to have changed.

In my estimation, Lord Northcliffe's support of Zionism has never been understood in its entire complexity. Contrary to what some scholars have claimed, there's no firm evidence that Northcliffe withdrew his support for Zionism in 1922, but remodelled rather, it based on issues relating to the quality of Jewish Immigrants, the rights of Arabs (Palestinians) and the tax burdens placed on the British Public as a result of building the Jewish National Home in Palestine. His support for Zionism were always centred around his support for a British Outpost and the benefits that Zionism provided as a practical alternative to Bolshevism, which was by 1920 being perceived as purely Jewish plot seeking global domination. The original vision set out by Sir Herbert Samuel and Arthur Balfour presented British Mandate Palestine as an Imperial 'buffer state'; that is, a strong deterrent to any future ambitions on the part of Germany in the East. In the words of Wedgewood Benn, this was 'not a pious dream' but a practical and profitable use of Empire (see: Herbert Samuel: 'The Future of Palestine', January 1915).

The opinion regarding Palestine among Conservative and Liberal ministers was as divided as the Zionist Movement itself. Many supporters like Northcliffe sided with the likes of rightist Liberal Zionists like Ze'ev Jabotinsky and NOT the movement's more Socialist exponents like Chaim

Weizmann. It is also curious to note that Northcliffe and Wickham Steed's support for Zionism altered dramatically with the split between Zionist leaders, Weizmann and Jabotinsky, and just as tighter limits on Jewish immigration to Palestine were being thrust upon the region by Churchill's White Paper. Their change of heart also coincided with rumours that the British Government under Lloyd George and Lord Curzon were entering into trade discussions with Lenin and the Bolsheviks (The Times printed a story about rumours of these talks on the same page it published its infamous review of Shank's Protocols (Jewish Peril) pamphlet.⁴⁸²

During those first short years, the quality and volume of Jewish immigrants into Palestine had always been viewed as critical to the Palestine's commercial and economic prospects. Making Palestine a prosperous place for investment meant prioritizing immigrants with the necessary skills and wealth. As Herbert Samuel explained in his 1915 proposal, *The Future of Palestine*, the Jews of Palestine accounted for only one-sixth of its population. An autonomous Jewish government would not be able to govern successfully with such a minority. It would inevitably lead to ongoing conflicts in the local region. Northcliffe made formal statements to the effect that they didn't wish to Palestine locked in the kind of sectarian violence that Ireland had endured.

⁴⁸² Negotiations with Tchitcherin', The Times, May 8th 1920, p.15

Supporting witnesses and exhibits:

- ❖ A ‘puff piece’ praising the efforts and discipline of Britain ‘Mules Corps’, its *Jewish Legion*, appeared in The Times in February 1918 (Times in February 1918, p.3) . This battalion of Jewish volunteers was the brainchild of Zionist leader, Ze’ev Jabotinsky (see separate entry).
- ❖ Northcliffe and The Times were backing a stable environment for “full economic development for the country.” (The Settlement in Syria,” The Times, 19 September 1919). If it was to attract and sustain investors it could not be a “struggling state”. Rightist supporters of Zionism are likely to have backed a liberal ‘strongman’ like Jabotinsky for leadership and not a Socialist like Weizmann.
- ❖ Was it Claude Montefiore who said “no wonder that all anti-Semites are enthusiastic Zionists”? During this period Zionism was being championed as an antidote to the so-called ‘Jewish Peril’ — Bolshevism.

Louise Maude Shanks

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



The Moscow-born Louise Maude is the aunt of Protocols translator George Shanks and a personal friend and colleague of Sir Charles Hagberg Wright, the first man to reject *The Protocols* as a fake in February 1920. She was also a personal friend of Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy (whose works she would translate into English). Her husband Aylmer Maude, another close friend of Tolstoy, was an active member of the pro-Interventionist movement with his friends and university colleagues, Harold Williams and Sir Bernard Pares. Louise and her husband had lived with Vladimir Chertkov at a commune in Croydon run by Christian anarchist J.C. Kenworthy, founder of the Brotherhood Church. Kenworthy's Brotherhood Church in Hackney would later be used by Lenin and other revolutionary to host the 5th Congress of the *Russian Social Democratic labour Party* in 1907. The couple had played a central role in helping the persecuted Doukhobor (oppressed Christian group) escape from Russia to Canada in the late 1890s.⁴⁸³ The couple was also very

⁴⁸³ Curiously, another member of the Kenworthy and Tolstoy group who accompanied Aylmer and Louise Maude and the Doukhobors to Canada was Quaker, Capt. Arthur St John. In 1925, Arthur St. John's home at 68a Parkhill Road in Hampstead would be used by Soviet 'super spy' and senior official at the Soviet Trade Offices, Jacob Kirchenstein (see: KV-2 1391/Daily Herald 18 November 1916, p.14). St John has used the address as the HQ of the Penal Reform

close to Father Gapon's ghost-writer G.H. Perris, who acted as literary agent and adviser to the couple.

League he had co-founded years before. Maude and St John would later have a more fractious relationship.

Vladimir Burtsev

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



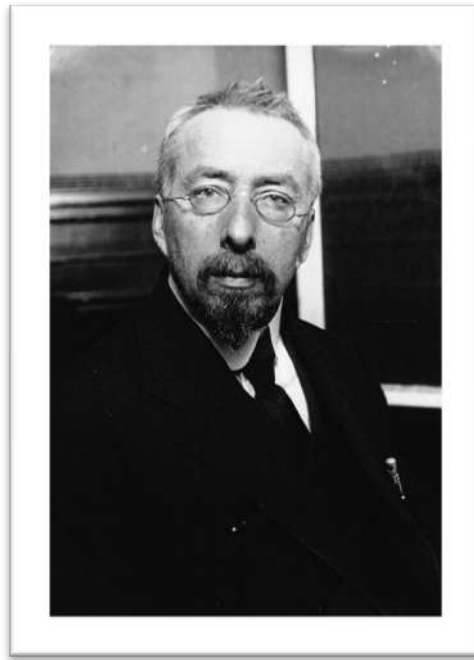
The vast majority of people have never heard of Vladimir Burtsev, among them many historians. This is a shame as Burtsev was a fascinating figure during the early and late revolutionary periods. So who is he? Burtsev has always been lavishly and lovingly described by his legion of fans today as the ‘Sherlock Holmes’ of the Socialist Revolutionary Party, and was responsible for exposing dozens of high-value Tsarist assets and agent provocateurs who thought to have been working for the Okhrana — the Russian Secret Police. Contrary to what you’d expect, he matured with a Liberal bias, and by 1919 was siding with the White Russian Monarchists in the counter-revolution against the Bolsheviks. Because of his inevitable connections in the revolutionary movement and his prodigious depth of knowledge, Burtsev became an indispensable asset to the anti-Bolshevik mission, both in Britain and in France.

In June 1918 Harold Williams and the *Committee of Russian Affairs* wrote to Burtsev saying it was necessary for him to come to Britain. Immediately after this visit, Burtsev set up an operational base for his journal

Common Cause in Paris (its production had been suspended for 12 months after his flight from St Petersburg). The journal had been re-launched on September 17th 1918, possibly with finance from the British. Clearly buoyed by the support he was receiving from the *Committee of Russian Affairs in Britain* his journal moved from being published weekly (and sometimes fortnightly) to being available as a daily read by the summer of 1920.⁴⁸⁴ In September 1919, just a matter of months before George Shanks published *Jewish Peril* for the first time in English, Burtsev was recalled to London by Sir Archibald Sinclair, the Personal Military Secretary to War Secretary Winston Churchill. Sinclair is regarded by scholars today as Churchill's direct link to British Military Intelligence. Although the exact details regarding the meet are not known, it is assumed, given that the meeting coincides with British troops pulling out of Russia, it may be reasonable to speculate that Sinclair approached Burtsev with a number of desperate requests; he wanted him to ramp-up the propaganda effort on behalf of the White Russians and the Allies, in the hope that we can re-engage in the war at a later date and, for a short-time at least, refrain from revealing the true story of *The Jewish Peril* that Shanks was about to publish until such a time as necessary. It may also be that Churchill wanted him as a personal emissary to Wrangel in Poland. That Burtsev was sharing Intelligence with Mi5 and SiS is clear from the KV2 files

⁴⁸⁴ *Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia*, Robert Henderson, 2018, pp.214-215

in the British National Archives, so it's not unreasonable to think he may have cooperated with Churchill's Department in such a casual and 'off the record' capacity.



DID VLADIMIR BURTSEV SUPPORT THE PUBLICATION OF THE PROTOCOLS AS PART OF A TACTICAL EFFORT AGAINST THE BOLSHEVIKS?

This is a very difficult question to answer with anything firm. We know from a book that Burtsev published about *The Protocols* in 1938 that he had been following the various routes it had taken from 1905 at the latest.⁴⁸⁵ We also

⁴⁸⁵ The Elders of Sion: A Proved Forgery, Vl. Burtsev (The Slavonic and East European Review, Jul., 1938, Vol. 17, No. 49 (Jul., 1938), pp. 91-104). The book was published by Sir Bernard Pares' School of Slavonic and East European Studies at University College London.

know that his status in this field saw him being called as an ‘expert witness’ at the sensational *Berne Trials* of the 1930s when attempts were made to sue the *Swiss National Front* for distributing anti-Semitic material (1933-1935). And his rejection of it then is not in question.⁴⁸⁶

The problem (if there is one) is Burtsev’s failure to have responded in his usual vociferous manner to the pamphlet’s publication in Britain at a time when he was working directly with Sir Archibald Spencer and the *Committee on Russian Affairs* in Paris. Given the interest stirred in France and across the world as a result of both of The Times review and Henry Ford’s near simultaneous inclusion of ‘Le Péril Juif’ in *The International Jew* in America, it’s unlikely that Burtsev was unaware of it. The French Press certainly reported the pamphlet’s astonishing appearance in The Times⁴⁸⁷ yet for a full 12 months or so Burtsev didn’t write a word about it. And when he did eventually publish, what was by his standards, a very terse response in April 1921, there was certain section of Jews who were somewhat disappointed with his “ambiguous” contribution to the debate. Of course there is always the possibility that Burtsev responded to the publication of *Le Péril Juif*

⁴⁸⁶ For more on this read Robert Henderson’s *Vladimir Burtsev & the Struggle For Free Russia*, 2017, pp.241-246 or Hadassa Ben-Itto’s *The Lie That Wouldn't Die* 2005

⁴⁸⁷ *Le Peuple Juif*, May 21 1920, p.8/*L'Action Française*, May 21 1920, p.3, *La Voix Nationale*, May 22 1920

anonymously, but this is an entirely speculative route to take and until any such evidence emerges, we should leave it to one side.

To understand the context of his response in April 1921, and moreover, the public reaction to his response, we will need to show the court another exhibit.

La Tribune Juive

Burtsev takes a Bashing, April 1921

EXHIBIT No.11



La Tribune Juive (The Jewish Tribune) was a newspaper entirely devoted to the interests of Russian Jewish exiles in Paris. The article now under consideration was published in France on April 29th 1921, shortly after the appearance of revelations in America made by Polish-Russian aristocrat, Princess Katharine Radziwill concerning the fabrication of The Protocols. The Princess claimed she had seen the original manuscript being prepared in Paris, shortly before it was unleashed on Russia in 1905, and named the men who had been involved. The revelations had first appeared in interviews conducted with Radziwill in *The American Hebrew* in February 1921 and republished in full by the *La Tribune Juive* on April 1st.⁴⁸⁸ The opinion piece published by *La Tribune Juive* on April 29th was based not on the claims being made by Radziwill, but on the relatively muted response from the normally quite voluble Vladimir Burtsev. The article that the Editor of *La Tribune Juive* took umbrage with was printed in the *Common Cause* journal on April 14th 1921 (No.273). It's probably worth including a sample:

⁴⁸⁸ *American Hebrew*, 25 February 1921, Volume 108 Number 15 / *La Tribune Juive*, No.66, April 1st 1921, p.1

“Now and again the press discusses the issue of the ‘Protocols of the Elders of Zion’. But its publishers never thought it necessary to say when, where and by whom these ‘Protocols’ were created.

Some XXs talk about others XX ...

That these ‘Protocols’ are a forgery is beyond all doubt. Their aim is clear: to pin on the Jews as many crimes as possible and thus justify the Jewish pogroms.

These minutes of some kind of so-called secret sessions of Zionist congresses were fabricated a few decades ago by some anti-Semites. Some simply laughed at the crudeness of the forgery, while others accused the authors of deliberate provocation and demanded the publishers reveal their identity. But neither the creators of the protocols nor any of their supporters has ever dared to remove their mask nor have they ever protested. Not one has had the courage to identify a single Jew as a collaborator in the drafting of these protocols.

The pamphlet, however, has remained very much to the taste of certain dark forces and has been diligently used by them.

Not so long ago we read in the “Jewish Tribune” an article entitled “The Truth About the Protocols of Zion”. It contained two extremely confusing interviews with Ms Radziwill and Ms Herblat. In addition to a man named after the mythical character, the chairman of the Moscow court by the name

of Nilus, the names she puts forward as the authors of the 'Protocols of Zion' are the former head of the gendarmes Orzhevsky, Rachkovsky, Golovinsky and Manuilov.

According to Mrs. Radziwill and Herblat, both met with Rachkovsky and Golovinsky in Paris at the time of the Russo-Japanese War in 1904-1905. It was here that they saw the manuscript of the 'Protocols of Zion', which they had fabricated at that time.

Madame Radziwill also declares that "Rachkovsky disappeared after the 1917 revolution, that Manuilov, who had been sentenced to a number of years of hard labour for treason, was freed by the Bolsheviks and entered their service in Petrograd, that Golovinsky was in Paris in 1910. He was arrested in Russia accused of embezzlement and given a prison sentence. Some time later he was freed thanks to the intercession of the secret police."

For her part Madame Hurlblatt adds that "The Okhrannik (Mr Golovinsky) was very proud of his work (the fabrication of the Protocols) and often boasted about them. He came to Princess Radziwill's house on the Champs Elysées, straight from the Bibliothèque Nationale where he had compiled a collection of manuscript documents which he had on his person. I recall they were in French but written in various hands."

Everything is confused here. Rachkovsky died in 1909, Manuilov was never sentenced to hard labour for treason, the Bolsheviks did not release him

because at the time of their coup he was a free man, he did not enter their service and in the winter of 1918 on orders of the Cheka he was shot by them near Petrograd.

Rachkovsky was not in Paris in 1904-1905. Shortly before the Russo-Japanese War he was dismissed from service and recalled from Paris. During these years he was under police surveillance in Russia and, thus, could not meet with either Golovinsky or Manuilov in Paris. In other words, in the stories of Mrs. Radziwill and Mrs. Herblat, it is difficult to say what is the truth and what is fiction.

Of course, the 'Protocols of Zion' themselves of no great interest, but since they continue to attract the attention of gullible people, some in Russia, but mainly in Europe and America, and the truth about them should be laid out once and for all.

It has long been suggested that these 'Protocols' were created by Russian reactionaries associated with the Department of Police.

It is difficult to say whether such theories are true, but, in any case, it is difficult to envisage how the Department of Police, with its special section for Jewish Affairs, could fail to be interested in the authors of the 'Protocols' and have no information about them. The archives of the police department and those who work in them could tell us a lot of interesting things about The Protocols of Zion.

Since the spring of 1917, the archives of the Department of Police have been at the disposal of researchers who couldn't fail to be interested in exposing this forgery. Those people who had access to the archives in the period before the Bolsheviks came to power had the opportunity to access all materials relating to the Protocols.

As far as we know, some of them were specifically tasked with investigating these questions and we have the right to expect some accurate information about the circumstances that led to the creation of this notorious forgery and under what circumstances they were created.

The question of the origins of the Protocols has been raised on several occasions already. We wish to raise the issue once more and are ready to listen to everything that is said on the subject from various sources.

In the near future we intend, on the basis of new information, to return to the question of the origins of the "Protocols of Zion"

*— Common Cause (Obshchee Delo), No.273, April 14 1921, p.2*⁴⁸⁹

The objections raised by *La Tribune Juive* pertained to Burtsev's apparent failure to offer unconditional support to Radziwill's account. In doing so, the paper was concerned that Burtsev was lending support to the aims of the anti-Semites who were responsible for publishing *The Protocols*. From their point

⁴⁸⁹ A special thanks to Dr Robert Henderson of University College London for providing this translation which I have compared and blended with an earlier translation that appeared in Alexander Dmitrievich Nechvolodov's 'Emperor Nicholas II and Jews'.

of view, Burtsev was placing too much emphasis played on the notorious Secret Police Chief, Pyotr Rachkovsky whilst downgrading the role played by other White Russian monarchists in the production of the fake. With his ‘super sleuth’ status still very much intact a lot was resting on Burtsev to fully endorse Radziwill’s story. Expectations had been high and he’d failed to deliver. Or at least that’s how it was being seen.⁴⁹⁰

In fairness to Burtsev, the claims made by *La Tribune Juive* were only partially true. Burtsev didn’t deny that Matvei (Mathieu) Golovinski was the author of *The Protocols*. He simply pointed out certain inaccuracies in Radziwill’s story, rejecting outright that Rachkovsky was in Paris in 1905 and expressing his doubts that Manasevitch-Manuiloff was involved. He also took issue with the claim that Manasevitch-Manuiloff had switched sides and was working for the Bolsheviks. However, in focusing on the inaccuracies of Radziwill’s account the editor of *Le Tribune Juive* believed that Burtsev was doing little to neutralize the threat posed by the *The Protocols* franchise now metastasizing rapidly across the globe. Burtsev was famous for exposing agent provocateurs and disabling provocation. In their estimation, the copies of *The Protocols* that George Shanks had published in Britain, and Boris Brasol had published in America were, quite literally, agents of provocation. If Burtsev was doing anything, he seemed to be skirting around the threat they posed,

⁴⁹⁰ Un point de vue étrange’, *Le Tribune Juive*, No.70, April 29 1921

even to the extent of implying that it wasn't really news at all. His *'I don't know what the fuss is all about'* opening statement carries a disingenuous loaded message: *"From time to time the press discusses the issue of the 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion'".* He says it so casually and so unflappably that anyone reading it would think it was true. But it wasn't. The press didn't discuss the issue of *The Protocols* "from time to time". *The Protocols* had been sitting in the archives of the British Museum collecting dust for the best part of fifteen years. The press knew nothing about it. Princess Radziwill said as much herself when she expressed surprise about: "all the noise that this falsehood" had aroused in England and America, despite it having gone "almost unnoticed in Russia" and had been "forgotten" about ever since.⁴⁹¹

It was a nimble piece of footwork. Instead of putting himself in a position where he had to defend his failure to respond in his customary forthright way to *The Protocols* story, Burtsev simply it turned around and said that it wasn't much a story in the first place; it was yesterday's news. In terms of spin, it was right up with Alistair Campbell and Dominic Cummings. A similar sleight of hand trick had been performed at the time of the so-called 'Downing Street Memo'. As Professor Marc Pilisuk observed in an article for *New York Monthly Review*, at the time scandal broke in May 2005 the

⁴⁹¹ American Hebrew, 25 February 1921, Volume 108 Number 15 / La Tribune Juive, No.66, April 1st 1921, p.1

‘sensational’ nature of the leak was completely downplayed. The response from official spokesmen and from supportive media commentators was that it only proved what was already known to be true, “contributing to ample, already established evidence”. In short, it was dismissed as old news. And by doing so, they were able to avoid saying that anybody here had lied or covered up the truth.⁴⁹²

Issues of spin aside, we do need to be clear about one thing; the *Common Cause* issue that *Le Tribune Juive* quotes, DOES say *The Protocols* was a fake. It also claims that most researchers were already aware it was a fake as they had had access to the files in the archives of the police department since 1917. It also acknowledges that its objective was clear: to blame the Jews for as many crimes as possible and thus justify the Jewish pogroms taking place at the time. But in my opinion, the narrative that Burtsev has crafted in this article was never intended to restore the credibility of *The Protocols* in the eyes of his readers; it was to create a plausible explanation for why the Russian ‘Sherlock Holmes’ had failed to expose the work as a fake since its publication some 12 months earlier. He was trying to rescue his reputation.

⁴⁹² Disinformation (Ch. 7 of *The Hidden Structure of Violence: Who Benefits from Global Violence and War* by Marc Pilisuk and Jennifer Achord Rountree. New York, NY: New York Monthly Review, 2015.



La Tribune Juive responding to Burtsev's Common Cause

(gallica.bnf.fr / Bibliothèque nationale de France)

Whilst his belief that the book is a forgery goes some way toward redeeming him in the eyes of his peers, there is still something quite concerning about some of the statements that Burtsev makes about the role played by Rachkovsky in 1905 and which formed the bedrock of Radziwill's claims about witnessing its fabrication. Burtsev's *Common Cause* article asserts that

by 1905 Rachkovsky had been dismissed from Russia's Secret Service and that he had remained under Police surveillance as a devious and untrustworthy pariah, until his death in 1911. That's not entirely true. After the brutal events of Bloody Sunday when hundreds of peaceful demonstrators had been shot down at the Winter Palace, Rachkovsky had been reinstated as Chief of Police in St Petersburg and remained in that post until the summer of 1906. His brief was clear: clamp down on subversion and neutralize the threat posed to the Russian Liberals and the planned State Duma, and the series of fresh series of demands being placed before the Tsar from the various Jewish movements, encouraged by his proposals. However, at no point in his 'October Manifesto' had the Tsar promised 'full' or 'equal' rights to the Jews. The Manifesto had been published with only one scheme in mind: to de-energize the revolution whilst retaining something of an iron-grip on the existing status quo, and the overall rule of the Tsar ⁴⁹³. The demands for self-autonomy and a Jewish National Congress (a state within state) being by the Jewish Nationalists were not compatible with that idea. Nicholas and his advisers were attempting to unite and strengthen Russia, not see it fractured further. Within weeks of the October Manifesto being published on October 30th 1905, a League had been formed by Maxim Vinaver to attain 'Full Rights' for the Jewish People of

⁴⁹³ The British Government adopted a similar approach with the Balfour Declaration of November 1917 which stopped short of actually promising a Jewish State. As one Israeli historian has pointed out, the richness of the English language lends itself very well to being vague.

Russia, with plans for its representatives to stand at the Duma's first election the following April. In a pamphlet written by revolutionary poster-boy Father Gapon and the Socialist Revolutionary, Shloyme Zanol Rappoport (aka. S. An-sky) in the summer of 1905, it was being argued that Russian Jews had as much right as Poles, Lithuanians, Belarusians and Ukrainians to have their own 'special territory' and 'national autonomy'.⁴⁹⁴ The Jewish Bund and the ITO (Territorial Zionists) had their own ideas. As far the Tsarist government was concerned, awarding special concessions to the Jews of Russia had never been part of the deal. The protests that erupted as a response to Bloody Sunday had led to a full scale revolution and whilst Tsar Nicholas II and his advisers was determined to make some concessions, issues relating to Russian National identity would need to be preserve; and this meant no concessions to Jewish 'separatists'. The aim of the October Manifesto was rather simple: kill the revolution and carry on ruling.

Burtsev knew all about the role played by Police Chief Rakhovsky in scaling down the Revolution and suppressing the Jewish advances. We know this because Burtsev had worked closely with Pinchas Rutenberg who made the startling revelation that he had personally executed Father Gapon in the final week of March 1906 after learning of his alleged collusion with the

⁴⁹⁴ *My Acquaintance with Gapon*, S. A. An-sky, Collected Works, Publishing Association, St. Petersburg, 1911-1913, Volume 5

Secret Police. Contrary to what he writes in the *Common Cause* article, Burtsev knew perfectly well that Rachkovsky was engaged at the highest level of anti-revolutionary and anti-Jewish plots during the 1905 to 1906 period. What Radziwill had been claiming was entirely plausible. Rutenberg had described the execution of the ‘traitor’ Gapon and his secret talks with Rackhovsky in a sensational exclusive published in Burtsev’s *Byloe* journal in April 1909.⁴⁹⁵ The article caused global ripples and Burtsev even arranged for Rutenberg to travel to the United States to repeat the horrific story to Herman Bernstein.⁴⁹⁶ For Burtsev to allege that Rachkovsky was out of favour with the Tsarist Government at this time was really nothing less than a lie.

Did the editor of *La Tribune Juive* have ulterior motives in criticizing Burtsev? It’s possible. The newspaper had been set-up just a year or so before by Jewish anti-Zionists to challenge British Mandate Palestine and the support among Zionists and former Revolutionaries of White’s Russia’s war on Lenin’s Bolsheviks. Burtsev’s *Common Cause*, had, by contrast, become something of the official organ of the White Russian movement in Paris, and was pushing its propaganda in the most aggressive of fashions. The founding editor of *La Tribune Juive* was Dr Reuben Blank, a friend of Jewish ‘Equal Rights’ campaigners, Lucien Wolf and Claude Montefiore (see: Bolsheviks

⁴⁹⁵ ‘Delo Gapon’, Rutenberg, P. M, *Byloe*, no. 11-12, 1909, pp. 29-115

⁴⁹⁶ ‘How Father Gapon was Led to his Death’, *The New York Times*, translated by Herman Bernstein, Nov 7, 1909, p.1

and British Jews : the Anglo-Jewish Community, Britain, and the Russian Revolution, Sharman Kadish, 1992, p.104).

Did Burtsev actually write the article that offended *La Tribune Juive*?

It's a fair question to ask given his activity at *The Russian National Committee* and his various adventures as emissary for Wrangel in Poland at this time.⁴⁹⁷

But no, there's no question about it; Burtsev was editor and director of the *Common Cause* newspaper at this time and his name also appeared on the byline, even if his output at the journal had been reduced considerably as a result of his other engagements. There is no denying Burtsev's dominance at the newspaper during the 1920-1921 period, as he is referred to in several articles reporting the activities of the publication. In an article for *Common Cause* published in October 1920, Burtsev is very much at the fore of its propaganda activities, re-fuelling speculation that Lenin was a German agent. According to a report published in *La Charente* on October 4 1920, Burtsev was now claiming that Lenin and the Bolsheviks had been in receipt of over 70 million marks for the purpose of agitation among the allies. It wasn't the first time that such an allegation had been made. Both Princess Ekaterina

⁴⁹⁷ Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia, Robert Henderson, p.224

Radziwill and Ariadna Tyrkova Williams had made the very same claim some months before.⁴⁹⁸

Burtsev: ‘Startling Revelations’ at Common Cause

That Burtsev wrote the article or was, at the very least, active in the production of *Byloe* during this period, may be supported by references elsewhere. A substantial extract from the No.273 *Byloe* article also makes an appearance in Alexandre Netchvolodov’s 1924 book, *L’Empereur Nicolas II et Les Juifs* (Tsar Nicholas II and the Jews). Here, the 273 article is attributed specifically to Burtsev. On March 11 1921, *L’Univers Israelite* mentions Burtsev by name in reference to a *Common Cause* article published on February 10th in which the names of 60 commissars and officials in Lenin’s Bolshevik regime are listed. *L’Univers Israelite* says it sees only ten Jews among the sixty names listed (*L’Univers Israelite*, March 11 1921, p.639).

⁴⁹⁸ The Firebrand of Bolshevism, E. Radzwill (Small, Maynard and Co, 1919)/ From Liberty to Brest-Litovsk, A Tyrkova Williams, Macmillan, 1918



Revolutionaries Struve, Alexinsky, Burtsev and Tchaikovsky in the L Univers Israelite, 1921

On April 29 1921, little more than two weeks after the No. 273 article appeared in Byloe, *The Sentinel* newspaper in America, quoting the *Jewish Telegraphic Agency* in Paris reported that Burtsev was about to publish ‘startling revelations’ regarding the origins of The Jewish Peril (The Protocols of the Elders of Zion). It is not known if these revelations were ever published. The Editor in Chief of the JTA at this time was Ukrainian-American Gershon Agron (Agronsky), a correspondent for *The Times* of the London and the *Manchester Guardian*, who had enlisted with Britain’s ‘Jewish Legion’ (the Mule Corps) during the war. By the 1940s Agron had been replaced by

London's Abraham Herenroth, a supporter, and later colleague, of Ze'ev Jabotinsky, founder of the Jewish Legion in which Gershon Agron had served during the war. During the war that followed, WW2, the JTA would work closely with British Intelligence. All things considered, it's just possible that the 'startling revelations' about *The Protocols* that Burtsev was promising amounted to little more than that: empty promises. Having received a damaging blow to his credibility perhaps his decision to release this statement had been a spur-of-the-moment, knee-jerk attempt to restore his reputation among the Russian Jews of Europe — an indication, perhaps, that he was somehow on the case, and simply being as meticulous as ever. Sadly, a lack of funds saw his *Common Cause* newspaper close down in the final months of the year.⁴⁹⁹ If he did have any 'startling revelations' to share with his reading public he was certainly no longer in any position to print them.

Protocols expert, Rutenberg ally

Why Vladimir Burtsev chose not to speak out against the British, German or American editions of the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* prior to April 1921 remains a mystery. By the time that his newspaper *Common Cause* had responded to Princess Radziwill's exposé in April 1921, the pamphlets had been in circulation for almost a year and had commanded

⁴⁹⁹ *Vladimir Burtsev and the Struggle for a Free Russia*, Robert Henderson, 2018, p.224

an astonishing amount of press attention both in Europe and America alike. It's clear from both his own essay on *The Protocols* in 1938 and from Dr. Robert Henderson's scrupulous biography of him in 2017 that he was "already something of an expert" on its notorious history (Henderson, p.241). The extent of his long-term interest in the book is perfectly apparent in the first few pages of his 1938 book. An extract reads:

"After the revolutionary movement of 1905, when political conditions in Russia underwent a sharp change, I returned thither towards the end of 1905, after fifteen years as an emigrant. My arrival almost coincided with the first edition of the "Protocols" in Petersburg, and I heard of them soon after they were published. At this time I was one of the editors of a widely circulated historical monthly, The Past (Byloe). Our periodical, in spite of the censorship conditions of the time, precisely because it was a historical magazine, could treat historically subjects touching on the most burning questions of current life. We published a good deal on the Jewish question, and on the Jewish pogroms which had taken place at that time, and thus conducted a definite propaganda directed against the anti-Semites. In view of this, one of our collaborators proposed to us to write a very sharp notice on the 'Protocols' as an undoubted forgery; but our editors refused outright to accept review of them, as they thought it inadmissible political and historical organ to take notice of obviously publications. We did not want to write on even in order to make another attack on the Government

of that time, with which we were fighting over the Jewish question. We knew that even government circles were quite opposed to this publication and regarded it as an evident forgery. At that time there often came to our office the Director of the Police Department, Lopukhin, who was soon to be sent to Siberia with deprivation of civil rights. At that time he was in opposition and gave us very valuable materials-among other things, on the Jewish question. In conversation with Lopukhin I saw he, like ourselves, regarded the 'Protocols of Sion' as a forgery undeserving of any attention. As recent Director of the Police Department- he was at the head of it from 1902 to the beginning of 1905-he was bound to know the truth about the origin of the 'Protocols' and their official sources. A little later, when I was again abroad as an emigrant, I was once again, in 1913-14, interested in the "Protocols ", when I realised that they might be utilised in the famous trial of Beilis in Kiev."

— *The Elders of Sion: A Proved Forgery*, V.I Burtsev, 1938, p.96

It's clear from the passage above that Burtsev wasn't just aware of the book's existence; indeed, so strong were his feelings about it that he was very nearly compelled to publish an exposé of the hoax as early as 1905. At this time the book had been receiving less than positive attention from the Russian Press. Even the crudely anti-Semitic, *Novoye Vremya* had featured an interview with A.A. Stolypin in which had voiced his own suspicion that *The Protocols* was a

forgery.⁵⁰⁰ Why Burtsev had felt so compelled to publish an exposé of the story when it was being poorly received in 1905 and NOT when it was being lauded by The Times of London, and rampaging across Europe and America at the height of the Russian Civil War, is likely to remain unanswered.

Burtsev maintained contact with Russian Zionist leader, Gapon executioner and former Socialist Revolutionary Pinchas Rutenberg well into the 1930s. Rutenberg was another of the émigrés who would close relations with leading figures in the British Establishment, and one man in particular, Winston Churchill. In fact it was Churchill, now serving as Britain's Colonial Secretary who awarded a one million pound contract to Rutenberg in September 1921 to build a hydro electric power station in Palestine. The scandal, known as the 'Rutenberg Concession' was highly controversial and discussion about awarding the deal to Rutenberg (a Socialist Revolutionary and self-confessed assassin) raged on for years. In the 1920s Burtsev shifted the focus of his investigations over to the activities of the Soviet Secret Police (GPU) in Palestine. A full account of his investigations and his continued contact with Rutenberg can be found in Vladimir Khazan's essay, *Pinhas*

⁵⁰⁰ L'Empereur Nicolas II et Les Juifs, Nevolodov, Aleksandr Dmitrievi, 1924 p.251

*Rutenberg and Vladimir Burtsev: Some Unknown Aspects of the Connection between Palestine and the Russian Emigration in Europe.*⁵⁰¹

Supporting evidence and witnesses:

- ❖ Burtsev's anti-Bolshevik propaganda in Paris was cut to much the same pattern as Harold Williams' in Britain and Princess Radziwill's in America. For instance, like Radziwill and Williams, Burtsev contended that Lenin was an agent of Germany, and the Bolsheviks had been in receipt of over 70,000 marks for the purpose of anti-war agitation among the allies ('Lénine agent de L'Allemagne', La Charente, Oct 4 1920). Was the story part of a coordinated campaign or did all arrive at this conclusion separately based on intelligence that was being handed to them by a common party?
- ❖ An article Burtsev published in *Common Cause* in 1918 draws attention to an article by Charles Repington in the *Morning Post* (a publication that serialised *The Protocols* during the summer of 1920). The article was entitled: "Britain Demands Intervention" and made passionate pleas to Britain to back all the counter-revolutionary forces

⁵⁰¹ Pinhas Rutenberg and Vladimir Burtsev: *Some Unknown Aspects of the Connection between Palestine and the Russian Emigration in Europe*, *The Russian Jewish Diaspora and European Culture, 1917-1937*, Vladimir Khazan, pp.147–178

against Lenin and the Red Army (see Burtsev's backing for General Kolchak in the New York Times of 02 July 1918).

- ❖ In 1920/1921 Burtsev became an emissary (advisor and messenger) to White Russia's General Wrangel in Poland. In October 1920 his *Free Russia* associate Alexei Aladin, a former confidant of Lenin in London who was now supporting Wrangel's military campaign in Poland, was witnessed entering the National Liberal Club where both Churchill and Shank's uncle Aylmer Maude sat as senior members.⁵⁰² In a slightly concerning twist, it was reported that Wrangel's armies and intelligence agents had been distributing copies of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* to foment pogroms against the Jews of Poland.
- ❖ On April 27th 1920, at the time that the San Remo conference was taking place in Italy and just one week before Henry Wickham Steed reviewed Shanks' *The Jewish Peril* in The Times, Burtsev published an article entitled, 'Le Peril Bolcheviste' in Common Cause (Le Radical, Paris, April 27 1920, p.3). The title echoes Shanks' *Jewish Peril* in a rather distasteful way, and the timing is rather extraordinary given the fairly obvious way in which Shanks appears to be addressing the Bolshevik menace.

⁵⁰² 'An Emissary from General Wrangel', Manchester Guardian, 04 Oct 1920, p.6



‘Sionskie Protokoly’ — Burtsev writing of Radziwill’s account of *The Protocols* in ‘Common Cause, April 14th 1921 (No.273, p.2)

The Russian Government Committee

EXHIBIT No.12



This was Imperial Russia's armaments and supplies committee based in Kingsway London during the war. According to his service records, *Protocols* translator, George Shanks was seconded to the department from the 20th December 1916 to 2nd February 1918. The committee operated from Empire House, Canada House and Empire House.

The man in charge of Shanks at the Russian Mission was General Eduard K. Hermonius who would later get embroiled in a scandal featuring America's Herbert Hoover and secret supply of arms to the White Russian forces of Yudenich. Hermonius's niece, Nadia Zalesskaya was married to Sidney Reilly 'Ace of Spies'.

Shank's immediate superior, the artist and mosaicist Boris Anrep, featured in a '39 Steps' style mysterious death when 41 year old Nikolai Beliakov, a Colonel in the Russian Army was found dead in the sleeping compartment of an express train travelling from Glasgow to St Pancras. Beliakov had a bullet wound to right temple. A pistol was found at his side. He had spent the previous days on a business for the supplies committee in

Glasgow. Anrep testified that he had been in poor mental health and had been diagnosed as having TB. The coroner, Home Office pathologist Bernard Spilsbury said he had found no evidence of TB. The incident took place in the last week of December 1916, and a verdict of suicide was returned.⁵⁰³

At the RGC in Kingsway, Shanks would have been working alongside Clara Sofia Namier. Her husband was Lewis Namier, a close friend of Robert Seton-Watson at the Ministry of Information and whose *New Europe* journal was printed by Eyre & Spottiswoode (Protocols publisher). In 1919 Namier struck-up a friendship with Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann. Namier, who went on to work at the Department of Political Intelligence at the Foreign Office, would continue to work closely with Seton-Watson on setting up pro-British buffer states in Eastern Europe. Sir Herbert Samuel's 'secret' white paper, *The Future of Palestine* (1915) makes it clear that British Mandate Palestine had always been conceived as support mechanism for the British Empire, protecting the precious trading routes on the eastern flank of the Suez Canal. That Shanks' timely translation of The Protocols coincided with Churchill's efforts to expedite the Zionist project by heaping pressure on Britain's Jews to 'choose sides', makes his proximity to Namier and his wife all the more interesting.

⁵⁰³ The Times, 4 January 1917, p.5

Namier says he couldn't recollect what first attracted him to his wife Clara, a Ukrainian Tatar. Given the rather cavalier way in which he could switch from ideal to the next over the years, it's certainly possible that Clara's position at the *Russian Government Committee* may have been a deciding factor in his interest.

New Europe (Journal)

EXHIBIT No.13



The journal was founded in 1916 by R.W. Seton-Watson and ex-Russian diplomat, scholar and propagandist Sir Bernard Pares. Both men had astonishingly close ties to *Times* Editor Wickham Steed who personally reviewed Shanks' *Jewish Peril* in May 1920. The pair also founded the *Slavonic Review* and the *School of Slavonic and East European Studies*. Their printing agency was *Eyre & Spottiswoode Ltd*, the same company used by George Shanks to publish the *Jewish Peril* pamphlet. Historian Andre Liebich describes Times Editor Wickham Steed as R.W Seton-Watson's "closest collaborator" during the WW1. Seton-Watson was Steed's protégé before the war, just as Wickham Steed was to be his protégé' after the war. ⁵⁰⁴

⁵⁰⁴ The anti-Semitism of Henry Wickham Steed, May 2012, Patterns of Prejudice no.46, Andre Liebich, p. 192

Archibald Sinclair

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



Sinclair acted as Personal Military Secretary to Churchill during the period 1919-1921 and is believed to have provided a useful and private back-channel between Churchill and the Secret Service. In September 1919 he is alleged to have met with Protocols expert Burtsev. Eight weeks later Shanks' published his pamphlet, *The Jewish Peril*.⁵⁰⁵ At this time Burtsev was working in Paris with maverick Zionist and pro-Interventionist, Daniel Pasmanik in support of the Whites, to whom Sinclair was closely connected (Guchkov).

⁵⁰⁵ Burtsev & the Struggle for Free Russia, Henderson, p.220

British League of Jews

EXHIBIT No.14



In Britain a group of Jewish businessmen and Orthodox leaders were actively engaged in anti-Zionist pressure groups. Their campaign eventually led to the founding of the *British League of Jews* in April 1919 featuring some of England's most respectable Jewish figures including Leopold Greenberg, Lionel Nathan de Rothschild, Claude Montefiore, Sir Philip Magnus and Louis Samuel Montagu (Lord Swaythling). On April 22nd 1919 the group had signed the so-called 'Letter of the Ten' in response to an increasing number of articles in the Jewish Press which, the group lamented, "seemed to have no other effect than to encourage the adoption of the theoretic principles of Russian Bolsheviks among foreign Jews who have sought and found refuge in England" ('Bolshevism and Jewry: a Repudiation', Morning Post April 23 1919). As far as they the group was concerned, these articles were doing irreparable harm to the Jewish community. As a response to the pro-Zionist movement and the support for Lenin and the Bolsheviks among the Jews of Britain, the *Jewish Guardian* newspaper was formed as a rival to the longstanding pro-Zionist newspaper, *The Jewish Chronicle*. It was in fact the *Jewish Guardian* that was among the first of the Jewish newspapers to offer a

formal rejection of Shanks' *Jewish Peril* in March 1920 (see: Samuel Hagbert-Wright).

Princess Ekaterina Radziwill

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



The Princess was a Polish-Russian aristocrat, born in St Petersburg, who was the first person to reveal the full history of the forgery of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. As a long-time family friend of the Protocols author, Matvei (Mathieu) Golovinski, Radziwill claims to have personally witnessed his dramatic revision of the Protocols story in Paris, shortly before being published by Sergei Nilus in 1905 ('Protocols Forged says Princess', New York Times, February 25 1921, p.11). The manuscript she saw was written in French, and was itself a reimagining of an earlier work conceived by General Orgewsky (head of the third section of the Russian State Police Department) in 1884, just after the assassination of Alexander II. The script published under the name of Nilus had been printed under the auspices of the local Red Cross at Tsarskoye Selo, the Imperial Residence.

However, the insight that the Princess Radziwill provides into the whole affair may not be as impartial or clear-cut as one would hope; her previous publishing efforts in America making it difficult to resolve her motives.

Shortly after the Bolshevik revolution of 1917, Radziwill had undertaken a propaganda role in America not unlike Burtsev in France or Harold Williams

in England, her carefully choreographed reports providing no end of support for General Wrangel in his war with the Bolsheviks in her home country of Poland. Members of her own family were also at the centre of that struggle, with Stanislas Radziwill fighting for Wrangel (and Jabotinsky), ally General Pilsudski.



Princess Ekaterina Radziwill

It wasn't until the death of her Swedish-born husband in the United States that Radziwill was roped in to spearhead the country's pro-Interventionist propaganda campaign. Once bedded down in New York she started to produce a regular stream of articles for the press and also a number of books. One such

book was *The Firebrand of Bolshevism* (Small, Maynard and Co, 1919). Copies of the book were reviewed in advance by newspapers like the *New York Tribune* in January 1919 before its eventual publication in March. Many of the hysterical claims made in Radziwill's book had already been prefigured by Harold Williams of *The Daily Chronicle* and the *National War Aims Committee* magazine, *Reality: Searchlight on Germany* in Britain. The book's entire premise rested on just one thing: virtually all the Bolsheviks were Jews and Bolshevism was itself as expression of spiteful, Jewish Supremacism. It was a sentiment that her old friend Winston Churchill was in complete accord with.⁵⁰⁶

According to Radziwill's *The Firebrand of Bolshevism*, her 1919 book for Small and Maynard, the men who had led "the great betrayal of Russia" were not only Jews; they were also working as paid agents for Germany. It was the same claim being pushed by Harold Williams and his wife Ariadna Tyrkova on behalf of the *Russian Affairs Committee* in England, and at the very same time it was being pushed by Burtsev and Svatikov in Paris. There's little denying it. The book is an intensely offensive account of the so-called German and Jewish influence among the Bolshevik leaders. The claims are as

⁵⁰⁶ It is curious to note that she talks fondly of the young Winston Churchill in her 1914 British publication, 'Memories of Forty Years' (Cassell). She recalls Lord Randolph Churchill saying of Winston, "He is a curious mixture of American impudence and English caution, and I feel sure that later on his wildest acts in life will be very wisely premeditated." (p.40). How right he was.

hysterical as they are inaccurate: “*This Kameneff was another repulsive Jew*” (p.203), “*Leon Trotzky, was not a Russian but a German Jew*” (p.10) — these just being a handful book’s more odious and bizarre expressions. To put it more flippantly, Radziwill’s book is basically a ‘Who’s Jew’ of the Bolshevik Revolution.

However, the curiosities don’t end there. Just three months earlier in October 1918, Princess Radziwill had published an altogether different book, not for Small & Maynard this time but for *Cassell & Company*, a publisher with its headquarters in Britain with offices in New York, Toronto and Melbourne. The firm’s London-based Editor was, Sir Arthur Spurgeon who played a key role in developing the *War Propaganda Bureau* during war. It was here that he oversaw the masterful reshaping of the department by John Buchan and his co-panelist, Sir Bernard Pares. A report Spurgeon produced as part of a parliamentary advisory committee with Pares and author and editor, Robert Donald in November 1917, identified the key weaknesses within the Ministry at Wellington House. Although its work had been carried out in a “machine-like groove”, the output was too similar in character and distribution. It had become a great publishing institution rather than effective propaganda agency. In their estimation they had focused too heavily on the wrong kind of pamphlets — “intellectual propaganda” — which was unlikely to have had much appeal to the “popular crowd” and the working classes. The material

produced at Wellington House was considered more suitable for the *leaders* of the popular masses, rather than the actual masses themselves. With the situation in Russia deteriorating, and appeals to the working classes now very much to the fore, it was decided that all future campaigns should be placing far more weight more salacious, eye-grabbing material that was be likely to score more instantly with the working class. It was a point of view that was shared by Britain's director for propaganda, Lord Northcliffe.

It was a damning report, but despite the claims made by both Spurgeon and Pares, the most persuasive means of forcing Masterman out of the head role at Wellington House and bringing Buchan in, came not from destroying confidence in the quality of his propaganda but through his extravagant and inept handling of department finances. In a report from the Select Committee on National Expenditure called by Herbert Samuel it was found that "inefficient and unsuitable methods had been adopted the Department at Wellington House in preparing propaganda for distribution." The man whose discoveries supported this stinging criticism was explorer Ernest Shackleton, who told of having found 900 bales of propaganda literature weighing between 50 to 80 lbs each literature lying discarded in sheds and warehouses in South America. When attempts were made to get them distributed among the masses,

they were found to be out of date. Concerns were also raised about the £126,000 being paid, mainly in cables to Reuters.⁵⁰⁷

THIS NEXT BIT NEEDS IRONING OUT _ IT DIDNT LEAD TO MASTERMAN'S DEMOTION BUT IT CONTRIBUTED TO THE SHAKE UP/ RESTRUCTURING. EARLIER REPORTS BY SPURGEON HAD LED TO HIS DEMOTION AND RESTRUCTURING - *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-18*, Michael L. Sanders, Philip M. Taylor, Macmillan, 1982, pp.259-26. NB Robert Donald was Harold William's 'Boche Government' editor.

As result of this and Spurgeon's earlier report, Charles Masterman was replaced by Buchan as Director.⁵⁰⁸ Obviously, Radziwill's output for *Cassell & Company* and the fairly dramatic fanfare her first book for them received in England in November 1914 ('Memories of Forty Years') makes it reasonable to speculate that no small number of the pages she wrote from 1917 onwards were pushing the interests of Britain and its allies.⁵⁰⁹ The book '*Russia's*

⁵⁰⁷ Memorandum on sixth report from the Select Committee on National Expenditure, Herbert Samuel (House of Commons Paper no. 9 of 1918), 1918, Command papers, CD. 9201, XV.287, vol. 15, 20th Century House of Commons Sessional Papers.

⁵⁰⁸ *British Propaganda during the First World War, 1914-18*, Michael L. Sanders, Philip M. Taylor, Macmillan, 1982, pp.259-26 / Reports on various branches of Propaganda Work and Recommendations, by Robert Donald, Arthur Spurgeon and Professor Bernard Pares, December 1918, TNA, War of 1914 to 1918 Information services, INF 4/4B. Cassell's chief editor, Spurgeon received his knighthood in the 1918 Honours List for services rendered to the British Propaganda effort during the war.

⁵⁰⁹ Among Cassell's more controversial book was W. T. Stead's *The Truth about Russia* (1888) which is alleged to have promoted Tsarism and Konstantin Pobedonostsev, an ultra-

Decline and Fall’, written prior to the October Revolution, heaped no small amount of praise on Russia’s Jewish soldiers for their heroic and patriotic contributions to the war effort with Germany. Here, in complete contrast to her book for *Small & Maynard* the following year, Radziwill gave her full and unequivocal backing to the granting of full and equal rights to Russia’s Jews:

“Unfortunately, ever since the war had broken out the military as well as the civil authorities looked on all Jews with suspicion, and considered them as dangers to the State ... notwithstanding that the fact that Jews without number had volunteered to join the ranks, without being obliged to do so, and were fighting the German invader side by side with the Russians.”

— The Truth about Jews, *Russia’s Decline & Fall*, p.201

The author then moves on to applaud Deputy Freidmann of the Duma when he says, *“In spite of their many hardships ... the Jews in Russia have known how to perform their duties as Russian citizens ... and have offered themselves freely to fight for our fatherland.”*⁵¹⁰ Curiously, Radziwill couldn’t praise them enough. So what had changed between her book for *Cassell & Company* in 1918 and her book for *Small & Maynard* in 1919? Well for one, America

Orthodox associate of *The Protocols*’ Sergei Nilus, in the most favourable of terms. Through his friendship with Olga Novikoff, Stead was introduced to Alexander III who became his patron. There’s a tell-tale line in his book discusses the existence of a “Russo-Jewish ring which had set its heart on the exploitation of the country” (p.100).

⁵¹⁰ *Russia’s Decline & Fall*, Princess Catherine Radziwill, Cassell and Company Ltd, 1918, p.212

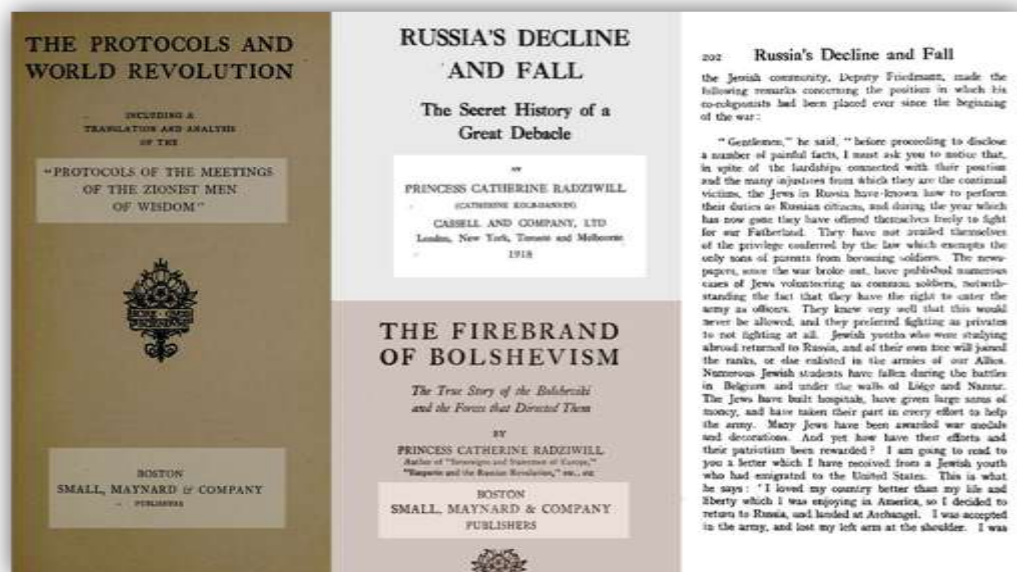
and Britain had entered the war pretty much on the assurance that the prospects of Russia were looking up and that a friendly Liberal government under the management of Alexander Kerensky would be in power. What changed quite simply, was the arrival of Lenin's Bolsheviks. Initially this would have been viewed as a minor interruption in an otherwise smooth transition from Monarchist Empire to Republic, but by the time that Radziwill's book for *Small & Maynard* had arrived on the shelves in America, the fear was setting in that the Bolsheviks could not be toppled. The costs of their unexpected triumph soared Lenin eventually cancelled all loans made to Kerensky by the UK, France and America during the prosperous first stages of his government. American bankers had made significant contributions to the Kerensky government (which promised equal rights to the Jews of Russia), and America and Britain's reward were to be the large mining concessions in Kamchatka and the Ukraine that Kerensky had pledged in return.⁵¹¹ By December 1918, as the Allies prepared for full-scale military intervention, the attitudes of Britain, America and Radziwill to Russia's Jews had reversed dramatically. Suddenly the Jews who had "offered themselves so freely to fight for their fatherland" were supporting the efforts of Germany and not Russia. Had Radziwill's views changed as part of some personal epiphany or had she just been bought? Looked at from the most cynical of perspectives,

⁵¹¹ Associated Press, Washington, 18th April 1919

Radziwill's books simply appear to reflect a change in British and American policy on the Allies' relations with Russia. It will come as no surprise to learn that her books after Russia's Second Revolution have often being described as 'Black PR'.

Radziwill's New York Publisher and The Protocols

After a closer look at Radziwill's publishing history, some other intriguing facts emerge. *Small, Maynard and Co*, the Boston-based company that published Princess Radziwill's deeply anti-Semitic, *The Firebrand of Bolshevism* in 1919 was the very same company that published the first US edition of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in January 1920. As in Britain, it transpires that the publisher of the first edition of The Protocols was linked to the very people who would just one year later expose it as a fake (much the same sequence of acceptance and rejection was repeated by The Times of London between May 1920 and August 1921).



Radziwill's publishers *Small, Maynard* also published the first US edition of *The Protocols* in 1920. Her previous publisher, Cassell had strong links to British Propaganda efforts

So what prompted Radziwill to expose *The Protocols* as a fake in February 1921, after doing so much to further the fake's objectives in her 1919 book, *The Firebrand of Bolshevism*? Fundamentally at least, her own book and *The Protocols* were rooted in a similar delusion, namely that the Bolshevik revolution was part of global master scheme launched by the world's Jews. Both were complete and utter fictions even if one was more faithful to modern customs of 'Yellow Press' reporting. So what changed in January 1922 that prompted Radziwill to expose *The Protocols* as a fake? Did she experience the same change of heart (or plan) as Mikhail Raslovlev, the White Russian exile in Constantinople who revealed all of the secrets of its production to Philip Graves of *The Times* of London that same year? Whilst it is really very

difficult to come up with anything firm, I'd hazard a guess that it was either a change in US Policy on Russia or developments in her home-country of Poland. Or both.⁵¹²

Recurring Villains

Interestingly, the man that Radziwill accuses of colluding in the fabrication of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Ivan F. Manasevitch-Manuilov, is revealed as having played a similarly malevolent role in her book, *Rasputin and the Russian Revolution* (first serialized in the *Evening Illustrated Ledger* in the US in November 1917). In her subsequent publication, *Russia's Decline and Fall* (Cassell, 1918), Russia's Minister of the Interior, the Liberal Politician, Alexander Protopopov also comes under scrutiny (as he does in *Rasputin*). According to some accounts the author of *The Protocols*, Matvei (Mathieu) Golovinski, was in the employment of Protopopov in 1916. This may suggest that Radziwill's decision to expose Golovinski and Manuilov was in some way an extension of her anti-German objectives; that she was building up, to some extent, an additional super-narrative. Of the two books only *Decline and Fall* was published by Spurgeon's *Cassell & Company*. *Rasputin*

⁵¹² Lee Radziwill, the younger sister of Jackie Onassis, wife of US President John F. Kennedy, became a member of the same Radziwill dynasty upon her own marriage to Prince Stanisław Albrecht Radziwill. Prince Ekaterina had married (and divorced) Prince Wilhelm Radziwill.

was published by Britain's *John Lane*, publisher of H.G. Well's *The New Machiavelli* (1911).

How credible is Radziwill's story?

Several modern scholars have attempted to cast doubt on Radziwill's account of seeing draft copies of The Protocols in Paris in 1905. Among them is Italian *Protocols* biographer Cesare De Michelis who claims that her good friend Golovinski wasn't actually in Paris at the time the Princess claims. However, a trawl through the archives of the French press during this period reveals that Golovinski was living at 68 Grand Rue in Bourg la Reine in 1904 (Le Radical, Dec 11 1904, p.3) and the following year at 76 Rue Mouffetard (La Lanterne, February 17 1905 p.4). During this period he was giving lectures on everything from the Russian-Japanese War to the 'love' of Tolstoy. He also makes an appearance representing the legal defence at the '*L'Antimilitarisme*' trials of December 1905, where he can be found standing alongside Fernand Labori, a man who had previously found fame as a lawyer at the trial of Alfred Dreyfus.⁵¹³ This last point is very interesting. In his Afterword to Will Eisner's graphic novel, *The Plot: The Secret Story of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Professor Stephen Eric Bonner argues that the 'Dreyfus Affair'

⁵¹³ Golovinski appears an expert during the trials of the 'L' Affaire de L'Affiche Antimilitariste' – an anarchist trial that took place in December 1905 (see: 'Autres Dispositions', L'Humanité : Journal Socialiste Quotidien, No.620, Dec 28 1905, p.1)

(which rattled on for some years during the late 1800s and early 1900s) not only led Theodore Herzl to organise the very first Zionist Conference in Basel (on which the ‘Jewish plot’ of *The Protocols* was alleged to have been based) he also argues that the ‘Dreyfus Affair’ was the first time that the Jews had been identified with the Liberal and Revolutionary forces of modernity, making Golovinski’s appearance alongside Fernand Labori (Dreyfus’ defence lawyer) an intriguing one, to say the least. In the archives of the French press, he regularly appears as *Doctuer Golovinski*. In 1914 he uses the same title, *Docteur Golovinski* for his book, *The Black Book of German Atrocities*.⁵¹⁴

⁵¹⁴ I ran this by Stephen Eric Bonner but he passed no comment.

AUTRES DÉPOSITIONS

Cette déposition terminée, c'est M^e Labori qui s'avance à la barre. Il dit en quelle estime il tient la sincérité de M. Urbain Gohier, mais il se refuse à apprécier les poursuites actuelles.

Un prévenu. — Est-ce que M^e Labori admet ces poursuites ?

R. A la tribune de la Chambre, on a fait allusion à mon rôle dans l'affaire Dreyfus, et on s'est étonné de la liberté dont j'avais joui, alors que l'on poursuit les prévenus actuels, dont je ne méconnais pas du tout le caractère généreux et désintéressé.

Séverine exprime sa sympathie pour les prévenus et voit, elle aussi, dans le procès actuel, une poursuite pour délit d'opinion.

L'audience est alors suspendue.

A la reprise, le docteur Golovinski parle de l'antimilitarisme en Russie. Il a pris dans ce pays à peu près la même forme qu'en France.

Le citoyen Ménard, secrétaire du syndicat des ardoisiers de Trélazé, se déclare d'accord avec les signataires de l'affiche.

Dr. Mathieu Golovinski appearing with Dreyfus lawyer, Fernand Labori at the 'Antimilitarism Trials' in France (L'Humanité Dec28 1905, p.1)

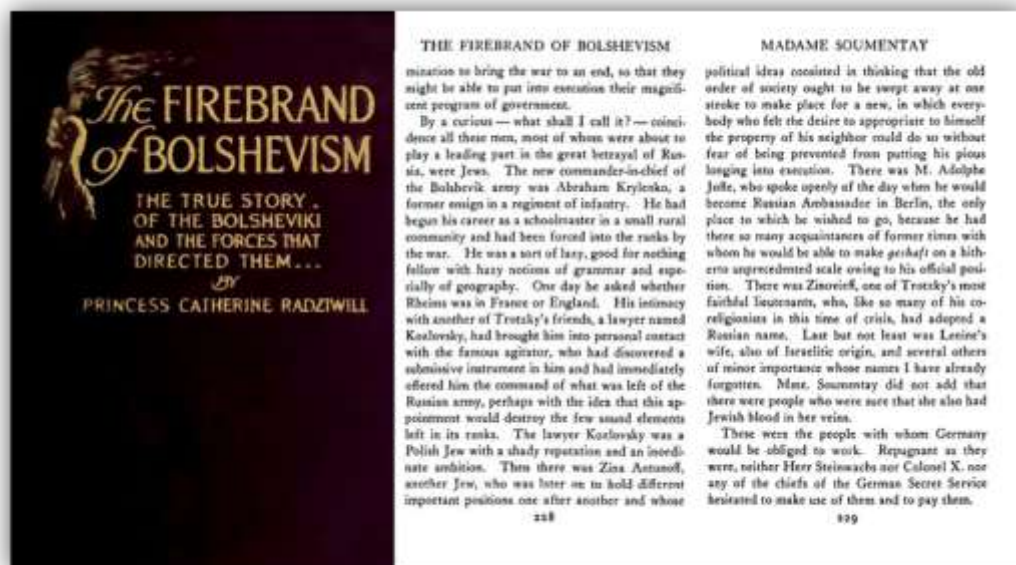
Did Radziwill work for US Military Intelligence?

One thing I haven't been able to determine as yet, is whether Princess Ekaterina Radziwill was the Russian-American asset working for American Military Intelligence who American journalist, Hermann Bernstein revealed to have aided Lieutenant Boris Brasol in his US translation of *The Protocols*. Radziwill had certainly made New York her permanent base, but whether she had been awarded an American passport is another matter. Bernstein claims that when he returned as war correspondent for the *New York Herald* he

was shown a document by an American Officer of the Military Intelligence Department and was requested to submit an opinion about its authenticity. The manuscript the officer gave to Bernstein was a translation of the so-called *Protocols*. The man then explained how the document had come into his possession. He said the document had been stolen by an “unknown woman” in France. Eventually it had found its way to Washington. After a period of investigation Bernstein was able to determine that it had been brought to the attention of a Russian-American woman working at US Military Intelligence by Russian Supplies Officer, Lieutenant Boris Brasol in February 1918.⁵¹⁵ She was advised to present it to her employers as proof of the dangers presented to America and her allies by the Bolsheviks. Preparing for such a meeting, she duly translated it into English.⁵¹⁶

⁵¹⁵ Interestingly, Lt. Boris Brasol was working at the US version of London’s *Russian Government Committee*, where British translator Lt. George Shanks worked during this same period. In America it was called the *Russian Supply Committee* and would liaise regularly with London through its intermediary Sidney Reilly ‘Ace of Spies’ at 120 Broadway, New York.

⁵¹⁶ A journalist for the New York Herald, the New York and Washington Post, Herman Bernstein claims that American Military Intelligence had played a role in distribution of The Protocols in January 1920 (see: The Sentinel, 1 April 1921, p.36)



The *Firebrand of Bolshevism* (Small & Maynard, 1918) by Princess Radziwill)

The San Remo Conference

EXHIBIT No.15



Between April 19 and April 26 1920 a team of representatives from Britain, France, Italy and Japan met in Southern Italy to thrash-out a route plan for the development of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. This would eventually result to the full ratification of the Balfour Declaration first published in November 1917. Strangely, the first reviews of Shanks' *Protocols* were printed just weeks before the meetings took place. The review of Shanks' *Protocols* penned by Henry Wickham Steed of *The Times* of London was published some two weeks after the conference. In an adjacent column readers were given a series of foreign updates, one covering the latest developments in Poland and the other, the triumph of the Bolsheviks over General Wrangel's White Russian forces in Russia.⁵¹⁷ Just 12 weeks before, War Secretary Winston Churchill had made his controversial appeal to the Jews of Britain to get behind plans for the Jewish Nation in an article for the *Illustrated Sunday Herald*. 'Zionism versus Bolshevism', published in February that year, had been designed to apply no small amount of emotional and moral blackmail to any Jew in Britain who wasn't prepared to declare their support of Zionism or

⁵¹⁷ Jewish Peril, *The Times*, May 8th 1920, p.5

renounce the policies of the Bolsheviks (see separate exhibit: 'Zionism versus Bolshevism'). The appearance of Shanks' *Protocols* can only have added to the pressure on British Jews to prove their loyalty to the British Empire by backing the drive against the Bolsheviks and supporting our designs for British Mandate Palestine.

Ze'ev Jabotinsky

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



Jabotinsky was a former Socialist who became a leader of the early Zionist movement, first in the Ukraine, then in St Petersburg and finally in Palestine who had also responsible for leading the British Jewish Legion. The 'Mule Corps', as it was known, had been founded to support British troops in their fight against the Ottomans during the mid to late stages of the First World War. Here he served as an honorary lieutenant in the 38th Royal Fusiliers. The first major review of *The Protocols* in *The Times* of London on May 8th 1920 took place just weeks after he and Pinchas Rutenberg had been arrested as part of an investigation into the 'Jerusalem Massacre' (the Nebi Musa Riots, 4th- 7th April 1920). In the press reports that followed, speculation was rife that there had been a sinister contingent of Bolshevik agent provocateurs active among the Arab Palestinians who had taken part. The riot recalled the riots of Kishinev in 1903 in several ways, including allegations of collusion within the ruling administration (in Jerusalem, it was the British administration, in Kishinev it was Tsarist Russia). In the weeks and months that followed both these atrocities, Jewish efforts in support of the Palestine Settlement increased across the globe and a surge in donations and support would be experienced by

in the various Restoration funds being managed by the Zionists. In July 1920 the Palestine Restoration Fund (Keren Hayesod) which had previously operated on a casual basis, was set-up as a formal organisation to collect funds for the establishment of the Palestine Settlement. Jabotinsky would sit on its Board of Directors. Its HQ was located in London (75 Great Russell Street, Keren Hayesod Central Bureau).

Jabotinsky: Another Press and Propaganda Specialist

Jabotinsky is generally believed to have taken up his position as Director of the *Palestinian Restoration Fund* in London in September 1921, but he had been active on board of the fund since its conception some years before. Shortly after arriving, he entered into a battle for control of the fund with Zionist leader Chaim Weizmann. In London he lived at Hotel London Lancaster Gate before moving to Stafford House Maida Hill West. It was here that he worked as part of the Zionist Executive (Political Department) in charge of the Press and Propaganda Department (Rebel and Statesman, Joseph B. Schechtman, 1956, p.371). In September 1921 he travelled to New York on behalf of the fund. In spite of their wrangling over the future of the Zionist movement, Weizmann had managed to secure his election to the group's Executive, possibly on the insistence of the British on the proviso that

Jabotinsky would assist Weismann (and the British) in their power-struggle with Louis Brandeis in America over the direction the Fund was taking.

After the months immediately following the Jerusalem Massacre, Palestine would also see a massive increase in immigration. The riots took place just weeks before the *San Remo Conference* at the end of April 1920, a series of meetings that would determine the fate of the Jewish National Home in Palestine.

In March 1921 the charges that Jabotinsky and Rutenberg had faced over attempts to arm the Jews during the ‘Jerusalem Massacre’ the year before were dropped after considerable pressure from the pairs’ supporters in Britain, among them Lord Northcliffe and Wickham Steed of The Times. Their release coincided with the first serious efforts to expose *The Protocols* as a fake in Britain and America (see witness: Princess Ekaterina Radziwill). Jabotinsky’s proximity to certain agents of the Zubatov and the Secret Police in St Petersburg in 1905 (Dr Josef Shapiro and Dr Henrik Shaevich among them) ⁵¹⁸ may suggest some discreet yet complex connection between the publication of

⁵¹⁸ Jabotinsky’s Zionist colleagues in Odessa, Dr Shapiro (Josef Saphir) and Dr Henrik Shaevitch were both long serving members of the so-called Zubatovchina with Father Gapon. Both men were at the centre of Tsarist efforts to immigrate thousands of Russian Jews to Palestine, as part of Russia’s own Imperial Mandate. See: *The Story of My Life*, Jabotinsky, p.75-76, 151, and *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, London, ed. Raphael Patai, Herzl Press, 1960, Vol. IV, pp.1520-1525

The Protocols and the campaign to build consensus on both sides of the Atlantic for British Mandate Palestine.

Did the publication of Shanks' Jewish Peril assist in the campaign for Mandate Palestine

If it rested solely on the forceful argument that alliteration alone provides, the idea that Shanks' Protocols somehow propped-up plans for Palestine would be a compelling one. But this is a complex and controversial question, suggesting as it does no small amount of complicity from certain Zionist leaders.

Although few spiritual Zionists would have tolerated such a cynical and far-reaching abuse, more offbeat Zionist leaders like Jabotinsky, who possessed a deep regard for the challenges and sacrifices of *realpolitik* could well have offered some short-term support. Jabotinsky was, for instance, one of the very few Zionist leaders to have supported Dr Theodore Herzl's discussions with Tsarist Minister, Vyacheslav von Plehve back in August 1903, a point of view which put squarely in the minority.⁵¹⁹ His preparedness to negotiate and work with "the enemy" would also land him in trouble with the Zionist Organisation in the 1920s when it was learned that Jabotinsky had colluded with Ukrainian

⁵¹⁹ After the brutal Kishinev Massacre of 1903, Herzl discussed the possibility of Russia funding the immigration of thousands of Russian Jews to Palestine with Minister of the Interior, von Plehve. Plehve's attitude was that "as long as Zionism consisted in wishing to create an independent State in Palestine" it would be supported by the Russian Government. But Zionist plans to establish a Jewish State in Russia would not. See: London Daily News 26 August 1903, p.7/The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, London, ed. Raphael Patai, Herzl Press, 1960, Vol. IV, pp.1520-1525

Separatist (and anti-Semite) Symon Petliura and his spokesman, Maxim Slavinsky. The Zionist leader's passionate anti-Bolshevism had compelled him to deal with the devil and he duly resigned from the organisation after refusing to disclose the full extent of his arrangements with the pair.⁵²⁰

Following the Cairo Conference of March 1921 (and as a response to increasing tension), the Emirate of Transjordan was added to the British Mandate for Palestine. It was formally established on April 11th 1921. During this same month Herman Bernstein published his own expose of *The Protocols* in America. A few months later in June, Churchill made a Parliamentary address on Palestine. Jewish immigration was to be strictly controlled and an Arab solution sought with their right to self-determination preserved. In August 1921 Philip Graves of The Times (an old associate and friend of Jabotinsky) published the first full exposé of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. His report went significantly further than Radziwill's account in that he explained in precise detail just how the book was put together and the works that it had plagiarised to do so (see witness: Philip Graves). Curiously, Jabotinsky is mentioned several times in Grave's 1924 book, *Palestine: The Land of Three Faiths*. In the book, Graves criticizes his arrest and the unreasonable level of abuse he was to suffer.

⁵²⁰ Daily News Bulletin, Jewish Correspondence Bureau, New York, Vol. IV, no.14, January 19 1923

Between the years 1905 and 1906 Jabotinsky had worked alongside Daniel Pasmanik at the Zionist newspaper, *Rassvet* in St Petersburg. Pasmanik, who held a respected post in the *Central Committee of the Zionists* during this period, would eventually become co-editor at Vladimir Burtsev's *Common Cause* journal in Paris, the journal that would act as the semi-official organ of the White Émigré (monarchist, Liberal and anti-Bolshevik) movement during the Russian Civil War (1917-1922). He would later describe Pasmanik as a "fighter against the current tide" and was one of the few Zionist leaders to offer a flattering obituary upon his death in 1929 (Vladimir Jabotinsky, *Story of My Life*, 1936). A 'puff-piece' boasting the efforts and discipline of the Jewish Legion under its charismatic leader Jabotinsky appeared in *The Times* of London in February 1918 (p.3). This may well have been written by Graves.

Report by Sir Stuart Samuel on His Mission to Poland

EXHIBIT No.16



This was a formal parliamentary report that investigated claims of terrifyingly brutal pogroms (Jewish massacres) by British-backed White Russian forces in Poland during the Russian Civil War with the Bolsheviks in 1918. The report was commissioned by Sir Stuart Samuel and performed by Captain Peter Wright. Britain was one of the last countries to publish its reports into the massacres. By May 3rd 1920 questions were being asked in the House of Commons with concerns being raised over the length of time the government was taking in releasing the finding of the mission after its return in December 1919.⁵²¹ The findings of the report finally emerged in the first weeks of June 1920, but its publication was delayed until the latter part of July.⁵²²

Captain Wright and Mission had been dispatched to Poland in September 1919, just as Shanks was preparing to translate and publish *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. The mission carried out its investigation in

⁵²¹ Hansard, Sir Stuart Samuel's Commission, McLaren to Mr Harmsworth, House of Commons, Debate 03 May 1920 vol. 128 cc1686-7

⁵²² Report by Sir Stuart Samuel on his Mission to Poland, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, MISCELLANEOUS No. 10 (1920)

Poland for some three months, finishing in December. As Britain was backing the Polish Whites and Separatists in their fight against the Bolsheviks, some viewed the decision to delay the report into the atrocities as political in nature. The majority of Jews in Europe and America viewed Wright's final report as a 'whitewash'. It did acknowledge widespread killing but the nuanced way in which the report was presented, suggested that only a relatively small percentage of deaths could be attributed specifically to anti-Semitism with no proof of the direct involvement of Polish forces. The report had been prepared for publication on June 2nd 1920, just one week after the *San Remo Conference* and just one month after Wickham Steed published his review of Shanks' *Jewish Peril* in The Times of London (May 8th 1920). It's conceivable that the decision to 'get behind' the Protocols in some Liberal and Conservative circles was an attempt to justify or buffer (at a moral level) the outrageous excesses of the White Russians forces against the Jews in Poland during the 1918-1919 period (Cracow, Lodz, Vilna, Pinsk and Lemberg). Angry exchanges continued to be heard in Parliament regarding the delay in publishing the final report.

Although its failure to offer a fairer picture of the widespread abuses was fairly predictable in many respects, the report does contain some surprises. According to Captain Wright a contingent of Zionists legionnaires fought alongside Wrangel's forces in Poland. His report further alleges that

Zionist propagandists within these units may have exaggerated the scale and frequency of the atrocities (perhaps in an effort to convince European and American Jews that a National Home in Palestine was the only long-term option solution to Jewish persecution). However, Wright's report offers little in the way of evidence for this conclusion and the pressure to attribute the violence to poor reporting and Zionist propaganda would have been immense.

Herbert Samuel

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



Herbert Samuel was appointed the first Commissioner of Palestine in 1920. His proposal for a Jewish National Home in 1915 (The Future of Palestine) led to the Balfour Declaration of 1917, eventually paving the way for the State of Israel. His ‘secret’ white paper in 1915 set out a vision for Palestine as a colonial outpost and ‘buffer’ state, protecting allied interests on the Eastern Flank of the Suez Canal and from any future hostility from Germany. His use of expressions like the ‘British annexation of the country to the British Empire’ makes it abundantly clear that Samuel was *not* proposing an autonomous Jewish State, believing that such an outcome as this could only ever be viable when the Jews of the region had greatly increased their numbers. Neither did he see Palestine as a solution to the problem of the Jews in Europe. As Samuel was quick to point out in his paper, a country the size of Palestine could not cope with nine million Jews, but it could offer some relief to the Jewish populations of Russia. He did not view it as a home for all Jews but as a spiritual and intellectual centre that would empower Jews in the

Diaspora (foreign lands). He did not view it as an end to 'assimilation'. It would simply raise the profile and status of Jews in other lands.⁵²³

⁵²³ 'Secret: The Future of Palestine', Sir Herbert Samuel, Memorandum by British Cabinet Member, January 21 1915

Ivan Fedorovich Manasevich-Manuilov

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



Manasevich-Manuilov was the *Vremya* journalist and former secretary to the Imperial Russian Ministry of the Interior and Prime Minister Count Witte who was accused by Princess Ekaterina Radziwill of being involved in the re-composition of *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* with Tsarists agents, Mathieu Golovinski and Pyotr Rachkovsky in Paris in 1905.

Readers of Russian crime capers may notice that he has a habit of appearing on the fringes of a variety of sensational plots. As a reporter for the Russian newspaper *Vremya*, Manasevich-Manuilov was the first to reveal the full details surrounding the murder of 1905 revolutionary figurehead, Father Gapon. It may also be noted that he was in regular contact with the priest in the weeks leading up to his death. At the time he was said be acting as conduit between Gapon and Rachkovsky as part of plans to revive the official working men's unions formed under the former Police Chief, Zubatov. This was viewed by more liberal ministers, as a better way of managing industrial action and directing Russian workers away from radical Marxist groups.

Over the years Manasevich-Manuilov faced a number of embezzlement charges and bans before finally re-emerging as Private

Secretary to 'Mad Monk' Rasputin. In the final months of 1916 he was duly arrested and charged over his over his links to Rasputin and additional allegations of collusion in German-espionage. He is alleged to have escaped from prison in the chaos of the February Revolution but it is more likely that he was released by the Kerensky Government, possibly at the request of Britain's Secret Service who may have used his services to monitor the movements of the 'mad monk' prior to his assassination. The family of Police Chief Lopukhin, jailed for exposing Yevno Azef as an agent provocateur to revolutionary super-sleuth, Vladimir Burtsev during a train journey, claimed that it was Manasevich-Manuilov and not the former Police Chief Lopukhin who revealed the revolutionary double-agent Yevo Azef as a spy. Burtsev would later reject the claims made by Radziwill that Manasevich-Manuilov played a part in the forging of The Protocols.

Daniel Pasmanik

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



Pasmanik was the maverick Zionist leader and publicist who moved from Socialism to the extreme Russian Nationalist Right after the Bolsheviks seized power in October 1917. He was revered by Jabotinsky who he joined at the *Dawn* (Rassnet) newspaper in St Petersburg in 1904/1905. After the triumph

of Lenin and the Bolsheviks he joined Burtsev (who once described him as a “stubborn young fanatic”) in his support for the White Russian émigré movement in Paris. Here he assisted Burtsev in co-editing the journal *Common Cause* (Obshche Delo). Between November 1919 and April 1920 Pasmanik would give a series of provocative lectures which sought to clarify the links between Bolshevism and Jews and Bolshevism and Christianity.⁵²⁴ Eventually he found himself estranged from the Zionist movement after admitting to having shaken the hand of Vlad Purishkevich, leader of vicious anti-Semites, the Black Hundreds who he and Burtsev had both befriended in Paris (see: ‘Revoliutsionnye gody v Krymu’, 1926). Curiously, Vlad Purishkevich is alleged to have assisted British Intelligence figures in the disposal of Rasputin (who had Manasevich-Manuilov as his private secretary).

Pasmanik ended his days as a key figure in the anti-Bolshevik (pro-Interventionist) movement in Paris. In his final years he became a supporter of fascism under Mussolini. Despite his considerable early commitment and contributions to the spread of Zionism and ideas pertaining to ‘Dual Nationalism’ in Russia and beyond, his death in 1929 went by largely unremarked on by the Jewish Press, his proximity to the Russian Whites and his high-regard for Italian Nationalism having alienated him from both the Zionists and Assimilationists. The one exception was Ze’ev Jabotinsky who

⁵²⁴ Le Bolchevisme et les Juifs’, La Tribune Juive, March 21 1921, p.5

produced a glowing obituary for his old friend and idol in *Rassvet*, the newspaper they had both worked on in Russia some twenty-five years before.⁵²⁵

Anglo-Jewish Association

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



At the time that his *Zionism versus Bolshevism* article went to press, Churchill's rather uncompromising take on British Mandate Palestine was meeting stiff resistance from a large number of prominent Jewish financial, political and religious leaders including Lucien Wolf, Sir Stuart Samuel, Maxime Vinaver, Claude Montefiore and Ewan Montagu. These men backed Full and Equal Rights for Jews in the Diaspora (in their adopted foreign homelands), generally regarding the Palestine solution as a romantic and unnecessary ideal fraught with potential dangers. These men regarded Jews as having a religious rather than national identity. It was this group that campaigned so fiercely on investigating and resolving the pogroms in Poland in 1919, not least because they feared that the resurgence of anti-Semitism was

⁵²⁵ It's often assumed that Zionism was a tightly-bound and rigidly defined ideology that was somehow mass-produced and shrink-wrapped by Herzl in the late 1890s. This was not the case at all, as the life of Pasmanik illustrates perfectly well. Highly recommend reading: *Jewish Liberal, Russian Conservative: Daniel Pasmanik between Zionism and the Anti-Bolshevik White Movement*, Taro Tsurumi, *Jewish Social Studies*, Fall 2015, Vol. 21, No. 1 (Fall 2015), pp. 151-180

energizing (on quite a dramatic scale) the Zionist movement in Russia and Eastern Europe. Sir Stuart Samuel who dispatched Captain Peter Wright to investigate the alleged Pogroms in Poland in November 1919 eventually came to side with Lord Northcliffe on the issue of Zionism. In March 1922, shortly after The Times of London revealed that *The Protocols* had been a complete and utter hoax all along, Samuel issued a statement saying that he no longer wished to be identified with the Jewish National Movement (the Zionists). He was, however, still committed to the general idea of a British Mandate in Palestine.⁵²⁶ His reluctance to embrace the Zionist vision, he would explain, was rooted in concerns over the scale and expense of building such a settlement and the deeply thorny issue of who would control the restoration funds; the two rival options being, the *Anglo-Jewish Economic Council* (which he presided over) or the *Zionist Organisation* (under men like Weizmann and Jabotinsky). In the end it was Samuel's desire that the Economic Council should assume control of all Palestinian Affairs and that the *Palestine Restoration Fund* (Keren Heyesod) should collect and process funds. His earlier contribution of just one guinea to the Palestine Restoration Fund had perhaps articulated his views more sharply and more dramatically than any opinion he was ever likely to express.

⁵²⁶ *Sir Stuart Revealed*, Ben Moshe Zwi, The Sentinel, May 12 1922

Matvei (Mathieu) Golovinski

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



If we were simply investigating the circumstances surrounding the creation of the original Russian edition of *The Protocols* in the early 1900s, then it would be this man who would be in the dock. Thanks to the testimony of Princess Ekaterina Radziwill in 1921 which were followed up and investigated by revolutionary super-sleuth Vladimir Burtsev during the Berne Trials of the 1930s (and more exhaustively by Russian historian Mikhail Lepekhine in the 1990s) it is generally accepted that the lawyer, activist and Tsarist agent, Dr. Mathieu Golovinski was the man who personally sat down and plagiarised the works of Joly and Goedsche before stitching it all back together into the ‘Protocolstein’ monster we know and loathe today. For a detailed and hugely entertaining account of Golovinski’s life I would recommend reading Will Eisner’s 2005 graphic novel, *The Plot: The Secret History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, which traces his development from precocious aristocrat of “fragile social standing” and friend of the novelist Dostoyevsky and his family, to his work as a Clerk in the State Police (responsible for regularly

faking documents in prosecutions) before allegedly drifting into an anti-Semitic society called The Holy Brotherhood.⁵²⁷

Italian scholar Cesare De Michelis claimed that Golovinski wasn't actually in Paris at the time that Radziwill alleges, but a trawl through the archives of the French press during this period reveals that Golovinski was living at 68 Grand Rue in Bourg la Reine in 1904 (Le Radical, Dec 11 1904, p.3) and the following year at 76 Rue Mouffetard (La Lanterne, February 17 1905 p.4). He also makes an appearance representing the legal defence at the 'L'Antimilitarisme' trials of December 1905 (for more details and images, see separate entry: 'How Credible is Radziwill's Story?')



(Left) Copy of *Le Radical* dated December 1904 showing Golovinski at Bourg la Reine in Paris (shown right in the picture)

⁵²⁷ *The Plot: The Secret History of the Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, Will Eisner, Umberto Eco, W.W. Norton, 2005

After many years in Paris, he appears to have gone back to Russia and found employment with Russia's Minister of the Interior, the Liberal Politician, Alexander Protopopov. At the time that *The Protocols* was first exposed as a fake in Britain and America it was alleged that he had died in 1920, the same year that Britain's George Shanks and Russia's Boris Brasol had published their translations in England and America.

Boris Brasol

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



Lieutenant Boris Brasol was believed to have provided the first translation of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* in America in 1920. He served as lead prosecutor in the 1913 *Beillis Case* in which a Russian Jew was accused of a Blood Ritual murder (sacrificial slaughter that is again, totally mythical in origin).

From 1916 he worked as a lawyer at the *Russian Supply Committee* in New York (the US version of Lieutenant George Shanks' *Russian Government Committee* in Kingsway, London). The munitions wing in which Brasol served was based at the Equitable Building at 120 Broadway in New York. The Committee and its successor, the *Division of Supplies of the Russian Embassy*, coordinated and supervised the purchase of military supplies for the duration of the war. The Committee was inevitably plagued by repeated episodes of corruption and 'cloak and dagger' escapades featuring such colourful spying legends as Sidney Reilly 'Ace of Spies' (who had his offices at 120

Broadway), Tony Jechalski and its chief, Colonel Vladimir Nekrasov (HIA, Russia, Posol'stvo, File 370-12).⁵²⁸

Between 1917 and 1920 Brasol was tasked with spearheading the anti-Bolshevik propaganda campaign in the US press (see his two-page advertorial in the New York Times, May 19 1918).

RESCUE FOR RUSSIA

Allied Military Movement Proposed by Slavs in America —Expedition for Friendly Help, Not for Conquest

By LIEUTENANT BORIS BRASOL
of the Russian Guard

This article was read by the author recently to about a hundred representative patriotic Russians in New York. After discussion it was decided that Lieutenant Brasol had accurately reflected the sentiments of those present at the meeting, which was held in the Hotel Rango.

THE errors of a great nation happen fatally to be great errors. The Russian revolution, born in the terrible time of a war of nations, begun with a great error, with the favor of No. 1, abolishing discipline in the army, destroying a popular conception of the respect due to military rank, substituting a false idea of military honor and duty for an empty watchword of "democratization of the army."

Following this error, like its dark shadow, came the rapid and inevitable dissolution of a army—the dissolution of the military power of Russia. (Shoulder straps are torn from the uniform officers; "in the navy" when in the "gun a murder" "gun")

not notice the symbolical figure of the Prussian eagle. The disorganization of the army, of course, was not confined to certain individual portions. Very rapidly the higher ranks, from the army staff to the supreme commanders, found themselves under the measure of the councils of soldiers' deputies. The splendid army commanders, Brusiloff, Korniloff, and Alexeieff, appeared unfit in the eyes of the

succeeded in making of "great Russia" only a "great disorder." The splendid commanders of the Russian Army first fell under suspicion and then were accused of treason, and by those who themselves stood upon that indefinable boundary line where a Leninist ends and a German spy begins.

Thus the derangement of the military power of Russia went on wider and deeper. In the Autumn of 1917 it became re-

destroying the very soul and heart in the ranks of the soldiers and delivering the army over to the control of the apostle of demagoguery.

The German military leaders attentively followed the process of internal decay and disintegration of the Russian Army and at the moment when that process had reached its culminating point, the Germans, in full accord with the Bolsheviks, staged the Brest-Litovsk conference and concluded a "peace" which delivered Russia into their sovereign power for decades in advance. Independently of the treaty of peace, simultaneously it was unanimously declared by the Councils of Workmen and Soldiers' Deputies at the Moscow assembly, the Germans advance upon the entire eastern front, and within the short time had occupied the entire Baltic region, the south-western portion of Finland, the Dnieper basin, an almost all of West Russia, with Odessa and Kherson.

Thus died the Russian Army, thus perished the military power of Russia.

The wrecking of the Russian military power must naturally react in the most hurtful manner upon the



New York Times, May 19 1918

⁵²⁸ For more all this see: 'American Relief Administration Scandal – Captain James V. Martin, Herbert Hoover & Russia', Alan Sargeant, July 20 1919: <https://pixelsurgery.wordpress.com/2019/07/20/first-russian-job-ara-relief-scandal/>

In 1919 it is alleged that Brasol assisted American car manufacturer, Henry Ford with compiling his anti-Semitic Opus magnum, *The International Jew: The World's Foremost Problem*. Those familiar with the tome will know that Ford and his acolytes surgically removed large chunks of The Protocols for an argument he was putting forward in his notorious four-volume set. Brasol is also known to have assisted Ford in the production of his newspaper, *The Dearborn Independent* (which serialised the book first in 1920).

The journalist Hermann Bernstein, whose professional contact with Protocols expert Vladimir Burtsev dated back to 1909, did much to expose *The Protocols* as a fake in the United States. In 1921 he claimed that Brasol had brought it to the attention of a woman working as an agent of American Military Intelligence as early as February 1919.⁵²⁹ He alleges that the woman's superiors said they might be able to make use of it as part of their anti-Bolshevik propaganda. She is then reported to have assisted in its translation into English.

⁵²⁹ The Sentinel, 1 April 1921, p.36

HERMAN BERNSTEIN EXPOSES HENRY FORD IN THIRD ARTICLE

New York, (J. T. A.) Upon my return from Europe several months ago I noticed the anti-Jewish articles in Henry Ford's weekly. I sent him the following telegram:

"My attention was called to articles denouncing the Jews, published in the Dearborn Independent, with which you are identified. The articles in question are so malicious, filled with distortions of the truth, that I cannot imagine you sanctioned their publication. During my recent travels I have convinced myself that there is a huge conspiracy against the Jewish people, cunningly organized, to discredit them everywhere, as the czar's government attempted through the notorious Belsky affair, but failed shamefully. I am asked to comment on your Dearborn Independent articles, before doing so I would like to have a statement from you, which I always regarded as a broad-minded, warm-hearted, humanitarian American."

In answer to this I received the following telegram from the Dearborn Independent:

"We have your telegram to Mr. Ford. Its contents clearly indicate that you reached your conclusions and that any further comment we have to express in connection therewith would not influence your biased judgment thereon."

In February 1919 shortly after my return to New York from Siberia, where I was accredited as war correspondent to the American Expeditionary Force, an American officer of the Military Intelligence Department submitted to me a "document" which he said he considered of great importance and of far-reaching significance. He wanted me to examine

Early in February, 1918, Lieutenant Boris Brasol, a Russian officer, called the attention of a Russian-American young lady employed by the agent of the American Military Intelligence Department to the so-called "protocols," and asked her to inform her employer of the contents of the "document" as being of great importance in view of the Bolshevik activities in Russia. The young lady told the American physician about the "document" and said that she had access to it. She asked for time to translate it into English. During the two months she was engaged on the translation of the "document" Lieutenant Brasol and General C. J. Sosenovskiy were in conference with her concerning the manuscript.

During that time a characteristic episode occurred. The American agent of the Military Intelligence Department came to the young lady with important news. He said he had just learned from Russian sources that the assassin of the Russian Minister of the Interior, Sipiagin, was a Jew. As it was mentioned by Nilsen that Sipiagin knew of the existence of the "protocols" and insinuated that he was murdered on that account, the information that his murderer was a Jew would be conclusive proof that the "protocols" were of Jewish origin. The Russian-American young lady, who is familiar with Russian revolutionary history, laughed at the American agent's information and assured him she knew that Haimanov, the student who assassinated Sipiagin was a Gentile and not a Jew.

Who is this Lieutenant Brasol, the Russian who first revived the "protocols" in this country?

A Russian who knows him intimately describes him as follows:

Herman Bernstein writing about Brasol and American Military Intelligence in April 1921

Arthur Balfour

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



Balfour was the British Foreign Secretary most famous for making the wartime pledge of a Jewish National Home in Palestine in the *Balfour Declaration*, published within 24 hours of the Bolshevik takeover in Russia (November 9 1917). He was replaced as Foreign Secretary by Lord Curzon in October 1919. Curzon was ridiculed for believing in the authenticity of Shanks' *Jewish Peril*. Although he took part in the drafting of the Mandate of Palestine, Curzon's vision was significantly different to that of Balfour. Curzon anticipated that the region would eventually become the source of huge conflict (his daughter Cynthia would later become the wife of British Fascist Oswald Mosley). By contrast, Balfour's interest in the Zionist cause dated back to 1903 and 1904 and his friendship with Zionist, Chaim Weizmann and the Chovevei Zionist pioneer, Joseph Massel when Balfour was serving as Conservative MP for Manchester East.

Massel had arrived in Manchester from Lithuania in 1882, where according to his obituary in the *Manchester Guardian* he had excitedly opened a printing-house and immediately set about publishing a book of original poetry and a collection of rare and ambitious translations (Manchester

Guardian, 07 Sep 1912, p.10). Massel was eventually joined in Manchester by future Israeli President, Chaim Weizmann. At an address at the Derby Hall in Cheetham Hill in 1900, Rabbi Richard Gottheil (of New York) and Massel had already proposed a resolution to bring the Manchester Zionist movement under the management of the American federation (Manchester Guardian, 20 Aug 1900, p.6).⁵³⁰ During this period Balfour would work tirelessly on the so-called 'Uganda Scheme', a precursor to the Balfour Declaration in which Britain proposed resettling thousands of Russian Jews in East Africa, plans having been greatly accelerated as a result of the global backlash to the violence that had erupted in Kishinev during Easter 1903.

Whilst supported by Zionist leader Theodore Herzl, the Uganda proposal suffered a resounding defeat at the 6th Zionist Congress in Basel in August 1903. Among those who rejected it was Ze'ev Jabotinsky, who was evidently more supportive of the Tsarist Palestine proposals being made by von Plehve and supported by the Palestine-only 'maximalists' among Odessa Zionists. However, the pledges that von Plehve had been making had awakened hope in other Jewish nationalist groups in Russia, who perceived it

⁵³⁰ Joseph Massel, born Yoysef Yechezkel Mazl in Vilna in 1850 had left his position as a Russian mining executive in 1887 to become a leading member of a movement in North West England pressing for support and funds to help bolster the small yet dignified Chovevei settlers in Palestine from the movement's base on Cheetham Hill Road. For more on Massel and Weizmann see: *Chaim Weizmann: The Making of a Zionist Leader*, Jehuda Reinharz, 1985.

as a sign that the Tsar was softening his approach to the Jews and might eventually concede to their demands for self-rule in Russia. This was not and never had been the case. As the Sixth Zionist Congress in Basel got underway in August 1903, Herzl made the mistake of publically acknowledging his ‘secret’ meetings with von Plehve. Within days von Plehve had made a formal and rather furious announcement to the press qualifying some of the statements he had made in his conversations with Herzl. So what was said in these conversations? As understanding this may prove crucial in understanding the dilemmas faced by the British as plans were being made to prepare the Palestine road-map.

A Russian Mandate Palestine (1903)

It’s worth remembering that much of what had been discussed between Herzl and von Plehve had already been discussed between Herzl and Kaiser Wilhelm a few years earlier. Palestine mandates had been conceived of before. First of all, there were several dimensions to Russia and Germany’s interest in pushing Zionism as broad spectrum solution its cultural and economic problems: on the one hand it would help extend the political influence of both countries in the Middle East and on the domestic front, it would also starve The Bund⁵³¹ and

⁵³¹ The Jewish Labour Bund were the Zionists’ more Marxist rivals and were naturally perceived as a far more revolutionary threat in the region.

the Socialist Democratic and Revolutionary movements of some of their most powerful leaders and combat activists.⁵³²

In the meetings and correspondence between Herzl and von Plehve in early August 1903, the Tsar's minister was already conceding that the standard of living in the Pale Settlement (Russia's Jewish reservation) was terrifically poor. The region was, he confessed, little more than a ghetto. It was Plehve's belief that as long as the standard of living continued to deteriorate it was inevitable that more and more Jews would join the Revolutionary parties. Writing from St Petersburg on August 12th Herzl spoke of a receiving a "long, satisfying letter from Plehve together with a personal note". At a meeting in St Petersburg on August 8th Plehve had explained in the clearest and most dispassionate of terms how the Imperial Government of Russia now intended to "resolve the Jewish Question in a humane manner". After much consideration they had decided to balance the needs of the Jews with those of the State. They had decided that the most practical way of assisting the Jews was to give aid to the Zionist movement which would consist of the following: effective intervention with His Majesty, the Sultan and obtain and charter to colonize Palestine with the exception of the Holy Places. The administration would be managed by the Colonisation Company and set-up with sufficient

⁵³² The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, London, ed. Raphael Patai, Herzl Press, 1960, Vol. II, pp.726-734, p.737

capital by the Zionists. Secondly the Imperial Government would provide a financial subsidy for emigration.⁵³³ It was hoped that the relationship that could be established between the Imperial Russian Government and Zionism whilst not "amicable" could at least be practical to them both.⁵³⁴ Just a few days before von Plehve had issued a circular to the Governor of Kherson banning Zionist activity in the Province, its passionate Nationalism disrupting any attempt to resolve the tensions between the Christians and the Jews in the region.⁵³⁵ This may seem a somewhat contradictory move in the circumstances, but one needs to differentiate between the types of Zionist views and activity being expressed at this time, and the semi-autonomous nature of some of Russia's provinces. The problem here was that the Governor of Kherson had his own ideas about settling the Jewish Question. As far as he was concerned, the Jews had showed an encouraging response to his agricultural programs and possessed a strong belief in their abilities to cultivate the land. It just needed some encouragement. For him the best way of helping dissipate the National and cultural energy that extremists among them were harnessing, was to offer them a more equal share of the land that the Jews were farming and remove the obstacles to education. Worrying numbers

⁵³³ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, Vol IV, pp. 1520-152, August 9th 1903

⁵³⁴ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, Vol IV, pp. 1520-1521

⁵³⁵ New York Times 07 August 1903, p.3

of Jewish families were leaving for the United States and from America's perspective at least, there needed to be some way of stemming the flood.⁵³⁶

The meeting Herzl had with von Plehve a few days later went even better than the first. Whilst dismissing some of the criticism levelled by foreign governments on the way they handled the Jews in Russia, the Tsar's minister accepted that if *he* were a Jew in Russia he too might be an enemy of the government. Things being what they were he was able to relay a message from the Emperor saying that "the creation of a Jewish State, capable absorbing several million Jews" would suit them best of all. However, they weren't prepared to lose all Jews, just those who were contributing little in the way of value to education or the treasury. In a way that mimicked the US 'Anarchist Exclusion' Act of March 1903, it was those who were "weak" and with "little property" that they were keenest to let go. More specifically, they wanted to keep the shrewd capitalist Jews of Russia — those with their trove of foreign investors and firm links with Jewish financial houses like the Rothschilds of Paris— and push those expressing Socialistic and revolutionary sentiments en-masse to the Turkish borders where they could then march fractiously into Jerusalem and disrupt the Ottoman Arabs. Writing in Vladimir Burtsev's *Byloe* journal in 1918, Police Chief Sergei Zubatov would confirm that both von Plehve and the former Chief of Police Lapukhin had begun to

⁵³⁶ Evening Mail December 21st 1903, p.2

see Zionism as a simple mechanism that could absorb large numbers of revolutionary Jews and compete successfully with Socialist principles. The careful recalibration of a Jewish national identity would direct the energy of the troublemakers in a completely different direction. Better still, another country.⁵³⁷

To push matters along von Plehve indicated to Herzl that he would urge Count Witte to withdraw his decree prohibiting the sale of shares of the Colonial Trust whose main activities in Palestine were being carried out at this time by the Anglo-Palestine Bank — the *Bank Leumi* —founded as a joint stock company subject to English jurisdiction, framed according to English laws, and under the protection of England.⁵³⁸ Just a few weeks later on October 3rd, the Zionist Actions Committee under the Presidency of Herzl made the collective decision to place any dividends granted to the shareholders of the Colonial Trust at the disposal of the Actions Committee to cover the costs of the various fact-finding missions to Palestine and East Africa. Among those members of the Actions Committee making the appeal to the Trust was Dr Yosef Shapiro (Sapir)⁵³⁹, the Zionist leader from Odessa who protest leader Father Gapon had claimed had been receiving ‘material support’ from

⁵³⁷ The Attitude of the Jewish and the Russian Intelligentsia to Zionism in the Initial Period: 1897-1904, J. Goldstein, The Slavonic and East European Review, Vol. 64, No. 4, Oct., 1986, pp. 546-556

⁵³⁸ Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, Vol. IV, p.1526

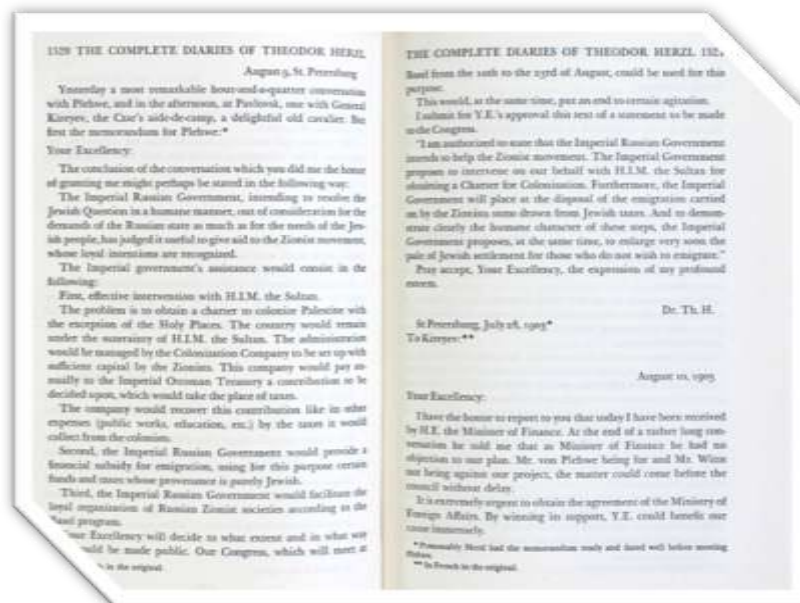
⁵³⁹ Philadelphia Jewish Exponent 02 October 1903, p.6

Zubatov.⁵⁴⁰ In the first week of September Plehve had released a circular ordering all funds being collected by the Jewish National Fund should be redirected to the Odessa Committee, possibly as a result of the fund's links to British and German interests and it straying from the original programme of establishing a State in Palestine (New York Times, September 2 1903, p.1). The statement coincided with a demand put forward by 'No' voter Meir Dizengoff, the revolutionary Odessa businessman who had been managing the affairs of Ze'ev Jabotinsky's self-defence militia under the watchful eye of Okhrana agent, Henrik Shaevich. A few days after the vote had been cast, Dizengoff pleaded that any monies raised for the National Fund should be reserved exclusively for the Palestine project. Only by investing at least "three quarters of the money" on land there now could the organisation prevent any further attempts on using the cash for "any other use". The rich, fertile soils they needed were being seized by rival investors. They needed to act fast. They needed to act now.⁵⁴¹

Some several months earlier in February 1903, shortly before the Kishinev massacre, The *Jewish Voice of America* had been reporting that the Odessa Committee had appointed a body to deal exclusively with the purchase of land in Palestine and was instructing that all sums devoted to that purpose

⁵⁴⁰ The Story of My Life, Father George Gapon, E.P Dutton & Co, 1906, pp. 91-97

⁵⁴¹ Zionistenkongress, VI Basel 1903, Protokol de VI. Zionistenkongresses in Basel Vom. 23, 28 August 1903, p.287



Zionist Leader Theodore Herzl (whose very existence influenced the Protocols) discussing options for a Palestine Settlement with Russia's Minister of the Interior in August 1903

should be deposited with the Jewish Colonial Trust in London. By March that year a substantial tract of agricultural land had been purchased by rival stakeholders, whilst banker and philanthropist Edmond de Rothschild who had bankrolled the first Hovevei Zion settlement at Rishon LeZion in the early 1880s was now in possession of an additional four farming villages near Tiberias on the western shore of the Sea of Galilee. The discovery of such a plot would have eventually left von Plehve with little option but clarify the Tsar's position and immediately shut-down any fundraising activities that were likely to favour a rival nation.⁵⁴² As one of the oldest groups seeking to

⁵⁴² The Jewish Voice, 6 February 1903, p.8

colonize land for the purpose of farming Palestine, the Odessa Committee (known alternatively as the Odessa Society) was the only Zionist group that Plehve was willing to do business with. Its aims were among the most transparent and most practical of its agents in Russia. And to cap it all, among the Committee's most respected and senior members was Zubatov's Dr. Shapiro (Yosef Sapir) whose support they could clearly rely on.

The next meeting Herzl had with von Plehve on August 13th 1903 went even better. Whilst dismissing some of the criticism levelled by foreign governments on the way they handled the Jews in Russia he accepted that if he were a Jew in Russia he too might be an enemy of the government. Things being what they were he was able to relay a message from the Emperor saying that "the creation of a Jewish State, capable absorbing several million Jews" would suit them best of all. However, they weren't prepared to lose all Jews, just those who were contributing little in the way of value to education or the treasury.⁵⁴³ In a way that mimicked the US 'Anarchist Exclusion' Act of March 1903, it was those who were "weak" and with "little property" that they were keenest to let go. More specifically, they wanted to keep the shrewd capitalist Jews of Russia — those with their rich, private networks of foreign investors and firm links with Jewish financial houses like the Rothschilds of Paris. Those expressing Socialistic and revolutionary sentiments could be

⁵⁴³ Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, Vol. IV, pp. 1534-1535

pushed en-masse to the Turkish borders where they could then march fractiously into Jerusalem and disrupt the Ottoman Arabs. Writing in Vladimir Burtsev's *Byloe* journal in 1918, Zubatov would confirm that both von Plehve and the former Chief of Police Lapukhin had begun to see Zionism as a simple mechanism that could absorb large numbers of revolutionary Jews and compete successfully with Socialist principles. The careful recalibration of a Jewish national identity would direct the energy of the troublemakers in a completely different direction. Better still, another country.⁵⁴⁴

Whatever had happened between that last meeting with von Plehve and the Sixth Congress in Basel is not entirely clear, but whatever it was, it triggered a sharp reversal in tone and the unceremonious exit of Russia's most controversial civil servant to date. Von Plehve's position on the issue, publically at least, becomes a little more clear in the statement clarifying the Tsar's position on the Jewish Question, and their commitment to the Palestine option that he released to Herzl and the press during the closing stages of Zionist Congress in Basel in August:

“As long as Zionism consisted in wishing to create an independent State in Palestine, and promised to organize the emigration from Russia of a certain number of its Jewish subjects, the Russian government was

⁵⁴⁴ The Attitude of the Jewish and the Russian Intelligentsia to Zionism in the Initial Period: 1897-1904, J. Goldstein, *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 64, No. 4, Oct., 1986, pp. 546-556

perfectly well able to be favourable, but from this moment when this principal aim of Zionism is found to be abandoned in order to be replaced by a simple propaganda of national Jewish concentration in Russia, it is natural that the Government cannot tolerate this new departure of Zionism. Its only effect would be to create groups of individuals, perfectly strange and hostile to the patriotic sentiments which are the power of every State.

That is why Zionism cannot be tolerated except on condition that it returns to its former plan of action. It could in that case count on moral and material support when certain of its practical measures should cause a diminution in the Jewish population of Russia. This support might consist in protecting the agents of the Zionists near the Ottoman Governments, in helping the action of emigration societies, and in even in supplementing the needs of these societies, evidently outside the means of the State, by means of contributions levied on the Jews.

I consider it necessary to add that the Russia Government, obliged to conform in its mode of action in the Jewish Question to the interests of the State, has nevertheless never departed from the great principles of morality and humanity. Quite recently it has enlarged the rights of domicile within the borders of the localities destined for the Jewish population, and nothing prevents it hoping that the carrying out of these measures will serve to ameliorate the conditions of living of the Russian

Jews, especially if emigration diminishes their number. —Tours, etc ...”

— London Daily News 26 August 1903, p.7

Within days of this letter being published Plehve released his circular ordering all funds being collected by the Jewish National Fund (which was ostensibly a fund being propped-up by British interests) should be redirected to the Odessa Committee under Jabotinsky’s mentor, Dr. Shapiro. What came next was even worse. On August 19th 1903 St Petersburg’s Chief of Police, Sergei Zubatov was dramatically fired by von Plehve. The support he had offered to the Zionists and the Jewish Independent Party had only served to heighten the self-awareness and nationalism of Russia’s Jewish populations. As far as Plehve was concerned, his schemes to introduce legalised worker’s unions in an effort to decelerate the spread of Revolutionary Socialism and to legitimize the Zionist movement had backfired spectacularly. Chief Lapukhin had been warning that things were deteriorating fast. As a result the Jewish Independent Party under Dr. Shaevich was shutdown. Zubatov’s dismissal came some twelve months to the day that he had sanctioned the first Zionist Conference at Białystok. His ‘Zubatovshschina’ was all but finished. But things may not have been all that they seemed.

The order from the Ministry of the Interior to re-direct the flow of funds to Shapiro and the Odessa Committee in the first week of September does seem to suggest that Zubatov’s attempt to bolster the Zionist’s Palestine

Settlement programme was still being actively pursued by von Plehve.⁵⁴⁵ He may have published a circular banning the greater part of Zionist activity in Russia, but the Palestine 'Maximalists' of Odessa the beating, practical heart of the original Bilu and Hovevei Zion movements, appear to have been one group who found themselves exempt from this new approach. Moreover, as receivers of all the various cash-donations to Jewish National Fund, they were benefitting financially and politically from the crackdown on their rivals. Although the real reasons for Zubatov's dismissal have never been entirely clear to historians there are some clues to be found in a letter sensationally published the New York World a few months later in November. The letter, written by Solomon Wiener of Manhattan was dated August 27th, was warning von Plehve of a British plot:

100 East Eighty-Second Street, New York, Aug 27th 1903

Excellency: Several months have gone since I laid before his Excellency Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Washington my views about Rabbinical Judaism and Zionism and offered him my services to combat this danger and disclose this world swindle. Your Excellency how right I was. Zionism is a political experiment on the part of England and Dr Herzl and Dr Nordau are in English Pay. Having been unsuccessful in regard to Palestine they have hit upon an exodus to Africa and the

⁵⁴⁵ New York Times, September 2 1903, p.1

*above-named leaders are unscrupulous enough to lend their brethren
(?) to destruction. I have a great desire to write a book about the whole
business which would completely justify the conduct of your
government but without your support as I can do nothing as His
Excellency Count Cassini will confirm.*

S. Wiener

— The World, November 26th 1903, p.3

Within days of this letter being published, Russia's von Plehve released his circular ordering all funds being collected by the *Jewish National Fund* — which was ostensibly a fund being propped-up by British interests — should be redirected to the *Odessa Committee* under Dr. Shapiro.

What was going on here, and who was Solomon Wiener? The *New York World* reporter had made attempt to answer these questions, but the few details that were being offered only served to further obfuscate the matter. The letter it was claimed, translated from its original German, had been uncovered in Plehve's 'Secret Archives'. Whilst the newspaper doesn't explain how the letter arrived in their possession, the fact that it emerged shortly after von Plehve's dismissal of Police Chief Sergei Zubatov which would make one naturally think that it may have arrived in the hands of the newspaper courtesy of the

vexatious former Police Chief himself. But the date of letter makes this extremely unlikely. Zubatov was dismissed from his role on August 19th 1903 and was ordered to leave St Petersburg immediately. The letter is dated August 27th and is likely to have found its way into von Plehve's 'secret archive' sometime in September at the earliest. The fact that it makes explicit mention to "his Excellency Count Cassini, the Russian Ambassador at Washington" makes me inclined to think that the publication of the letter had the full approval of Plehve and that it had produced specifically for publication in the *New York World*. If Wiener's letter had been a genuinely spontaneous effort intended only for the attention of Plehve, it seems doubtful that the writer would have needed to explain that Count Cassini was the Russian Ambassador in Washington. Von Plehve wouldn't need this explaining. In my estimation this rather helpful clarification is clearly for the benefit of the American reader, who wouldn't have had a Scooby who Cassini was. It's the press equivalent of providing subtitles. In view of its intended recipient, the more natural expression is likely to have read: "*Several months have gone since I laid before his Excellency Count Cassini, my views about Rabbinical Judaism and Zionism*". As Russian Government's Minister of the Interior, von Plehve didn't need to be told by Mr Wiener from New York that Cassini was their Ambassador in Washington. But the *New York World* report wasn't just covering up the manner in which they may

have obtained Wiener's letter, it was also concealing the true nature of the letter's intent. Although the accompanying report in the newspaper was obliged to point out that Solomon Wiener was a former Zionist himself, it failed to acknowledge the immense divide that opened up between the maximalists of *Hovevei Zion* — who Wiener was a member of himself — and Theodor Herzl, the man Wiener claimed to be in the pay of the British. This was undoubtedly a case of sour grapes and indications that the various factions of the Zionist movement were further splintering. Contrary to what modern conspiracy theorists think, and what *The Protocols* tried so pitifully hard to prove, the Zionist movement was not a homogenous movement. Their ideals different in many respects, and their loyalties were indeed divided by region to region.

The exclusive in the *New York World* newspaper wasn't an attempt by a former Zionist to blow the whistle on the Zionist Movement per se; it was an attempt to destroy the watered-down version of Zionism being bankrolled by the British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain and its increasingly vilified founder, Mr Herzl. The problem wasn't Zionism, it was the Ugandan Scheme; the British-backed compromise that would see the Jewish colony set-up in Africa and not Palestine. At the time the letter was published the offer was under serious

consideration and an expedition was being prepared. If successful it would have been to the detriment of Russia and the United States; Russia because it robbed them of their stakes in a key Ottoman region, and the America because it would lure the raft of Jewish investors currently pumping power into Wall Street over to their much-loathed cousins, the Brits. Just as Chamberlain and Balfour were poised to capitalize on Zionism, the rug was taken from under them: Zionism was being sold as a British conspiracy. What made it all the more extraordinary, is that it was a small group of rival Zionists who were attempting to sell this idea in the press.

Wiener had done a consummate job of proving his credentials to the *New York World*. Claiming to be a blood relative of the man he was accusing of being an agent of the British Government — Dr Max Nordau — he boasted he had inside knowledge of the Zionist movement. He had lived in Russia for thirty years, having been born in Bialystock in the 1830s. ‘Cousin’ Max was likely to have won himself few friends in America after claiming in an interview with the press some six years previously that the Jewish race was intellectually, morally “and under certain conditions” physically superior to all the Aryan peoples, with the possible exception of the English (Indianapolis Journal 29 August 1897 p.14). It was exactly the kind of expression that would support Wiener’s

claims and have the ordinarily supportive New Yorkers foaming at the mouth and falling hook, line and sinker for practically any salacious claim he attempted pin on the pair. It was a Protocols-type device before The Protocols had even fully taken shape. Wiener was stirring up a hornet's nest of casual anti-Semitism and turning it against his rivals in England. In a year when plans to restrict the number of Jews entering America had gathered pace with the launch of a new Exclusion Act ⁵⁴⁶, the chauvinistic basis of Nordau's 'Muscular Judaism' was more likely provoke some no less burly aggression from *New York World* readers. Wiener never explained just how he was related Nordau, but then neither did he explain how his *Hovevei Zion* brand of Zionism had become increasingly estranged from the bastardized version of Zionism being rudely re-imagined by Anglophiles Nordau and Herzl. For the sake of the argument he'd switched sides. He'd drilled his little stick of dynamite deep into the bedrock of American patriotism, taken a step back and watched it blow. Few readers would have known that his objections were the cruel and fractious outcome of bitter rivalries within the group, and not as he and the *New York World* was want to impress upon them, the shock and horror of a Reformed Jew — a non-believer.

⁵⁴⁶ America's Anarchists Exclusion Act was effective from March 1903. It did little to prevent the immigration of anarchists and everything to disqualify the entry of Russia's poorest and most needy Jewish travellers (beggars, the infirm, and the un-skilled).

Little of what Wiener was saying was new. Zionism had been viewed as peculiarly English invention for years. The celebrated Jewish Arabist Dr. Eduard Glaser was already of the opinion that Zionism as “nothing but an English catspaw for the partition of Turkey and the creation of a petty State”.⁵⁴⁷ The Americans and their pro-German allies were simply reheating an old debate. What made the story more sensational this time around was that it had a rather dramatic and exciting ‘whistleblower’ dimension. The claims being made this time around came from an ‘insider’ — a ‘turn’. It would be difficult to fault the creativity of the *New York World*. They had presented Wiener as a Jewish American patriot who had seen the error of his ways and now totally recanted the Zionist vision being offered by Herzl and Nordau. But this was not the case. To learn more about Solomon Wiener, see his entry in the appendix.

Jabotinsky: A common actor in the Russian and British Mandates

Jabotinsky’s faith in Tsarist commitment to the project spearheaded by von Plehve and between Zubatov and the Odessa Committee in 1903 had been buoyed by the Tsar’s decision to allow the very first *All Russian Zionist*

⁵⁴⁷ Philadelphia Jewish Exponent 04 February 1898, p.6

Conference to take place at the Hotel Paris in Minsk in 1902 (organised in part by Chief of Police Zubatov and Jabotinsky's mentor in Odessa, Dr Josef Shapiro (Yosef Sapir). Zubatov had been convinced that the Jewish movement would come to reject a revolution if its energies could be channelled into taking a purely economic and liberal route.⁵⁴⁸ This tactic, first used by the Tsarists, would subsequently, be adopted by Churchill and the anti-Bolsheviks in their championing of Zionism over Bolshevism. In many ways the British and American adoption of the Palestine Solution was based on a similar proposal being made Zubatov and von Plehve in 1902 and 1903, which imagined Palestine as a trading outpost for Imperial Russia. But the actual idea went back further still. As we now know, the idea had first been discussed by Herzl and Kaiser Wilhelm in Germany, when the Tsar's third-cousin was entertaining the possibility of a Jewish-German 'buffer state'.⁵⁴⁹

The role of Jabotinsky in both mandates isn't clear. He was certainly a critical player in the British Jewish Legion during the war, and his support at Northcliffe's *The Times* is not in question. His old friend Pinchas Rutenberg (who Jabotinsky dispatched to America with Chaim Zhitlovsky to form an American Jewish Legion in 1915) certainly became the darling of Churchill.

⁵⁴⁸ Sergei Zubatov and Revolutionary Marxism, Jeremiah Schneiderman, Cornell University Press. 1976, p.232

⁵⁴⁹ *The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl*, London, ed. Raphael Patai, Herzl Press, 1960, pp.726-734, p.737 & Vol. IV, pp.1520-1525 & Vol. II

His relationship to the ‘Russian Mandate Palestine’ plans of 1902 and 1903 are a little less clear. On the one hand we have his proximity to Odessa Zionists, Dr Shapiro and Dr Shaevitch, who were working so very closely with Police Chief Sergei Zubatov in 1902 and 1903, and we also have his proximity to Alexei Suvorin Jnr, the son of notorious anti-Semite and Russian patriot, Alexei Suvorin Snr, the newspaper magnate who employed Ivan Fedorovich Manasevich-Manuilov at the *Novoye Vremya*, alleged to have taken part in the 1905 publication of The Protocols (see separate entries on Princess Ekaterina Radziwill and Ivan Fedorovich Manasevich-Manuilov). When Jabotinsky arrived in St Petersburg from Odessa in 1904 he immediately went to work at Alexei Suvorin Jnr’s *Rus* newspaper.⁵⁵⁰ A life-long member of the *Imperial Orthodox Palestine Society*, Suvorin the Younger had been responsible for publishing the richly illustrated publication, ‘Palestine’ in the 1890s and the region and its fertile belt of holy sites had maintained a special place in his heart ever since.⁵⁵¹ Whilst it’s entirely possible that Suvorin and his father were secretly backing the creation of a Jewish outpost in Palestine in collusion with a reactively small circle of Odessan Zionists like Dr. Shaevich and Dr. Shapiro (Sapir), there was no doubting his Russian Orthodoxy. Sir Herbert Samuel’s ‘Future of Palestine’ appeal in 1915 identifies a “deep rooted”

⁵⁵⁰ *The Story of My Life*, Vladimir Jabotinsky, Brian Horowitz, Leonid Katsis, 2015, Wayne State University Press, p.75 & p. 84. According to Jabotinsky, Suvorin Jnr. provided him with a formal salary he did not expect (400 roubles) and a place to live (Jews were not traditionally allowed to live in St Petersburg without special dispensation).

⁵⁵¹ *Palestina [Palestine.]*, Suvorin, A.A. (editor). St. Petersburg, 1898

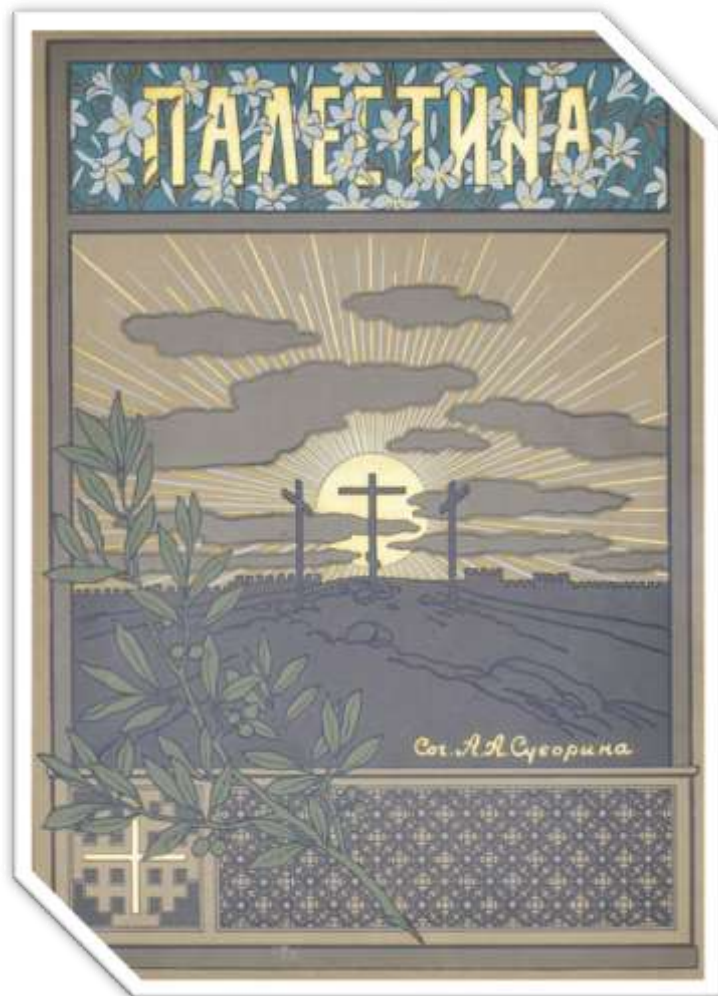
sympathy that existed in the Christian world with the idea of “restoring the Hebrew people to the land which was in their inheritance” and an “intense interest in the fulfilment of the prophecies that foretold it”. The “annexation” Samuel explained, would create a settlement that would be better able to support pilgrimages to the sites of the Holy land.⁵⁵² Britain had certainly noted Russia's remarkable activity in Palestine during the 1902 to 1903 period, especially in Jerusalem, where it had been buying land and establishing missions, schools, hospitals and monasteries on a fairly fanatical basis, much of it the work of Alexei Suvorin Jnr's *Palestine Society*. By July 1903 it was being reported that there were in excess of 150 schools in the region and attention was now being turned to the Holy Sepulchre, which was at that time in the hands of the rival Greeks. The view of the Sultan was that Russia's support of Zionism was being used as a pretext to increase their grip on the Holy Land using Jewish finances.⁵⁵³

When all is said and done it's entirely possible that the 'Russian Mandate Palestine' project being backed by Zubatov, Plehve and Herzl in 1902 and 1903 culminated in a furious backlash from ultra-Monarchists (and the ultra-Orthodox) and may even have played a supporting role in reviving

⁵⁵² The Future of Palestine, Herbert Samuel, January 1915

⁵⁵³ Globe 13 July 1903, p.4

The Protocols of the Elders of Zion that was eventually published by Sergei Nilus in 1905. It's a deeply issue that clearly demands further investigation. I have absolutely no doubt that we are only just scratching the surface.



Alexei Suvorin Jnr's beautifully illustrated Palestine (1898)

The Britons

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



The Britons were a fiercely anti-Semitic proto-fascist group involved in publishing several later editions of Shanks' *Jewish Peril*. When practically all 30, 000 copies of the first edition by *Eyre & Spottiswoode* had been sold, Shanks negotiated a deal with the Britons to purchase the copyright on the translation (3d per copy sold).

In the early months of summer 1920, The Britons approached *Eyre & Spottiswoode* with a request to have a further 2000 copies printed but *Eyre & Spottiswoode* refused. As owners of the plates they sold them to The Britons for £30.00. A second edition was published in August 1920.

The group had been formed in July 1919 by Henry Hamilton Beamish.

Victor E. Marsden

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



For whatever reason, the translation of the sixth edition of *The Jewish Peril* (The Protocols) printed by The Britons in November 1923 was attributed to Victor E. Marsden (b.1866, Salford, Manchester, m. Katherine Eldra von Wellmars in Toxteth Park, 1902). Marsden was a former Russian correspondent for H.A. Gwynne's *Morning Post* and the author of *Jews of Russia* (1919). His appearance in the tale is a curious as well as tragic one, having been imprisoned in the notorious Peter Paul Fortress in the immediate aftermath of the Bolshevik assault on the British Embassy in Petrograd on August 31st 1918. The assault culminated in the appalling murder of Britain's naval attaché, Captain Cromie, chief of British Intelligence in Russia for the British Naval Intelligence Division. According to reports, the Russia's Secret Police (the Cheka) had stormed the British Embassy, murdered and mutilated Cromie, then rounded-up and arrested dozens of British Subjects who were occupying the Military Mission at the time, Victor E. Marsden among them.

Did Marsden really provide his own translation for The Britons? It's doubtful, but not impossible, although the evidence against it overwhelming in many respects. Victor E. Marsden died in October 1920, a full two years

before his translation was ever published in later editions of *The Protocols* published by The Britons. His obituary in *The Times* of London intimated that his death had been the result of the torture he had endured during his incarceration by the Bolsheviks.⁵⁵⁴ Prior to his death he had been terrifically busy as correspondent on a 50, 000 mile world tour aboard the *HMS Renown* with the Prince of Wales for *The Morning Post*, leaving precious little time to translate a 30,000 word pamphlet from its original Russian.⁵⁵⁵ Marsden's death prior to the publication of the sixth edition on which his name appears really begs the question: did Victor Emile Marsden really translate the *Jewish Peril* for The Britons or was it placed there by way of a tribute to his premature death in October 1920, which appears to have been sadly hastened by his time in captivity in Russia? Was adding his name to the pamphlet the post-war equivalent of adding a message or a picture to ammo and projectiles sent hurtling toward targets during the war? Also, what possible logic could there be in The Britons paying George Shanks and *Eyre & Spottiswoode* for the publishing rights to *The Protocols* if Marsden had already prepared one for their friends at *The Morning Post* by the time of his death in October 1920?

A letter to *The Times* of London from B.S. Lombard, former Chaplain at the British Mission in Petrograd, announced a service at the Russian Church

⁵⁵⁴ 'Victim of the Bolsheviks', *British Journalist's Cruel Tortures*, *The Times*, p.7

⁵⁵⁵ *Pall Mall Gazette* 27 February 1920, p.5

in London in August 1924 in memory of Captain Cromie. It mentions Marsden by name.⁵⁵⁶ According to probate records of 1951, Marsden's widow, Katherine Eldra Marsden left her entire estate to Reverend Mateusz Konstanty Siemaszko, Bishop of Aspendos/Head of the Polish Orthodox Church in Exile. In the Polish-Bolshevik war, the Reverend had fought on the Polish side (England & Wales Government Probate Death Index 1858-2019).

Was there anything else in Marsden's history that might support or else explain the addition of his name with the legend? If there is, it may be fairly obscure. In 1914 Marsden had translated 'The King of the Jews', a book of the stage play by Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich of Russia. The book, published by *Funk and Wagnalls Company*, and was promptly banned in Russia after the Holy Synod declared it to be anti-Christian and worried that it may lead to resurgence in anti-Jewish Pogroms. An invite-only performance was allowed in St Petersburg at the Imperial Palace. The play drew significantly on the apocryphal (fake) text, the *Gospel of Nicodemus*.

⁵⁵⁶ 'In Memory of Captain Cromie', Letter to the Times, B.S. Lombard, p.6

Léon Lvovitch Catoire

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



Catoire was the uncle of *Protocols* translator, George Shanks on his mother Emilie's side. He was also the brother-in-law of Tolstoy friend's Aylmer Maude. He was born in Moscow in 1864 and died in Paris in 1922. Léon was a member of the *Board of the Moscow Bank of Accounts* and several other commercial companies. From 1901 to 191 he served as adviser and board member to the Moscow City Duma. In 1913 Léon was elected to the post of mayor of Moscow. After the triumph of Lenin and the Bolsheviks in the October Revolution of 1917, he moved his family to Paris. In 1921 he was appointed *Treasurer of the Russian Refugee Education Society* (1921). He died at the Gare d'Orsay in 1922.

Georges Catoire

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



A respected composer and maternal uncle of Protocols publisher George Shanks, Georges had embarked on his musical career as a student of Liszt and friend of Wagner. He was born in Russia in April 1861 and died in May 1926.

Mikhail Sergeyevich Raslovlev

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



Raslovlev was the Russian monarchist émigré who is alleged to have met Philip Graves of The Times and presented to him a copy of Maurice Joly's book, *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel*. The book provided all the evidence that was needed to prove once and for all that the infamous *Protocols of Zion* was a plagiarism, as well as a hoax. Raslovlev demonstrated conclusively that substantial portions of the book had been copied, or lifted, from Joly's book.

At the time he made these revelations, Raslovlev was in the employ of the American Red Cross in Turkey, and Graves was the Constantinople correspondent for *The Times* of London. The textual evidence provided by Raslovlev formed the basis of a sensation exposé of The Protocols published by the Times in August 1921.⁵⁵⁷ The original book by Joly was extremely rare—copies of it having been confiscated prior to its distribution in France in the 1860s. The book is a satire on Napoleon III's draconian rule in France. Its author, Maurice Joly was duly arrested.

⁵⁵⁷ 'The Source of The Protocols: The Truth at Last', *The Times*, August 16 1921, p.5

At first Graves made every attempt to avoid naming Raslovlev as his source, only ever referring to him only as ‘Mr. X’ and described as a Russian landlord with English connections, whose religion was Russian Orthodox, and whose political sensibilities made him a constitutional monarchist. At the famous Berne Trial in the 1930s the question of his name came up, but it was never disclosed.



A copy of Maurice Joly's *Dialogue aux Enfers entre Montesquieu et Machiavel*

Common Cause (Obshchee Delo)

EXHIBIT No.17



This was a Pro-White Russian (anti-Bolshevik) journal based in Paris and active between the years 1916-1924 and 1929-1934. It was edited by Revolutionary Sherlock Holmes and Protocols expert, Vladimir Burtsev and co-editor, Daniel Pasmanik, a radical Jewish Nationalist and Russian Nationalist (Dual Nationalist). Pasmanik was also a close friend of Ze'ev Jabotinsky (see separate entry). The journal earned a reputation for peddling Pro-interventionist propaganda on behalf of the Russian Whites, Britain and France during the Russian Civil War (1917-1922).

In March 1919 a *Common Cause* article drew attention to a report by Charles Repington of H.A Gwynne's *Morning Post* (leading Protocols supporter) "Britain Demands Intervention". The report pleaded with Lloyd George and Britain to back all the various White Russian and Monarchist forces against Bolsheviks. Burtsev also used the journal to promote articles by his old friend in St Petersburg (and fellow member of the Committee on Russian Affairs), Harold Williams. In many ways it functioned as the organ of the Committee on Russian Affairs in France, Burtsev having stepped-up its

production significantly after his meeting with Churchill's Personal Military Secretary Archibald Sinclair in October 1919 and Williams in 1918.

Pope Pius XI

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



During the period in which George Shanks was awarded his Papal Honour, the *Chamberlain of the Sword and Cape* by Pope Pius XI, the Pope had been taking an aggressive stance on anti-Semitism within the church. Unlike Hitler, neither he nor his friend, the Italian fascist leader Benito Mussolini believed in sinister Jewish plots that formed the basis of The Protocols. In 1928 he ordered the dissolution of *The Friends of Israel* (Opus Sacerdotale Amici Israel) which had been formed by the Catholic laity and clergy to pray for the conversion of Jews to Christianity. The group, which had been active for years, was now being perceived as deeply offensive.⁵⁵⁸ It may be reasonable to speculate that Maundy Gregory, an occasional British Intelligence asset under Conservative handyman, Joseph Ball (and suspected Honours tout for Liberal Prime Minister David Lloyd George) had played a hand in getting Shanks his papal honour (and quite possibly his friend Burdon's OBE in 1919). Gregory was also accused of selling honours and dispensations for the Ukrainian government. His longtime business partner 'Baron' Harry Keen-Hargreaves

⁵⁵⁸ The Pope and the Jews, Manchester Guardian, April 15 1928

and his brother John Keen-Hargreaves enjoyed very close relations with White Russian Prince Galitzine.

Edouard Drumont

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



Drumont has an interesting but generally overlooked place in *The Protocols* story. The phrase ‘The Jewish Peril’ originally featured on placards and red posters attributed to Édouard Drumont and the anti-Semitic League during the notorious Dreyfus Affair in France in the late 1800s (Advent of Nemesis, Daily Mail, July 26 1899). Jewish journalist and diplomat, Lucien Wolf briefly describes Drumont’s attempts to revive the ‘old bogey’ the ‘Formidable Sect’ (another fiendish and entirely mythical Jewish cabal) in his book, ‘The Myth of the Jewish Menace in World Affairs’, written in November 1920.⁵⁵⁹

⁵⁵⁹ Myth of the Jewish Menace in World Affairs; or, The Truth about the Forged Protocols of the Elders of Zion, Lucien Wolf, Macmillan Company, 1921, p.5. Also read: Le Peuple Juif : Conférence Faite à la Salle du Grand Occident de France, le 29 Juin 1900 / Edouard Drumont, p.8 at <https://gallica.bnf.fr>

Blue Faced Ape of Horus (Plain English)

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



If you are wondering why the article that revealed Shanks as the translator of the Jewish Peril has been called as witness for his defence and not the prosecution, then the explanation is really quite simple. The objective of this trial to not to establish the complicity of Shanks in its translation (that has been proved beyond all reasonable doubt ever since the discovery of letters between Shanks and the Britons and Robert H. Cust and H.A. Gwynne in the 1970s), it is to ascertain whether Shanks was acting on the specific instructions of the *Committee on Russian Affairs* and the Coalition Government's Chief Whip's Office.

The article was published on January 22nd 1921 and features two explosive claims. The first is that Shanks had been working as a clerk in Chief Whips Office at 12 Downing Street, and second that he had had more recently found employment at No. 10 Downing Street as the Personal Secretary to Sir Philip Sassoon, the Private Secretary to British Prime Minister and Leader of the Liberal Party, David Lloyd George.



A rather suggestive two-page spread on ‘Jews in Public Life’ appeared in the *Illustrated London News* just one week before Plain English broke the news about Shanks and Sassoon.

The ‘Blue Faced Ape’ story was published just as it was being reported that Jews from all over Central and Eastern Europe were immigrating to Palestine in their thousands. Just 24 hours earlier a story was circulated that Sir Philip Sassoon, Lord Curzon and Lloyd George were among a party of 40 British Delegates heading to France to attend the 24th Paris Peace Conference. That same month, Prime Minister Lloyd George had re-appointed War Secretary Winston Churchill as British Secretary of the Colonies. The move could have served one of two purposes. Firstly, Churchill’s reach across the party divides, and his popularity with the Allies, would have been a considerable boost to getting the Palestine mandate ratified by France, Italy,

Japan and America and its scope agreed by Parliament. Secondly, it would have kept him at arm's length and occupied in foreign missions at a time when Lloyd George needed to kick-start discussions on trade with Winston's much-loathed Soviet. The new Secretary of War and Air was none other than Lloyd George's Chief Whip (and Churchill's cousin), Captain Freddie Guest. Given that Churchill and Sassoon were public enemies, No.1 and No.2 in eyes of the *Plain English* journal, its publication couldn't have been better timed. A week earlier, the *Illustrated London News* had run a two-page spread on the 'Jew in public life' which featured Sassoon's portrait alongside Zionists Israel Zangwill, Chaim Weizmann, Lord Rothschild, Philip Magnus and Sir Herbert Samuel.⁵⁶⁰ We are only left to guess at the possible subtext.

The editor of *Plain English* (dubbed a 'High Catholic' journal) was Lord Alfred Douglas (Bosie) the fiercely outspoken (and disgracefully anti-Semitic) former lover of Oscar Wilde. The journal had been launched in July 1920 as a successor to his somewhat older *Academy* journal. Douglas's spat with Winston Churchill would eventually see him convicted to six months imprisonment in Wormwood Scrubs for libel over the so-called "Jutland Conspiracy". The focus of the libel centred around allegations made by Lord Douglas in an article published just weeks before his revelations about Shanks

⁵⁶⁰ *Illustrated London News*, 15 January 1921, p.4

and the Chief Whips Office.⁵⁶¹ See separate entry: George Shanks for further details.



The article in *Plain English* on January 1922 that revealed that the man who translated *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* into English worked in the Chief Whips Office at 12 Downing Street

⁵⁶¹ Westminster Gazette, 14 December 1923, p.3

Rue Victor Cousin

EXHIBIT No.18



This is a street situated in the Latin Quarter of Paris. It was also the last recorded address of revolutionary ‘Sherlock Holmes’ and Protocols expert Vladimir Burtsev.⁵⁶² In an astonishing twist of fate it transpires that the property is just 800 yards from *Impasse Maubert* which features in Umberto Eco's *Prague Cemetery*, a fictionalised account of *The Protocols* conception. *Foucault's Pendulum* (which was the title of another novel dealing in modern and ancient conspiracies by Eco) can be found at the neighbouring Panthéon in the Sorbonne district. Did Eco base the *Prague Cemetery's* mysterious shape-shifter Simone Simonini on Burtsev? On Golovinski? Or both?

⁵⁶² Burtsev & the Struggle for Free Russia, Robert Henderson, p.251

Will Eisner's 'The Plot'

EXHIBIT No.19



The Plot is a graphic novel published in 2005 that tells the fascinating story of the origins of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and the impossibly destructive journey it embarked on through the years. It's an absolute gem from beginning to end and features a foreword by *Prague Cemetery* and *Name of the Rose* author, Umberto Eco and an afterword from Professor Stephen Eric Bonner. It has to be said that Eisner has probably done more to inform the global conspiracy matrix of this crude yet amazingly successful hoax than any historian or biographer to date. His later, more personal work on Jewish Identity and issues relating to stereotypes, myth and identity, rank among some of the most compelling, original and accessible contributions to storytelling in the 20th and 21st Centuries.

In another delightful twist it appears that Eisner was born just minutes away from the original *Protocols* dragon-slayer, Herman Bernstein in New York. Bernstein famously went to war in the court rooms of America with Henry Ford during the early to mid 1920s over his anti-Semitic publications, *The International Jew*, which included substantial extracts from *The*

Protocols. Eisner was brought-up in radical 'Poale Zion' district of Crotona Park, the Bronx, a district that was always bristling with cultural anguish and energy. Neighbours during this period included Zionist pioneers David Pinski, Nachman Syrkin and Chaim Zhitlovsky. According to the US census of 1920, Will and his father Samuel Eisner lived at 1451 Crotona Park Avenue whilst just a few years earlier, Bernstein had been residing at 1381 Crotona Park Avenue (US Census 1910). At the time that Eisner was born, Trotsky had also arrived from Russia and was lodging just a few blocks away at 1522 Vyse Avenue. In another of Eisner's novels, *To the Heart of the Storm*⁵⁶³, the author recalls his father's job painting background sets at Maurice Schwartz and David Kessler's *Yiddish Art Theatre* at 181 2nd Avenue. The theatre played host to a regular programme of plays from the likes of S. Ansky, David Pinski, Sholem Aleichem and Maxim Gorky. Like Schwartz, Will's father was from Western Ukraine. The sign in this graphic below features the celebrated Ukrainian actor Boris Thomashefsky.

⁵⁶³ *To the Heart of the Storm*, Will Eisner, Kitchen Sink Press, 1991, p.100



A scene from Eisher's autobiographical *To the Heart of the Storm* recalling his father's work at the Yiddish Theatre on 2nd Avenue.

Another of the theatres that employed Eisner's father during the family's first few years in New York was the *2nd Avenue Theatre* owned and run by Maurice Schwartz and David Kessler. *The Yiddish Art Theatre* provided work for many other Galician creatives like his father, including Lemberg actress, Bertha Kalich. Legendary set designer, Boris Aronson also got his breaks with Schwartz during this period.

During the First World War the theatre hosted meetings for Socialist J.B.S Hardman, whose home at 2086 Vyse Avenue was a short walk from Trotsky at 1522 Vyse Avenue. Trotsky was in New York for the three months

leading up to Russia's First Revolution on March 8th 1917. It is of course strange to think that when Will Eisner was being born, the legendary revolutionary was probably sipping his tea and banging away at his typewriter just a few blocks away. Better still, Eisner was born on March 6th 1917, just 48 hours before the First Revolution and just weeks before Trotsky returned to Russia to alter the course of world events forever. Trotsky's favourite haunt during his time in New York was the Café Monopole, at 144 2nd Ave (now Veselka), at the heart of the 'Yiddish Broadway'.

Clearly *The Plot* wasn't just a part of his Eisner's legendary body of work but very much a part of his destiny.

Eyre & Spottiswoode

WITNESS FOR THE DEFENCE



This was the printer used by George Shanks to produce the first 30,000 copies of the First Edition of *The Jewish Peril* in January 1920. The plates were later purchased by The Britons for the princely sum of £30.00 after Eyre & Spottiswoode refused to print a further 2,000 copies. This was a highly reputable printing house that was often accompanied by the phrases, “His Majesty’s Printers” or “the King’s Printer”. The company was also responsible for the printing work of *His Majesties Stationery Office*, the government department responsible for printing the now legendary ‘Russia No.1 Report’ for the *Committee to Collect Information on Russia* for the British Cabinet in 1919. The printing house also produced *New Europe* and *Slavonic Review* for Russia and Balkans propagandists, Sir Bernard Pares and Robert. W Seton-Watson, the latter being especially close to Henry Wickham Steed, the Editor of The Times of London. It was Wickham Steed who personally reviewed Shanks’ *Jewish Peril* in May 1920. In 1938 the *Slavonic Review* published Vladimir Burtsev’s *A Proven Forgery: The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

The British Fascisti

WITNESS FOR THE PROSECUTION



The phrase generally favoured for most nervous attempts to explain the British Fascisti is that it was “King and Country” fascism. Fascism that is, with small ‘F’, or indeed a capital ‘K’ and a capital ‘C’. It didn’t have the striking ‘Black Shirts’ of Fascism under Mussolini, nor did it have the cyanide pointed tips, and goose-stepping razzmatazz of Fascism under the Nazis. What it had (and had by the score) were hardline anti-Communists, determined to uphold the values of Conservative and Liberal Britain. Today they would probably be filed somewhere between the UKIP Party and the venomous keyboard warriors of the Conspiracy forums on the World Wide Wacky Web. But one thing they did have in common with the fascists of Germany was their shared distrust of the Jews and absolute loathing for the ‘Bolshe’. You only have to take a look at the headlines in their party journal, *The British Lion* to know how fabulously obsessive they were: *‘Bolshy Hymn of Hate’*, *‘Our British Bolshies’* (a serialised account of how the Bolshe sparked a series of mutinies in France written by Etaples Mutineer and former Communist, James Cullen), *‘Bolshevism, Plain Questions and Answers’*, *‘The Occult Movements’*, *‘The Making of a Communist’*. The British Fascisti wasn’t driven by any complex

ideology, just a shared frustration with Socialism. The movement's manifesto says it all: they admired the "patriotic devotion" of Mussolini's Italy but not their Republicanism. They wanted to tighten immigration, safeguard agriculture, and strengthen the Second Chamber of Parliament, the House of Lords. These people were Monarchists pure and simple. Christian soldiers.

So stiff was the upper lip, and so bulldog was the breed that historians in Britain remain slightly reluctant to call the casual anti-Semitism and Boy Scout militarism that characterised the British Fascisti, fascism at all; not least because it was founded by the absolute force of nature that was Rotha Lintorn-Orman, a medal-winning woman of action, highly praised for her feats of daring-do driving ambulances in World War I. Whilst this is probably no place to examine the movement in any meaningful detail, it's worth acknowledging that as a group, it was perhaps more notable for resisting the dark and sinister direction taken by the *British Union of Fascists* and turning out top drawer British spies like Maxwell Knight and John Baker White (both remarkable men in their own ways). And it's for this reason that I include it here, revealing as it does a curious revolving door between the anti-Communist rear-guard of British High Society and the British Secret Service. Just how much these doors revolved, and just how much they opened is likely to remain unknown, but author Henry Hemming has put forward a very plausible case

for a casual but lively synergy between the movement and the nascent Mi5.⁵⁶⁴

The legendary George Makgill, founder of the mysterious Section D was believed to have acted as conduit, taking care of recruiting and shaping its more talented members like the future Spymaster Maxwell Knight for Sir Vernon Kell. There was nothing particularly unusual about this relationship. The war with Germany had engaged British Intelligence services to such a overwhelming extent that their grip on domestic threats, had left them underprepared and vulnerable for the wave of industrial action and civil unrest that immediately followed the armistice. George Makgill, a wealthy baronet and the former Secretary of the Anti-German Union, had been running his own informal Intelligence network on industrial matters for years, making him the go-to man for Sir Basil Thomson of Home Office Intelligence and Sir Vernon Kell at Mi5.⁵⁶⁵

Within weeks of *The Protocols* being published in London, Makgill published his own propaganda novel, *The Red Tomorrow*, using the nom-de-guerre, Emerson C. Hambrook. The book, a dystopian science fiction thriller set during a future war with Germany in 1942, tells the story of a revolution in Britain in which the government resigns, a Provisional Government is put in

⁵⁶⁴ M: Maxwell Knight, MI5's Greatest Spymaster, Henry Hemming, Random House, 2017

⁵⁶⁵ This informal organisation, casually referred to as the Makgill Organisation, had been set-up after Russia's October Revolution and would eventually evolve into the no less informal, Industrial Intelligence Bureau (Service) and functioned alongside the *Committee to Collect Information on Russia* who compiled the Russia No.1 report in 1919.

its place and a Republic is declared. The Revolution is the work of Edinburgh's Alec Wilson and The Reds, a motley mob of Germans, Poles, Jews and Bolshevik Britons who take possession of London's West End. It is only the good men of the Royal Air Force who manage to save the day. The *Montrose Standard* fittingly described the book as a judicious blend of "fiction and politics" which was "quite frankly and undisguisedly a propaganda novel". The Protocols could not in fact, have had a more suitable partner publication.⁵⁶⁶



⁵⁶⁶ *The Red Tomorrow*, Emerson C. Hambrook, Proletarian Press, 1920 reviewed by Montrose Standard 16 July 1920, p.2

It's interesting to note that the proximity of Makgill to Sir Bernard Pares of the Russian Affairs Committee (both were founding members of the People's League in 1920). If nothing else it provides a plausible context for someone like George Shanks operating with the approval (if not the support) of the British Security Services.

THE BRITISH LION

3

THE GENERAL PUBLIC ARE WARNED that the Organisation of the British Fascists is in no way associated with Imperial Fascist League or Black Shirts. It is not the latter but it is not all Politics.

BRITISH FASCIST MANIFESTO. CONSTITUTIONAL.

1. **MEMBERSHIP.** Membership of the British Fascists is strictly confined to those of British Birth and Heritage, and Christian Creed.
 2. **POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF THE ORGANISATION.** The Organisation is Non-Party, that is to say, it owes no allegiance to any party as represented in the House of Commons, and there exists no connection direct or indirect, between the British Fascists and any of these parties. The Movement is, however, political in that the very nature of its ambitions automatically brings it into the arena of political controversies in which the Organisation takes an independent, national attitude.
 3. **BRITISH FASCISTS AND THE USE OF FORCE.** The British Fascists is an Organisation of loyal citizens of such sexes, pledged to defend, with their lives if need be, H.M. The King, His Heirs and Successors, and the integrity of the British Empire. The British Fascists, while giving their wholehearted support to any local government, intend to resist, by force if necessary, any attempt by the Socialist Party, the Communist Party, or any other disloyal section of the Community, to abolish the Monarchy or disrupt the Empire; even if such a policy is supported by a majority of the electorate.
 4. **RELIGION.** The British Fascists stand in defence of the Christian faith, and for the retention of Christian teaching in the State-aided schools; the abolition by law of atheistical teaching to children, and the stringent application of the blasphemy laws.
 5. **CITIZENSHIP.** The British Fascists hold that citizens of the British Empire cannot claim the privileges and protection afforded them by living under the Union Jack, without discharging their lawful duties. These consist of rendering at all times, every service to the Country and Empire, making full use of such parliamentary and civic votes as they are entitled to, and upholding law and order.
 6. **BRITISH AND ITALIAN FASCISM.** While there is no connection whatever between the British and Italian Fascists, we realise and admire the wonderful spirit of patriotic devotion which enabled our Italian Allies eventually to save their country from the horrors of a Red revolution. The British interpretation of Fascism differs from the Italian in the same degree that British and Italian mentalities differ, but the principles of honour, self-sacrifice, friendship between all classes, and loyalty, are common to both.
 7. In the words of Signor Mussolini, creator of the Fascist Ideal, "Fascism is not for Italy alone, it is for all Nations; but each Nation must adapt it to the characteristics of its own people."
- POLITICAL MANIFESTO.**
- We regard the following as being essential to the solution of the Unemployment Problem.
1. **INDUSTRY AND EMPIRE TRADE.** The British Fascists stand for collaboration in all branches of Industry between Capital and Labour, realising that the basis of civilisation is the right to hold private property, and adequate reward for initiative and enterprise.
 2. **EMPIRE TRADE.** The British Fascists stand for the rapid economic development of the Overseas Empire, and for Inter-Imperial Free Trade, and protection for the British Worker from the unfair competition of foreign sweating labour.
 3. **INDUSTRIAL REFORM.** The British Fascists view with alarm the subversive political activities of a large number of Trades Unions, and are determined that:
 - (a) Both strikes and lockouts shall be deemed as a challenge to the sovereignty of the State, and as such, be made illegal.
 - (b) There shall be set up Courts of Arbitration whose decision shall be final, after negotiations between employer and employee have been exhausted. Such Courts to consist of 3 Judges and 2 Experts, from the Industry concerned. One expert to be appointed by the Employer, and one by the Employees.
 - (c) The Organisations of Employers and Employees shall work in collaboration, with the sole object of a high standard of efficiency and of living.
 - (d) Labour Contracts to have the force of Law.
 - (e) No International Trades Union Alliance.
 - (f) Employers Federations to be placed on exactly the same footing as Trades Unions, in as much as their interests must be subservient to those of the Nation.
 - (g) The abolition of the Card Vote, and the substitution of a Secret Ballot.
 - (h) The British Fascists hold that profiteering, "swindling," and "cut-throat," are alike criminal, unpatriotic, and detrimental to the interests of the Nation and Empire, and should be dealt with by legislation.
 4. **CIVIL SERVICE.** Civil Servants shall take the oath of allegiance to H.M. The King, His Heirs and Successors; all persons not of British Birth being absolutely excluded from the Civil Service.
 5. **FRANCHISE.** Equal Franchise at the age of 25 for all British Born subjects. Any person who has been convicted of sedition to be permanently disfranchised. Those in receipt of poor law relief for a period of 6 consecutive months automatically to be deprived of their parliamentary and municipal vote.
 6. **PARLIAMENTARY CANDIDATES.** Candidates for Parliamentary Honours must be of British Birth and Race, and must not have been disfranchised.
 7. **HOUSING.** To encourage private enterprise to supply habitable domicile for the Nation, and to prevent sectional interests interfering with the progress of erection.
 8. **ALIENS.** To tighten up alien legislation with a view to excluding the undesirable alien, and preventing alien immorality in our National life.
 9. **AGRICULTURE.** Application of the Safeguarding of Industries Act to Agriculture. Among other things this would ensure a fair proportion of arable land being cultivated.
 10. **HOUSE OF LORDS.** The British Fascists are in favour of a strong and efficient Second Chamber.
- GOD SAVE THE KING.**

Manifesto of the British Fascisti, British Lion, 1923

APPENDIX

SOLOMON WIENER

Solomon Wiener had arrived in New York with good wife Frejda Rabinowicz in the mid-1880s. Within a few years he had set himself up a teacher and had a vision of setting up schools for immigrant children to help with moral and academic development. The first of the schools to bear fruit was the Hebrew Free School of Greenpoint in Brooklyn, a sincere and heartfelt project he had undertaken with fellow trustee, I. Gottlieb. As a means of supporting his meagre teaching salary Wiener started writing articles for journalist and publisher, Michael Singer, founder of several pro-Zionist and pro-German journals including *The Immigrant* and the Hungarian *People's Voice* from his office on East 72nd Street on the Upper East Side of New York. By 1897 the two men had started work on a joint project called 'Toleranz'. This German Jewish weekly, published in New York, lasted just two years before being re-launched as *Der Zionist*.⁵⁶⁷ It was this publication that brought Singer to the attention of Herzl who excited by the prospects of engaging a larger American audience, appointed him General Secretary of the League of Zionist Societies

⁵⁶⁷ The Hebrew Standard, 2 April 1909, p.12

in the United States and tasked him with reporting on any progress being made.⁵⁶⁸

A short time later Singer co-founded the Orthodox “League of Zionists” with fellow Hungarian, Rabbi Philip Klein. As the popularity of Herzl’s Political Zionism swelled, the purity of the Palestine vision that defined

Wiener and Singer’s *Hovevei Zion* organisation became increasingly marginal. As a result, a variety of splinter groups began to emerge. In a desperate bid to unify the various bodies Herzl tasked the Manchester-born Hebrew Scholar Richard Gottlieb with launching the American Zionist Federation. As a result, Singer, Klein and Weiner were sidelined. Their response was to launch the United Zionists of Greater New York from Singer’s brand new office at Broom Street Lower Manhattan and it was Herzl’s failure to recognise the group in time for the 6th Congress in Basle in August 1903 that ostensibly led to the letter to the New York World and a series of further acrimonious discussions. According to the *New York Herald*, the group and its Basle delegate, Dr Joseph Bluestone had not followed the rules of the congress and recognised the authority of Gottheil’s Federation or paid the necessary union fees.⁵⁶⁹ They had been

⁵⁶⁸ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, London, ed. Raphael Patai, Herzl Press, 1960, Vol. II, pp.552

⁵⁶⁹ The New York Herald, August 28, 1903

invited to the Congress only to restore some balance and resolve the differences between them. Upon the failure of discussions their representative Dr Bluestone was refused the right to vote on the British-backed Ugandan Scheme.⁵⁷⁰ Gottheil's timing couldn't have been worse. No sooner had their man been excluded from the crucial vote than he cabled the news offices of America that the Jewish Colonial Trust, operating through the Anglo-Palestine Bank of London, was setting up offices in New York.⁵⁷¹ As the gulf between the concerns and expectations between Russian and German Jews continued to widen in America, relations took a turn for the worse and by 1905, Singer, Klein and Wiener's United Zionists was absorbed in Gottheil's larger Federation, their demand that the

Federation abandon its compromise with the broader aesthetics of Jewish assimilation, drowned out in the global backlash against the horrors of the Kishinev massacre and the increasing sense of urgency in reaching a swift and practical solution.

Responding to Wiener's letter in the *New York World*, Gottheil had said an article published by Wiener some months earlier entitled 'Zionistic

⁵⁷⁰ Zionistenkongress VI Basel 1903, Protokoll de VI. Zionistenkongresses in Basel, 28 August 1903, p. 247

⁵⁷¹ Philadelphia Jewish Exponent 04 September 1903, p.9

Liberia' had been brought to his attention by a friend in England.

Gottheil described how there was little doubt that it had been written for the purpose of getting it to the eye of Minister von Plehve and demonstrate the power and information Wiener had with regard to the issue. Furthermore, he was in the employ of persons who claimed to represent the Zionist cause. Gottheil saw it as further evidence that Russia was determined to install its own Jewish hierarchy as an Imperial and trading outpost, rather than see it established under a hostile British protectorate.⁵⁷² Palestine's location on the extreme eastern flank of the Suez Canal — the highway of the world — had made it one of the most important links in our communications with India and the Middle East. As Russia saw it, the Palestine Mandate would allow Britain to enjoy all its strategic advantages with few of the burdens: it would be peopled with a race devoted to its soils, committed to its commercial progress and passionate to defend it. Furthermore, the fractious British taxpayer wouldn't have to forfeit a penny. And neither would the Russian's. As author and explorer Sir Martin Conway was to describe: the Jews were an "overlapping people": Oriental by race and Western in ideas. As a consequence they were out best and cheapest safeguard in Palestine. The more Jews that settled in Palestine the easier it would be to the keep the

⁵⁷² World 26 November 1903, p.3

Suez Canal open and free from local disturbance and foreign aggression. Though supporting in principle the industrial schemes being tendered by Pinchas Rutenberg, he had a message of caution against Zionism. Arabs and Jews had lived together in the region without friction for many years. Balance was most definitely needed with neither side ruling the other.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷³ Westminster Gazette 17 November 1923, p.4

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This is all I would recommend reading if you hoped to understand the various issues in all their wonderful (and worrying) entirety, but it would certainly suffice as a ‘snapshot’. They say that all books talk of other books? Well this is the bit of a book where we really do get to talk about other books.

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ILLUSTRATIONS



The article from Plain English dated January 22nd 1921 in which George Shanks (mis-typed ‘Edward Shanks’) is revealed as a clerk in the Chief Whip’s Office at 12 Downing Street.

to take on a similar bet with you. If any priest of your own Church who has a European reputation as a Biblical critic—there are several such—will affirm that any essential part of this letter, including the translation, is essentially and indisputably erroneous, I shall, not gladly perhaps, but still promptly send you a new hat, of whatever size and style you may demand. The question is not one of orthodoxy or heresy, of creed or Church, of prejudice or *parti pris*. It is entirely a matter for dispassionate scholarship.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

THE PADRE REFERRED TO LAST WEEK.

[We reply to this letter in a leading article.—Ed.]

THE BLUE FACED APE OF HORUS.

To the Editor of PLAIN ENGLISH.

SIR,—There were once Prime Ministers in England who kept private secretaries. Now, we live in an age where Ministers are "kept" by their private secretaries. Of all the descriptions of that active young person, Sir Philip Sassoon, Bart., of Bagdad and Lympo, I have read none so piteous as that which appeared in PLAIN ENGLISH for January 22nd in the article entitled "The Blue Faced Ape of Horus."

In regard to your statement about young Shanks, the "private secretary" to Mr. George's private secretary, there is a slight error. He certainly did translate the *Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion* into English for Messrs Eyre & Spottiswoode, His Majesty's Printers, but I doubt if his English was good enough to enable him to do so unassisted. He was, as you state, born and educated in Moscow, but his first name is George, not Edward. His mother was a Russian subject, if that is meant by your use of the word "Russian," although she was born of Jewish parents named Cotezar (as pronounced in Russian), while his paternal grandmother was, also, a Jewess, whose maiden name was Schilling.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

PATRICK HAMILTON.

Hep, near Tring, Bucks,
February 1st, 1921.

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Letter to *Plain English* dated February 5 1921 in which his Shanks' forename is corrected

Not Mr. Edward Shanks.

Some weeks ago we referred in the course of an article called "The Blue-faced Ape of Horus" to a certain Mr. Shanks, who is the translator of the "Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion," and occupies a position in the Chief Whip's Office. This gentleman is the son of a Russian Jewess, and was born in Moscow. By an inadvertence we endowed him with the christian name of "Edward," whereas his real name is George. The mistake as to Mr. Shanks's christian name was rectified in *PLAIN ENGLISH* of February 5 in a letter from Mr. Patrick Hamilton. We have been asked by no less than three different persons to state that they are not the Mr. Shanks referred to in our article. One of these is Mr. Edward Shanks, the poet, who is private secretary to the editor of the *London Mercury*, another is Mr. Edward Shanks, the American poet, who is known in America as the "Poet Laureate of Virginia," and the third is a compositor in the employment of the Fleetway Press, the printers of *PLAIN ENGLISH*. Needless to say, the article "The Blue-faced Ape of Horus" was not intended to reflect in the slightest degree on any of the gentlemen named. We repeat that the Mr. Shanks to whom the article referred is Mr. George Shanks, and our calling him Edward was simply the result of a slip of the pen.

**AMERICA DEMANDS
JUTLAND ENQUIRY.**

Last week, in a leading article entitled "Impeach Churchill," we printed the following paragraphs:—

We consider that at the stage to which events have now arrived, and in view of the craven or corrupt attitude taken up by our unspeakable Press (including the "Morning Post"), it now rests with the Privy Council to carry the matter to its logical conclusion, and to insist on the impeachment of Winston Churchill.

Mr. Churchill will then have an opportunity of explaining (1) how the enrichment, at the expense of British stockholders all over the world, of a gang of German Jew financiers can be said to have assisted in Great Britain's conduct of the war, and what precise connection there is, between say, Sir Ernest Cassel and the British Empire. (2) What particular impulse of purity or patriotism it was that prompted him to accept the gift of several thousand pounds' worth of furniture for his house in Eccleston Square from the aforesaid Sir Ernest Cassel within a few weeks of the issue of the false Jutland Report; and (3) how it comes about that, as a matter of fact, the whole profit of the

Formal corrections printed in Plain English dated February 26 1921 in which his Shanks'

correct forename is acknowledged.

"THE JEWISH PERIL."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

Sir,—Writing in Saturday's issue on a booklet recently published by Eyre and Spottiswoode, a correspondent says it "is likely to perturb the thinking public." Had he said "the unthinking public" he would have been nearer the mark, for what are the facts of the case?

Here is a book first published by Professor S. Nilus, a minor official in the Department of Foreign Religions at Moscow, in the year 1905. It professes to be drawn from MSS. entrusted to him by an anonymous acquaintance, and to be composed of incomplete notes of lectures delivered by an unnamed lecturer, on unknown dates, in unknown localities in Paris, about the year 1901.

The difficulty of proving that such lectures were never given by anyone anywhere in Paris in 1901 is considerable; but it would not be difficult to show that, if anyone did so, he had a miraculous gift for saying in Paris in 1901 just what it would suit the most reactionary elements in Russian official life to lay before the Emperor of Russia in Petersburg, in 1905, without burning their own fingers by having to sign it.

The book contains gross ineptitudes, such as the assertion that the propagation of the Darwinian theory, and its success, is due to, and is part of, a Jewish conspiracy; the statement that only Jews have money-power; as though neither Rockefeller, Morgan, nor Sir Basil Zaharoff had any influence in the financial world; the statement that the Press is entirely controlled by the Jews; as though Northcliffe, Pearson, Hirst, Bennett, the Oxford University Press, and the late W. T. Stead had all been Jews; and the statement that any movement in a constitutional or democratic direction is fatal to the tranquillity and prosperity of a race, while "political problems can only be comprehended by rulers who have been directing affairs for centuries" (such as the Romanoffs, whose rule has borne such excellent fruit in Russia!).

If any Jew talked such nonsense in Paris in 1901, one wonders why he did it! But why it should have been published in Russia in 1905 is plain enough.

Witte was then trying to administer a mild dose of Constitutional reform to the diseased Russian State. Witte was a financier, and was accused of contact with the Jews. It was desirable, but dangerous, for the most reactionary clique of Russian officials to suggest to the Tsar, in the manner least dangerous to themselves, that he, the Tsar, as representing "the rulers who have been directing affairs for centuries," should retain full autocratic power; that the introduction of any modern idea, such as evolution, commercialism, or Constitutionalism, into Holy Orthodox Russia was a diabolical danger; and that, if anything had been going wrong in Russia, the evil could best be remedied, not by a modification of the Government, but by pogroms to exterminate the Jews.

In how far this plan succeeded, history records. The sensational exposure in the Duma of the amazing fact that incitements to Jew-baiting were printed on a secret printing-press in the Okhrana Department in Petersburg, without Witte's cognizance, is one of the strange incidents leading up to the downfall of the ancient and incompetent régime.

The "prophetic" parts of this queer production are a strange mixture of the traditional precepts of the most unscrupulous despotism, with a smattering of extreme utterances from Karl Marx and from the Communist writers. To show when, where, or by whom this jumble of embittered nonsense was first put together is beyond my power; but I venture to think that no other theory than that which I have suggested as to the purpose of its original publication will hold water.

The republication of the book in this country at a time when, not the embitterment but the reconciliation of races is needed is attributable to the fact that some English refugees from Russia, who never before thought seriously about public affairs, are now seeking for an explanation of the deluge which has overwhelmed them. The easiest and simplest explanation of any personal or racial disaster is always to select some other person—a race—and to say it is all their fault. In this case the scapegoat is to be the Jewish race; but I hope the booklet will not produce in England the pogroms it promoted in Russia.

Yours truly,

AYLMER MAUDE.

National Liberal Club, Victoria-street, S.W.1.

Shanks' Uncle, Aylmer Maude responds to The Times of London's review of his nephew's

Jewish Peril pamphlet on 13th May 1921

A VICTIM OF THE BOLSHEVISTS.

BRITISH JOURNALIST'S CRUEL TORTURES.

The death occurred at Kensington-gardens-square yesterday of Mr. Victor Emile Marsden, who represented the *Morning Post* during the recent tour of the Prince of Wales, and who from 1911 to 1918 was the correspondent of that journal in Petrograd, where his career was brought to a close by the most cruel imprisonment at the hands of the Bolsheviks.

He was arrested with other newspaper correspondents and British subjects at the end of August, 1918, when Captain Cromie was murdered at the British Embassy. Those arrested were taken to the Bolshevik Prefecture, where they were put in a large room occupied by upwards of 130 persons, including burglars, pickpockets, murderers, and other malefactors. The food, in addition to being insufficient, was of the worst possible kind and served in the most disgusting manner. From the dreadful experience of his Russian incarceration he suffered greatly in health before his release. At the middle of February, 1918, he reported that the Allied Embassies were leaving the capital for Helsingfors, "but," he added, "I have considered it my duty to remain on for the *Morning Post* until actually thrown out. The risks, however, are very bad." Mr. Marsden was directed by the *Morning Post* to return, but his devotion to duty forced him to remain. It was thought that the recent tour with the Prince of Wales had in some measure restored him to health, but a sudden collapse on Thursday morning ended fatally yesterday.

The obituary of Protocols translator, Victor E. Marsden, October 30 1920

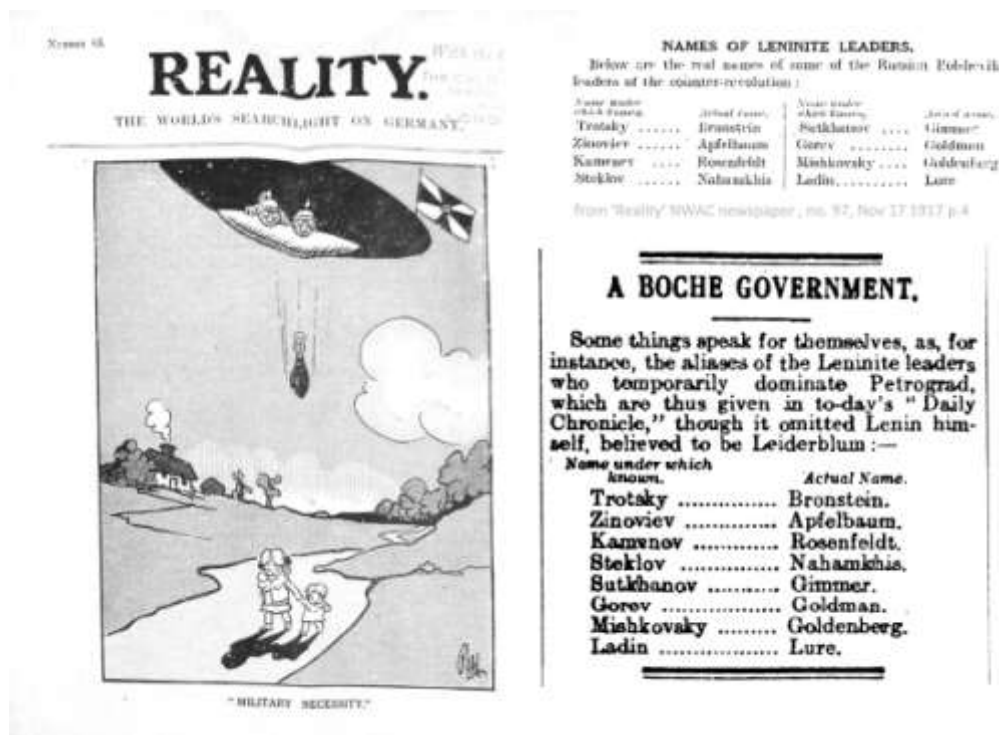


**CHATTING ABOUT THE CRISIS OUTSIDE NO. 12,
DOWNING STREET: MRS. DUDLEY WARD AND
SIR PHILIP SASOON.**

Society went through the anxious days of the crisis last week with a fairly cheerful smile, all things considered, and, as our photograph shows, even Downing Street wasn't unduly depressed. Mrs. Dudley Ward is seen with her little daughter, Penelope Anne Rachel, standing on the doorstep of 12, Downing Street, chatting to Sir Philip Sassoon, the Prime Minister's Parliamentary Secretary.

Sir Philip Sassoon is alleged to have employed Shanks as his Private Secretary at No.10 & Downing Street. Here is Sassoon outside Chief Whips Office at No.12 Downing Street in

April 1920



Reality: Searchlight on Germany. Newspaper of Britain's *National War Aims Committee* which published details of the 'Jewish' names of leading Bolsheviks in November 1917.

BOLSHEVISM AND JEWRY

A REPUDIATION.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE MORNING POST.

SIR,—We have read with the deepest concern and with sincere regret certain articles which have recently appeared in two closely associated Jewish newspapers in this country on the topic of Bolshevism and its "ideals." In our opinion, the publication of these articles can have no other effect than to encourage the adoption of the theoretic principles of Russian Bolsheviks among foreign Jews who have sought and found a refuge in England. We welcome, accordingly, your suggestion that British Jews should "dissociate themselves from a cause which is doing the Jewish people harm in all parts of the world." This is profoundly true, and we, on our own behalf and on behalf of numbers of British Jews with whom we have conferred, desire to dissociate ourselves absolutely and unreservedly from the mischievous and misleading doctrine which these articles are calculated to disseminate. We repudiate them as dangerous in themselves and as false to the tenets and teachings of Judaism.

Partly in order to counteract the mistaken policy of the newspapers referred to, the League of British Jews was founded in November, 1917. The proceedings and views of the League are published in a monthly bulletin, entitled *Jewish Opinion*, which can be obtained at the offices of the League, 708-709, Salisbury House, E.C. 2, and which may eventually be merged in a larger journal appearing at more frequent intervals. For we thoroughly concur with your criticism that "the British Jewish community, most of whom," as you rightly say, "are by no means in sympathy with this [Nationalist] crusade, are being served very badly by their newspapers." Meanwhile we take this opportunity of repudiating in public the particular statements in those newspapers to which you have felt it your duty to call attention.—Yours, &c.,

LIONEL DE ROTHSCHILD.
SWAYTHLING.
PHILIP MAGNUS.
MARCUS SAMUEL.
HARRY S. SAMUEL.
LEONARD L. COHEN.
I. GOLLANCZ.
JOHN MONASH.
CLAUDE G. MONTEFIORE.
ISIDORE SPIELMANN.

April 22.

'Letter of the Ten'. The League of British Jews respond to the campaign to conflate Russian with Bolshevism in April 1920

ZIONISM versus BOLSHEVISM.

A STRUGGLE FOR THE SOUL OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

By the Rt. Hon. WINSTON S. CHURCHILL.

SOME people like Jews and some do not; but in thoughtful men can doubt the fact that they are beyond all question the most formidable and the most remarkable race which has ever appeared in the world.

Disraeli, the Jew Prime Minister of England, and Leader of the Conservative Party, who was always true to his race and proud of his origin, said on a well-known occasion: "The Land deals with the nations as the nations deal with the Jews." Certainly when we look at the misérable state of Russia, where of all countries in the world the Jews were the most cruelly treated, and contrast it with the fortunes of our own country, which seems to have been so providentially preserved amid the awful perils of these times, we must admit that nothing that has since happened in the history of the world has falsified the truth of Disraeli's confident assertion.

Good and Bad Jews.

The conflict between good and evil which pervades unceasingly in the lives of men has few touches such an intensity as in the Jewish case. The dual nature of mankind is nowhere more strongly or more terribly exemplified. We see to the Jews in the Christian revelation a system of ethics which, even if it were entirely separated from the supernatural, would be incomparably the most precious possession of mankind, worth in fact the trials of all other nations and learning put together. On that system and by that faith there has been built out of the wreck of the Roman Empire the whole of our existing civilisation.

And it may well be that this same astounding yet may at the present time be in the actual process of producing another system of morals and philosophy, as malignant as Christianity was benevolent, which, if not arrested, would shatter irrevocably all that Christianity has rendered possible. It would almost seem as if the gospel of Christ and the gospel of Antichrist were destined to originate among the same people; and that this people, and mysterious race had been chosen for the supreme civilisation, both of the future and the disolvent.

"National" Jews.

There can be no greater mistake than to attribute to each individual a recognisable share in the qualities which make up the national character. There are all sorts of men—good, bad and, for the most part, in different—on every country, and in every race. Nothing is more wrong than to deny to an individual, on account of race or origin, his right to be judged on his personal merits and conduct. In a people of peculiar genius like the Jews, contrasts are more vivid, the extremes are more widely separated, the resulting conceptions are more forcible.

At the present fatal period there are three main lines of political conception among the Jews, two of which are helpful and hopeful in a very high degree to humanity, and the third absolutely destructive.

First there are the Jews who, dwelling in every country throughout the world, identify themselves with that country, enter into its national life, and, while adhering faithfully to their own religion, regard themselves as citizens in the fullest sense of the State which has received them. Such a Jew living in England would say, "I am an Englishman pertaining the Jewish faith." This is a worthy conception, and useful in the highest degree. We in Great Britain well know that during the great struggle the influence of what may be called the "National Jews" in many lands was put preponderantly on the side of the Allies; and in our own Army Jewish soldiers have played a most distinguished part, some rising to the command of armies, others winning the Victoria Cross for valour.



Mr. Churchill inspecting his old regiment, the 4th Hussars, at Aldershot last week.

The National Russian Jews, in spite of the disabilities under which they have suffered, have managed to play an honourable and useful part in the national life even of Russia. As bankers and industrialists they have strenuously promoted the development of Russia's economic resources, and they were foremost in the creation of those remarkable organisations, the Russian Co-operative Societies. In politics their support has been given, for the most part, to liberal and progressive movements, and they have been among the staunchest upholders of friendship with France and Great Britain.

International Jews.

In violent opposition to all this sphere of Jewish effort rise the schemes of the International Jews. The adherents of this sinister confederacy are mostly men reared up among the unhappy populations of countries where Jews are persecuted on account of their race. Most, if not all, of them have inherited from their forefathers, and drawn from their minds all spiritual hopes of the next world. This movement among the Jews is not new. From the days of Spinoza, Whistler to those of Karl Marx, and down to Trotsky (Russia), Bela Kun (Hungary), Rosa Luxemburg (Germany), and Emma Goldman (United States), this world-wide conspiracy for the overthrow of civilisation and for the reconstruction of society on the basis of arrested development, of envious malevolence, and impossible equality, has been steadily growing. It played, as a modern writer, Mrs. Webster, has aptly shown, a definitely recognisable part in the integrity of the French Revolution. It has been the main-spring of every subversive movement during the Nineteenth Century; and now at last this band of extraordinary personalities from the under-world of the great cities of Europe and America have gripped the Russian people by the hair of their heads and have become practically the undisputed masters of that enormous empire.

Terrorist Jews.

There is no need to exaggerate the part played in the creation of Bolshevism and in the actual bringing about of the Russian Revolution by these international and for the most part atheistical Jews. It is certainly a very great one; it probably outweighs all others. With the notable exception of Lenin, the majority of the leading figures are Jews. Moreover, the principal inspiration and driving power comes from the Jewish leaders. Thus Trotsky, a part Russian, is eclipsed by his nominal subordinate Litvinoff, and the influence of Russians

like Bukharin or Lunacharski, cannot be compared with the power of Trotsky, or of Zinovieff, the Dictator of the Red Caudal (Petrograd), or of Krasin or Radek—all Jews. In the Soviet institutions the preponderance of Jews is even more astonishing. And the gravest, if not indeed the principal, part in the system of terrorism applied by the Extraordinary Commissions for Combating Counter-Revolution has been taken by Jews, and in state notable cases by Jewesses. The same evil prominence was obtained by Jews in the brief period of terror which Bela Kun ruled in Hungary. The same preponderance has been presented in Germany (especially in Bavaria), so far as this movement has been allowed to prey upon the temporary penetration of the German people. Although in all these countries there are many non-Jews, every which is but as the wind of the Jewish revolutionaries, the part played by the latter in proportion to their numbers in the population is astonishing.

"Protector of the Jews."

Needless to say, the most intense passions of revenge have been excited in the bosom of the Russian people. Whenever General Denikin's authority could reach, penetration was always accorded to the Jewish population, and strenuous efforts were made by his officers to prevent reprisals and to punish those guilty of them. So much was this the case that the Pellarist propaganda against General Denikin denominated him as the "Protector of the Jews." The Ministers Healy, successors of Mr. Tim Healy, in relating their personal experiences in Kieff, have declared that to their knowledge no more than one occasion occurred when committed offences against Jews were reported to the courts and sent out of the city in the front. But the burden of legends by whom the whole vast expanse of the Russian Empire is becoming infested do not hesitate to gratify their lust for blood and for revenge at the expense of the innocent Jewish population whenever an opportunity occurs. The infamous Mahon, the baron of Vithara and of Gregorieff, who signified their every act by the most brutal massacres, everywhere found among the half-starved, half-indifferent population an eager response to anti-Semitism in its worst and basest forms.

The fact that in many cases Jewish interests and Jewish glares of worship are accepted by the Bolshevists from their universal hostility has rendered more and more to associate the Jewish race in Russia with the villainies which are now being perpetrated. This is an injustice on millions of helpless

people, most of whom are themselves sufferers from the revolutionary regime. It becomes, therefore, specially important to foster and develop any strongly-marked Jewish movement which leads directly away from these fatal iron chains. And it is here that Zionism has such a deep significance for the whole world at the present time.

A Home for the Jews.

Zionism offers the ideal sphere in the politics of conception of the Jewish race. In vision contrasts to international communism, it presents to the Jew a national idea of a commanding character. It has fallen to the British Government, as the result of the conquest of Palestine, to have the opportunity and the responsibility of securing for the Jewish race all over the world a home and a centre of national life. The state-ownership and historic sense of Mr. Balfour were prompt to seize this opportunity. Declarations have been made which have irreversibly decided the policy of Great Britain. The very overtures of Dr. Weissmann, the leader, for practical purposes, of the Zionist project, backed for many of the most prominent British Jews, and supported by the full authority of Lord Althorp, are all directed to achieving the success of this inspiring movement.

Of course, Palestine is far too small to accommodate more than a fraction of the Jewish race, nor do the majority of Jewish Jews wish to go there. But if, as may well happen, there should be created in our own lifetime by the hands of the Jewish State under the protection of the British Crown, which might comprise three or four millions of Jews, an event would have occurred in the history of the world which would, from every point of view, be beneficial, and would be especially in harmony with the truest interests of the British Empire.

Zionism has already become a factor in the political convulsions of Russia, as a powerful competing influence in Bolshevism ranks with the international communist system. Nothing could be more significant than the fury with which Trotsky has attacked the Zionist generally, and Dr. Weissmann in particular. The cruel penetration of his mind leaves him no doubt that his scheme of a world-wide communist State under Jewish domination is directly thwarted and foisted by this new ideal, which directs the energies and the hopes of Jews in every land towards a simpler, a truer, and a far more attainable goal. The struggle which is now beginning between the Zionist and Bolshevist Jews is still less than a struggle for the soul of the Jewish people.

Duty of Loyal Jews.

It is particularly important in these circumstances that the national Jews in every country who are loyal to the land of their adoption should come forward on every occasion, as many of them in England have already done, and take a prominent part in every measure for combating the Bolshevist conspiracy. In this way they will be able to vindicate the honour of the Jewish name and make it clear to all the world that the Bolshevist movement is not a Jewish movement, but is repudiated vehemently by the great mass of the Jewish race.

But a negative resistance to Judaism in any field is not enough. Positive and graceful alternatives are needed in the moral as well as in the social sphere; and in building up with the utmost possible rapidity a Jewish national centre in Palestine which may become not only a refuge to the oppressed from the unhappy lands of Central Europe, but which will also be a symbol of Jewish unity and the temple of Jewish glory, a task is presented on which many blessings rest.

BRITAIN'S MINISTER OF WAR ON ZIONISM

Winston S. Churchill Intimates England Anxious to Help Jews

(Special to B'nai B'rith Messenger)

Declaring that the present generation will see a Jewish state established in Palestine with a population of between three and four million, Winston S. Churchill, Great Britain's Minister for War published an article in the Sunday London Herald, considered by many Zionist leaders as one of the most important statements on Zionism since Balfour's memorable declaration of November 2, 1917, definitely pledged England to the establishment of a Jewish National Homeland in Palestine.

The article, taking up present-day Jewish questions, has this to say on Zionism:

"Zionism is of the greatest importance to the whole world. The Balfour Declaration in favor of establishing a Jewish Homeland in Palestine, proclaimed Great Britain's irrevocable attitude toward the question.

"In our day we will see a Jewish state, under England's protection, with a population of from three to four millions, built up along the shores of the Jordan.

"The Jews must immediately create a Jewish national center in Palestine, where the oppressed peoples of Central Europe may find shelter and which shall be a symbol of Jewish unity and honor.

Coming from a leading cabinet official, whose public utterances and writings necessarily reflect the attitude of his Government, the article is taken by Zionist officials to mean that England is prepared to co-operate with the Zionist Organization to the fullest extent in preparing Palestine immediately for the absorption of the millions of Jews throughout the world, eager to live there and escape the sufferings they are enduring in their native lands.

Response to Churchill's 'Zionism versus Bolshevism' article in the B'nai B'rith Messenger

(USA) dated 5 March 1920

WINSTON CHURCHILL'S STATEMENT GIVES IMPETUS TO P. R. F., IS VIEW OF LOCAL ZIONIST LEADERS.

With plans for the Minneapolis drive in behalf of the Palestine Restoration Fund to begin March 20 now well under way, considerable local interest is taken in the statement just made by Great Britain's war minister, Winston S. Churchill, that Palestine will have a population of between three and four million during the present generation, with the character of a Jewish homeland under a mandatory of one of the allied powers.

Prominent Jews of this city, and officers of the local Restoration Fund believe that Minister Churchill's statement in last Sunday's London Herald, is one of the most important pronouncements bearing on the Jewish problem made since Balfour's memorable declaration of November 2, 1917, definitely pledging England to the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

In his statement Mr. Churchill urges the Jews to create immediately a Jewish center in Palestine, where the oppressed people of Central Europe may find shelter, and commends highly the reconstruction and restoration work, for which the \$10,000,000 is now being raised in the United States.

Coming from a leading cabinet official, whose public utterings and writings necessarily reflect the attitude of his government, the article is taken by local officials to mean that England is prepared to cooperate with the Jews of the world to the fullest extent in preparing Palestine for the absorption of the millions of Jews throughout Europe, eager to live there and escape the sufferings they are enduring in their native lands.

"Mr. Churchill's statement is encouraging to the Jews everywhere," said Dr. Maurice Lefkovits, executive director of the Minnesota Zionist drive, "and especially to the Zionist organization which is making Palestine ready for the world mass-migration of Jews, which will start as soon as the Peace Treaty with Turkey is signed and the English mandate established."

Response to Churchill's 'Zionism versus Bolshevism' article in the Minneapolis American

Jewish World, 12 March 1920

DES MILITANTS DE LA POLITIQUE RUSSE QUI SE TROUVENT A PARIS CROIENT QUE LA CHUTE DU RÉGIME BOLCHEVIK EST PROCHAINE ET NOUS DISENT POURQUOI

MM. STRUVE, ALEXINSKY, BOURTZEFF ET TCHAIKOWSKY NOUS EXPOSENT EN OUTRE LEUR OPINION :

*Sur le rétablissement, après la fin des
soviets, d'un régime répondant aux
vœux de tous les Russes ;
Sur Wrangel et sur son œuvre ;
Sur les sanctions des crimes bolcheviks ;*

*Sur le caractère des relations futures
entre Varsovie et Petrograd ;
Sur l'attitude de la Russie régénérée
vis-à-vis des États constitués dans
l'ancien empire des tsars.*



M. STRUVE

M. ALEXINSKY

M. BOURTZEFF

M. TCHAIKOWSKY

Revolutionary Sherlock Holmes in the French Press of October 1920 alongside fellow revolutionaries Peter Struve, Grigory Alexinsky and Nikolai Vasilyevich Tchaikovsky

511 ✓

Name (in full) *Shanks George*

37275

Date of Birth	<i>26th Aug 1895</i>	Whether Married.	
Date of Entry into Air Service.	<i>11th Sept 1916</i>	Next of Kin and Address.	<i>Father W.B. Shanks Esq. Moscow, Russia.</i>
Previous Service in E.M. Forces.	<i>HM Sub-Lt. 24.5.15-10.9.16</i>	By whom Recommended.	<i>Shanks Esq. Curlew Grove, Beaconsfield, Bucks.</i>
Previous Occupation if entered from Civil Life.			

APPOINTMENTS.			PROMOTIONS.					
Date.	Whenon.	Appointment.	AIR SERVICE.		NAVAL SERVICE.			
			Date.	Seniority	Rank.	Date.	Seniority	Rank.
<i>11.9.16</i>		<i>Temporary Sub-Lieut. R.N.R. White City, C.S.D. 1st of Russian Warship Spares</i>						
<i>1.4.18</i>	<i>Falmouth</i>	<i>Alexander's duties</i>						

See Vol 6/154, Vol 24/240.

CONFIDENTIAL REPORTS.							
Occasion.	Date	By whom.	Conduct.	Ability.	Special Ability.	Language, etc.	Remarks.
<i>20.1.17</i>	<i>2.2.18</i>	<i>Russ. Govt. Committee</i>					<i>Specially recommended for promotion. Moscow has excellent knowledge of Russian, speaks fluently, assistance to the Committee during the period he was attached.</i>

Space for particular notations at Air Department (i.e., Accidents, meritorious work, special flights, etc.).

4/135917, Russian Govt. Committee 20.12.16:- Instructed to report at his Dept. 4/137066. D. A. S. 16.7.17:- Release from duties with R.N.R. Govt. Committee 20.12.16. No objection to his employment at the office being brought up to £50 per month, the difference being paid by the Committee. Request for information whether his services will be required with long by the Russian Govt. Committee. 4/13717, 13.2.18. No objection to his employment on training in Soviet duties. A report not when he is considered to be progressing to be sent to this Dept. A/136701 from D.C.A.P. request for this officer to be entered as Assistant to Lieut. Hitchcock 10/3/18. Responded to Alexander, no not available.

13.9.18. 1st Lt. Shanks. Station. Noted. A.

Printed for the use of the Cabinet. January 1935.

SECRET.

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

THE course of events upon a project of a change, at the end of the war, in the status of Palestine. Already there is a stirring among the twelve million Jews scattered throughout the corners of the world. A feeling is spreading with great rapidity that now, or at least, some advance may be made, in some way, towards the fulfilment of the hope and desire, held with unshakeable tenacity for eight hundred years, for the restoration of the Jews to the land to which they are attached by ties almost as ancient as history itself.

Yet it is felt that the time is not ripe for the establishment there of an independent, autonomous Jewish State. Such increase of population as there has been in Palestine in recent years has been composed, indeed, mostly of Jewish immigrants; the new Jewish agricultural colonies already number about 15,000 acres; in Jerusalem itself two-thirds of the inhabitants are Jews; but in the country, as a whole, they still probably do not number more than about one-sixth of the population.

If the attempt were made to place the 400,000 or 500,000 Mohammedans of Arab race under a Government which rested upon the support of 40,000 or 50,000 Jewish inhabitants, there can be no assurance that such a Government, even if established by the authority of the Powers, would be able to command obedience. The dream of a Jewish State, independent, progressive, and the home of a brilliant civilisation, might vanish in a series of unquelled conflicts with the Arab population. And even if a State so constituted did succeed in avoiding or repressing internal disorder, it is doubtful whether it would be strong enough to protect itself from external aggression from the turbulent elements around it. To attempt to realise the aspiration of a Jewish State one century too soon might throw back its actual realisation for many centuries more.

I am assured that the solution of the problem of Palestine which would be such the most welcome to the leaders and supporters of the Zionist movement throughout the world would be the annexation of the country to the British Empire. I believe that that solution would be cordially welcomed also by the greater number of Jews who have not hitherto been interested in the Zionist movement. It is hoped that under British rule facilities would be given to Jewish organisations to purchase land, to found colonies, to establish educational and religious institutions, and to extend usefully the funds that would be freely contributed for promoting the economic development of the country. It is hoped also that Jewish immigration, carefully regulated, would be given preference

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B

What are the alternatives?

(a) Annexation by France.—French interests, which in Northern Syria are considerable, in Palestine are small. A French colony over the railway of 54 miles from Jaffa to Jerusalem, the most important road facilities be brought out for so large a sum. Beyond that there is little. There are French monastic establishments, but few French residents elsewhere. The Egyptian Intelligence Department report, which has been already quoted, is to the effect that a French annexation would be unwelcome to the inhabitants. It would certainly be unwelcome to the Jews. If, as the outcome of the war, France recovers Alsace and Lorraine, and obtains the greater part of Syria, including Beirut and Damascus, she might not be grudging to grant French Mesopotamia and Palestine. Her ancient pretensions of Catholic interests in the East would be sustained by her leadership in the International Commission which would control the Holy Places.

(b) Internationalisation.—To establish a Government composed of representatives of all the Powers would be to lay the country under a dead hand. Continuous disagreement would be inevitable, and would result in nothing being done for the development of the land and the progress of the people. Besides, a status which was in fact international would give an opportunity for the greatest persecution of the country by German schemes. Already Germany has been very active in Palestine. She has spent considerable sums of money there with a view to increasing her influence. She has founded a bank, agricultural colonies, schools, hospitals. After the war, she is set, to a great extent, free from the East and other parts of the globe, she may well concentrate a part of her energies on Palestine. In twenty years' time Syria's neighbours, intensely internationalised, may have become as permeated by German influence as to furnish a strong case for German action, whenever the monstrous form of government shall have utterly broken down, and whenever another revival of the map of Western Asia takes place. An international régime has tentatively been a transition stage in something else. While it lasts it is a theatre of intrigues in which none of all the contending countries seek to prepare claims against the day when the change which is foreseen shall come. In this case it may prove to be a stepping-stone to a German protectorate. Such an eventuality would be so dangerous to France in Northern Syria as to England in Egypt.

(c) Annexation to Egypt.—Incorporation within the British Empire by the indirect method may be found necessary for the sake of maintaining Mohammedan sentiment in India and Egypt. The constitution of a Greater Egypt would probably be very acceptable to Sultan Hussein and his Mohammedan subjects. But this policy would introduce complications in the administration of the country, without, it would seem, advantage sufficient to outweigh them. Now it is certain that the arrangement would be preferred by the Arabs. In the eyes of the Jews, it would offer a much less strong appeal than would the possibility of the growth of a Jewish State under the direct suzerainty of Great Britain.

(d.) To leave the country to Turkey, but with some

as that in some of time the Jewish people, grown into a majority and settled in the land, may be regarded as a degree of self-government as the condition of that day may justify.

It would, no doubt, be necessary to establish an extraordinary régime for the Christian sacred sites, and to rest their possession and control in an international commission, in which France, on behalf of the Catholic Church, and Russia, on behalf of the Greek Church, would have leading voices. It would be desirable also that the Mohammedan sacred sites should be placed in a similar, and probably that the Government should include one or more Mohammedans, whose presence would be a guarantee that Mohammedan interests would be safeguarded.

From the standpoint of British interests there are several arguments for this policy, if wider considerations should allow it to be pursued.

1. It would enable England to fulfil in yet another sphere her historic part of civiliser of the backward nations. Under the Turk, Palestine has been lighted. For hundreds of years she has produced neither man nor things useful to the world. Her native population is sunk in apathy. Roads, harbours, irrigation, sanitation, are neglected. Almost the only signs of agricultural or industrial vitality are to be found in the Jewish and, on a smaller scale, in the German colonies. Corruption is universal in the administration and in the judiciary. The Government, while allowing one another in rapid succession, are concerned only with the amount of money they can squeeze out of the country to send to Constantinople. Under British administration all this will be quickly changed. The country will be reclaimed. What has been done in Egypt will be repeated here, and the knowledge of this would make many of the present inhabitants at least sympathetic, but not, in the change. The British Agent in Egypt, recently reported (on the 7th January) that the information of the Intelligence Department there indicated that a large proportion of the population would welcome a British occupation. There have been many previous indications of the same feeling. The Turkish officials are foreigners in the country. Of Turkish population there is none. England should assume control, because by that means she can forward the purpose for which, at least, her Empire in the tropics and sub-tropics exists.

2. The British Empire, with its present vastness and prosperity, has little addition to its greatness left to win. But Palestine, small as it is, adds so large to the world's imagination, that its Empire is so great, but its prestige would be raised by its possession. The inclusion of Palestine within the British Empire would add a lustre even to the British Crown. It would make a most powerful appeal to the people of the United Kingdom and the Dominions, particularly if it was accompanied by a means of aiding the Jews to reorganise the country. Widespread and deep-seated in the Protestant world is a sympathy with the idea of restoring the Hebrew people to the land which was to be their inheritance, an intense interest in the fulfilment of the prophecy which have given birth to the redemption also of the Christian Holy Land.

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generations for improved government and greater facilities for Jewish colonisation.—To devise such guarantees and to make them effective would be a matter of extreme difficulty, as the whole of the modern history of the Turkish Empire has shown. It is probable that the adoption of such a policy would leave the situation substantially unchanged. Whether it would in any case be practicable would depend upon the disposition, after the war, of the territories to the north and east.

The gradual growth of a considerable Jewish community under British suzerainty, in Palestine will not solve the Jewish question in Europe. A country the size of Wales, with 3½ barren mountains and part of it waterless, cannot hold 2,000,000 people. But it could probably hold in time 2,000,000 or 3,000,000, and some relief would be given to the pressure in Russia and elsewhere. For more important would be the effect upon the character of the larger part of the Jewish race who must still remain intermingled with other peoples, to be a strength or to be a weakness to the nations in which they live. Let a Jewish centre be established in Palestine; let it achieve, as I believe it would achieve, a spiritual and intellectual greatness, and inevitably, but inevitably, the character of the individual Jew, wherever he might be, would be changed. The world organisations which have attached to the Jewish name would be dissolved off, and the value of the Jews as an element in the civilisation of the European people would be reduced.

The Jewish race is a physiological product not to be despised. For fifteen centuries the mass produced in Palestine a constant succession of great men—statesmen and prophets, judges and soldiers. If a body began given in which its seed and soil helps, it may again scratch the world. Till full scope is granted, it may again scratch the world. "For as not presume to say that there is no genius among the non-Jews of Israel, no heroism among the descendants of the Maccabees."

H. R.

January 1935.

Plans from the vulgarisation in which they are now subject, and the opening of the Holy Land, more easily than hitherto, to the value of Christian tradition, would add to the appeal which this policy would make to the British people. There is probably no outcome of the war which would give greater satisfaction to powerful sections of British opinion.

3. The importance that would be attached to this attention by British opinion would help to facilitate a wise settlement of another of the problems which will result from the war. Although Great Britain did not enter the conflict with any purpose of territorial expansion, being as it and having made immense sacrifices, there would be profound disappointment in the country if the outcome were to be the securing of great self-interest by our allies, and none by ourselves. But to strip Germany of her colonies for the benefit of England would leave a permanent feeling of such intense bitterness among the German people as to render such a course impracticable. We have to live in the same world with 20,000,000 Germans, and we should take care to give as little justification as we can for the hatching, for twenty or thirty years hence, of a German war of revenge. Certain of the German colonies must as doubt be retained for strategic reasons. But if Great Britain can obtain the compensation, which public opinion will demand, in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and not in German East Africa and West Africa, there is more likelihood of a lasting peace.

4. The belt of desert to the east of the Suez Canal is an admirable strategic frontier for Egypt. But it would be an inadequate defence if a great European Power were established on the further side. A military expedition organised from Southern Palestine, and including the laying of a railway from El Arish to the Canal, would be formidable. Palestine in British hands would itself be open to attack, and would bring with it extended military responsibilities. But the maintenance of the country would make the occupation by an enemy difficult, and while this outpost was being maintained there would be given to allow the garrison of Egypt to be increased and the defence to be strengthened. A common frontier with a European neighbour in the Lebanon is a far smaller risk to the vital interests of the British Empire than a common frontier at El Arish.

5. The course which is advocated would win for England the lasting gratitude of the Jews throughout the world. In the United States, where they number about 2,000,000, and in all the other lands where they are scattered, they would form a body of opinion whose bias, where the interest of the country of which they were citizens was not involved, would be favourable to the British Empire. Just as the wise policy of England towards Greece in the early part of the nineteenth century, and towards Italy in the middle of the nineteenth century, has secured for this country ever since the goodwill of Greece and Italy, whom she may be, as help given now towards the attainment of the ideal which the Jews have never ceased to cherish through so many centuries of suffering, must fall to some, into a far-distant future, the devoted gratitude of a whole race whose goodwill, in time to come, may not be without its value.

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