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UNIVERSITY OF LOUISVILLE

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ZIONISM FROM HARAN TO LAUSANNE

A Dissertation

Submitted to the Faculty

Of the Graduate School of the College of Liberal Arts

In Partial Fulfillment of the

Requirements for the Degree

Of Master of Arts

Department of History

By

Albert N. Mandelbaum

1929.

30 May '29
ETS

Approved
Henry W. Sherwood

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INTRODUCTION

Introduction.

Many writers on Zionism endeavor to explain the causes that contributed to its creation and developments. Most of these writers are extremists in their views. Some ascribe Zionism to the internal force only. Others ascribe it to the external force only. The religionists gloat over the idea that modern Zionism is the result of inner yearning of the Jewish people for a restored Palestine, where the glory of God will be returned unto Zion. (1) The nationalists believe that Zionism has come into existence because of external influences only. The Jew has been oppressed, discriminated ^{against} and persecuted. He attempted to assimilate racially and even religiously but was not welcomed by the environment. Therefore, Zionism has come into existence to offer a solution.

The full truth probably lies in the middle between these extreme views. Both forces contributed to the coming into existence of Zionism.

Had one of the causes been missing, Jewish aspirations, if they had not totally disappeared would surely be different from what they are today. Had there been no external pressure, no persecution, no discrimination, no French revolution, no May laws, no Dreyfus case, the Jew would probably have abandoned his hope for a restored Palestine. On the other hand, had not religious yearning, prophecies, prayers and customs existed, even if the Jews were discriminated against and forced to seek a new national home, it would have been anywhere but in Zion.

(1) Kalisher, Z.H., Shuvath Zion.

At the time Zionism came into existence, Palestine was the least desirable country. It held out the least prospect of success. The only attraction Palestine had more than any other country was its historic significance and the religious sentiment attached to it.

It would, therefore, I believe, be fair to state that both the internal and external factors were auxiliaries to each other; both contributed to the creation and development of Zionism.

The influence of these forces varied. At times it was the inner force that was supreme and at other times it was the external, but invariably when one force weakened the other came into play.

Up to the time of Bar-Cochba, it was the national idea that held its sway and directed the pro-Palestine sentiment. From Bar-Cochba to the beginning of the 19th century, it was mainly the religious force assisted by external discrimination that kept alive the yearning for Palestine. From the beginning of the 19th century to the Zionist Congress it was mainly the external force assisted only by the religious motive that produced Zionism.

Moses Hess, Theodore Hertzl, Max Nordau came to Zionism because of external force. Moses Montefiore, Kalisher and Reines came to believe in Palestine because of their inner belief and philosophy.

The nations who formed Article 22 of the League of Nations and the Palestine Mandate, too, recognized both forces. They wanted to improve the condition of the Jew, but they also recognized the inner sentiments for Palestine which existed even

amongst the Jews who lived in free countries and the good will that would accrue in favor of the allies because of such recognition. This is to be seen from Sir Edward Grey's letter to the British Ambassador in Russia.

As a result of these sentiments the world has experienced a unique phenomena in international affairs. A country lost to a people for almost 2000 years, inhabited by a population 80 percent of whom were from another people has been recognized as a place where Israel may establish a national homeland under the tutelage of great Britain and with the protection of the League of Nations.

In reading the history of Zionism from Haran to Lausanne, the reader's attention is called to the influence that both of these forces exercised on the development of Zionism.

SM

Chapter I

From Abraham to the Destruction of the Second Temple

Although the term Zionism was coined by Nathan Birnbaum (Mathew Acher) as late as 1886,⁽¹⁾ the idea that this term represents is as old as the Jewish people. From the dawn of Jewish history to the present time, from the patriarch, Abraham, to Weitzman, the present day president of the World Zionist Organization, there has been an intimate attachment between Palestine and the Jewish people.

The very origin of Israel's history is ushered in with a command given to Abraham to leave his native land and go to Canaan. "And Abraham took Sarah, his wife and Lot, his brother's son and all their substance that they had gathered and the souls that they had gotten in Haran and they went forth to go into the land of Canaan and into the land of Canaan they came."⁽²⁾

Abraham's yearning for Palestine was inherited by his children and transmitted by them to the Jewish people.⁽³⁾

Abraham's son, Isaac, spent his days in Hebron. Jacob sanctified Palestine by recognizing it as a holy shrine. Though he died in Egypt, he did not want to be buried there. He called his children and charged them: "I am to be gathered unto my people, bury me with my fathers in the cave that is

(1) Sampter, A Guide to Zionism, P. 23.

(2) Genesis, Chap. XII, P. 12-5.

(3) " " XXXV, P. 27.

in the field of Machpelah which is before Mamre in the land of Canaan which Abraham bought with the field from Ephron, the Hittite for a possession of a burying place." (4)

"His sons carried him into the land of Canaan and buried him in the cave of the field of Machpelah." (5) This sanctification of Palestine taught by Jacob was repeated by his son Joseph. Before he died he, too, enjoined his brothers to carry his bones to Palestine. "And Joseph took an oath of the children of Israel, saying, God will surely visit you and ye shall carry my bones from hence." (6)

When Israel became emancipated from Egypt, after wandering in the desert, they settled in Palestine and under Solomon enjoyed complete independence. For several hundred years Palestine was a Jewish state ruled by Jewish kings, but in the sixth century it was destroyed. (7) Jehoiachin, the newly ascended king was carried off to Babylonia, and Jerusalem fell in 586 B.C.

But even in that critical period when it seemed that the Jewish state belonged to the past, the people of Judah did not abandon their hope to regain Palestine.

The very same prophets who admonished and warned them of the coming destruction turned condolers in the hour of grief.

Amos in Israel, Ezekiel and Jeremiah in Judah, inspired the people and encouraged them not to give up their identity

(4) Genesis, Chap. IL, P. 29-32.

(5) " " L, P. 13.

(6) " " L, P. 25

(7) The Kingdom of Israel was destroyed in the 7th century B.C. and the Kingdom of Judah was destroyed in the 6th century B.C.

for God would restore them. Amos fired the imagination of Israel by announcing in the name of God, "I will bring back the captivity of my people, Israel, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; and they shall also make gardens and eat the fruit of them. And I will plant them upon their land and they shall no more be plucked up out of their land which I have given them saith the Lord your God."⁽⁸⁾

In the midst of the great catastrophe that befell Judah, Jeremiah prophesied saying, "Thus speaketh God the Lord of Israel. The day is come that I will turn again the captivity of my people Israel and Judah, and I will cause them to return to the land that I gave to their fathers and they shall possess it."⁽⁹⁾

In Babylonia the hope of restoration was preached by the prophet, Isaiah and others who nursed the hope of restoration in their breast.

The prophets succeeded. At the first opportunity that was offered them the Jews returned to Palestine. In 539 B.C. the city of Babylonia surrendered to Cyrus' army. Cyrus became ruler of Babylonia. Soon thereafter Cyrus issued a proclamation giving the Judahite and other exiles permission to return to their own land. The Jews gladly seized the opportunity. A prince of the Davidic line, Sheshbazzar, with

(8) Amos, Chap. L, P. 25.

(9) Jeremiah, Chap. XXX, P. 2.

a large following set out for Jerusalem in 538. In the year 521 another contingent of new colonists headed by Zerubbabel set out. Through his agency and that of Joshua, the high priest, and also through the encouragement and inspiration of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, the temple was completed and dedicated in 516 B.C. Later Ezra and Nehemiah carried through a series of reforms which had its climax in 444.

During a short period Palestine, though not a fully independent state, fared well. Though Alexander the Great brought Syria under Hellenistic influence, first under Ptolemy of Egypt and later under Antiochus III, he did not disturb Palestine. Not until later did Antiochus Epiphanes seize the temple and profane it. When this happened, a new revolt broke out in 167 B.C. under the leadership of Mathathias, the Hasmonean. Under his son, Judas Maccabeus, Jerusalem was recovered, the temple purified and political independence restored. Judah was again an independent Jewish state. This independence lasted over a century until Syria became a Roman province.

The Jews who were not killed were sold into slavery or taken to the great cities of Rome. It seemed as if the Jewish people would be no more. It seemed as if the last remnant of Judah's independence was buried, never to be resurrected.

Still once more did they try to raise a revolt against the Romans. The hero of this revolt was Bar-Kochba. It is said of him that he inspired the Roman empire in its time of weakness with as much terror as Hannibal.

Chapter II

From the Destruction of the Temple to the
Revolt of Bar-Cochba.

With the rise of the Roman empire the actual political state passed from reality to theory. The tide of Roman conquest did not spare Judea.

Judea torn by internal strife, guided by a corrupted priesthood, gave Rome one of the bitterest battles in her history which lasted three years, from 67 to the year 70 C.E. The Roman general Vespasian with his army and his son Titus brought Judea down to ashes.

The besieged attempted an onslaught on their enemies but were defeated and followed by the Romans, one of whom seized a burning firebrand and flung it into a window of the temple. The temple was burnt to the ground on the 9th day of the month of Ab in the year 70 A.D.

On the 8th day of Ellul, they set fire to all that remained of Jerusalem, the upper city, known by the name Zion. More than a million lives were lost during the siege. Almost all the Judeans who inhabited their native land were destroyed. The women who were not killed were sold into slavery or abandoned to the savage soldiery of Rome. It looked as if the Jewish people would be no more. It seemed as if the last remnant of Judea's independence was buried, never to be resurrected.

Still once more did they try to raise a revolt against the Romans. The hero of this revolt was Bar-Cochba. It is said of him that he inspired the Roman empire in its then state of weakness with as much terror as Brennus and Hannibal

(1) Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. II, Chap. XI.

(2) Josephus, Flavius, Wars of the Jews, Vol. III.

had formerly done. He was assisted by Akiba, the head of the community. So successful was this revolt at the beginning that in the years 132-133 A.D. fifty fortified places and 985 cities and villages fell into the hands of rebels. Bar-Cochba in order to announce national independence performed a sovereign act of power and caused Jewish coins to be struck. These were called Bar-Cochba coins or coins of the revolution. However successful this revolt was at the beginning it came to a disastrous end with the fall of the city of Bethor. This constituted the last attempt made by Jews to gain independence by arms. Never did they try again to conquer by the sword.

to Jewish life in the middle ages which will help appreciate the value of prayers and customs as evidence.

(1) Throughout this time there was no real central authority over the Jewish people neither political with a seat of government, nor even religious with a central synod or ecclesiastical head. There were communities large and small, ranging from the Galilee, the great Babylonian Jewry, which was considered next in prestige to Palestine during the fourth and fifth centuries, down to some little handful of Jews in a small village. Each of these communities regulated its own affairs. The only recognized authority in the community was that of a man's influence as a teacher or his commanding influence in the country. The opinions of the Sages, the religious heads of the

(1) Eusebius, *History of the Church*, ed. by E. Schwartz, 1903, p. 100. Also by Rev. Travers Twiss, *The Influence of the Jews*, 1869, p. 100.

(3) Graetz, *History of the Jews*, Vol. II, Chap. XI.

(4) " " " " " Vol. II, P. 409.

Chapter III

From Bar-Cochba to the Beginning of the 19th Century

From this revolt on to the 19th century, a period of almost seventeen hundred years, no attempt was made to regain Palestine. No hope was even entertained that Palestine could or would be restored by human hands or human achievement. The only hope that the Jews cherished was that God would in some way have Israel and Palestine reunited. This hope was manifested (a) in prayer (b) in custom, and (c) in pilgrimage.

Prayer and Custom as Historic Evidence.

Before we cite prayers and custom to prove the attachment of the Jews to Palestine we should explain some facts pertaining to Jewish life in the middle ages which will help appreciate the value of prayers and custom as evidence.

(1)
Throughout this time there was no real central authority over the Jewish people neither political with a seat of government, nor even religious with a central synod or ecclesiastical head. There were communities large and small, ranging from the Goloh, the great Babylonian Jewry, which was considered next in prestige to Palestine during the fourth and fifth century, down to some little handful of Jews in a small village. Each of these communities regulated its own affairs. The only recognized authority in the community was that of a man's eminence as a teacher of his commanding influence in his country. The opinions of the Gaonim, the religious heads of

(1) Bevan Edwin R. & Singer Chas., edit. Legacy of Israel, art. by Rev. Travers Hertford, The Influence of Judaism upon Jews.

Babylonin Jewry from sixth to tenth century, who were appealed to for decisions upon ritual and legal questions by Jews living in other lands, were sought only as instruction and advice.

The same position was also held by Rashi in Northern France in the 11th century and by Maimonides in the 12th century.

This lack of central authority was very noticeable in the writing and use of prayer. (2) With the exception of a few prayers that came down from the Keneseth Hagdola, Men of the Great Synagogue, the prayers were not composed by a central authority for all Jews. (3) Chanters of prominent communities composed prayers for their Synagogue. Those that were best liked were accepted by the people voluntarily. Occasionally when people of one community heard of a prayer in another community that appealed to them they accepted it. Hence, these prayers not only served as inspiration that created sentiment, but were also the result of sentiment. The prayer that expressed best the existing sentiment of the people was liked best by them. In this sense the prayers adopted by the people are indications of the sentiment and hopes that dominated them.

Custom

In Jewish life in the Middle Ages the local community was the real unit. (4) The community was in charge of all taxes, education and charity. The government assessed not the individual Jew but the community. Education was fostered by the Synagogue.

(2) Eisenstein J.D., edit., Ozar Ysrael, Vol. IX, P. 222.

(3) Jewish Encyclopedia.

(4) Bevan Edwin R. & Singer Chas., edit., The Legacy of Israel, P. 117.

The orphaned and widowed were cared for by the community which concentrated around the synagogue. The prayers recited at the Synagogue and the religious customs practiced in the community were an absolute integral part of life in general. With these facts in mind we may proceed to analyze what these prayers contained.

(a) Prayer

Practically every prayer contained in the traditional prayer book makes reference to a restored Palestine. This is true with all kinds of prayers whether recited daily, on sabbath, on holidays, or in connection with any important incident in life such as circumcision, wedding, or death. The allusions to the restoration of Zion are so numerous that we shall be forced to leave out most of them and select only very few of innumerable citations.

The silent daily prayer reads "to Jerusalem thy city return in mercy and dwell therein as thou hast spoken. Rebuild it soon in our won days as an everlasting structure etc. Blessed art thou who rebuilds Jerusalem." (5) The same service also contains the prayer, "And let our eyes behold thy return in mercy to Zion." The grace that is recited after a meal reads, "Have mercy, Oh Lord, our God upon Israel thy people, upon Jerusalem, thy city, upon Zion the abiding place of thy glory." etc. "And build Jerusalem, the holy city speedily in our days." (6) One of the prayers that is recited at a marriage performance reads, "May there soon be heard in the cities of Judah and in the streets of Jerusalem the voice of Joy and gladness." (7) The prayer

(5) Orthodox Jewish Prayer Book.

(6) " " " " .

(7) " " " " .

that is recited at the Synagogue after the reading of the law states, "Have mercy upon Zion for it is the home of our life and save her that is grieved in spirit speedily." The condolence that is offered to mourners after the dead are buried states, "May God send you condolence among all the mourners of Zion and Jerusalem." הַמִּקְלֵם יִנְחֵם אֶתְכֶם מִתּוֹךְ שָׁמַר אֶגְלֵי צִיּוֹן זִירְוּ שָׁלֵם

(b) Custom

The same is also true with Jewish customs. The 9th day of Ab and the 17th day of Tamuz, the traditional days on which the temple was destroyed, were established and are still observed by Orthodox and conservative Jews as fast days. On the 9th day of Ab lamentations are recited. Most of these lamentations were composed in the middle ages though some were written by the prophet Jeremiah. A custom that existed in the middle ages was to have a square yard over one's door unpainted. Another custom, that was originally established in Talmudic time to keep alive the memory the destruction of the temple, is the breaking of a glass under the canopy.

(c) Pilgrimages

Another phase of Jewish life in the middle ages which sheds light on the attachment of Jews to Palestine is the pilgrimages made by prominent people of the Jewish race who persistently tried to establish and maintain a settlement of a non-political character in Palestine. This effort began even before the destruction of the second temple. Some leaders, who like Josephus realized that it would be impossible to save Palestine politically.

(8) Karu Joseph, Shulchan Aruch, sign 549.

(9) Eisenstein J.D., Ozar Ysrael, Vol. IX, P. 117.

(10) Talmud, Sotah, P. 49 and Karu Joseph, Shulchan Aruch, sign 560

(11) Ibid.

from Roman imperialism, decided to do their utmost to establish in Palestine a settlement which should not be independent upon the political character of the state. The first man to take active steps to secure such a settlement is the famous Rabbi Jochanan ben Zakkai. Like the prophets Jeremiah and Amos at the time of the second temple tried to save the remnant of the Judah. He tried to maintain the life of the nation and infuse fresh (12) energy into its frozen limbs.

During the stormy days of the revolution he, realizing that Judah was not to be saved by arms, conceived the idea of obtaining permission to establish a settlement and a school in Palestine away from the scene of political strife. He joined the (13) peace party and sought to come in contact with Titus. It was very difficult, however, to depart from the city. The Zealots kept a constant watch. So Jochanan had himself conveyed out of town as a corpse. He was placed in a coffin and carried out of the city gates at sunset, by his pupils, Eliezer and Joshua.

(12) Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. II, P. 222-5.

(13) There is disagreement between the authorities cited by Graetz and the editor of the Jewish Encyclopedia, Graetz stating that the permission was granted by Titus and the Jewish Encyclopedia stating that Vospasian granted the permission. The Talmud, Gitin, P. 56 where the story is related is silent about the name, but the general trend of the story indicates that it was Vospasian and not Titus as Jochanan makes reference to being called to the Principate by the Roman senate. However, it is possible that the similarity of names is the cause of disagreement since Vospasian was called Titus Flavius Vespasianus and Titus was called Flavius Solinus Vespasianus.

Titus received the fugitive in a friendly manner. Johanan modestly requested that he might be permitted to establish a school at Jamnia (Jabne). Titus granted the request. He settled there with his pupils. (14) (15) When the terrible news that the temple was burnt reached them, his disciples tore their garments but he kept his vigor unimpaired. It is not known how long Jochanan remained at the head of the school, but the school continued to exist long after his death. The "Talmud Jerusalmi" or "Palestinean Talmud" which is a product of the scholars from Palestine was compiled approximately in 359 A.D. (16)

Though the academies in Babylonia were not inferior many of the Amoraim came to Palestine to study. We find Jews in Palestine in all the centuries that followed, though the size of the community and the conditions under which the Jews lived in Judeah varied according to the rulers of the land. It is mentioned that there was a Yeshivah or school in Jerusalem in the year 1031. (17)

(18)

Jehudah Halevi

About the year 1140 Jehudah Halevi visited Jerusalem. To read the description of Jehudah Halevi's pilgrimage, how he left behind him a peaceful, comfortable life, his only daughter, and his grandson, how he gave up his college that he established in Toledo, parted from a circle of disciples, and undertook the hazardous voyage, and also the triumphant welcome accorded him

(14) Talmud, Gitin, P. 56.

(15) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. II, P. 214.

(16) Eisenstein, J.D., Ozar Ysrael.

(17) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, P. 131.

(18) Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. III, P. 338-42.

wherever he passed, is sufficient to convince the reader that though the temple was destroyed, the state abolished, the longing for a restored Palestine was not quenched.

Perhaps the best way to trace the sentiment of Halevi towards Palestine is to cite one of his poems about Palestine.

"O city of the World, with sacred splendor blest,
My spirit yearns to thee from out the far-off West,
Had I an eagle's wings, straight would I fly to thee,
Moisten thy holy dust with wet cheeks streaming free.

In the East, in the East, is my heart, and I dwell
at the end of the West,
How shall I join in your feasting, how shall I share
in your jest,
How shall my offerings be paid, my vows with performance
be crowned,
While Zion pineth in Edom's bonds, and I am pent in the
Arab's bound,
All the beauties and treasures of Spain are worthless as
dust, in mine eyes,
But the dust of the Lord's ruined house, as a treasure
of beauty I prize. (19)

In 1210 Samuel ben Simon made a pilgrimage to Palestine. He was followed in 1211 by 300 and more Rabbis from the south of England and from France. (20)

Only once during the history did the community in Jerusalem dwindle to almost nothing. That was during the few years following the capture of the city by the Tatars under Halaku Kahn in the year 1260. But even then they did not leave Palestine. They ran from Jerusalem to the neighboring villages. This condition in Jerusalem did not last very long. In August 12, 1267 Nahmanides (21) (Moses Ben Nachaman) came to Palestine.

(19) Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. III, P. 337, translated by Emma Lazarus.

(20) Berliner, Magazin, Vol. III, P. 158.

(21) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, P. 132.

Moses Ben Nahman or (Nachaman) Gerondi was a Spanish Talmudic, exegete and physician. When he was about 70 years, (22) he came to Palestine and organized the community. At his advice (23) a synagogue was built, later called "Churvah Rabbi Judah Hachasid", in a court to the right of the present synagogue by that name. Nahmanides established a school (yeshivah) and from his day on the community constantly grew.

In the year 1322 a Estorj Farhi visited Jerusalem and described the community in his book, "Kaftor Wa-Ferah." Isaac Helo of Arogon described the community as being a large one. Many were dyers, clothiers, and shoemakers; others were engaged in commerce and shopkeeping. A few were busy with medicine, astronomy, and mathematics, but most of them were students of (24) the law and were nourished by the community.

In the year 1437 we find the Italian Talmudist Elijah of Ferraroh chosen as chief Rabbi of the community.

The next high mark in the organization of the community was the arrival of the eminent personality, Bertinoro, or as he was called Obadiah, Ben Abraham. Bertinore was a celebrated Rabbi and commentator of the Mishnah who lived in the second half of the fifteenth century. He came to Jerusalem in March 25, 1488, having commenced his journey in October 29, 1486. Under the leadership of Bertinoro, the annual tax of 400 ducats was removed from the Jewish community. He secured help for the community from his admirers in Italy, and organized benevolent institutions such as hospitals, charitable relief societies, etc.

(22) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. IX, P. 87.

(23) Graetz, History of the Jews, Vol. III, P. 605.

(24) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, P. 132.

His coming and organizing of the community was of great help to the Spanish Jewish refugees who were expelled from Spain in 1492 and some of whom settled in Palestine. Later many Jews came from Lithuania led by the disciples of Elijah of Wilna and Israel of Mezbiz known as Besht.

In spite of the fact that throughout these centuries the general condition of the Palestine community was worse than that of any other country. There was at the beginning of the 19th century a considerable Jewish community in Palestine. The constant change of hands, the invasion of the crusaders and the vengeance visited upon the adherents of the defeated religion were unable to wipe out the settlement completely.

However, we must not construe from the existence of these settlements that the Jews entertained political aspirations. During the 17 centuries the hope for a restored Palestine assumed considerable change and was not the same as in the days of Bar-Cochba.

In 135 A.D. the memory of the Jewish state, of the victory of the Maccabean and of the revolt of Bar-Cochba were still fresh in the minds of the people.

At that time the hope of a restored Palestine was for a restored political state. After the elapse of 17 centuries, it resolved itself into a general religious belief without any definite form. While many probably felt that the restoration would bring about a practical state, most people interpreted this hope in different ways. Some thought of a restored Zion as the triumph of justice and righteousness which was promised by the prophets. Others, when they prayed for Zion, understood by it a redemption from the suffering and oppression to which they were

subjected. But all believed that that hope would be realized in a supernatural way by the hand of God, that there was nothing to be done except to pray. They became reconciled to their suffering and were willing to wait until God would restore Palestine in some miraculous way.

During the last three years of the 18th century the foundation for that movement was laid by a continuous series of incidents and personalities who paved the way for such organization.

Toward the end of the 18th century the world began to recognize the Jew. In such countries as England, Holland, Italy, and especially Turkey, the Jew already enjoyed much freedom. The American revolution gave considerable impetus to the emancipation movement. A Jew, Robert Morris, played a leading role in the founding of this republic as a financier of the War of Independence. Through the loans secured by him from the French and money advanced by himself and borrowed on his credit, Washington was enabled to transfer his army from Hobbs Ferry to

(1)

Yorktown.

In distant Austria, Emperor Joseph removed many of the disabilities from the Jew, allowing them to learn handicrafts, to study arts and sciences and to some extent even to engage in agriculture.

Then came the French Revolution, the resurrection of reason and free thought, which injected new spirit into the Jew. It awakened in him an ambition for a better and more free life. The Jew all over the world became tired of the limitations and limitations to which he was subjected. His craving for a better life was greatly stimulated by the Jewish Assembly convened by Napoleon in 1807. The Jew began to seek a way out of his difficulties.

(1) Jerome Isaac Don, The "Jewish Nation", p. 117.

Chapter IV

19th Century to the Appearance of Hertzl. 1897.

With the arrival of the 19th century great changes came over the Jewish people and although the Zionist organization did not come into existence until the last three years of the 19th century the foundation for that movement was laid by a continuous series of incidents and personalities who paved the way for such organization.

Toward the end of the 18th century the world began to emancipate the Jew. In such countries as England, Holland, Italy, and especially Turkey, the Jew already enjoyed much freedom. The American revolution gave considerable impetus to the emancipation movement. A Jew, Robert Morris, played a leading role in the founding of this republic as a financier of the War of Independence. Through the loans secured by him from the French and money advanced by himself and borrowed on his credit, Washington was enabled to transfer his army from Dobbs Ferry to
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In distant Austria, Emperor Joseph removed many of the disabilities from the Jews allowing them to learn handicrafts, to study arts and sciences and to some extent even to engage in agriculture.

Then came the French Revolution, the resuscitation of reason and free thought, which injected new spirit into the Jew. It enkindled in him an ambition for a better and more free life. The Jew all over the world became tired of the humiliation and limitation to which he was subjected. This craving for a better life was greatly stimulated by the Jewish Assembly convoked by Napoleon in 1807. The Jew began to seek a way out of his diffi-

(1) Levine Isaac Don, The Resurrected Nations, P. 217.

culties. Leading Jews and Jewish organizations all over the world became interested in the welfare of their coreligionists in other countries and sought to improve their condition, though not the same remedies were applied in all countries alike.

The Jews of France tried to help their more unfortunate coreligionists through philanthropy. In Germany the Jews sought to improve their condition through bringing about a religious reformation of their inner life. In that country the Jews first plunged head over heels in the vortex of Romanticism and took active part in the conspicuous political, social, and literary movements of Europe, of which Borne and Heine are true examples. (2) Later they threw themselves with the same fervor into the religious reformation and gave rise to a movement known as reformed Judaism. When German Jewry was overwhelmed by the civil emancipation of 1848, they threw themselves into the German nationalistic movement. Although some charity organizations sent relief to Palestine, the religious reformation coupled with the extreme German nationalism influenced them rather to break their adherence to Palestine. Reformed Judaism in its true form is anti-Zionist.

Moses Montefiore

First and foremost of all Jewish communities that awakened to the Jewish problem stands the community of England. The Jewish community of England is conspicuous in its great contributions to relief of Jews and in its having produced a man of the highest type of nobility and of humanitarian sentiments in the person of Moses Montefiore.

In the biography of this great personage of the 19th century we can best trace the interest displayed by the emancipated Jews of England, in Palestine, and also the sympathetic attitude

(2) Dubinow, Jewish History, P. 161.

displayed on the part of England in behalf of the oppressed Jews. He was born in Italy during a visit of his parents to that country and died at Ramsgate, England, in July 25, 1885 at the age of 101 years. In 1821, at the age of only 36 years he had accumulated sufficient money to retire from the stock exchange. He was among the founders of the Imperial Continental Gas Association, which extended gas lighting to the principal cities of Europe. He was one of the directors of the Provincial Bank of Ireland which gave him the honorary freedom of Londonerry. In 1836 he was made a fellow of the Royal Society. In 1837 he was made Sheriff of the city of London. In the same year at the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne, he was knighted. In 1846 he was created a baronet and in 1847 became high sheriff of Kent. He was deputy lieutenant and magistrate.

In his private life he was a most pious and an observant Jew which partly explains his later interest in Palestine. It would be interesting to read in extract from his diary which sheds light on his private life.

"With God's blessing, rise say prayers at 7 o'clock. Breakfast at 9. Attend the stock exchange, if in London, 10. Dinner, 6. Read, write and learn, if possible Hebrew and French, 6. Read Bible and say prayers, 10. Then retire. Monday, and Thursday mornings attend the Synagogue. Tuesday and Thursday evenings for visiting, " "I attended, he says on another occasion many meetings at the Tavern, also several charitable meetings at Bevis Marks, in connection with the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue; sometimes passing the whole day there from ten in the morning till half past eleven at night (Jan. 25, 1820) excepting two hours for dinner in the committee room. Answered in the evening 350 petitions from poor women, and also made frequent visits to the Villa Real School."

This great personage undertook to be the modern Moses of his coreligionists and from the year 1827 he devoted himself to the welfare of his people in all lands. In that same year he made his first visit to Palestine which was subsequently followed by six other visits in the years 1838, 1849, 1855, 1857, 1866, and

"I am sure if the plan I have in contemplation should succeed, it will be the means of introducing happiness and plenty into the Holy Land. In the first instance, I shall apply to Mehemet Ali for a grant of land for fifty years; some one or two hundred villages; giving him an increased rent of from ten to twenty percent, and paying the whole in money annually at Alexandria, but the land and villages to be free, during the whole term, from every tax or rate either of Pasha or governor of the several districts and liberty being accorded to dispose of the produce in any quarter of the globe. This grant obtained I shall, please Heaven, on my return to England form a company for the cultivation of the land and the encouragement of our brethren in Europe to return to Palestine. Many Jews now emigrate to New South Wales, Canada, etc., but in the holy Land they would find a greater certainty of success; here they will find wells already dug, olives and vines already planted, and a land so rich as to require little manure. By degrees I hope to induce the return of thousands of our brethren to the Land of Israel. I am sure they would be happy in the enjoyment of the observance of our holy religion, in a manner which is impossible in Europe." (7)

While he was in the holy land, he endowed hospitals, set on foot agricultural enterprises, planted gardens and built Synagogues. The spirit which animated Sir Moses may be realized from the fact that Colonel Churchill proposed to him that the Jews of Europe should endeavor to reestablish a Jewish state in Palestine. Sir Moses appears to have sent a sympathetic reply but he obviously felt that such a project was still premature. He contented himself with placing in Col. Churchill's hand a fund for granting loans to the poor for the creation of various industrial undertakings and the establishment of a free dispensary. (8)

France too contributed some pilgrims who played a prominent part in the attachment of Jews to Palestine. Here it was an external force that supplied the stimulant to greater interest in Palestine. This incident was the Damascus affair in 1840. Damascus, as well as Syria, was then generally under the rule of Mehemet Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, who had revolted against the

(7) Goodman Paul, Moses Montefiore, P. 59.

(8) " " " " P. 113.

Sultan of Turkey. In this unsettled state of affairs Ratti Menton, the representative of one of the most influential powers of Europe and the protector of the Roman Catholics in the east, found in the governor of Damascus, sheriff Pasha, a willing confederate for the oppression of the Jews. In 1840 they invoked the most painful and most horrible accusations and calumnies ever levelled against Jews. They accused the Jews that they required human blood in the worship of their God. (9)

The ritual murder accusation at Damascus was occasioned by the disappearance of Father Thomas, the superior of a Capuchin Convent together with his servant. On the allegation that on the day of his disappearance Father Thomas entered the house of a Jewish barber; the barber was arrested and after great torture confessed to the charge against him. Following the barber's forced confession to the charge, eight of the leading Jews of Damascus were arrested and subjected to the most violent and outrageous treatment. Two of the victims, Joseph Lando, over 80 years of age and David Harari succumbed, while another Moses Abulofia turned Mohammedan but in spite of the most excruciating tortures no confession of guilt was obtained of them. Later 60 Jewish children were taken from their parents and confined in a room without food. This ritual murder charge of Damascus was immediately followed by similar accusations against Jews in Rhodes. Attacks on Jews took place also in Syria and Berout.

These atrocities stirred the Jews of the Western World and brought the Jewish Community of England with Moses Montefiore at the head to the front.

(9) Gottheil Richard J.H., Zionism, P. 49-51.

A meeting of leading London Jews which took place at the house of Sir Moses was also attended by Adolphe Cremieux, the representative of French Jews.

A commission was formed which consisted of Sir Moses Montefiore, Adolph Cremieux, who later became minister of Justice in 1848, and a member of the national defense government in the fearful days of the Franco Prussian War of 1871, Solomon Murk, Dr. Modden, Dr. Louis Loewe and alderman Wire, later Lord Major of London, and was greatly supported by the Christian population of London and by the British government. The commission obtained a firman, issued by the sultan, promising protection to the Jews. While in the East, Albert Cohen, Adolph Cremieux, and Moses Montefiore visited Palestine and had the opportunity to become acquainted with the conditions of the community. During the visit of this commission they conceived the idea that it was necessary to induce the Jews to till the soil again. Montefiore took up this idea and was assisted by R. Aryeh B. Jera^hmeel, who was at that time the head of the community. In 1854 Albert Cohen came again to Jerusalem as almoner for Rothchilds and other rich Jews in Europe.

Settlements In Palestine Increase

From the first visit of Montefiore until the end of the century the Jewish settlement in Palestine continuously increased and expanded, particularly the Ashkenaz Community. In 1856 Ludwig August Frankel went to Jerusalem to found the Frau Elise Von Herz-Lamel school. Through him we learn that there were at that time 18,000 inhabitants in Jerusalem of which 5,138 were Jews.

Moses Montefiore also assisted Nisan Bak, head of the Jews from Volhynia, to establish the first printing plant in the city of Jerusalem.

Rabbi Hirsh Kalisher

I stated in one of the previous chapters that the influence of the emancipation on the Jews of Germany turned them away from attachment to Jewish tradition and with it from Palestine. However, it did produce one man who occupied a very eminent position in the pro-Palestine movement before Zionism came into existence. This man is no one else than Rabbi Hirsh Kalisher, Rabbi in Thorn, (10) Prussia in 1860.

Rabbi Kalisher's entrance into the ranks of pro-Palestine colonization movement is important first because of the practical result it produced and second because of the new interpretation he gave to the religious aspirations.

Up to the time of Kalisher the relationship between the practical restoration of Palestine and the traditional messiah hope was not discussed. Kalisher was the first one to touch on this subject, first slightly in his book, "Emunah Yesharah" issued in 1860 and later in 1862 in his "Drishath Zion".

The latter book contains three theses (a) the solution of the Jews, promised by the prophets can come about only in a natural way by self help, (b) colonization in Palestine, (c) admissibility of the observance of sacrifice in Palestine at present day. This book of Kalisher coming from a man that had an established reputation for high scholarship and piety made a great impression especially in the east. When his book Drishath Zion appeared in 1862, Kalisher was already a man, 67 years old and had already written many books of great prominence. Among them were "Eben Bohan", commentary on several Juridical themes of the "Shulchan Aruk, Hoshen Mishpat", 1842, "Sefer Moznaim Lamishpot", a commentary in three parts on

(10) Gottheil Richard J.H., Zionism, P. 83.

28.
"Hoshen-Mishpat", 1855, "Sefer Habrit", commentary on the
"Pentateuch" and many others.

Kalisher proposed to collect money for the purpose of colonizing the Jews of Palestine and turning them into a useful agricultural population, to buy land in Palestine, to found an agricultural school and to form a Jewish military guard for the security of the colonies. He thought the time very favorable for the carrying out of this idea as the sympathy of men like Cremieux, Montefiore, Rothchild, and Albert Cohen rendered the Jews politically influential. He himself travelled with indefatigable zeal to different German cities for the purpose of establishing colonization societies.

Kalisher's view with regard to Messiah was also expressed in his youth during 1836 in a letter addressed to Anselm Mayer Rothchild.

"Let no one imagine that the Messiah will appear suddenly and, amid miracles and wonders, lead the Israelites to their ancient inheritance. The beginning of the redemption will be in a natural way by the desire of the Jews to settle in Palestine and the willingness of the nations to help them in this work. After many Jews have settled in Palestine and Jerusalem has been rebuilt the temple re-established and the sacrifices are for a sweet savor to the Lord, then will God show them all the miracles in accordance with the descriptions given by the prophets and sages. First a man will appear endowed with great natural abilities, who will bring about in a natural way, the settlement of Palestine by Jews, then God will send his prophet and his anointed king." (11)

Owing to Kalisher's agitation, the Alliance Israelite Universelle founded the Palestinian colony of Mikvah, Israel. Kalisher had a great influence on his contemporaries including such prominent men as Heinrich Graetz, Moses Hess, and is considered one of the most important men who prepared the way for the foundation of modern Zionism. (12).

(11) Greenstone Julius H., The Messiah Idea in Jewish History, P. 267

(12) Gottheil Richard J.H., Zionism, P. 53.

One more personage from western Europe is to be considered before we take up the pre-Hertzianian condition of Eastern Europe. This personage is Moses Hess. Hess was a contemporary of Kalisher but a very different type with decided different tendencies. Kalisher was a Rabbi. His interest throughout life was the study and practice of Jewish religion. Even his devotion to Palestine had its origin in religion. Hess on the contrary was a radical who had turned his back upon Judaism. He was born at Bonn, Germany, June 21, 1812, died in Paris, April 6, 1875. (13)

Originally a national Liberal, he became a democrat, and later a social democrat joining Marx and Engels. Together with Karl Grün, he exerted about the middle of the last century an important anarchistic influence in Germany by developing and disseminating Proudhon's theories.

It is possible that Hess would never have come back to Judaism and would never have taken any interest in Jewish problems except for the external force of the Damascus ritual murder which interested Adolph Cremieux and Albert Cohen and which also stirred the heart of Moses Hess. He was ready at that time to express this awakened nationalistic sentiment in a "cry of anguish" but the stronger feelings aroused by the suffering of the European proletariat threw his racial patriotism into the background. Shortly after the revolution of 1848 he went to France and soon afterward retired from politics, devoted himself exclusively to natural sciences and came under the influence of his contemporary Rabbi Kalisher, who was 17 years his senior. He wrote several works, his first work being "Hellige

(13) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VI, P. 373.

(14) Hess Moses, Rome and Jerusalem, 1899.

His chief work is "Rome and Jerusalem", "Die Letzte Nationalitätsfrage", 1862. This book was written in the form of 12 letters addressed to a lady that was stricken with grief because of the loss of a relative and who was pondering over the problem of resurrection. Most of the ideas advanced in "Rome and Jerusalem" are now becoming common property.

In this work he developed the ideas of self-determination of small nations without hinderance by the greater powers, master nations he called them, the indisputable and equal rights of small nations, the fact that every cultural historical group has something of its own to contribute to civilization and that relations between nation and nation ought to be based not on armaments but on Justice. Only through a family of nations based on social and economic Justice within the respective states, could the millenium come." (14) It logically followed from his premises, that the Jewish people must again be constituted to take its place among the nations, not only because of freedom but also because its genius was represented in one of the two great cultures that influenced civilization. The Jew still had much to contribute but could do so only on the basis of normal national life, that is political independence in the land of his own.

Nationalism

Hess's leading ideas pertaining to Jewish ~~Nationalism~~ may be summarized as follows:

(a) The Jews will always remain strangers among European people who may emancipate them for reasons of humanity and justice, but will never respect them so long as the Jews place their own national memories in the background.

(b) That the Jewish type is undestructible and Jewish national feeling cannot be uprooted, although the German Jews for

(14) Hess Moses, Rome and Jerusalem, 1899.

31. THE GENERAL EMANCIPATION MOVEMENT
the sake of a wider and a more general emancipation persuaded themselves and others to the contrary.

(c) If the emancipation is irreconcilable with Jewish nationality, the Jews must sacrifice emancipation to nationality.

Hess considered that the only solution to the Jewish question rested in colonization of Palestine and expressed the hope that France would aid the Jews in founding colonies extending from Jerusalem to Suez, from the banks of the Jordan to the coast of the Mediteranean.

Hess's words did not have the influence on the masses that Kalisher's had. He was too radical from a religious viewpoint to be listened to by the masses. But his influence did command the attention of the intellectuals, among them that of Heinrich Graetz, the historian.

His influence on Graetz is shown in an article published by the latter in 1864. This article was entitled "Die Ver Jüngung des Jüdischen Stammes" ("The Rejuvenescence of the Jewish Race.") In this article Graetz said,

"The Jewish race is approaching and under our very eye, a rejuvenescence which would formerly not have been thought possible. The enemies of the Jews look upon it with implacable rage, the Jews of cosmopolitan tendency secretly shake their head, the followers of the letter of the law associate deceptive hopes with it. All are dumbfounded at its appearance." (15)

Russia

We have already noticed what effect the spirit of the French revolution, the ^{nationalism} ~~nationalism~~ of Germany and the ritual murder in Damascus had on the Jews of Western Europe. We are ready now to proceed to examine the relationship that the Jews in Russia had to Palestine.

The great bulk of the Jewish people at the beginning of the 19th century lived, not in Western Europe, but in the land of Tsars where they settled originally in the third century B.C.

(16)

Their political and economic condition was moving in the opposite direction from that of their correligionist in Western Europe.

While in Western Europe one country after another moved in the direction of liberalism and emancipation, Russia held seven million of her Jewish inhabitants hanging on the gallows, varying the degree of tightness of the rope so as to allow a little air in order to prolong the agony of death and extermination. Devices unheard of before in the darkest ages were invented to make the wretched life of the already miserable Jew more wretched. Limitation of residence, separation of families, restriction of occupation, permanent removal of little children from parents, forced conversions are only a few of the strangling ropes applied to the Jewish neck.

During the strangling of the Jews there were some liberal Russians, particularly among the writers, who did not agree with the government and the street. Occasionally they signed petitions in behalf of the Jews but they appealed more to the Jew to Russionize and to draw nearer to the Russian people.

This situation developed two movements among the Russian Jews. Both looked for the solution of the Jewish problem, one through absolute assimilation, the other through emigration and rejuvenation of the national ideal.

Under the liberal policy of Alexander II ⁽¹⁷⁾ it seemed as if the former movement would be victorious, although the Jew did not as yet have the right of choosing either his dwelling place or his profession, ^{although} he could not be a sailor in the navy, or an

(16) Ferrera L., The Russian Jews.

(17) " " " " " , P. 10.

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officer in the army, and did not enjoy any civil right, he was full of hope that after Alexander liberated the serfs he would emancipate the Jew and give him an opportunity to Russianize and become one with the Russian people.

This hope of Russification and emancipation met its death blow with the assassination of Alexander II on March 1, 1881, and the accession of Alexander III, whome Mommsen calls in his prefatory note to Eerrera, the resuscitated torquemada.

Organized pogroms and massacres against Jews took place in many Russian cities. It started with the pogrom at Podol on April 23rd. On the 26th disorders broke out in Kiev and spread throughout Russia. Some fifty villages and townlets experienced the horror of pogroms. Jewish life became unsafe and unbearable. To know what a pogrom is, I reprint a description of an eye witness given by Dubnow.

At twelve o'clock at noon, the air suddenly resounded with wild shouts, whistling, jeering, hooting, and laughing. An immense crowd of young boys, artisans, and laborers was on the march. The whole city was obstructed by the "bare-footed brigade". The destruction of Jewish houses began. Window-panes and doors began to fly about, and shortly thereafter the mob, having gained access to the houses and stores, began to throw upon the streets absolutely everything that fell into their hands. Clouds of feathers began to whirl in the air. The din of broken window-panes and frames, the crying, shouting, and despair on the one hand, and the terrible yelling and jeering on the other, completed the picture which reminded many of those who had participated in the last Russo-Turkish war of the manner in which the Bashibuzuks had attacked Bulgarian villages. Soon afterwards the mob threw itself upon the Jewish synagogue, which, despite its strong bars, locks and shutters, was wrecked in a moment. One should have seen the fury with which the riff-raff fell upon the (Torah) schrolls, of which there were many in the synagogue. The scrolls were torn to shreds, trampled in the dirt, and destroyed with incredible passion. The streets were soon crammed with the trophies of destruction. Everywhere fragments of dishes, furniture, household utensils, and other articles lay scattered about. Barely two hours after the beginning of the pogrom, the majority of the "bare-footed brigade" were transformed into well-dressed gentlemen, many of them having grown excessively stout in the meantime. The reason for this sudden change was simple enough. Those that had looted the stores of ready made clothes put on three or four suits, and, not yet satisfied, took under their arms all they could lay their hands on. Others drove off in vehicles, carrying with them bags filled with loot ...

34.
The Christian population saved itself from the ruinous operations of the crowd by placing holy ikons in their windows and painting crosses on the gates of their houses.

Here and there army officers would pass through, among them generals and high civil officials. The cavalry would hasten to a place whence the noise came. Having arrived there, it would surround the mob and order it to disperse, but the mob would only move to another place. Thus, the work of destruction proceeded undisturbed until three o'clock in the morning. Drums were beaten, words of command were shouted, the crowd was encircled by the troops and ordered to disperse, while the mob continued its attacks with ever-increasing fury and savagery. (18)

The government tried to explain these atrocities in terms of economic outbreaks, being caused by revolutionary inflammatory propaganda. The Jews knew that the government was in back of these massacres.

On May 3, 1882, Ignatov issued a set of temporary rules (for fear that the commission appointed would be too lenient to the Jews) which were nothing short of a legislative pogrom. The Jews in Russia fell into despair.

During this chaotic state of the Jew, the Jewish national idea slowly matured and gained in strength. Hebrew organs like the Ha-Melitz and Ha-tzefirah carried an agitation for Palestine. Had Palestine been ready hundred of thousands and maybe millions of Jews would have gone there. But Palestine was not a cultivated land. It was under the rule of Turkey and unable to support a great mass of new immigrants. Hence, the immigration turned to the United States.

Between the years of 1881 and 1889 over two hundred thousand Russian Jews entered the United States. A small stream of immigration also went to Palestine. The Palestinian immigration was encouraged by the societies, Lovers of Zion or as they were called in Hebrew, "Choveve Zion."

These societies existed before 1881 but gained great

(18) Dubnow, History of the Jews in Russia and Poland, P. 253-254.

impetus with the Russian pogroms and May laws. Branches of this association, or rather groups of people working for the same purpose, were to be found everywhere in Germany, in Rumania, in London, in Paris, and in the U.S., though they adopted different names for their organizations in different countries.

Dr. Leon Pinsker

The head of the Russian Chovevei Zion was Dr. Leon Pinsker. Pinsker was a Russian physician who was born in 1821, died in 1891. He studied at the University of Moscow and practices his medicine at Odessa where he also served on the staff of the city hospital. While he was absorbed in his profession, he was also greatly interested in the condition of his oppressed coreligionist. In his youth he was a follower of the Russification movement. He believed that the ideas of cosmopolitanism and internationalism were the surest guarantee for the welfare of the Jews, but when the blow of the May laws struck on the heads of Russian Jews and smashed their hopes for better days to pieces, he, too was driven into the camp of the nationalists.

After a careful study of his pathology and that of his brethren and the therapeutics, he published a pamphlet under the name of "Auto-Emancipation," printed anonymously in Berlin in 1882. It does not seem that he knew of Hess's work, "Rome and Jerusalem" but he came to the same conclusions and stated it in a most passionate and inflammatory manner.

"The Wretches", cries he, "they mock the eagle that once soared sky high and saw divinity itself, because he can no longer fly after his wings are broken. Give us our independence, allow us to take care of ourselves, grant us but a little strip of land like that of the Servians and Rumanians, give us a chance to lead a national existence and prate about our lacking manly virtues; what we lack is not genius (genialitat)

but self conscienteness (selbst-gefühl) and appreciation of our values as men (bewusstsein der menschenwürde) of which we were deprived by you." (19)

The blame for this lies primarily at the door of the Jews themselves. "They walked the earth as ghosts and as all ghosts do, have inspired fear and dislike." The solution he suggests is "auto-emancipation."

Pinsker sketched in broad outline the means that were to be adopted to reach this end. Though he was mistaken in some instances, in a general way the lines he foreshadowed were those upon which later developments ran. This pamphlet had a great influence particularly on the intellectuals who discussed his plan in speech and in articles. Pinsker did not think only of Palestine. He was willing to take any land where the Jew would be permitted to colonize. He proposed a general Jewish assembly to consider the idea of Jewish liberation. As a result representatives of Chovevei Zion societies in various countries gathered at Kattovitz, Silesia, in November 1884 and formed a confederation.

No less than 50 bodies were represented at this conference. Leon Pinsker was elected President. A second conference was held at Drusgenik on June 15, 1887 and a third at Vienna in 1889. In 1890 a headquarters was established at Odessa and obtained official sanction from the Russian government.

Palestine Settlement

While this nationalistic agitation was carried on, the settlement in Palestine continued to increase in the cities and in the villages. In 1873 the agricultural school, "Mikveh Israel" was founded through the urgings of Rabbi Kalisher. In 1873 a group of Jewish religious inhabitants from Jerusalem

bought land and attempted to settle as agriculturists in Petach-Tikvah which is now the leading colony in Palestine. In 1882 another village, Rishon Le-Zion, was founded. The colonies of Ekron, (1884) Metullah, (1896) Zichron Yakov, and Yesode Ha-ma-alah (1883) all came into existence during this period.

Enlightenment and Ahad Ha-Am

Simultaneously with the nationistic agitation an auxiliary movement made headway in Jewish life. This was the spirit of "Enlightenment" which in Germany resulted in the creation of reformed Judaism. In Russia the followers of enlightenment originally preached "Russification" but by the external force of oppression their agitation was hammered into a movement for the revival of the Hebrew language allied with the pro-Palestine sentiment. While the followers of enlightenment fell in line with other ^{nationalists} ~~nationists~~, their approach to Palestine was not political or economical or religious but cultural. They wanted to see in Palestine a country where the Jewish self, secular and religious, should flourish and serve as a cultural center for the Jews everywhere. In the front of this spiritual national movement stands Asher Ginsburg, known by his pen name as "Ahad Ha-Am". He was born at Skvira government of Kiev, August 5, 1856 and acquired a reputation as critic and essayist. In his criticisms and essays, as well as in his personal contact as member of the Odessa Committee, he expressed opposition to the ultra-political face of Zionism and fostered a movement of spiritual Zionism which became known as "Ahad Ha-Amism" or "Moral Zionism". In brief it is as follows:

"The spread of the Jewish race throughout the world having inevitably loosened the bands of religious law, a new moral center for Judaism must be established in Zionism to which the Jews of today in all parts of the earth may look for inspiration and guidance as in olden days the Judaism of the diaspora looked toward Jerusalem. To this end the majority of the inhabitants of Palestine must be Jewish. Judaism must

concentrate upon the establishment in Palestine of a permanent and authoritative center for the Jewish spirit and Jewish culture. This center may contain a germ of an organized Jewish political state but such a development according to Ginsberg belongs in the nature of things to the distant future."

A society of intellectuals under the name of Bene Moshe (Sons of Moses) banded together to further the ideals expressed by their teacher. The Bene Moshe^h Society failed of its greater promise, but during the short period of its existence it is said there proceeded out of the midst of that circle certain influences that founded a number of institutions which were among the best in Palestine: the Colony Rehobot and the Carmel Wine Company. They also founded the publication society, Achiosof and the Hebrew magazine, Hashiloach. (20)

In 1895 all his essays were collected in one volume under the name, "Al Parashat Derachim" and published in Odessa.

Summary: In the foregoing chapter we have noticed how the external forces of oppression such as the ritual murder at Damascus, the pogroms and limitations in Russia helped to transform the historic sentiment nursed by Jews for Palestine into definite action. Prominent Jews of all ranks like Montefiore of England, Adolph Cremieux of France, Albert Cohen, Charles Netter and Baron Edmond de Rothchild of Paris, Rabbi Kalisher, Moses Hess of Germany, Leon Pinsker, Rabbi Mohliver, and Ahad Ha-Am of Russia became interested in extensive colonization in Palestine.

Many organizations and societies sprang up whose purpose it was to further the Palestinian cause. The Ezra of Berlin Germany, the Kadimah of Vienna Austria, the Bene Zion of London, Shuve Zion of Philadelphia, the Chibat Zion of Russia, and the

(20) Gottheil Richard J.H., Zionism, P. 76.

Bene Moshe all helped the settlement of Jews in Palestine. We have also reviewed the growth of the Jewish settlements in Palestine. The oppression of Jews in Russia brought a great increase in the immigration into Palestine. In Jerusalem alone the population increased from about 1000 in 1786 to 5137 in 1856; (21) to 13920 in 1881, to 25322 in the year 1882.

In addition there were many colonies outside of Jerusalem. Petach, Tikvah, Rishon-Lezion, Rehobot, the agricultural school, Mikvah Israel and many others were already in existence.

There was also an abundance of literature in which writers were advocating the national rejuvenation of the Jews. The most outstanding novel of the time that preached a Jewish revival is Daniel Deronda, 1876 by George Eliot.

Problem of Leadership

By the end of the 19th century the road was well paved for a colossal organization to come into existence. The problem was to obtain the proper leader. Russian Jewry which suffered most by oppression was not the suitable element to supply the leadership. The Russian Jew stood accused and imprisoned by his own government. A prisoner cannot open the bar from within. Not having any rights in his own country, not having the respect of its own officials, the Russian Jew could not command the dignity that such leadership required in the eyes of other nations.

The liberated Western European Jew was too weak in his inclination to nationalism to take the initiative. The attitude of the Western Jew like the Ezrah in Berlin and the Alliance Israelite in France was purely a philanthropic one, coupled with

(21) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. VII, P. 137-139.

an intense feeling of patriotism of his own country. After all it was the Eastern Jew, the Jew in Damascus, the Jew in Russia and Rumania, but not the Jew in Western Europe that suffered. True the Western Jew sympathized with his brethren but sympathy alone cannot go very far towards bringing a national revival. If the Jew of liberated Western Europe could have been made to feel that his own position required this step then he would have supplied the necessary leadership.

The last two decades of the 19th century brought such a feeling home to the Jew in Western Europe. It made him realize that the Jewish problem belonged not only to the Eastern European Jews but to him also. Previous to this period the Anti-Semitic societies that existed in different countries with the exception of Austria made little headway in Western Europe. (22)

The heads of the governments in the leading countries protected the rights of the Jewish citizens. (23) Bismarck in Germany, Trefort in Hungary, Cremieux and his superior Gambetta in France served as protectors of the Jews. But this condition did not last very long. Cremieux died in Feb. 2, 1880. Gambetta died in 1882 and left the Clericals and many others dissatisfied. In the election of 1882 the Anti-Semitic party gained many seats in Chamber and controled almost a majority of votes. The ministry of Ferry was overthrown.

The accession of Emperor Wilhelm in 1888 and the retirement of Bismarck in 1890 encouraged anti-semitism in Germany. In 1895 an election in Vienna brought in a majority of members of the municipal council from the anti-semitic party. Briefly

(22) This term is used in the adopted sense of Jew-hating regardless of its scientific origin.

(23) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. I, P. 747.

speaking, during the last two decades of the 19th century Western Europe became the hot bath of anti-Jewish propaganda, which reached its climax in 1896 during the Dreyfus case in France.

It is one of the ironies of history that France which ushered in the era of emancipation of the Jewish people throughout Europe, at the beginning of the 19th century should have supplied the capstone of the anti-Jewish propaganda a few years before the close of the 19th century. By this incident Western European Jewry was prepared to understand the Jewish Nationalistic movement not from a philanthropic angle only but from personal necessity. What it needed most was a leader. This was supplied by Austria.

Chapter I

Theodore Hertzl and the Formation of the Zionist
Organization

The "Neue Freie Presse", a very influential newspaper of Vienna had as one of its correspondents a young man by the name of Theodore Hertzl. He was a young Austrian who had settled in Vienna in his boyhood. There he was educated in the University of Vienna in the Law and took the required legal degree. After his graduation he devoted himself almost exclusively to Journalism and literature. He became correspondent and later literary editor

PART II

FROM THEODORE HERTZL

TO THE

BEGINNING OF THE WORLD WAR

This gave him an opportunity to become acquainted with the great anti-Jewish propaganda that was carried on at that time in France in connection with the notorious Dreyfus case. While other men who were interested in the case devoted their efforts to clean wash Dreyfus personally, he brooded over and searched for a permanent remedy for this evil. He was slightly acquainted with the anti-semitic movement in his mother country Austria, but the anti-Jewish propaganda in Paris touched his heart to the core.

He was converted from life-long indifference to Jewish matters to become one of the greatest leaders of Jews in modern times. Like many others he saw in Captain Dreyfus, the defendant in that trial, a symbol of the Jewish people who had throughout all Christian centuries been the victims of political and religious persecutions and of social injustice. By a swift generalization from this phenomenon he was converted to the idea that the solution of the Jewish problem was the establishment of a

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 "Juden Staat".

Under this impulse he wrote a pamphlet under the name "Juden Staat" (1895). Though almost everything that he wrote in this pamphlet had already been discussed before by Leon Pinsker in his Auto-Emancipation and by Moses Hess in his Rome and Jerusalem, it was this pamphlet that was destined to become the Bible of the Zionist movement. Hertzl did not know that anything of the kind had been written before nor did he have any knowledge that a movement like the Chovevei Zion was in existence. He was too removed from Jewish life to have any knowledge of the inner aspirations of the Jews. Starting from the same premises as Pinsker he came to the same conclusion.

In this pamphlet he starts his reasoning from the fact that anti-semitism is a continually growing menace to both the Jews and to the world at large and is ineradicable, that the Jews are a people that are not permitted to merge into the social life around them, that true assimilation is possible only by means of intermarriage. Therefore, if they wish to preserve themselves, they must have as their own some portion of the globe large enough for them to gather therein and build up a definite home. For the accomplishment of this object he suggested the formation of a "Society of Jews", similar to the great English and French trading companies which should take up the preliminary and scientific work of a "Jewish Company" with a capital of 50,000,000 L (Fifty million pounds), having as its center London.

(1) Amram David Werner, A Jewish State in Palestine.

(2) Hertzl, Judenstaat.

Here it may be noticed that his suggestion to have the central office at London is probably due to the fact that England alone of the great European powers had escaped the eye of the leading anti-semites.

The company was to develop the work prepared by the society of Jews and to organize the new community. As a possible territory Hertzl suggested either Argentine or Palestine. The inclusion of Argentine as a possible home was due to the remoteness of Hertzl from the inner Jewish aspiration. He came to his conclusion only by the pressure of external force. Palestine therefore exercised no fascination upon him. He attacked the issue simply from its economic and political side. But he said that if Palestine was to be chosen, the sanctuaries of other religious faiths were to be made extra-territorial.

Originally this pamphlet was written as a personal expression to be shown only to a small circle of intimate friends. Not until he moved back to Vienna in the spring of 1896 was it put into print. Once it saw print it immediately became known to the Jewish Nationalistic Society Kadimah which Nathan Birenbaum founded among the Jewish students of Vienna.

The Kadimah addressed a letter to Hertzl acknowledging its adhesion to his views and made a direct proposition looking to the founding of a society of Jews as mapped out by him. His pamphlet was immediately translated in French, English, and Hebrew.

Hertzl's project found an echo in the heart of a prominent English Jew, Israel Zangwill. This brilliant writer happened to be in Vienna shortly after Hertzl's return. His poetic imagination was fired by the novel conception and the daring solution proposed by Hertzl. Zangwill felt that the Jewish

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public ought to have a chance to hear Hertzl's plan, to accept or to refuse. Hertzl had already inaugurated a discussion of the subject by writing a letter to the Jewish chronicle of London. And now by the instrumentality of Zangwill, he was invited to appear before the Maccabeans in London and present the plan in person.

It is agreed that the great mass of Jewish people did not at first receive Hertzl's pamphlet with the enthusiasm expected, perhaps because it was too devoid of sentimentality and lacked the touch that comes from inner impulse rather than outside pressure. However, the intellectuals of many lands like Max Nardau, an Austrian physician and man of letters who settled in Paris, Alexander Marmarek of Paris, Dr. Max Bodenheimer of Cologne and Prof. M. Mandelstam in Kiev rallied to his support. Meanwhile Hertzl's plan was gaining momentum throughout the world.

According to Lucien Wolf, the sultan of Turkey having heard of Hertzl's publication sent a private messenger, the Chevalier de Newlinsky, in May 1896. He offered to present the Jews a charter in Palestine provided they used their influence in the press and otherwise to solve the Armenian question on line which he laid down. The English Jews declined to these proposals and refused to treat in any way with the persecutor of the
(3)
Armenians.

The wave of enthusiasm became so great that it swept Hertzl off his track of a purely literary career as feuilletonist, dramatist, and journalist, and pushed him forward to the center of activity as a redeemer of a people.

Chapter II

From the First to the Fifth Zionist Congress

Hertzl issued a call for a congress to meet at Munich, Germany, but after some opposition was raised the place was changed. The congress met in Basel in August 1897. Although many prominent organizations of England and the United States were not represented, there were 204 delegates present.

This congress was the first attempt made by Jews to meet and consider a Jewish question on a democratic basis since beginning of the exile. At this congress was drawn up a declaration which has since become known as the Basel Program and which serves as the watchword of the Zionist movement.

This program which was accepted at the morning session on the second day of the first congress, is as follows:

"Zionism aims at establishing for the Jewish people a publicly and legally assured home in Palestine. For the attainment of this purpose the congress considers the following means serviceable.

(a) The promotion of the settlement of Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and tradesmen in Palestine.

(b) The federation of all Jews into local or general groups according to the laws of the various countries.

(c) The strengthening of the Jewish feeling and consciousness.

(d) Preparatory steps for the attainment of those governmental grants which are necessary to the achievement of the Zionist purpose."⁽¹⁾

Under the influence of Dr. Herman Schapiro, Professor of Mathematics at the University of Heidelberg, the program was accepted unanimously. Every delegate raised his hand and recited the words, "Im Eshkochoich Jerusholoim tishkach Yemini," "If I

(1) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. II, P. 571.

There is a slight difference in the version given by N. Sokolow in his History of Zionism, P. 261.

forget in thee Jerusalem, my my right hand be forgotten."

Dr. Theordore Hertzl was elected president of the congress and Dr. Max Noredau, Dr. Solz and M. Samuel Pineles, first, second and third vice-presidents respectively. From the first congress held in 1897 to the outbreak of the world war in 1914 eleven sessions were held, from 1897 to 1901 annually and from then on biannually. Meanwhile between the first and second congress the committee printed a number of pamphlets in German, Hebrew, Yiddish, French, and Arabic.

The second Zionist congress was held in Basel in 1898. Although the program was accepted on the first congress enthusiastically and unanimously, it left many dissatisfied for various religious and patriotic reasons. To satisfy the patriotic members who wished to make sure that the Zionists would do nothing underhanded, the following resolutions were accepted at the second congress.

"This congress, in approval of the colonization already inaugurated in Palestine and being desirous of fostering further efforts in that direction hereby declares that:

(a) For the proper settlement of Palestine, this congress considers it necessary to obtain the requisite permission from the Turkish government and to carry out such settlement according to the plan, and under the direction of a committee selected by this congress.

(b) This committee to be appointed to superintend and direct all matters of colonization, shall consist of ten members and have its seat in London. England shall send three delegates to this committee, Russia, two, Galicia, Germany, Rumania, one, and the executive committee shall appoint two. At least three of these must reside in London. The executive committee will defray the necessary expense of its administration.

(c) The first action of the committee shall be taken in connection with the Jews now residing in Turkey.

(d) The colonial Bank (this Bank was organized at this congress) shall cooperate in obtaining the desired permission

for colonization from the Turkish government.

(e) The congress enjoins upon all Zionists the duty of influencing all colonization societies to work in harmony with the above plan.

(f) The congress requests the executive committee to undertake accurate investigations to ascertain the legal position of the Jews in Turkey and particularly in Palestine.

At this congress the religionists also asserted themselves and with the cooperation of Dr. Max Nordau, rationalist and Dr. Theodore Hertzl passed a resolution that Zionism shall do nothing opposed to Judaism. In 1903 this tendency was crystallized in the Mizrachi party.

The Bank

At this congress it was also decided to establish the Zionist Bank under the name of the "Jewish Colonial Bank" (the Yiddische colonial bank). On March 20th in the year 1899 the bank was incorporated as a limited company under the English Companies Act for a sum of 2,000,000 pounds, one pound a share.

The control of the bank was vested in the Zionist organization through the issuance of 100 special privileged founders shares. These shares are entitled to fifty percent of the voting power of the corporation and are held by the Zionist organization. The council of administration of the Bank is selected from the members of the "Grosses Actions Committee" and one of them must report to each Zionist Congress. The first governors of the trust were Dr. Schouer of Mayence, Leib Schalit of Riga, and Abraham Korenstein of Kiev.

The purpose of the trust as defined after the revision of Aug. 1899 was as follows:

"To promote, develop, work and carry on colonization schemes in the east by preference in Palestine and Syria, and further to promote, develop work and carry on industries and undertakings in Palestine."

In 1902 a subsidiary corporation was formed by the name of Anglo-Palestine Co. with branches in Jerusalem, Haifa, Hebron, Gaza, Beirut, Safad, and Tiberias. This Bank was of particular service to the Jewish colonization in 1914 when the horrors of the war were added to the ravage of the locust. The Jewish Colonial Trust and the Anglo-Palestine through its strong credit assisted the Jewish farmer to tide over the dangerous period. It is estimated that the Bank has over 100,000 individual subscribers and a paid in capital of \$1,500,000.00.

There were many proposals that came up in the congress but were left for later years to be adopted or rejected.

Before we proceed to trace the development of the Zionist movement during the next few years, we may notice the difference between the program adopted in Basel and the proposals made by Theodore Hertzl in his Yudenstaat. Hertzl used the words, Argentine or Palestine. When the congress met the elements that were imbued with the historic and religious sentiments of the Jewish people insisted on the insertion of Palestine only. Though Palestine at that time was the least favorable country, from an economic view-point, Hertzl reconciled his view to the sentiment of the religionists and of those historically inclined. But this settled the question only theoretically. In reality it was not until a bitter struggle took place at a succeeding congress that the entire movement became committed to Palestine only as the possible commonwealth.

The third congress met likewise in Basel, Aug. 15-18 in the year 1899. At this congress a scheme of organization was submitted. The fourth congress was held in London in 1900. This transfer was made with a view of influencing British public opinion. The fifth congress was held again in Basel in 1901.

At this congress new reorganization statutes were accepted. They called for a meeting of the congress every two years. In the interval between the congresses a meeting of the Larger Actions committee and the leaders in the various countries was to be held.

Kultur and Mizrachi

At this congress it was also decided that a new territorial organization could be founded in any land if 5000 (3) shekel payers demanded the same. This last resolution is the legal foundation of the factions in the Zionist party. The cause for this action was that a group of young Zionists, that became known as the democratic faction was fighting at every congress for the inclusion of the "Kultur" in the Zionist program, but always failed of accomplishment. At the fifth congress they united in the support of their resolution and demanded that it be accepted without debate. Dr. Hertzl did not want to put it to a vote without permitting discussion. As a result 37 delegates comprising the democratic faction, headed by Berthold Feivel, left the congress in a body. At last their request was acceded. The resolution was accepted without debate. This embittered the pious religious delegates, for the resolution about "Kultur" did not say a word about tradition and they decided to organize a faction of their own within the World Zionist organization.

On Feb. 23, 1903 this group held its first meeting and the faction known as the Mizrachi was organized, and has since become a great power in the organization.

The sixth congress was not held until Aug. 23-28, 1903

(3) The ancient biblical term shekel is used by the Zionist to designate the payment that each registered Zionist makes to the World Zionist Organization.

and was one of the most significant gatherings in the history of Zionism. But before we review the results of this sixth congress we shall first cast a glance at the political activity of Dr. Hertzl since 1897.

The first and one of the most important principles of the Zionist program was not to do a thing underhanded. If colonization was to be undertaken in Palestine, it must have the legal and formal consent of the ruling government.

In view of this policy Hertzl began a series of diplomatic interviews. In the autumn of 1898 after preliminary audiences in Potsdam and Constantinople, Emperor William II of Germany publicly received a Zionist deputation in Palestine, consisting of Dr. E. Bodenheimer and Engineer Seidener, President of the Zionist groups in Germany and Dr. Theodor Hertzl at the head.

At first an introductory greeting took place in the Jewish colony, Mikveh Israel near Jaffa. On Nov. 2 it was received in the imperial tent in Jerusalem. At this conference state secretary, Von Bilow was present.

In answer to an address presented, the Emperor said that,

"All such endeavors as aiming at the promotion of Palestinian agriculture to the weal of the Turkish empire, and having due respect to the sovereignty of the Sultan might be sure of my good will and interest."

These words of the Kaiser were meaningless if not absolutely antagonistic.

The Emperor entertained and was working towards the realization of his Berlin-Bagdad Railway. His policy was to create a favorable impression on the Sultan. He wanted the Sultan to believe that he was a friend of his regime. In view of these facts it appears reasonable to interpret the statement made at the interview in Jerusalem as an attempt to speak in favor of the Sultan rather than in favor of Zionism.

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Chapter III

Political Activity of Dr. Hertzl

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Hertzl visited Von Plehve, the Russian minister of interior. This minister, previously in the month of June, issued a secret circular to the governors, city prefects, and chiefs of police putting a ban upon all Zionist meetings and forbidding all collections for Zionist purposes. As a result of Dr. Hertzl's visit, Von Plehve promised in a letter addressed to Dr. Hertzl that if the Zionist movement confined its agitation to the creation of an independent state in Palestine and to the organized immigration from Russia of a certain number of Jewish inhabitants, the Russian government would give its moral and material support to Zionist negotiations at Constantinople, and would facilitate the work of the immigration societies with certain moneys contributed by the Jews of Russia.

Hertzl also entered into negotiations with the Sultan. At the third Basel congress in 1899, Hertzl reported that his endeavors were centered on receiving a charter from the Sultan. On May 17, 1901 Hertzl was received by the Sultan. On this occasion Hertzl was accompanied by two other members of the Actions Committee, David Wolfson and Oscar Marmarek, Hertzl was also received on two later occasions and upon leaving, the Sultan conferred upon him the grand cordon of mijidie.

However, regardless of all the interviews nothing definite was accomplished with the Porte. Instead of granting a charter the Porte gave instructions in 1900 not to allow Jewish visitors to remain in Palestine longer than three months.

Hertzl In England

The only country where Zionist aspirations found wholehearted support was in England. The English press comments on the fourth Zionist Congress held in London in 1900 were very

(1)
favorable.

In July 1902 Hertzl had the opportunity to acquaint the English government with Jewish suffering through his appearance as a witness before the Royal Commission in the alien immigration. On that date the sixteenth sitting of the Royal Commission took place in Westminster Town Hall in London, England under the presidency of the Right Hon. Lord James Herefore. This commission invited Dr. Hertzl to appear, although he was not a British subject. This was a sort of official recognition of his leadership and authority on the Jewish question.

(2)
Originally it was arranged that Dr. Hertzl should only be examined but at the suggestion of Mr. Norman, a member of the commission, Dr. Hertzl was asked to read his own statement which should serve as a basis for subsequent questions. Dr. Hertzl submitted the desired statement which contained in a few pages a thorough analysis of the Jewish problem. This was followed by about two hundred questions submitted by Mr. Norman and the other members of the commission. These Hertzl answered and through those answers he aroused the interest of the commission in behalf of the oppressed Israelites.

(1) Sokolow Nahum, History of Zionism, Vol. II, P. 389.
See also Appendix A. for English press comments on the London Zionist congress. (1900).

(2) Tragedy of Jewish Immigration. *official report of questions and answers*

Chapter IV

The Uganda Storm and Death of Hertzl

However, if any help to the Jewish people was to come through England it was to be outside of Palestine. Palestine was not under the English rule.

Hertzl and many of his associates who came to Zionism not because of an inner motive but because of the external force could have no objection to such relief. They wanted first to relieve the Jew of his suffering by obtaining for him a home legally recognized. If at all possible this home should be Palestine. But now that Palestine could not be gotten, his associates were willing to get the next best thing. Though Hertzl agreed to the insertion of the word Palestine in the Basel program, he entered into negotiations with Great Britain for a land concession at Sinai Peninsula. This land called El-Arish comprises a strip of territory of about one thousand square kilometers and is situated to the south of Palestine. It forms the connecting link between that country and Egypt and was under Anglo-Egyptian administration.

These negotiations opened in London with some members of the English government and were continued in Cairo by L.J. Greenberg with Lord Cramer and the Egyptian Government. A commission was appointed consisting of Engineer Keisler, Architect Marmarek, Captain Goldsmid, Engineer Stephens, Professor Laurant, Dr. S. Soskin, Dr. Hillel Jaffe and Mr. Humphreys representing the Egyptain Government. This commission left Egypt at the beginning of 1903 to make an exhaustive study of the territory under consideration and returned at the end of March. The Egyptian Government did not agree to the concession. It offered as an official reason that such a concession would necessitate the use of certain portions

of the waters of the Nile. When the El-Arish plan failed, almost on the eve of the sixth congress, a new proposal was made by the British Government.

Joseph Chamberlain was at that time the most powerful figure in the English Cabinet. The Boer War had just ended and Chamberlain set out to visit the English possessions beyond the sea in South and East Africa. While visiting this country Chamberlain conceived the idea that there might be found a convenient place for the Jewish settlement Hertzl had proposed to him in El-Arish.

On August 14, 1903 an official letter from the Foreign Office was addressed by Sir Clement Hill to Mr. L.J. Greenberg which stated as follows:

In regard to "the form of an agreement which Dr. Hertzl proposes should be entered into between His Majesty's government and the Jewish Colonial Trust, Ltd., for the establishment of a Jewish settlement in East Africa," Hill was directed by the Marquis of Lansdowne to say:

"That he has studied the question with the interest which His Majesty's government must always take in any well considered scheme for the amelioration of the position of the Jewish race;;;If a site can be found which the Trust and His Majesty's Commissioner consider suitable and which commends itself to his government, Lord Lansdowne will be prepared to entertain favorably propositions for the establishment of a Jewish colony or settlement on conditions which will enable the members to observe their national customs;.....the details of the scheme comprising as its main features the grant of a considerable area of land, the appointment of a Jewish official as the chief of the local administration, and permission to the colony to have a free hand in regard to municipal legislation as to the management of religious and purely domestic matter, such local autonomy being conditional upon the right of His Majesty's government to exercise general control."

Such were conditions that prevailed prior to the sixth congress. The letter from the British Foreign Office came too close to the congress to have been discussed by the leaders of the movement. It came to the congress unprepared and without warning and acted like a firebrand which threatened to divide

the Zionist organization into two halves. The democratic faction as a whole and the majority of the Russian delegates opposed it vehemently while some Rumanian groups and a number of notable Western Jews favored it.

The proposition before the congress was that a commission should be sent out to examine the territory in East Africa and that before a final vote^{would} be taken on the merits of the question, a special congress should be called for that purpose. After several days of argument a vote was taken which showed 295 affirmative and 178 negative, 90 withholding their vote entirely.

This vote represented the view of the congress not as to the advisability of accepting the offer of the British Government but merely as to the proper spirit in which so generous an offer should be received.

This is to be seen from the rider that was attached to the resolution. The rider prohibited the use of any shekel money or any property of the trust for the purpose of the expedition.

The commission was appointed and the expense of the commission was borne by Christian friends of the movement. The commission went to East Africa in December 1903 and made its report to the central committee in May 1904. The territory examined and delimited by the British Government at Hertzl's request comprised an area of six thousand square miles and was known as the "Guas Ngishu Plateau."

The taking of the vote did not settle the last African question. Immediately after the vote the Russian delegates created a demonstration by publicly leaving the congress.

The final decision on this question was to come at the seventh and special congress. But before this congress met the

Russian and Pro-Palestine Zionist organized to defeat the project regardless of whatever the nature of the report.

Kharkoff resolution ZIYONE ZION to pass without action.

As a result of Hertzl's negotiations with the British Government concerning a concession in territories outside Palestine, a new organization came into existence, namely the Ziyone Zion. This group was led by M. Usichkin of Yekatrinoslav. At the time of the sixth congress, this group held a conference in Palestine.

A pamphlet "Unser Program" (Vienna 1905) which contains the principles of this group, declares that the diplomatic actions of Hertzl have proven a failure, that land should be bought at once in Palestine with a portion of the money of the National Fund and that work should start in Palestine without waiting for a charter, and whatever diplomatic actions are to accompany Zionist activities should be carried out by a collegium. In his address before the Palestine conference Usichkin declared himself against the East African project and against the bidding character of the vote taken at the congress.

Before the seventh congress convened a preliminary conference was held by the Ziyone Zion at Freiberg. In addition the Russian members of the Actions Committee held a secret conference at Kharkoff at which they resolved to demand of Hertzl a written promise to relinquish the East African Project. If Hertzl should refuse the demanded promise, the Russians were to refrain from sending further contributions to the Zionist organizations.

The delegation of Kharkoff Conference went to Vienna and met a session of the Larger Actions Committee on April 11, 1904. It consisted of A.A. Belkowsky, S.J. Rosenbaum, and W.J. Temkin.

Everything was done to confince the commission of the groundlessness of its demands and the illegality of its action. The Kharkoff resolution was allowed to pass without action.

The opposition now turned from the East African question against the President of the congress. He was bitterly attacked notably by Haham M. Gasters of London. Hertzl felt deeply the exposed position in which he had been placed. An affection of the heart had already set in at the sixth congress. The discussions and misrepresentation consequent upon the East African question aggravated the disease beyond recovery. On July 3, 1904 Hertzl breathed his last.

On July 27, 1905 one year after Hertzl's death, the seventh congress met at Basel and the members of the commission who were to report on the African project did not agree on all points, but the general view was that its territory was insufficient for a large number of Jewish settlers, and that the ground was fit for grazing rather than agriculture. Consequently a resolution was adopted that put an end to the East African question as far as the congress was concerned. The resolution read as follows:

"The Seventh Zionist Congress declares: the Zionist Organization stands firmly by the fundamental principle of the Basel Program namely, 'The establishment of a legally secured publicly recognized home for the Jewish people in Palestine and it rejects either as an end or as a means of colonizing, activity outside Palestine and its adjacent lands. The congress resolves to thank the British Government for its offer of a territory in British East Africa for the purpose of establishing there a Jewish settlement with autonomous rights. A commission having been sent out to examine the territory, and having reported thereon, the Congress resolves that the Zionist Organization shall not engage itself further with the proposal. The congress records with satisfaction the recognition accorded by the British Government to the Zionist Organization in its desires to bring about a solution of the Jewish problems, and expresses a sincere hope that it may be accorded the further good offices of the British Government where available in any matter it may undertake in accordance with the Basel Program. The Seventh Zionist Congress recalls and emphasizes the fact that according to Article I of the statutes of the Zionist Organization, the Zionist Organization includes those Jews who declare themselves to be in agreement with the Basel Program."

When the Ziyone Zion achieved its purpose it ceased to exist as a separate group. But now a second organization came into existence, the Jewish Territorial Organization. This group was led by the people who favored the acceptance of the East African offer. At the head of all stood Israel Zangwill. The object of this organization or "Itod" as it has come to be called was:

(a) "To procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for the Jews who cannot or who will not remain in the lands in which they already live.

(b) To unite all Jews who are in agreement with this object; to enter into relations with governments and public and private institutions; and to create financial institutions, labor bureaus and other instruments that may be found necessary."

At the inception of the movement the leaders still considered themselves Zionists but later they left the organization and worked along lines contrary to the ideals of ^{the} Zionist organization. This organization existed until a few years ago when it was disbanded and its funds liquidated.

With the death of Dr. Hertzl and with the acceptance of this resolution and election of new officers the great Hertzlonian period in the life of Zionist movement came to a close.

The period that followed the seventh congress up to the new era that was ushered in Nov. 2, 1917 by the Balfour Declaration was comparatively unimportant.

to review

But before we turn ^{to review} this unimportant period we shall briefly review the failures and achievements of the Hertzlonian period. This will help us in the comprehension of the history of Zionism.

Failure Of Politics

Hertzl carried on great political activity. He had inter-

views with the Sultan, with the German Kaiser and with Von Plerve. On Oct. 11, 1903 he was received by the King of Italy and Tittoni, the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs. He also saw the Pope and Cardinal Merry del Val. He interested the British Government in the wretched condition of the Jews. He negotiated with Great Britain concerning territories outside Palestine and received offers for some. All these plans were frustrated and nothing definite was achieved in the way of receiving a charter for Palestine.

Success of Organization

However, if his political activity did not meet with success, he succeeded in building up a very large and strong organization, in fact so strong that it could withstand the shock of his death. At the first congress in 1897 there were 204 delegates, each one representing 100 shekel payers.

At the sixth congress no less than 592 delegates were present, each one representing 200 shekel payers. When the first congress took place many countries including the United States and England were not represented,⁽¹⁾ some because they were afraid, others because they had no Zionist societies. At the time of the seventh congress there was hardly a country in the world that was not represented.

It would be different to trace all societies that existed at the time of the close of the Hertzl period. They run into thousands, but we may get some glimpse of the rapid growth of the organization by noticing the comparison between the first and second congress alone and by noticing the growth in a few countries.

(1) Israel Zangwill was a spectator.

The following groups were known to exist at the time of the first congress.

Russia	23	Groups
Austria	42	
Hungary	228	
Rumania	27	
England	14	
Italy	9	
Bulgaria	1	
America	10	

At time of second congress.

The following new groups came into existence.

	<u>New Societies</u>	Total
Russia	350	373
Austria	176	218
Hungary	32	260
Rumania	100	127
England	12	26
Italy	12	21
Bulgaria	15	16
America	50	60
Germany	25	25
Switzerland	6	6
France	3	3
Belgium	2	2
Turkey	2	2
Denmark	1	1
Servia	1	1
Greece	1	1
Egypt	2	2
The Transwal	6	6
Total new groups	<u>796</u>	<u>1150</u> Grand total

Making a total of 796 new groups and a grand total of 1150 Zionist groups at time of second congress. (2)

How the organization grew after the second congress up to the close of this period may be learned from the following figures.

In the United States at the time of the first congress there were 10 groups. At the time of the second congress there were 60 groups and at the close of this period in 1905 there were 318 Zionist societies. There were four Zionist federations in Australia, New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and

(2) Jewish Encyclopedia.

West Australia. The same was also true in many other countries. At the time of Dr. Hertzl's death Zionist societies existed in Tsita (Siberia on Manchurian border), Tashkert, Bokha, Rangood (Burma), Nagaski, Tokio, Honkong, Singapore, Shanghai, Nairobi, (East Afria) and among the American soldiers in the Philippines. We may also get a glimpse at the countries from which contributions were received for the Zionist fund. Money was received from people who lived in Monecore in Amazonas, Brazil, Chile and in Khorasan.

The institutions that were established under his leadership were given a firm foundation. The Bank sold the minimum shares and was functioning. The Jewish National Fund too began its activity. In the years 1902-04 41,300 pounds sterling were collected for this fund. (About 200,000.00 dollars).

While Hertzl did not succeed in obtaining a charter for Palestine from the Turkish government, he laid a firm foundation for the organization that was to receive it at a later date. He aroused the interest of many Jews of many countries. His death undoubtedly was a great shock to the Zionists. From his death up to the beginning of the war Zionism could not progress as it did under Hertzl, but it nevertheless survived.

The period between the death of Hertzl and the Balfour Declaration marks the ascendancy of cultural and practical Zionism.

Hertzl was a political Zionist. He believed that no work should be undertaken in Palestine until a charter was granted by the Sultan. Nothing should be done in Palestine that may arouse suspicion. If he could not get a charter for Palestine he was willing to consider a charter for another land.

The practical Zionist believed that nothing but Palestine would satisfy their purpose and second that a settlement

Chapter V

Zionism From Death of Hertzl To The
World War

In one of the preceding chapters I described the different types of people that served as forerunners of Zionism. Kalisher, the religionist, Hess, the social economist, Montefiore, the philanthropist, Ginsberg, the culturalist were outstanding individuals who approached Zionism from different angles. Though they were at first willing to combine into one organization, as soon as the organization became active, the followers of each of these ideas endeavored to push to the front their own principles. The followers of the religious view and the adherents of radical economic views formed separate factions in the Zionist organization. The religionists organized as the Mizrachi which has already been mentioned. The radical economists became the Poale Zion which came into existence during this period. The bulk of Zionists remained as the center group. The Culturists, practical Zionists, and political Zionists remained in the general organization without forming a separate faction, probably, because they had so many adherents that they were not satisfied with forming a faction. They wanted to control the entire organization.

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The practical Zionist believed first that nothing but Palestine would satisfy their purpose and second that a settlement

of Jews should be undertaken in Palestine regardless of whether they receive a charter for a Jewish commonwealth or not. This group consisted mainly of Russian Zionists. Their leaders were the old Chevevei Zion group. At the head of them all was M.M. Usishkin.

By the time Dr. Hertzl died they had already succeeded in gaining partly their pro-Palestine victory. At the first congress they inserted the word Palestine to be part of the program. At the sixth and seventh congress they completely defeated the East African proposal and caused the believers of a charter in another country to quit the Zionist fold. The Zionist Organization became committed to Palestine as the only hope of a Jewish commonwealth.

The first question that existed was whether work should be undertaken in Palestine before a charter was obtained. The second question in which the Culturists were interested was, should all efforts be bent towards making Palestine ^{the political} home or should it be a cultural center in accordance with the interpretation of Ahad Haam. Both these questions were decided in the affirmative but not until 1911 and 1913 at the tenth and eleventh congresses.

At the seventh congress, the first after Hertzl's death, David Wolfsohn of Cologne, one of the closest friends and supporters of Hertzl was elected as his successor.

In his own words Wolfson states: "When in the sad time after Hertzl's death the presidency was offered to me, I was surprised and embarrassed. It was only out of a sense of duty that I accepted this high dignity." (1)

David Wolfsohn was so imbued with Hertzl's political views that he could not help but follow in his steps. Congress after congress he and his associates declared themselves in favor of political Zionism and that a charter must be obtained

(1) Sokolow Nahum, History of Zionism.

before anything should be done along the line of colonization in Palestine. At the seventh congress Nordau expressed this idea of charterism in the following words:

"The Turkish Government might realize that it would be of great value to possess, in Palestine and Syria a numerous, strong and well organized population which with due regard to the rights of the indigenous peoples, would tolerate no attacks on the authority of the Sultan but on the contrary would repel them with all its power. And Europe would probably regard it as a service if the Jewish people by its peaceful and energetic occupation of Palestine, prevents violent changes in the government of the country and renders superfluous an intervention of the powers the dangers of which are only too well known in diplomatic circles."

At the eighth congress held in the Hague, Aug. 1907, David Wolfsohn, addressing the Porte through the congress spoke of the "loyalty of our endeavors and the civilizing and peaceful character of our movement which had been laid to the heart of the Porte:!"

"We have continually laid to the Turkish government the loyalty of our aspirations, the civilizing and peaceful significance of our undertakings, and we hope the sublime Porte which entertains great sympathy of our people will find the correct measure for the estimate of our intentions."

In this fashion the hopes and aspirations of the practical Zionists were thwarted by the leadership. But Wolfson did not have the influence that Hertzl enjoyed. He could not check the tide of practical Zionism and what is more the external force in the Zionist movement became too powerful.

External Force

During these years Jewish life in Russia became unbearable. The year 1906 was one of the most terrible in the annals of Jewish history. Something like 1400 pogroms took place all over the Ghetto. In many districts the Jewish population were completely exterminated. The numbers of persons whose

houses, shops or factories were the object of attack and pillage reached a total of some 200,000 to 250,000. The casualty list was estimated at approximately 20,000 murdered (2) and 10,000 injured.

How much this pogrom had shaken the Jews in that country is to be seen from the emigration of Jews that subsequently took place.

From the issuing of the May laws in 1882 to 1908, one million five hundred and forty five thousand Jews (1,545,000) (3) emigrated from Russia alone. The conditions in Russia also affected the Jews of Austria and Rumania. Two million one hundred and thirty six thousand (2,136,000) Jewish souls broke up their old homes and left to seek new homes. The bulk of this emigration took place between the years 1903, the terrible (4) year of the Keshinoff atrocities and 1908. This immigration went to every corner of the world. The greatest majority went to the United States. By noticing the Jewish immigration in the United States we may get some idea of the horror that befell the Jews of Russia in these years.

1902	57,000	Jews entered U.S.
1903	76,000	" " "
1904	106,000	" " "
1905	129,000	" " "
1906	153,000	" " "
1907	149,000	" " "
1908	108,000	" " " (5)

Under these conditions Zionism could not disappear. It is very probable that had conditions in Eastern Europe improved, the shock of Hertzl's death coupled with the political disappointments and the disagreements in the Zionist ranks

(3) Ruppin, The Jews of Today, P. 92.

(4) Adler Cyrus, The Voice of America on Keshinoff.

(5) The American Jewish Year Book, Vol. 26, P. 593.

would have crushed the Zionist movement. But the causes that brought about Zionism were now as powerful as ever. The difficulties could only retard the movement, but not wipe it out.

The Russian Zionist let Hertzl and his follower test their policy of political Zionism. When that failed under Hertzl and received its death blow in the Turkish revolution of 1908-9 when a new regime came into power that would have as its goal the absolute otomanization of all Turkey, the practical Zionist turned to Palestine Colonization as their goal.

Ascendance of Practical Zionism

At the seventh congress a Palestine commission was organized with Professor Otto Warburg as chairman. During the eighth and ninth congress this commission rose in importance and at the tenth congress which met at Basel in 1911, David Wolfsohn the follower of Hertzl's political Zionism was defeated by the practical Zionist and Otto Warburg became president of the organization.

During these years Wolfsohn and Warburg succeeded in healing the breaches left at the death of Dr. Hertzl.

A few new settlements were established in Palestine until the number reached 40. The work of the practical Zionist, even if it did not accomplish what it set out to do infused new life into the organization.

The second idea that gained impetus during this period was Cultural Zionism. During these years, a chain of elementary schools were organized in Palestine in which revival of Hebrew as a living language was the dominant motive. Art commenced to find a home in the Bezalel School in Jerusalem which was founded through the efforts of Boris Schatz. There were also several

high schools like the Gymnasium in Jaffa and the Tachkemoni, the Poletechnicum in Haifa.

The eleventh congress met in Vienna in September, 1913. At this congress the resolution favoring the organization of a Hebrew University was adopted. This congress was attended by over five hundred delegates. Enormous mass meetings, exhibitions, lectures and entertainments were arranged. A demonstration of 25,000 national Jewish gymnasts made a visit to Hertzl's grave and 25,000 Jewish spectators were present. The Zionists federation of England had a large delegation and there were fourteen delegates from Canada for the first time.

If Zionism during these periods did not succeed in obtaining a charter, it did succeed in disseminating its idea among the Jews. It grew into a great Jewish organization. Its next congress was to meet again in 1915, but the World War broke out in 1914 and paralyzed the international Zionist Organization.

Chapter I

Immediate Effect of the War on the World Zionist
Organisation

To understand the effect of the outbreak of the war on Zionist activity, we need only have a glimpse at the composition of the world organisation.

The president of the organisation was a German professor, Otto Warburg. The headquarters was in Berlin. The financial

PART III

institution of the organisation was in London, chartered under English law. The people who suffered most and for whom Palestine was most needed were in Russia and Rumania, both fighting on the

THE WAR TO THE
DECLARATION OF BALFOUR

allies side. Palestine was under Turkish rule. Turkey, though it hesitated for a while finally came under German influence. The members of the Inner Actions Committee, too, were of an international character and were scattered in various countries. Benke was with Warburg in Berlin. Jacobson was then in Constantinople.

Hence the outbreak of the war not only paralyzed the contact between members of the Inner Actions Committee, but also threatened to destroy all that was built up in Palestine by Jews for the last 40 years. In addition to the suffering, in common with the general population, the Jews were in particularly unfavorable circumstances. It may sound ironical, but it is nevertheless a fact, that those Jews who ran away from Russia preferred to remain Russian citizens in Palestine. This was due to the fact that it was safer to live in Turkey under the protection of any foreign power, especially if it was a great power like Russia, than to be a Turkish subject. Not only were foreign citizens immune from the trouble of the tax-collector who was not a direct government official but a person that one chose the right to collect the taxes, but they also were able

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to enjoy justice in general than a Turkish citizen. Thus most of the Jews remained citizens of the countries from which they came. When the war broke out, the Turkish Government arrested these people as foreign enemies and exiled them to Egypt. This added the misery of broken up families to the economic distress. Furthermore, most of the Jewish population lived in cities and either engaged in business or remained students of the (Torah) law and were supported by charity institutions that were receiving money from foreign countries. With the outbreak of the war, communication with the allied countries were cut off and even communication with central powers became difficult.

The rural Jewish population which consisted of about 15,000 souls too suffered from a locust plague that destroyed the trees and the farms. Though this plague was not directly caused by the war, the condition of the war made it impossible to obtain any help from outside and aggravated the distress that prevailed in the cities. (1)

In view of the international character of the organization and of the difficulties in Palestine, it seemed at the beginning of the war period that Zionism received its death blow in the war declaration.

As is seen from the result however, the war not only failed to destroy Zionism, but gave great impetus to the movement. The external force which came to the rescue of Zionism in previous critical periods now too saved it from destruction in spite of the paralyzing effect that the war had on the organization.

External Force Again

The horror with which the war struck the Jews brought

(1) Goldberg Israel, Zionism, P. 27.

more lending ears to the Zionist cause. Everywhere it was felt that for the Jew it was infinitely worse than danger. It was tragic.

The eastern front was entirely along lines thickly settled by Jews. The bulk of the Jews lived in the border states. They lived there not by their own free will, but by the force of oppression. Russia had a limited pale of settlement where Jews were allowed to live. Rumania too did not permit the Jews to live on farms. On the German side the battle was fought along the Austrian border which was inhabited by Jews. The war turned numerous ghettos of Galicia, Bukovina, Russia, Poland, Lithuania, and Rumania into heaps of ashes. In everyone of these countries the Jews plunged with utmost zeal into the patriotism of the country. Hundreds of thousands of Jews were fighting against one another in the belligerent countries. They were giving their best and from their very hearts to the cause of their countries until they were bleeding almost to extinction.

But in this their tragedy was only a little worse than some of the other countries. Belgium and France too were bleeding to exhaustion. They too were ravaged. But the Belgians and the French knew that if they lost, their national honor would suffer. They would lose their liberties.

If the Jew in America or in England or in France or even in Germany sacrificed all he had, he did it willingly. He did it for a country that he loved, a country of which he was part and parcel, a country in which he lived like a free man, at least as free as his neighbor, a country whose interest was dearer to him than his religion, than his wealth, than his wife and children, than his very life.

But the Jew in Eastern Europe was bleeding and killing his coreligionists for a country which before the war was to him a living hell, a country in which he could not move about freely, in which he was an outcast and from which he sought to flee. The Jew in Eastern Europe had nothing to lose. He had no honor, no rights, and no liberties. He knew that a Russian victory would only tend to heighten the autocracy of the Tzar and cause him to be more cruel to the oppressed. This great tragedy of the Jew of Eastern Europe aroused the sympathy of the Jew everywhere. It expressed itself in a tremendous relief program and in support of Zionism.

Before the war was much advanced the scattered leaders of the movement seemed to have realized that the Zionist success was bound up with the victory of the allies. Even long before the war, the attitude of Germany and Turkey which were never very favorable became almost antagonistic since the Young Turk revolution.

The policy of the German Government, added to the antagonistic attitude of the German Jews toward Zionism, made it impossible for the German Zionists to do anything in its behalf. The president of the Zionist Organization and the German members of the Actions Committee remained entirely inactive throughout the war.

It was left for the other members of the Actions Committee and the Zionist Federations of the allied countries to pave the way for Zionist recognition at the peace table.

Poland

A Zionist Conference was held in Warsaw, attended by

(1) Scholem Shalom, History of Zionism, Vol. II.

(2) Scholem Shalom, History of Zionism, Vol. II.

Chapter II

Land Federations Take the Initiative

While the Zionist Actions Committee and the Zionist Congress could not meet, the individual members of the Zionist Actions Committee and the separate land-federations were moved to more intensive activity.

During the war Zionist Conferences were held in Holland, Rumania, Canada, Austria, England, Australia, Denmark, Switzerland, South Africa, Russia, Poland, Greece, and America. In many of these countries more than one Conference was held and in everyone of them Zionism gained new followers and raised considerable sums of money for the various Zionist funds. At many of these conferences resolutions pertaining to the Zionist demands at the peace table were adopted. The resolutions adopted at the conferences held in Austria, Poland and Russia were significant.

At the West Austrian-Galician-Bukowina Zionist Conferences (Adolf Stand in the chair.) held December 15, 1915. The following resolution was adopted:

"The Assembly expects to see the Jewish problem discussed at the peace conference, and trusts that the Actions Committee will find suitable means and ways to create a united manifestation of the Jews of all countries for the demand of securing for the Jews their civil and political equality of rights all over the world, and in the nationality states also recognition of their national existence."⁽¹⁾

"The Actions Committee is asked to prepare everything in a suitable manner, in order that the interests of political Zionism may be secured before the Forum of the future Peace Congress."

(2)
Poland

A Zionist Conference was held in Warsaw, and was attended by

(1) Sokolow Nahum, History of Zionism, Vol. II.

(2) Sokolow Nahum, History of Zionism, Vol. II.

one hundred and twenty-five delegates from Warsaw and the Polish provincial cities on September 13-15, 1916.

The following resolution was passed:

1. "That the Central Committee establish a special Palestine Office, to gather information and material with respect to the present situation in Palestine and with respect to the possibilities for work after the war.

2. That it elaborate this material and spread it within wide circles. Further, it has to organize pioneer groups who are willing to go to Palestine as well as to work out a scheme for the preparation of these pioneers."

In 1917 a Zionist conference was held in Russia.

Among other resolutions the conference proclaimed "its firm

conviction that the nations, in settling the basis of the new national and political life, shall be conscious of the clearly manifested will of the Jewish people to colonize Palestine again as their national centre, and they will create conditions enabling the unhindered evolutions and concentration of all Jewish forces, for the purpose of bringing about a regeneration of Palestine.

"A representative body of the Jewish people should be admitted to the approaching Peace Conference, which shall obtain attention for the historic and national rights of the Jewish people." (3)

In 1913 there were only twenty-six thousand shekel payers in Russia. In 1917 there were one hundred and forty thousand.

However, of all the countries where Zionism progressed during the War, the United States was the most prominent.

On Aug. 30, 1914 only one month after the outbreak of the war, an extraordinary conference of American Zionists was called in New York City to deal with the new situation.

Dr. Schmarya Levin, a prominent member of the Inner Actions Committee was at that time present in America and participated in the activity of the Zionist federation.

(4) Supter, Gule to Zionism.

(3) Sokolow Nahum, History of Zionism, Vol. II.

A provisional committee was elected to care for general Zionist affairs, even not pertaining to the American Zionist organization, to act in agreement with the members of the Actions Committee and to raise an emergency fund for the relief of Palestine. Mr. Louis D. Brandeis was then elected chairman.

The entrance of Mr. Brandeis into the ranks of the active Zionists in this country stimulated interest in the organization. It gave it the genuine American color and many American Jews who hesitated to enter the Zionist Organization because of its European influence now felt confident.

The phenomenal growth of the Zionist Organization in America is to be seen from the following:

American Zionist budget in 1914 was \$14,000.00. In 1917
(4)
it raised to \$3,000,000.00.

The National Fund increased its collection in the United States from about \$40,000.00 in 1914 to about \$60,000.00 in 1915.
(5)

Before the war there were 20,000 shekel payers in the United States. They had increased to 150,000 in 1917 and to
(6)
171,000 in 1920.

American Jewish Congress Movement

What the American Zionist organization wanted was to interest every American Jew in Palestine and make him support the Zionist demands at the Peace Conference.

This they wanted to achieve through the formation of an American Jewish Congress where every section of Jewry should be represented. The idea of this congress was broached as early as

(4) Sampter, Guide to Zionism.

(5) Sokolow Nahum, History of Zionism, Vol. II, P. 32.

(6) Sampter, Guide to Zionism.

Aug. 30, 1914, but it met with strenuous opposition from the anti-Zionists particularly the American Jewish Committee. Even when they finally agreed to the convening of a Jewish Congress, it was on a condition that no resolution pertaining to a national home in Palestine should be brought before it. This agreement was entered into as an interpretation of a resolution adopted at a preliminary conference held in Philadelphia, (7) March 26, 27, 1916.

On April 2, 1917 America entered the war and the Jewish leaders deemed it advisable to post-pone convening of the congress until victory would be assured and peace would be in sight. Meanwhile the international policy was entirely changed. The British government had issued its famous declaration in favor of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This declaration was endorsed by many governments. Palestine was in British hands and when the American Jewish Congress met in 1918 no opposition was raised to including the claims of the Zionist on Palestine among the demands for equal rights in other eastern European countries. The men who had to do directly with this declaration were not the Zionists of America but a few Zionist leaders who made their headquarters in England. Although the American Provisional Committee with Mr. Louis D. Brandeis as its guiding spirit was in constant interchange of ideas with the European leaders, and was consulted on all matters of importance, the direct work was accomplished by the European leaders.

(7) Report of Proceedings of American Jewish Congress. Preliminary Conference.

Chapter III

Zionism In England During the Ministry of AsquithSir Edward Gray

The outstanding personality who was later destined to become the leader of the world Zionists was Dr. Chaim Weitzman, a native of Russia who as professor of Chemistry in the Manchester University made England his home.

Before the war he was interested in the establishment of a Hebrew University in Palestine.

When the war broke out, he became active in behalf of Zionism. He made connection among the high officials of the English government and tried to win them for the Zionist cause and prepared material for the Zionist proposals. At his suggestion that of Dr. Moses Gaster of London and others an invitation was sent to the main organization to send two of its members to London. In response to this request Dr. Tchlenow of Moskow and Nahum Sokolow arrived in London before the end of 1914. These few Zionists with Dr. Weitzman turned their efforts to achieve two things.

One was to interest some of the English statesmen in his project, the other to interest the leaders of English Jewry and cause them to use their influence with the British government in behalf of Zionism.

The second phase of the work was very difficult. The opposition to Zionism among the recognized leaders of English Jewry was more pronounced than in the United States.

A conference which was called at the beginning of 1915 for the purpose of bringing an understanding brought no definite results.

The opposition went so far as to publish a document in

which the officers of Conjoint Committee of the Board of Deputies of Britain Jews and Anglo-Jewish Association expressed their vehement protest against Zionism.

When the non-Zionist or anti-Zionist suspected that the Zionists were preparing to bring claims before the government, they hastened to draft a plan concerning Zionism which would clip it of all nationality. This draft was as follows:

"If Palestine will enter at the end of the war to the sphere of influence of Great Britain or France, the elite powers shall not neglect from taking into consideration the historic interest that there is in that land concerning the Jewish community.

The Jewish inhabitants should be secured civil and religious freedom, equal political rights with the other inhabitants and a reasonable opportunity for immigration and settlement, and also municipal privileges in accordance with the means of the cities and colonies in which they live." (1)

Although this statement provoked a flood of protests from individuals, from congregations, and united Jewish Communities in various cities of England such as Manchester, Leeds, Liverpool, Glasgow, Birmingham, Savonsea, Portyprid, Newport, Merthyr, Tydvil, Durham, Maidenhead, Berkinhead, Balton, Blackpool, Stockport, Sunderland, Grinsby, Hull, Bradford, and many others, it had its effect on the English government and hindered the success of the Zionists. It made their task extremely difficult and caused them many embarrassments.

As to making friends between the high official of the English government, they succeeded in interesting some members of the Cabinet in Zionism.

Through the cooperation of Mr. S.P. Scott, the editor of the "Manchester Guardian", a meeting was arranged between Mr. Lloyd George at that time secretary of Exchequer and Mr. Herbert

(1) The Times May 24, 1917.

Samuel Home, secretary. Before the year was over Dr. Weitzman met Sir Arthur James Balfour whom he had already met once before in 1906 during the Uganda affair.

From then on Zionism attracted the public opinion. The leading newspapers gave up considerable space to the Zionist question. Many leading newspapers dealt with Zionism in their editorials and commented very favorably.

But they could not succeed in influencing the two leading statesmen of the time, Mr. Herbert H. Asquith and Sir Edward Gray.

The attitude of Sir Edward Gray is revealed in the memorandum which Sir George Buchannan, the British ambassador in Petrograd gave to Mr. Sosanof on the 13th of March 1916 and which contains the following statement:

"A telegram was received from Sir Edward Gray which states that the question of Jewish settlement in Palestine was brought recently before his Majesty's government. Although it is generally known that many Jews look with indifference upon the Zionist idea, still the greatest portion and most influential part of the Jews of all lands would appreciate a resolution of agreement concerning Palestine, if that resolution would give satisfaction to the aspirations of the Jews."

"If this view is correct then it is clear that through the use of the Zionist idea, we may achieve considerable political results. One of them would be that the great masses of Jews in the east, in the United States, and in other countries would become influenced in favor of the allied governments.⁽²⁾ These masses now have an attitude of hatred to the same."⁽³⁾

"Mr. Lucian Wolf limited in the following way the aspirations of the Jews in Palestine. If because of the war Palestine will enter to the sphere of interest of the French and British, these two governments should not fail to pay attention to the historic interest of the Jews in that land."

(2) Medzini, M., Eser Shanim, P. 18. Translated from Hebrew.

(3) He must have had reference to the hatred Jews had to Tzarish Russia.

Both governments should guarantee to the Jewish inhabitants religious and civil freedom, municipal privileges in the colonies and the cities in accordance with their needs and also opportunities that are reasonable for immigration and settlement."(4)

"Sir Edward Gray has nothing against this statement but in his answer to Mr. Lucian Wolf he informed him that he must come in contact with his allied governments and that his Majesty's government would look with favor upon the proposal."

"The only aim of his Majesty's government is to find some kind of an understanding which would draw considerably the heart of the majority of the Jews and which would make it easier to come to an agreement which would secure the support of the Jewish people. In consideration of this reason His Majesty's government believes that if this plan could be made so that it would promise to the Jews in advance that after they will have strengthened themselves sufficiently, they will have the opportunity to take charge of the inner affairs of that region. (except Jerusalem and the holy places.) Such an agreement would serve as a great drawing power for the majority of the Jewish people. His Majesty's government does not wish herewith to express an opinion in favor of one solution or the other, but it knows that an inter-national protectorate would meet with objection on some part of the influential elements of the Jewish communities."(5)

Russia's answer was given to Mr. George Buchannon on the 17th day of March which in essence was:

"That Russia would agree to any plan that would guarantee all its institutions and the Russian church in the holy land, the freedom in the fulfillment of their religious purpose and also the perpetuation of the rights and privileges that they had prior to the war. It would not object or oppose in principle to the settlement of Jewish colonists in that land."

Why Sir Edward Grey was not interested in Zionism is open to discussion. It is possible that this was due to his personal opinion on the question. It is also possible that he assumed such an attitude because of the inter-national complication that already existed at that time and which was later contained in secret agreement which came to light through its publishing in later years by the Soviet Government of Russia.

(4) Notice the change in the wording between the drafts submitted by Lucian Wolf and that quoted by Sir George Buchannon.

(5) It is interesting to notice in this statement that even Sir Edward Grey, who was not imbued with the Zionist idea, felt that the Declaration, if issued, must promise something more definite about local autonomy than contained in the original statement of Lucian Wolf. Otherwise, it would not arouse the enthusiasm of the Jews which was the only thing in which Sir Edward Grey was interested.

Chapter IV

International Complications of Political Status of Palestine

As early as December 1914, the Russian ambassador in Paris, Mr. Isvolsky, wrote to the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr. Sasonoff, that in Palestine it would not be possible to have the rule of one power. In March, 1915, the government of France approached the Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs and requested Russia's consent to have Syria come under the rule of France. The French ambassador explained to the Russian Minister that Syria was meant to include Palestine. Although, Mr. Delcasse the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, did not insist on this geographic interpretation, he made it clear that France was to receive some portion of Palestine. But Great Britain did not agree to have anything definitely settled about the division of Turkey.

The position of England was explained in a letter sent by the British ambassador dated the 20th of March, 1915, which contained the following statement:

His Majesty's government believes that the time is not ripe for the allied powers to consider the question or the possibility of dividing amongst themselves Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and its neighboring territories, until the question of a moslem state will be decided. (1)

Russia and France, however, pressed the solution of this problem. Mr. Mark Sykes, head of the eastern division in the British Cabinet and Mr. George Picot, French Consul-General at Byruth, Syria, were sent to Petrograd and on May 9th and 16th

(1) Medzini, Eser Shanim, P. 12.

a secret pact was signed by the French and British governments respectively which became known as the Sykes-Picot agreement. This agreement defined their respective interest and claims in the Asiatic provinces of the Ottomon empire.

Article 3 of this agreement provided for the establishment in that part of Palestine lying to the west of the Jordan river and exclusive of a small district including the ports of Haifa and Acre of "an international administration of which the form shall be determined after consultation with Russia, and later in agreement with the other Allies and with representatives of the Sheriff of Mecca." In general, the agreement recognized French claims to Syria (as far east as the anti-Lebanon), Cilicia, a portion of Asia Minor and a sphere of influence in eastern Syria; and British claims to Messapotamia, a small district on the Mediterranean including the ports of Haifa and Acre and a sphere of influence in the intervening territory between Messapotamia and Palestine. In their respective spheres of influence the eventual establishment of Arab sovereignty was envisaged, and Article II provided that "the negotiations with Arabs in regard to the frontiers of the Arab state or confederation of states shall proceed in the same way, as before in the name of the two powers. (2)

It appears that this agreement was kept secret not only from the Zionists but even from Italy. But on April 20, 1917, an agreement was made with Italy. This agreement is known as the St. Jean de Maurienne agreement and was reached between the representatives of France, Great Britain and Italy.

The general object of this agreement was to define, "subject to the assent of the Russian Government," the territorial and economic gains in Asiatic Turkey which should accrue to Italy under the pertinent provisions of the Pact of London. With regard to Palestine it was set forth in Article 3 that "the form of international administration,,,,,will be decided upon in agreement with Italy." With certain other similar reservations, Italy expressed her adherence to the Sykes-Picot agreement.

Although Russian assent to this agreement was never given, its influence survived in subsequent discussions between the Allies and in their negotiations with Turkey and with the Arabs regarding the final disposition of the territories in question.

The Zionists did not know of the presentations of the non-Zionists, nor did they know of the international complications. On October, 1916, they presented on their own behalf a memorandum of their own. This memorandum was known as:

The general outlines of a plan of new control of Palestine and its rehabilitation by Jews in accordance with the aims of the Zionist movement.

At the end the following summary was given;

"(a) Recognition of Jewish Nationality or a separate Jewish Nationality in Palestine.

(b) The participation of the Jewish settlement in Palestine in self-government in equal measure with other parts of the population.

(c) Protection of the rights of the minority.

(d) Autonomy in all purely Jewish affairs such as Jewish education organizing along religious lines.

(e) Recognition and sanctioning of all existant institutions of the Jews for the rehabilitation of Jews.

(f) The organizing of a chartered organization with the purpose of the rehabilitating of Palestine through Jewish settlers."(3)

After transmitting this memorandum it was not heard of again.

This, too, may be due to the fact that Esquith and Grey were not interested in Zionism for its own sake.

Chapter V.

Change of Ministry

In December, 1916, the Asquith government fell and a new one was established with Lloyd George as Premier and James Arthur Balfour as Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

This change of ministry brought the Zionists much nearer their realization than anything else.

Lloyd George and Balfour were interested in Zionism for its own sake. Balfour seems to have been imbued deeply with the biblical ideas. The return of the Jews aroused in him a religious emotion. The Conquest of Palestine also fell in line with Lloyd George's eastern policy. Lloyd George was always a believer that a victory in the east would have a decisive effect on the war in general while Asquith thought only of the western front. One of the first acts of James Arthur Balfour, as Minister of Foreign Affairs, was to instruct the head of the eastern division of his ministry to come in contact with the leaders of the Zionist organization. It so happened that the head of this division was none other than Sir Mark Sykes, the formulator of the Sykes-Picot agreement.

The first meeting between Sir Mark and Dr. Weitzman with N. Sokolow took place in December, 1916.

On February 7, 1917, another meeting took place at which, in addition to Mr. Sykes, Dr. Weitzman and Sokolow, were also present Mr. Herbert Samuel, Dr. M. Gaster, Mr. James De Rothchild, Mr. Joseph Kahn, Mr. Herbert Bentwich and Mr. Harry Sacher.

Dr. Gaster opened the meeting with a general review of the Zionist aims. In his remarks he emphasized that the Zionists do not wish that Palestine should be given over to a joint protectorate but that they wanted England to have the protection, and that the Jews should be given there all their rights to develop as a nation.

Mr. Sykes explained that he participated in the meeting as a private and not as an official. When Mr. James De Rothschild asked him twice during the meeting whether there was any understanding or agreement between England and France concerning Palestine, he received no reply. Mr. Sykes only remarked that Great Britain succeeded, only after much difficulty, in having the question of Palestine remain unsettled and pending. He advised to have at this meeting one person who should be appointed to come in contact with him and Mr. Picot of France.

Mr. N. Sokolow was appointed and next day Mr. Sykes introduced him to Mr. Picot. Mr. Sokolow explained to him the Zionist views and revealed to him that the Zionists would like to see Palestine come under English protection. Mr. Picot answered that 95 per cent of the French would like to have Palestine come under the French. He also advised not to begin any open propaganda in France, Italy or the U.S. because it would raise great opposition. He advised postponement of activity until the situation would clarify.

In March, 1917, Mr. N. Sokolow was called to Paris by the French government. On the 22nd, he was received by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Paris where he outlined the principles of the Zionist program.

He received a generally favorable reply but nothing definite. From there he went to Rome. There he was successful. He laid the Zionist program before the leading Italian Jews. This program was accepted by them and they promised to support it. It was also decided that he should come in contact with the Vatican concerning the holy places. Mr. Mark Sykes, who was at that time in Rome and who was a Catholic, paved the way for Mr. Sokolow. Mr. Sokolow had a conference with the Cardinals and on the 10th of May he was received by the Pope. Mr. Sokolow states that his conference was successful. Then Mr. Sokolow and the head of the Italian Jewish community were received at the Italian Consulta and later by the Italian Prime Minister. He was assured that the Italian government, in conjunction with the allied powers, would support the Zionist program. He was authorized, just as in Paris, to telegraph this result to the Russian and American Zionist Organization. (1)

Meanwhile Dr. Weitzman continued his work in England. On the 20th of May, 1917, he called a conference of delegates of Zionist societies in England. Dr. Weitzman was the chairman and opened it with a fiery address, in which he dwelt, on the suffering of Russian Jewry, on the hopes of the Zionists and expressed deep disappointment that all English Jews did not support the Zionist claims. His speech was received with applause.

On the 28th of May, Sokolow was again received by the Prime Minister, Ribot. After further negotiation, he received a statement from the French government dated June 4, 1917, which reads as follows:

It was now time for England to make such a statement. Though we have no definite proof, it is believed by Weizsaeck that the Zionists were told to suggest a form of a statement. After they consulted with Baron Edward Rothchild of France, Louis D. Brandeis of America, who in turn consulted President Wilson, they formulated a statement and submitted it to the government of Great Britain in a letter, signed by James D. Rothchild, dated July 18, 1917. It is believed that

Paris, June 4, 1917.

"Sir,

"You were good enough to present the project to which you are devoting your efforts, which has for its object the development of Jewish Colonization in Palestine.

You consider that, circumstances permitting and the independence of the Holy Places being safeguarded on the other hand, it would be a deed of justice and of reparation to assist, by the protection of the allied Powers, in the renaissance of the Jewish nationality in that Land from which the people of Israel were exiled so many centuries ago.

The French government, which entered this present war to defend a people wrongfully attacked, and which continues the struggle to assure the victory of right over might, can but feel sympathy for your cause, the triumph of which is bound up with that of the allies."

I am happy to give you herewith such assurance.

Please accept, Sir, the assurance of my most distinguished consideration."

(Signed) Jules Cambon

M.N. Sokolow,
Hotel Meurice, Paris.

It was now time for England to make such a statement. Though we have no definite proof, it is believed by Medzini that the Zionists were told to suggest a form of a statement. After they consulted with Baron Edward Rothchild of France, Louis D. Brandeis of America, who in turn consulted President Wilson, they formulated a statement and submitted it to the government of Great Britain in a letter, signed by James D. Rothchild, dated July 18, 1917. It is believed by some historians that if it were not for the opposition on the part of the anti-Zionist Jewish personalities in England, the government would have been willing to grant the full measure of the Zionist demands at that time. But the opponents of Zionism which included such personalities as Lord Swithling, Edwin Samuel Montague, who served in the ministry on Indian affairs obstructed the Zionists. In addition to these Jewish opponents of Zionism on Jewish principles, were also those who were afraid to support it lest it may cut off the support of the Arabs or arouse French jealousy, or hurt the sentiments of some Christian sects especially Catholics. This opposition caused the government to hesitate. The government proposed a new declaration much milder than the original one and sent it to eight prominent Jews of both camps, six prominent English Jews and Weitzman and Sokolow. Of the six only three, the Chief Rabbi of England, Herbert Samuel and Stewart Samuel accepted in full the government's view. The Zionists were dissatisfied. It was too mild. The anti-Zionist objected because it still contained a slight reference to Jewish nationality.

Meanwhile, the Zionists became a little uneasy. Whenever Balfour brought the matter up at a cabinet meeting, it was postponed. The Zionists decided to pull wires. At the request of Louis D. Brandeis, President Wilson sent a private telegram to the British government informing them that he agreed to the intended declaration in favor of Zionism. (2)

On the 26th of October, 1917, the London "Times" urged that Great Britain should issue a declaration in favor of Zionism.

It was arranged that the Minister of Foreign Affairs should bring this matter up again at the cabinet meeting on November the second.

At that meeting after a resolution was adopted to send military assistance to Italy, Balfour proposed a declaration. Mr. Mark Sykes was called to give some explanation.

Dr. Weitzman, with a few of his assistants, waited in one of the rooms in 10 Downing Street ready to give any necessary explanation and after a short discussion, it was adopted. Mr. Sykes came out and addressed Dr. Weitzman in the following words:

"Gentlemen, it is a boy." A letter was written addressed to Lord Rothchild which contained the declaration. (3) It read as follows:

(2) Medzini, P. 36.

(3) The letter was written to Lord Rothchild because he had signed the original proposed declaration.

Balfour Declaration -

"Foreign Office,
November 2, 1917.

"Dear Lord Rothchild:- I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to and approved by the cabinet;

"His Majesty's government views with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by the Jews in any other country."

"I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation."

"Yours sincerely,

(Signed) Arthur James Balfour."
(4)

No doubt the leaders of the Zionist movement who knew the contents of the original declaration submitted by them and saw same shaved of its most essential terms felt disappointed, but the people did not know about the negotiations. They interpreted the declaration in accordance with their own desire. To them it looked as if the Zionists received all they asked for. In this declaration, the Zionists scored their first real political victory.

(4) Sokolow N., History of Zionism, Vol. II, P. 83.

Effect of Balfour Declaration on the Jews of
the World, Especially on the Jews of
America and England.

It is impossible to describe in a small space the tremendous wave of enthusiasm that swept Jewish throughout the world. Mass meeting demonstrations were held in every country. We have already referred to the effect this declaration had on the Jews in America and the result it produced on the American Jewish Congress. When the American Jewish Congress met in 1918

PART IV

FROM THE BALFOUR DECLARATION up anything pertaining to Palestine, the TO THE resolution which was presented by Mr. De Haas was RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY

OF LOUSANNE The President of the American Jewish Congress is hereby authorized and respectfully asked to request the Department of State to cable the following message to the British Government and to send a copy of the same to the governments of France, Italy, Greece, Serbia and Holland.

The American Jewish Congress, speaking for the Jews of America, expresses its appreciation of the historic and epoch-making declaration addressed by His Majesty's government on Nov. 2, 1917, to the Jewish people, through the Zionist Organization, in which it approved of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and pledged to use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object - it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The American Jewish Congress further expresses its appreciation of the approval of the British Declaration expressed by the governments of France, Italy, Greece, Serbia and Holland.

The American Jewish Congress pledges the cooperation of the Jews of America to the end that a Jewish national home, as set forth in said declaration, may be realized in a manner worthy of the traditions and the high ideals of the Jewish people.

It must not be assumed however, that the opponents of Zionism who participated in the Congress were entirely converted to Zionism. Their actions in later years prove that such was not the case, but their intention seems to appear united at the time.

Chapter I.

Effect of Balfour Declaration on the Jews of
the World, Especially on the Jews of
America and England.

It is impossible to describe in a small space the tremendous wave of enthusiasm that swept Jewry throughout the world. Mass meeting demonstrations were held in every country. We have already referred to the effect this declaration had on the Jews in America and the result it produced on the American Jewish Congress. When the American Jewish Congress met in 1918 despite the original agreement not to bring up anything pertaining to Palestine, the following resolution which was presented by Mr. De Haas was unanimously adopted.

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(1) Report of Proceedings of American Jewish Congress.

Conference in order to secure equal rights in eastern European countries, induced them to compromise with the overwhelming public opinion in favor of the Zionist claims.

Among the various committees appointed by the Congress, one was for Palestine.

This committee recommended the following resolution:

RESOLVED that the American Jewish Congress instruct its delegation in Europe to cooperate with the representatives of other Jewish organizations and specifically with the world Zionist Organization, to the end that the Peace Conference may recognize the aspirations and historic claims of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine, and declare that in accordance with the British Government's declaration of Nov. 2, 1917, endorsed by the Allied Governments and the President of the United States, there shall be established such political, administrative and economic conditions in Palestine as will assure under the trusteeship of Great Britain, acting on behalf of such League of Nations as may be formed, the development of Palestine into a Jewish Commonwealth, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which shall prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country. (2)

A delegation was chosen with instructions "to leave as soon as possible for Europe where, in cooperation with representatives of the Jews of other lands, it shall use its best endeavors to realize the objects for which this Congress was established in accordance with instructions formulated by this congress. The resolution on Palestine constituted part of the instruction.

(2) Quoted from original report issued by American Jewish Congress.

The delegation consisted of the following nine members:

- (a) Julian W. Mack; President at that time of the American Zionist Organization
- (b) Stephen S. Wise; Zionist
- (c) Louis Marshall; Non-Zionist
- (d) Jacob De Haas; Secretary, Zionist Organization
- (e) B.H. Levinthal; Mizrachi Zionist
- (f) Joseph Barondes; Zionist
- (g) Nohum Syrkin; Radical Zionist
- (h) Harry Cutler
- (i) Morris Winchensky

Though the strong personality of Louis Marshall very often outweighs many others, still from the resolutions adopted and from the composition of the personnel of this delegation, it is to be seen that the Zionist element has been most successful in securing the support of a temporarily united American Jewry for its claims.

In London a monster demonstration was held on the second day of December to express gratitude to the British government. This meeting was addressed by the Right Hon. Lord Robert Cecil Hon. Herbert Samuel, the chief Rabbi, Dr. Hertz, Sir Mark Sykes, Dr. Gaster, Israel Zangwill, who had separated from the Zionist movement after the seventh congress and became the leader of the territorialist movement and Captain the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore.

M. Wadio Kesravani and Sheik Ismail-Abdul-al-Akki, two Arab representatives, also addressed the meeting, the former in French, the latter in Arabic.

Mr. James D. Rothchild proposed the following resolution:

"That this mass meeting, representing all sections of the Jewish Community in the United Kingdom, conveys to His Majesty's Government an expression of heartfelt gratitude for their Declaration in favor of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. It assures His Majesty's Government that their historic action in support of the national aspirations of the Jewish people has evoked among Jews the most profound sentiments of joy. This meeting further pledges its utmost endeavors to give its whole-hearted support to the Zionist cause."

When Lord Rothchild put the resolution before the people, the meeting rose in a mass, singing the Zionist hymn Hatikvah and God Save the King. (3)

(3) Many messages of greeting were received among them of the following

"From the Right Hon. Viscount Grey of Fallodon, KG.
Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1905-1916.

From the Right Hon. Walter Long, M.P.
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

From the Right Hon. Arthur Henderson, M.P.
Member of War Cabinet.

From the Right Hon. the Marquise of Crewe, K.G.
Secretary of State for India, 1910-1915.

From the Right Hon. Viscount Bryce.
H.M. Ambassador at Washington, 1907-1913.

From the Right Hon. the Earl of Selborne, KG., G.C.M.G.
High Commissioner for South Africa, 1905-1910.

From the late John Edward Redmong, M.P.
Chairman of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

From the Right Hon. John Hodge, M.P.
Minister of Pensions.

From the Right Hon. Lord Balfour of Burleigh, H.T.
Secretary for Scotland, 1895-1903.

From Lord Hugh Cecil, M.P.

From Lord Sydenham of Combe, G.C.M.G., G.C.I.E., G.C.S.I.
Governor of Bombay, 1907-1913.

From the Right Hon. Lord Emmett, G.C.M.G.
Under Secretary of State for the Colonies 1911-1914.

From the Right Hon. Lord Tennyson, G.C.M.G.
Governor-General of Australia, 1902-1904.

From the Right Rev. James Cooper, D.D., Moderator
of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

From His Excellency Boghes Nubar Pasha, President
of the Armenian National Delegation.

Chapter II.

Endorsement of Declaration by Great Nations

Meanwhile, Mr. Nahum Sokolow left for Paris to secure the endorsement of the other allied nations.

On the 14th of Feb. 1918, he received the following endorsement of France.

(Translation)

Republique Francaise.

Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres;
Direction des affaires Politiques et Commerciales.

Paris, 14th February, 1918.

Sir,

As arranged at our meeting on Saturday, the 9th of this month, the Government of the Republic, so as to make definite its views on the subject of Zionist aspirations with regard to the creation of a Jewish national home in Palestine, has sent a communication to the Press.

In sending you this text, I wish to take the opportunity to congratulating you on the splendid devotion with which you are furthering the aspirations of your co-religionists, and of thanking you for the way in which you have made known to them the sympathy with which all the countries of the Entente, and especially France, are watching their efforts.

Please accept assurances of my most cordial sympathy.

(Signed) Pichon.

N. Sokolow,
Hotel Meurice, Paris.

(1) Sokolow N., History of Zionism, Vol. II, p. 120.

On May the 9th, the following declaration was made to Mr. Sokolow by the Italian government through its ambassador in London.

(Translation)

Italian Embassy, London,
9th May, 1918.

My dear Sir:

On the instructions of His Excellency, Baron Sonnino, His Majesty's Minister of Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to inform you that with reference to your representations His Majesty's Government are pleased to confirm the Declaration already made through their representatives in Washington, the Hague and Salonica, to the effect that they will use their best endeavors to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish National Centre, it being understood that this shall not prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the legal or political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

Pray accept, my dear sir, the assurance of my distinguished consideration.

(Signed) Imperiali.

Nahum Sokolow,
175 Piccadilly, W.I.

President Wilson On Zionism.

In President Wilson's address to Congress of January 8th, 1918, a speech commonly regarded as a complete statement of the objects for which the Allied Powers were fighting, the twelfth of the articles in the program of the world's peace was stated thus;

"The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to ships and commerce of all nations under international guarantees." (1)

(1) Sokolow N, History of Zionism, Vol. II, P. 130.

In August 1918, President Wilson wrote the following letter:

"I have watched with deep and sincere interest the reconstructive work which the Weitzman Commission has done in Palestine at the instance of the British Government, and I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist Movement in the United States and in the Allied countries since the Declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people, and his promise to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries. I think that all Americans will be deeply moved by the report that even in this time of stress the Weitzman Commission has been able to lay the foundation of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem with the promise that bears of spiritual rebirth.

And in 1922 this declaration received the sanction of the legislative branch of our government in a joint resolution reading as follows:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected." (2)

(2) Government Document, Mandate of Palestine, P. 8.

Chapter III.

Zionist Commission and Hebrew University

(1)

One of the first practical results of the British Government's Declaration was the appointment in March, 1918, of a Zionist Commission for Palestine.

The objects of the Commission were:

1. To form a link between the British authorities and the Jewish population of Palestine.
2. To coordinate the relief work in Palestine and to assist in the repatriation of exiled and evacuated persons and refugees.
3. To assist in restoring and developing the colonies and in organizing the Jewish population in general.
4. To assist the Jewish organization and institutions in Palestine in the resumption of their activities.
5. To help in establishing friendly relations with the Arabs and other non-Jewish communities.
6. To collect information, and report upon the possibilities of the further development of the Jewish settlement and of the country in general.
7. To inquire into the feasibility of the scheme of establishing a Jewish University.

The Commission left London on March 8th.

Dr. Chaim Weitzman was Chairman of the Commission.

Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore acted as Political Officer.

On the 17th of June there was opened at Jaffa the first conference of Jews of the liberated area of Palestine. Major Ormsby-Gore, the Political Officer in charge of the Zionist Commission, addressed the conference.

On the 24th of July, 1918, the foundation stones of the Hebrew University in Jerusalem were laid. This was an event which Zionists had conceived long before, an event likely to be of great importance in enabling Jerusalem to become a spiritual

center for the dispersed communities of Israel and likely to influence the social aspirations and religious conceptions of the Jews of the world.

The site of the university is a beautiful one. It is on Mount Scopus, on an estate purchased from the late Sir John Gray Hill of Liverpool, who was personally in deep sympathy with the scheme. It faces Jerusalem on the one side and the valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea on the other.

At the ceremony of laying the foundation stones those present included, besides the Zionist Commission, the Commander-in-Chief and senior members of his staff, the Military Governor of Jerusalem, staff representatives of the French and Italian military detachments in Palestine and other officers, the Mufti of Jerusalem, Bishop MacInnes, Anglican Bishop of Jerusalem, the representatives of the Armenian and Greek Churches, the Mayor and Vice-Mayor of Jerusalem, Baron and Baroness Felix Menass of Alexandria, Maurice Cattaul Pacha, President of the Cairo Jewish Community, Mr. Victor Mosseri, the Chief Rabbis of Cairo and Alexandria, the Sephardic and Ashkenazi Chief Rabbis and representatives of all Jewish organizations and committees in Jerusalem, and a crowd numbering about six thousand people.

After the ceremony had been opened by a chant of praise, Dr. Weitzman laid the first foundation stone of the University on behalf of the Zionist Organization. He was followed by the two Chief Rabbis of Jerusalem and the heads of the United Council, who laid a stone on behalf of the Jerusalem Community. The Mufti then laid a stone and was followed by the Anglican Bishop. Stones were also laid on behalf of the following: The Zionist Organization, the Jewish Artisans and Laborers, Isaac Goldberg (whose generosity it was that provided so largely for the purchase of the site), and the Future Generations.

After the signed scroll was buried under the first stone, Dr. Weitzman delivered a lengthy address. Following are some of the statements contained in his address:

"The University, as its name implies, is to teach everything the mind of man embraces. No teaching can be fruitful nowadays unless it is strengthened by a spirit of inquiry and research; and a modern University must not only produce highly trained professional men, but give ample opportunity to those capable and ready to devote themselves to scientific research to do so unhindered and undisturbed. Our University will thus become the home of those hundreds of talented young Jews, in whom the thirst for learning and critical inquiry has been engrained by heredity throughout ages, and who in the great multitude of cases are at present compelled to satisfy this their burning need amid un-Jewish, very often unfriendly surroundings.

"The Hebrew University, though intended primarily for Jews, will, of course, give an affectional welcome to the members of every race and creed. 'For my house will be called a house of prayer for all the nations.' Besides the usual schools and institutions which go to form a modern University, there will be certain branches of science which it will be peculiarly appropriate to associate with our University. Archaeological Research, which has revealed so much of the mysterious past of Egypt and of Greece, has a harvest still to be reaped in Palestine, and our University is destined to play an important part in this field of knowledge.

"Our University, formed by Jewish learning and Jewish energy, will mould itself into an integral part of our national structure which is in process of erection. It will have a centripetal force, attracting all that is noblest in Jewry throughout the world; a unifying centre for our scattered elements. There will go forth too, inspiration and strength, that shall revivify the powers now latent in our scattered communities. Here the wandering soul of Israel shall reach its haven; its strength no longer consumed in restless and vain wanderings. Israel shall at last remain at peace within itself and with the world. There is a Talmudic legend that tells of the Jewish soul deprived of its body, hovering between heaven and earth. Such is our soul today; tomorrow it shall come to rest, in this our sanctuary. That is our faith."

Dr. Weitzman then read a message from Mr. Balfour and Captain Coulandre presented a message on behalf of the French Government.

The whole ceremony was a deeply moving one, and produced an effect which will long remain with those who witnessed it. (2)

The founding of the University constitutes the realization of the dream of the Cultural Zionists who, before the war, were known as Ahad-Ahamists.

(2) Sokolow N., History of Zionism, Vol. II.

Chapter IV.

Occupation of Palestine

Meanwhile the British forces continued their advance on the east of the Nile. In December, 1916, the Turkish forces already evacuated El Arish and on December 11, 1917, about five weeks after the issuing of the Balfour Declaration, General Allenby entered Jerusalem.

In September, 1918, General Allenby secured a victory which resounded throughout the world by its completeness as well as by its brilliance. By most skilful procedure the Turkish line was broken in several places. Nablus and Beisan were captured. The bridge of the Daughters of Jacob over the Jordan was seized and British troops wheeling round by quick marches along the coastal plain, passed through the defile of Megiddo and cut off the greater portion of the Turkish army. The strong Turkish positions in the hills about Nablus were surrounded and positions, which if directly attacked would have cost thousands of lives, were taken with comparatively few losses.

Eighty thousand prisoners were captured and a vast amount of guns, munitions and stores. The cavalry swept northward and captured Damascus within a few days, and even moved on to Byruth and Sidon on the coast, while the Arabs under the King of the Hedjaz defeated the Turks in the southeast of Palestine and Jewish troops were sent forward to the capture of Amman and Essalt. In a period of a fortnight, three armies were defeated and ceased to exist. Turkey's military power was destroyed instantaneously. The only defenses left to the Turkish Empire were bad communications, immense distances and the submarines in the Eastern Mediterranean. The victories in Palestine stirred the world and gave new vigor to Zionist efforts.

Chapter V.

Zionist and Non-Zionist Jewish Legion Conference

One of the results of the enthusiasm that existed among the Jews was the formation of the Jewish Legion which participated in the conquest of the Holy Land.

Already before this date Vlodymir Jabatinsky and Pincus Rothenberg had agitated for the formation of a Jewish legion to fight with the allies. As a result of this agitation the Zion Mule Corps was organized in Egypt made up of Djemal Pasha's expulsees and a few European Zionists. This Corps was sent under Colonel Patterson to fight at Gallipoli and distinguished itself. When the British expedition failed at the Dardanelles, the members of the Mule Corps returned and now they organized a Jewish Battalion. A few thousand Jewish boys enlisted in the United States and some in England. In Palestine almost every able bodied young Jewish man joined this Battalion (1) which formed part of Allenby's army under Colonel Patterson.

Here, too, the non-Zionists put every possible obstacle in the way. They objected to its formation. They objected to its name, they agitated against enlisting in it. Their activity had even influenced the Zionist leaders with the exception of Dr. Weitzman.

Due to the objections made by a deputation to the war secretary, Lord Derby, the name was changed to Royal Fousilliers but they were given the right to arrange their Sabbath as their rest day, have Kosher food and observe Jewish Festivals, etc.

According to Colonel Patterson this battalion though small in numbers was exemplary in conduct and service. (2)

(1) Patterson Colonel, With the Zionists at Gallipoli.

(2) Patterson J.H., With the Judaeans in Palestine.

Chapter VI.

Zionist and Non-Zionist at Peace Conference

The greatest tasks that faced the Zionists was the need of submitting the Zionist claims to the Peace Conference. The responsibility of formulating these demands fell heavy upon the Zionists primarily because of the crippled condition of the World Zionist Organization.

Mr. Herbert Samuel was entrusted with the task of preparing the first memorandum. After the Zionist political committee made some changes the memorandum was submitted to the British Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry advised to shorten the memorandum and eliminate some part which it described as unnecessary. The Zionists, though dissatisfied with the suggestion of the Ministry, accepted the suggestion. The Zionist political Committee prepared a short memorandum and submitted it to the Secretariate of the Peace Conference on Feb. 2, 1919. This memorandum was signed by Lord Rothchild, representing the Zionists of England, Nahum Sokolow, Dr. Weitzman, representing the World Zionist Organization, seven representatives of the American Zionist Organization (1) and one representative of the Russian Zionist.

But the Zionists were not the only ones to prepare a memorandum. The Anglo-Jewish committee, to which we already referred in a previous chapter as the anti-Zionist, also presented a memorandum.

(1) Full text of this memorandum is given in Hebrew in Medzini, Eser Shanim, P. 91-2.

(2)

On February 27th, 1919, the representatives of the Zionists were called to appear before a committee of the Peace Conference at which the delegates of the five big Powers, France, England, Italy, Japan and United States, were present. (3)

The Zionists put their claims before this Conference.

One incident that occurred at this meeting is rather unique. Among the representative Jews that were asked to appear before the Committee was also Mr. Sullivan Levy, the official representative of the Jews in France. He was an opponent of Zionism and made a speech to that effect. When he was through the Zionists were greatly embarrassed. But he was scheduled to be the last speaker and, therefore, the Zionists could not answer him. On the other hand, they were afraid to let his argument go unanswered.

Mr. Robert Lansing, one of the American representatives and at that time Secretary of State, seems to have understood the position of the Zionists. He addressed to them a question which gave them the opportunity to reply to Mr. Levy. For this the Zionists were very thankful to Mr. Lansing.

When the delegation left, Mr. Balfour sent his secretary to congratulate the Zionists and to tell them that he was very satisfied with the manner in which they presented their issue.

The Zionists were hopeful that the treaty of Versailles would recognize their rights. This hope was not realized.

(2) The official report of the American Jewish Congress gives the 28th.

(3) Medzini, Eser Shanim.

Those who formulated the treaty found it proper to postpone the settlement of the near eastern question. Instead a commission was appointed to go to Palestine and investigate conditions. Dr. King and Mr. Crain, two American members proceeded to Palestine.

The only move in the direction of settling the Palestine question was the adoption of the mandate theory as expressed in Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

This article provided that "territories which as a consequent of the war ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which do not govern themselves as yet should be under the protection of the League of Nations which shall entrust the mandate for governing those territories to a power."⁽⁴⁾

The territories are classified in three groups according to the stage of their civilization.

According to this classification, Palestine later became a class A mandate.

However, nothing is stated in this article of any claims to these territories including Palestine by any people. Nor is it stated which power should govern each territory.

What the real cause was for the delay in settling the near eastern question has not been declared as yet. That it was difficult to settle the Palestinian question is very obvious. The promise to the Arabs, the international agreement between England, France and Italy, the demands by the Zionist, the disagreement among Jews as expressed by Sullivan Levy made Palestine a very complicated problem.

Some of these causes that hindered the settlement of Palestine were out of control by the Zionists. But some of them were partly remedied, primarily the disagreement among Jews.

(4) League of Nations Official Document.

Chapter VII

Comité des Délégations Juives

In the previous chapter we have already seen how in America non-Zionist Jews united with Zionists under the American Jewish Congress in order to be able to lend united support to the Jewish claims. The claims to Palestine were not the only ones in which the Jews were interested and which they tried to bring before the Peace Conference.

The problem of securing equal rights for the Jews who lived in eastern European countries was by far more important and of greater immediate consequence than the claims on Palestine.

The condition of the Jews in eastern Europe was miserable enough before the war, but the war aggrieved it many fold.

Many important Jewish communities sent delegations to the Peace Conference. Delegations came from countries where Jews were oppressed and also from countries where Jews were free and enjoyed liberty and equality.

The first came to help themselves, the latter, which as a rule were the more influential, came to help their co-religionists.

We have already reviewed the sending of a delegation by the American Jewish Congress. Delegations that were chosen by various organizations and also representatives of World Zionism arrived in Paris from Galicia, Czecho-Slovakia, Rumania, Palestine, Italy, Russia, the Ukraine and Greece..

This led on March 22nd to an organization of a united committee which became known as "Comité des Délégations Juives Auprès de la Conférence de la Paix."

Judge Mack, one of the American delegates and president of the American Zionist Organization was elected chairman and

Colonel Cutler, the treasurer.

This "Comité des Délégations Juives" was to find a form for all Jewish demands agreeable to all factions and present same to the Peace Conference, thereby eliminating conflicts between different delegations.

This "Comité" presented several memorandums.

On February 6, 1920, the "Comité des Délégation Juives" presented to the Peace Conference a memorial concerning
(1)
Palestine which read as follows:

To their Excellencies, the President and Delegates of the Peace Conference;

The Committee of Jewish Delegations in Paris, acting in the name of the organization signatories hereunto which represent twelve million Jews, has the honor respectfully to petition the Peace Conference to recognize the historic aspirations and claims of the Jewish people with regard to Palestine; to take such measures as shall be necessary in order to confer sovereign possession of Palestine on the League of Nations; and to delegate the administration of that country to Great Britain as mandatory, or agent of the League of Nations.

Under this mandate or administration, Palestine shall be placed under political, administrative and economic conditions guaranteeing the establishment in that country of a Jewish National Home and rendering possible as final development, the creation of an autonomous state, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities which exist in Palestine or the rights and political status which Jews enjoy in other countries, that full freedom of religious worship will always prevail there for all faiths, and that no distinction because of race or religion will there be made between the inhabitants with regard to rights of citizenship and civil rights. (Con.)

(1) Official Report of American Jewish Congress, P. 140.

In the name of the Committee of Jewish Delegations at the Peace Conference consisting of representatives of the following countries and organizations;

America, United States; American Jewish Congress
 America, Canada; Canadian Jewish Congress.
 Bessarabia; Conference of Jewish Communities.
 Bukowina; National Jewish Council.
 Czecho-Slovakia; Jewish National Council.
 Eastern Galicia; National Jewish Council.
 Italy; Committee of Communities, Zionist Federation,
 Rabbinical Federation.
 Palestine; Jewish Constituent Assembly (Provisional Council)
 Poland; Jewish National Council
 Rumania; Union of Native Hebrews, Zionist Federation
 and Poale-Zionist Union.
 Russia; Jewish National Council.
 Transylvania; Jewish National Union.
 Ukraine; Jewish National Assembly.
 Organizations; American Jewish Committee, B'nai Brith;
 Zionist Organization.

Written Mandates; Greece (Salonika); Jugo-Slavia.

Officers of the Committee

Former Presidents,
 Julian W. Mack, New York
 Louis Marshall, New York

President,
 Nahum Sokolow

Vice-Presidents,
 Leon Reich,
 Israel Rosoff,
 Menahem Ussischkin

Member of Committee of Officers
 Harry Cutler

General Secretary
 Leo Motzkin

Paris, February 6, 1920.

In this manner the Zionist claims received the support of entire united Jewry.

How much good was done by that support is difficult to know, but the final result of the peace negotiations was considerably favorable to the Zionists.

Chapter VIII.

Final Recognition of Zionist Claims

On January 10, 1920, the League of Nations Covenant entered into effect and the Allied Powers proceeded with the "Colonies and the territories" referred to in Article 22 which were to be placed under the tutelage of "Advanced Nations," exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

On April 24, 1920, at the Allied Conference of San Remo, the article to be inserted in the treaty with Turkey
(1)
was adopted.

This article contains the following provision.
(2) "Both parties to this contract agree to give over the rule over Palestine as a mandate to a government agreeable to the mentioned powers.

"The government that will assume the mandate will be responsible to realize the declaration made by Great Britain on Nov. 2, 1917, and which was accepted by the Allied Powers in favor of establishing a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine agreeing that nothing should be done which will prejudice the religious and civil rights of the non-Jewish Communities and the political position of the Jews in any other land."

Though this treaty did not mention who should be the power that will have the mandate, the high council agreed the same day that Palestine should be entrusted to England and Syria to France.

Three months later this treaty was signed by Turkey.

The ratification of the San Remo treaty aroused again great enthusiasm in Zionist circles. Had the mandate been defined at that time and the statue of the Zionist in Palestine clear, this enthusiasm would probably have brought great support to their cause, but the mandate was not defined as yet.

(1) Government Document, Mandate for Palestine.

(2) Translated from the Hebrew, Medzini, Eser Shanim, P. 125.

As early as June, 1919, the supreme Council in Paris had entrusted the drafting of the projected mandates to a Commission under Lord Milner. But in the absence of a treaty of peace with Turkey this Commission abandoned its work on class "A" mandate drafts.

On December 6, 1920, Mr. Balfour addressed a letter to the League and submitted a draft mandate for Palestine for the consideration of the members of the Council of the League. After many negotiations and after considerable modifications and changes were introduced, the final draft was adopted on June 24, 1922, by the Council of the League of Nations at London and came into force September 29, 1923. The articles which effect the Zionist aspirations in Palestine read as follows:

WHEREAS the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on the 2nd of November, 1917, by the government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

WHEREAS recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

Article 2.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 4.

An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognized as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may effect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine, and subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country.

Article 5.

The Zionist organization, so long as its organization and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognized as such agency. It shall take steps, in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government, to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home.

Article 6.

The administration of Palestine, while insuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in cooperation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes.

Article 7.

The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine.

Part of Article 11.

The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration.

Article 22.

English, Arabic and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic.

(3) See full text of Palestine Mandate in Appendix C.

(4) Government Document, Mandate for Palestine.

Article 23.

The Administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities. (3)

This mandate was binding upon all nations members of the League.

Under Article 155 of the treaty of Versailles, this decision was binding upon Germany; Turkey recognized the status of Palestine as defined in the mandate in Article 16 of the Treaty of Lausanne which entered into force on August 6, 1924.

On December 3, 1924, the United States concluded the British American Palestine Convention wherein she recognized this mandate in Article I of the said treaty and which reads as follows:

"Subject to the provision of the present convention the United States consents to the administration of Palestine by His Britannic Majesty, pursuant to the mandate recited above."

The U.S. Senate advised the ratification of this treaty on Feb. 20, 1925.

Ratifications of this treaty were exchanged at London, December 3, 1925, and proclaimed by the President of the United States December 5, 1925.

Thus came to conclusion the political activity of the Zionist organization, its ambition partly realized.

The dream of the leaders of the Zionist movement, to have a legally secured and publically recognized home in Palestine came through.

(3) See full text of Palestine Mandate in Appendix C.

(4) Government Document, Mandate for Palestine.

Chapter IX.

Concluding Remarks

Had Palestine been inhabited by a majority of Jews, the victory of the Zionists would have been complete and their work fully accomplished.

But such is not the case of Palestine.

When Poland regained its independence, the Poles lived in Poland and lead their own life. All that the nationa did was to recognize a condition that existed and to legalize it.

But in Palestine the Jewish National home was not an existing fact. It lacked not only recognition and legalization, but reality. The acknowledgment of the nations was more a legalization of a condition to be. To bring about this reality the Zionist have been struggling since the recognition of the mandate.

Since this time to the present day, the Zionists have devoted themselves to the building of Palestine and to the formation of the Jewish Agency referred to in Article 4 of the mandate. What they accomplished in this sphere is outside of the limits of this thesis.

In tracing the history of Zionism we frequently referred to the obstacles which they encountered. These obstacles sprang mainly from three sources, the political situation among the nations, the Arab opposition and the Jewish anti-Zionist propaganda. The political complication of Palestine has already been treated in part V, chapter IV, of this thesis. We shall now devote two chapters, one to each of the two sources of obstacles.

Chapter I.

The Arab Problem

In 1914 Palestine had a population of about 700,000. Of these there were over 500,000 Mohammedans, about 80,000 Christians and only about 50,000 Jews.

The Mohammedans and a great part of the Christians constitute the Arab population as distinct from the Jewish population.

PART V.

Up to the world war, Zionism was not taken seriously by the Arab. Even the Mohammedan felt that his rival was not the Jew but the Turkish government official. Most of the Jews and many of the Christians enjoyed the rights that resulted from the capitulation system that existed in Turkey and were protected by the Consulates of the foreign powers. In this manner there was very little inter-relation between the Arab and the Jew. The relation which existed had no political character and was rather amicable.

When the war broke out and Turkey entered into the conflict, the British government sent Captain W.S.I. Shakespeare, an officer in its Indian political service, as a political emissary to Arabia. The purpose of his mission was to fan discontent against the Turks and to negotiate with leading Arabs to revolt against the Turks. He succeeded in inducing Ibn Sa'ud to declare war against Sa'ud Ibn Rashid, a loyal follower of Turkey. However, during the first clash of arms in January 1916, Captain Shakespeare was killed and the so-called war ended.

After that the British High Commissioner of Egypt entered into negotiations with Sherif Hussein of Mecca. Sherif Hussein was known to desire the emancipation of the Moslem empire.

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When the war broke out and Turkey entered into the conflict, the British government sent captain W.H.I. Shakespear, an officer in its Indian political service, as a political emissary to Arabia. The purpose of his mission was to fan sentiment against the Turks and to negotiate with leading Arabs to revolt against the Turks. He succeeded in inducing Ibn Sa-ud to declare war against Sa-ud Ibn Rashid, a loyal follower of Turkey. However, during the first clash of arms in January 1915, Captain Shakespear was killed and the so-called war ended.

After that the British High Commissioner of Egypt entered into negotiations with Sheriff Hussein of Mecca. Sheriff Hussein⁽¹⁾ was known to desire the emancipation of the Mecian emirate.

(1) Encyclopedia Britannica 12th edition, Vol. xxx, New Vol., under Arabia.

In the summer of 1915, Sheriff Hussein declared his desire for a revolt to the allies. He wanted Great Britain to help him to throw off the Turkish yoke and that the allies should recognize the right of the Arabs to establish an independent empire which would include all the Arab lands from the Southern Mountains of Asia Minor to the Arabian Ocean excepting Adan. He also advanced a request for an Arab Khalifate.

On Oct. 24, 1915, the British High Commissioner at Cairo addressed a communication to the Sheriff wherein he suggested in the name of H.M. government some modification to the demands pertaining to Alexandretta, portions of Syria lying to the west of the district of Damascus, Hama, Homs and Aleppo which H.M.G. considered not purely Arab.

"Subject to the above modification (he further states) Great Britain is prepared to recognize and support the independence of the Arabs within the territories included in the limits and boundaries proposed by the Sheriff of Mecca." (2)

Hussein would not agree to these proposed "modifications". He objected particularly to those parts of the British proposals pointing to the establishment of French control in Syria and to British ascendancy in Mesopotamia.

But at the outset of the war, Sir Edward Grey was anxious to receive the cooperation of the Arabs and seems to have given a general assurance that "Great Britain has no intention of concluding any peace on terms of which the freedom of the Arab people from German and Turkish dominion does not form an essential condition". (3)

(2) Government Document, Mandate for Palestine.

(3) Government Document, Mandate for Palestine, P. 6.

On June 5, 1916, the Sheriff of Mecca revolted against the Turks. On December 10, a note was handed over to Sheriff Hussein wherein the governments of Great Britain, France and Russia agreed to recognize him as the lawful, independent ruler of Hedjaz and to use the title "King of Hedjaz" when addressing him.

This pro-Arab policy conducted by Sir Edward Grey developed among them much greater ambition than England was ready to fulfill.

The first difficulty that was encountered was due to France. France did not concur with the promises made by Britain to the Arabs and pressed for a settlement even before Palestine was occupied, and on the 16th of May succeeded in concluding the Sykes-Picot agreement which the Arabs considered as contradictory to their promise and which the British explained to be in accord with the promise.

In my opinion Sir Grey's government did not take too seriously any arrangement in that territory, so long as Turkey could be checked from advancing on Egypt. He did not think at that time of conquering that land by an offensive.

When Lloyd George came into power, although his government was inclined towards Zionism, he was faced with the aroused Arab hopes and was bound by the Sykes-Picot agreement. The Arab hope spread beyond its original limits of Arabia and found an echo in Syria and Palestine. Not only were agitators among the Arabs propagating the idea that Syria and Palestine should become part of the Arabian state, but the British officials themselves who knew the pro-Arab policy of Sir Grey's government looked very favorably upon such propaganda which according to their opinion served to undermine Turkey.

This explains why the Balfour Declaration was not given out in Palestine until a much later date and why the Zionist commission that was sent immediately after the issuing of the Balfour Declaration, in spite of the fact that it carried along letters of introduction from Lloyd George and Balfour, was given such a cold shoulder by Allanby and his officials.

It also explains why Colonel Patterson, the leader of the Zion Mule corps, encountered so much difficulty and hatred.

The military officials who were sent there by the Asquith and Grey pro-Arab government saw nothing but harm in any movement that would prejudice the Arabs against the British. In their mind the good that could be derived from a Jewish legion would be greatly offset by the harm it would produce.

When the Zionist Commission was sent and the Jewish legion was organized the country was not yet fully occupied. The British military staff could not obtain the necessary reinforcement that they asked for and they were even urged to send back part of the army to the western frontier which was seriously threatened by General Ludendorf. That is the reason why the British officials valued so highly the sentiments of the Arabs which they wished to retain in their favor.

The Arabs knew their importance and chose to take advantage of the situation.

On the third of November, 1918, only one day after the Armistice was signed, a delegation of Arabs presented themselves before the General Staff at Jaffa and Jerusalem, and protested against a pro-Zionist policy and urged the Staff to prohibit the immigration of Jews into the country.

The center of Arab activity was Damascus. Soon after Damascus was captured a circular by the name of "Palestine is Our Land" was sent by mail to many prominent Arabs in Jerusalem. One paper "Sheriff El Dgiddidiah" printed the circular in full and when a suit was instituted against it, the editor was acquitted. This convinced the Arabs that the sentiment of local British authorities was in their favor. A cry went forth "El Dullah Ma'ana", the "Government is with us".

This belief of Arabs was greatly supported by many acts of the English officials as told by Colonel Patterson in his book "With the Judaeans in Palestine" and also by the ignoring of the Hebrew language as is to be seen of the many acts stated in Medzini's Eser Shanim.

At the beginning of 1919, Emir Feisel, son of the Sheriff, went to Europe to the Peace Conference. A few days after the leaders of Zionism appeared before the committee of ten of the Peace Conference and presented their demand, the paper "Matin", after stating a long interview with Sokolow, printed a comment of Feisel wherein he stated that although he looked with favor upon the settlements of Jews in Palestine, should they demand a national home and the right to rule he suspected a conflict would arise between the races.

The leaders of the Zionist Organization met the Emir. He not only received them cordially, but issued a letter to Dr. Frankfurter, the chairman of the American Zionist Delegation, in which he expressed himself very friendly and favorable to the Zionist cause. Still it seemed that when Feisel spoke to the representatives of the different governments he expressed himself entirely different from what he stated in this letter. When

Lloyd George spoke to Herbert Samuel in the spring of 1919, he asked Samuel to tell the Zionist that they must try to find a way and reach an understanding with the Arabs and that extreme demands on the part of the Zionists was not going to help that understanding.

When the allies failed to provide for the statute of Palestine in the treaty of Versailles, and instead decided to send a delegation to investigate conditions, the Arabs became more convinced than ever that their local sentiments, as the commission would see it, would be of great importance and would influence the decision of the nations and played up the anti-Zionist sentiment.

At this time the Arabs were also aroused by the French demands to include in their sphere the eastern part of Syria as far as Damascus. Feisel returned to Damascus and convened a congress of Syria. This congress declared Feisel as the king of United Syria and Emir Abidallah as King of Erak.

Many circulars were sent to Palestine and on the 27th of February a demonstration took place in which about 1000 Arabs took part.

At the beginning of March, Bedouins attacked first some Christian settlements and then some Jewish colonies in Galilee. On the 7th of March, Feisel was declared King of Syria and Palestine. On the 8th of March demonstrations of Arabs took place in Jerusalem and Jaffa, the participant Arabs shouting against Jews and against the British.

In this demonstration the Arabs were largely encouraged by the participation of Musa Kazim Pasha, the head of the City Council at Jerusalem. After this demonstration, the Jewish

inhabitants protested particularly against Musa Kazim and also urged the British military staff to take the necessary precautions to protect the inhabitants. The government was either helpless or was not inclined to deal rigidly with the Arab agitators. The Arabs understood the attitude of the government and during the month of April utilized the Nebi Musa celebration, in which many thousands of Arabs usually participate, to arrange an attack on the Jews during this holiday.

The riots lasted several days during which five Jews and four Moslems were killed, 211 Jews, 22 Moslems and 2 Christians wounded.

As a result of these riots, General Bulls sent a memorandum and urged that the Zionist Commission should be abolished. However, the effect on the allied powers seems to have been the reverse. The San Remo agreement was reached. Sir Herbert Samuel, who played a very prominent part in the British government at the time of the granting of the mandate, was appointed High Commissioner.

At this time, France sent the Emir Feisel two ultimatums concerning French mandate over Syria. When the Emir refused to acknowledge the mandate, the French made an attack, conquered Damascus, forced the Emir to escape and put an end to the so-called Syrian Kingdom.

It is interesting to notice a statement that the Emir issued in the paper "El Nafir". "Had not the Arabs opposed Zionism, Damascus would not have fallen." (4)

At this time, Sir Winston Churchill visited Palestine and while there delivered an address to the Arabs which was very

(4) Medzini, Eser Shanim, P. 153.

encouraging to them. Among other things he stated that in his opinion "it is the Arabs who helped conquer the Turk." A new Arab agitation developed and on May 1, 1921, new riots broke out in Jaffa and vicinity which continued for six days. On the first day 43 Jews were killed and 134 were wounded and 14 Arabs were killed and 49 wounded. In a few days, the riots embraced the entire vicinity in many Jewish colonies. The colonists heeded the warning of the first day and organized a self-defense. When on the fifth day the Arab rioters reach Petach-Tikva, the young colonists opposed them. Four Jewish colonists were killed against about 50 Arabs. The government, under Sir Herbert Samuel, finally sent some defense and the riots finally subsided.

The Arab agitation and the riots did not go unnoticed by the powers in whose control the mandate was. Though they granted the mandate, explanations and papers were issued occasionally which interpreted the Balfour Declaration and the mandate in a light favorable to the Arabs. A paper which caused great disappointment in the Zionist ranks was issued June 3, 1922.

That paper became known as the "White Paper." In it the government denied the rumors concerning the government's intention of making Palestine thoroughly Jewish and described these rumors as totally exaggerated and impracticable without a true basis. The paper also denied that the Zionist desired or intended to have any share in the general government of Palestine as such. Although that paper contained a reaffirmation of the Balfour Declaration, it was considered as a pro-Arab paper. (5)

(5) Medzini, Eser Shanim, P. 203.

Another result of the Arab agitation was the separation of trans-Jordan from Palestine. An annex to the mandate for Palestine, which was presented to the Council of the League of Nations and approved by them in September 1922, made it clear that the articles that relate to the establishment of a Jewish home did not apply to trans-Jordan. (6)

Another situation that is probably due partly to the pro-Arab policy of the government was the failure of the mandatory power to distribute the waste public land which was promised in the mandate.

These are the three most important effects of the Arab agitation. Although the anti-Zionist sentiments among the Arabs greatly subsided, it did not disappear altogether. I do not believe there is any danger of riots in the near future. The economic pressure serves as a force in the interest of peace and harmony.

But there is considerable Arab agitation going on in Palestine not only against the Zionist, but against England in general. Only recently an Arab delegation presented a claim to the Council of the League to have a parliament established in Palestine. Though the Council rejected the demand, it proved that the Arab nationalists were not altogether reconciled to the conditions.

(6) Government Document, Mandate for Palestine.

Chapter II.

Jewish Anti-Zionists
and
Non-Zionists

The second obstacle that obstructed the success of the Zionist is the opposition of Jewish anti-Zionists. This opposition runs like a red thread throughout the Zionist history.

When Hertzl called the first Zionist congress to convene it was planned to hold that meeting in Munich, Germany, but the leaders of that community urged the committee in charge to change its venue and the congress was called at Basel.

When the war broke out and Dr. Weitzman began his activity in England, the anti-Zionist memorialized the government against Zionism. When the committee of Zionist leaders appeared at Versailles before the representatives of the Allied Powers, Sullivan Levy, speaking in behalf of the Jews of France, urged against Zionism. Whence, does this opposition derive its strength? Why are some of the Jews against Zionism?

Sources and
Causes of Opposition.

Opposition to Zionism came from two sources, from the extreme Orthodox and from the extreme reformed, both of whom were against Zionism.

Orthodox Opposition.

The extreme Orthodox Jewish opposition to Zionism was based not so much on principle as on the personnel of the organization. They were not so much opposed to Zionism as to the Zionist. They saw in Zionism a secular movement lead by unobservant Jews who did not show due consideration for the Jewish religion or for religion in general. Though some great Orthodox Jewish Rabbis joined the movement and even organized a religious faction under the name of Mizrachi, many of the ultra-religious leaders remained outside of the Zionist organization. The fact that according to the form of the organization it was possible to vote down a religious question at the Zionist Congress, if it were not supported by a majority of delegates, was to them irreconcilable sacrilege. This opposition of the ultra-Orthodox was particularly great at the time of Dr. Hertzl. Even those who gave up their homes and went to live in Palestine were mostly of the people who were not Zionists.

The opposition of the Orthodox Jews, however, was primarily a passive one. All they would do was to stay away or to refuse to hear a Zionist speaker. They would not injure the Zionists' cause by bringing their claim before any government.

It is only recently that some Orthodox non-Zionists have organized in a society under the name of "Agudas Israel" and are trying to oppose the Zionist in an official capacity.

But this opposition is very limited and is concerned more with inner problems than external ones. The fact that there is a faction in the Zionist organization that is ultra-religious weakens this kind of opposition.

Reformed Opposition.

But if the opposition that came from Orthodox sources limited its activity to inner problems, the opposition to Zionism that came from ultra reformed sources did all that was in its power to obstruct Zionism.

This opposition is based not so much against the secular side of the movement and the non-observance of the leaders as against the principle of Zionism.

The emancipation of the Jew in Germany like the emancipation of the Jew in entire western Europe brought about great changes in the lives of the Jews.

There, as elsewhere, the Jew thought that if it were possible to adapt his life to that of the environment he would be accepted as part of it and be free forever.

This hope and craving for freedom was the cause of the answer of the French Sanhedrin to Napoleon in 1807. (1)

In Russia it resulted in the movement for Russification and Haskalah and in Germany it produced reformed Judaism.

But while in Russia, the Russification and Haskalah movements turned to Zionism, the reformed movement in Germany led away from Zionism.

The reformed leaders looked upon Zionism not only as impractical and undesirable, but as very dangerous. To many of them it seemed that a movement like Zionism endangered the freedom of the Jew and placed a weapon in the hand of the anti-Semite.

(1) Jewish Encyclopedia, Vol. XI, P. 48.

Thus they set as their main object the elimination from Jewish life and religion anything that may be interpreted even in the remotest way as foreign to the extreme supernationalism that embraced all Germans. One of the fundamental principles of this movement was also the abandonment of the idea of the advent of a Davidic Messiah and the return to Palestine. At that time there was no Zionist organization. The only connection between Jews and Palestine was via religion. So they set out to change religion.

The leaders of the reformed movement were afraid that the traditional prayer for the restoration of Palestine may be interpreted as a yearning for another country besides their own, and proceeded to eliminate all references to the Messiah, to the return to Palestine and to the restoration of the Sacradatal scheme.

When Zionism came to the fore, articles about it were being printed in general and in Jewish papers, money was being collected and Hertzl was bringing the question before kings and statesmen, the opposition, too, became very active.

Among the outstanding leaders that were opposed to Zionism were such personalities as Dr. Gudman of Vienna, Dr. Kohler, president of Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati, Lucian Wolf and Claude Montefiore of England, Ludwig Geiger of Germany, Sullivan Levy of France, Henry Morgenthau of the United States.

Arguments of Anti-Zionists.

The arguments of the anti-Zionists may best be summarized as follows:

Lucian Wolf states that there is peril in Zionism and that it is the natural and abiding ally of anti-semitism, "that it is an ignorant and narrow-minded view of a great problem."

Laurie Magnus says Zionism "is more than satire. It is treason. Dr. Hertzl and those who think with him are traitors to the history of the Jews."

"They are themselves part authors of the anti-semitism which they profess to slay."

Ludwig Geiger, the leader of the liberal Jews in Berlin states with special reference to his particular country;

"Zionism is as dangerous to the German spirit (Deutschthum) as are social democracy and ultramontaniam."

There were also some minor arguments leveled by the leaders of reform Jews, but they all emanated from the extreme jealousy with which they guarded their newly acquired rights and the fear that Zionism will endanger their political position.

The opponents of Zionism from the reformed wing were not satisfied with printing statements and preaching sermons in the temples. They employed every available method to keep the great nations from giving Zionism any recognition.

During the war when Zionism loomed as a very favorable plan, a great number of the very influential reformed Jews in America, lead by Henry Morgenthau, petitioned Woodrow Wilson not to favor Zionism.

When Mr. Lucian Wolf realized at the beginning of the war that the Zionists were preparing to put forth their claims on Zionism, he hastened to send a memorandum in behalf of the British Jews on March 3, 1916, wherein he limited greatly the aspiration of the Jews to Palestine as historic only.

When the English Zionists' Federation held its conference in London, May 20, 1916, and Dr. Weitzman delivered a speech defining the Zionist aspirations, David Alexander, the president of the United Jewish British communities jointly with Claude Montefiore, the anglo-Jewish Association, wrote a letter to the London "Times" wherein they repudiated all arguments of the
(2)
Zionists.

When the Zionists prepared a petition signed by thousands of citizens who endorsed their demands and gave it to Lucian Wolf to transmit same to the British government, he added a letter wherein he explained and thereby weakened many features of the demands.

The anti-restoration idea that reformed Judaism accepted as a basic principle of its religion exercised a tremendous influence against Zionists. Not only has that influence kept away the wealthiest class of Jews from supporting Zionism, but caused them to put every obstacle in the way of Zionism.

(2) This letter later caused Alexander to resign his office.

Opposition Breaking.

The first blow that the anti-Zionists received was the Balfour Declaration. The immediate effect was felt when the anti-Zionist united with the Zionist in the American Jewish Congress for the support of all Jewish claims. When the President of the United States declared himself in favor of Zionism and the United States Senate adopted a resolution favoring it, the wind was taken out from the wings of the anti-Zionist. The question of loyalty to a foreign cause existed no more in reality.

If the United States President and Senate could favor it, why could not any American citizen do so.

The only strong sentiment against it was the religious idea of reformed Judaism, that the Jew is not in exile, that his dispersion was not a punishment, but a blessing in order to teach the world the truth. Although this religious idea was originally based upon a political motive, it became too strongly embeded in the system to give way.

Rabbis who preached for years against Zionism cannot easily change over night. The most they can do is to stop agitating against it. This many of them have done. With a few exceptions reformed Rabbis ceased to preach directly against Zionism.

Some of the younger men who were not chained by anti-Zionist reputations came out in favor of Zionism. By now the term anti-Zionism almost vanished and a new term came to be used, non-Zionist. This term may include people who do not take

any interest in Palestine because they are not Zionists or people who do take an interest in Palestine, but who do not believe in Zionism.

At this time a new organization is being formed by the name of "The Jewish Agency" wherein Zionists and non-Zionists will be able to cooperate in behalf of Palestine. This Jewish Agency is provided in Article 4 of the Mandate for Palestine. Much has already been done towards its realization and deserves serious treatment, but it is outside of the sphere of this thesis.

ception, the great daily papers and monthly magazines controlled by Christians opened their columns for Zionist news. Many Christian authors, not the least of whom is George Elliot, actively propagated Zionism.

There was also a number of prominent Christians who came to testify to their interest in the cause. Among them were Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross Society; the Rev. H. Mitchell; the Rev. Mr. Hochler, Chaplain to the British Embassy in Vienna; Baron Haneuffel; Col. Count Bentinck and Dr. Johannes Kipke, the editor of "Der Christliche Orient".

The theological faculty of the University of Geneva set as the subject of the prize essay for the year 1905 the "Le Sionisme et ses aspirations actuelles."

This favorable attitude towards Zionism was due partly to the influence of the old testament, partly to the humane sentiment and desire to help the oppressed and a great deal to the fact that a great many Christians believed that the restitution of Palestine constitutes part of a scheme of wholesale Jewish conversion when the Jews will accept Jesus as their Lord.

Chapter III.

Christian Attitude Toward Zionism.

That the attitude of Christians has been favorable to Zionism is fully evident from the results that the Zionists achieved politically. Arthur James Balfour, Woodrow Wilson and Robert Lansing whose hands shaped the political destiny of Palestine were all Christian statesmen.

But Zionism enjoyed the good favor of Christians not only at the Peace Conference, but even in its early stages. From the very day of its inception, the great daily papers and monthly magazines controlled by Christians opened their columns for Zionist news. Many Christian authors, not the least of whom is George Elliot, actively propagated Zionsim.

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There are many Christian views concerning the form of this predicted restoration. The view that is nearest to Zionism is that of the pre'millenarians who believe that there will be a Jewish age with an earthly kingdom following the gentile age which is now governing and that this kingdom will be a literal one.

W.E.B. in his booklet "Jesus is Coming" gives a very elaborate exposition of the favorable attitude of Christianity.

Another great Christian, Lewis Sperry Schafer, in speaking of the restoration says the following:

"Every prophecy that has been fulfilled up to this hour has been fulfilled literally. They were "plucked off from the land" and "scattered through all the nations" as has been predicted in twelve great prophecies. They are yet to be restored, and for the last time, as predicted in many important prophecies. To this end they are being miraculously preserved as a separate people. To their final restoration all earth movements are tending. As God has literally taken them off the land, so will He literally place them back in the land which He has given them for an everlasting possession."(1)

Only recently a Rev. John Haynes Holmes, Pastor of the New York Community Church from New York delivered an address broadcasted over the radio in favor of Zionism and is travelling in behalf of Zionism.

Though the Christian combines the idea of restoration with the conversion of the Jews, he nevertheless the fact remains that he looks with favor upon the re-establishment of the Jewish national home land. Zionism was greatly helped through this favorable attitude.

(1) In Mt. 23-31-34 we read in connection with "The day of the Lord," when He will return in Power and great glory.

"And He, shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds, from one end of heaven to the other. Now learn a parable of the fig tree; When his branch is yet tender, and putteth forth leaves, ye know that summer is nigh, so likewise, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, even at the doors. Verily I say until you, this generation (nation) shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled.

This passage is about Israel. She is the "elect" to be gathered.

PART VI.

APPENDICES

Some English Press Comments on the London Zionist Congress (1900)

Spectator: "As to the Jews being able to live on the land in Palestine there can be no doubt. Those who have seen a Jewish colony in Syria will testify to the excellent physical and moral agricultural results achieved. Merely to see the children there is ample warrant of what is done for the Jew by release from the Ghetto."

Saturday Review; "Restoration to Palestine symbolizes the recovery of self-respect, the re-attainment of nation-hood."

Globe; "Zionism answers the aspirations of the majority of persecuted Jews, but it is important to those Jews who have become completely assimilated to their Christian surroundings, and who ought to have an interest in the raising of the economic, moral and intellectual status of the mass of their unhappy brethren, which raising of status will necessarily be the first outcome of their gathering in the land of their fathers."

Daily News; "Whatever difference of opinion may prevail as to the policy of the Zionist movement there can be no doubt as to the intense and fervid interest of those who, at no small self-sacrifice are doing this work of revival."

Daily Graphic; "Zionism appeals to many sides of human thought, but perhaps the final impression it leaves upon the public mind is something akin to Ezekiel's vision of the dry bones which lived again. Is it possible that the dispersed nation, whose career is one of the standing marvels of history, is about to gather itself again and open a new chapter of its romantic annals? It looks very like it.

The movement is in the hands of practical and courageous men;

it has behind it a stimulus, not only of subjective enthusiasm, but also of objective strife, and it entirely responds to a practical need."

Yorkshire Post; "The Striking feature of the meetings was the unity of purpose and enthusiasm which seem to characterize all the delegates. Persons who speak quite different tongues nevertheless fraternize and grow enthusiastic over the prospect of returning as a nation to the land of their fathers."

Leed Mercury; "This is not wholly a dream; several colonies have settled down within their historic territorial limits. A few of them are already self-supporting. The movement is essentially democratic."

Nattingham Guardian; "The movement the Zionist Congress represents is an important one and it may possibly produce momentous results."

Newcastle Courier; "This movement in Jewry is one which readily commands the sympathy of the outsider. It is the voicing of that inarticulate feeling which has for ages silently swayed and sustained forlorn and seemingly forsaken Jews. The in-extinguishable hope and the unshaken faith of these stricken Jews serves as an object-lesson in these days of skepticism."

Liverpool Echo; "From every point of view, political, social and religious, Zionism has much to recommend it, and the enthusiasm with which it has been taken up by many of the most prominent thinkers of the Hebrew race affords the best augury for its ultimate accomplishments."

Glasgow Evening News; "Such a scheme as the re-peopling of Palestine, while demanding careful handling at every stage must be gradually evolved. If the Zionist movement creates a Jew with the tastes and aspirations of his forefathers, it will not have been started in vain."

Glasgow Evening Citizen; "It is a matter of considerable importance, looked at from what side we may. Should any effective system be found of dealing with it, then the present congress will probably have operated to the advantage of this country quite as much as to the Jews in whose interests it is being held."

North British Daily Mail; "There is no reason why Christians should not wish them well. The movement should provide a refuge for the Jewish race from the Anti-Semitic hate which pursues them in so many countries, and it should help somewhat to restore to its former prosperity the land of Palestine towards which the Jewish heart ever turns with love and devotion."

Review of the Week; "Why should not this homogeneous, intelligent and powerful race (the Jews) form a state of their own and thus free themselves from persecution in other states, and enforce respect for their nationality? Millions of Jews have probably asked themselves this question. Trustworthy leaders having been found, a movement has been set on foot for the establishment of a Jewish center in Palestine. The idea is glorious enough to take possession even of the minds of such a practical, prudent and commercial race as the Jews.

Appendix B.

Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations

To those colonies and territories which as a consequence of the late war have ceased to be under the sovereignty of the States which formerly governed them and which are inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world, there should be applied the principle that the well-being and development of such peoples form a sacred trust of civilisation and that securities for the performance of this trust should be embodied in this Covenant.

The best method of giving practical effect to this principle is that the tutelage of such peoples should be entrusted to advanced nations who by reason of their resources, their experience or their geographical position can best undertake this responsibility, and who are willing to accept it, and that this tutelage should be exercised by them as Mandatories on behalf of the League.

The character of the mandate must differ according to the stage of the development of the people, the geographical situation of the territory, its economic conditions and other similar circumstances.

Certain communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire have reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory until such time as they are able to stand alone. The wishes of these communities must be a principal consideration in the selection of the Mandatory.

Other peoples, especially those of Central Africa, are at such a stage that the Mandatory must be responsible for the administration of the territory under conditions which will guarantee freedom of conscience and religion, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, the prohibition of abuses such as the slave trade, the arms traffic and the liquor traffic, and the prevention of the establishment of fortifications or military and naval bases and of military training of the natives for other than police purposes and the defence of territory, and will also secure equal opportunities for the trade and commerce of other Members of the League.

There are territories, such as South-West Africa and certain of the South Pacific Islands, which, owing to the sparseness of their population, or their small size, or their remoteness from the centres of civilization, or their geographical contiguity to the territory of the Mandatory, and other circumstances, can be best administered under the laws of the Mandatory as integral portions of its territory, subject to the safeguards above mentioned in the interests of the indigenous population.

In every case of mandate, the Mandatory shall render to the Council an annual report in reference to the territory committed to its charge.

The degree of authority, control, or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory shall, if not previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, be explicitly defined in each case by the Council.

A permanent Commission shall be constituted to receive and examine the annual reports of the Mandatories and to advise the Council on all matters relating to the observance of the mandates.

Text of Palestine Mandate

The Council of the League of Nations:

WHEREAS the Principal Allied Powers have agreed, for the purpose of giving effect to the provisions of article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, to entrust to a Mandatory selected by the said Powers the administration of the territory of Palestine, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, within such boundaries as may be fixed by them; and

WHEREAS the Principal Allied Powers have also agreed that the Mandatory should be responsible for putting into effect the declaration originally made on the 2nd November, 1917, by the Government of His Britannic Majesty, and adopted by the said Powers, in favour of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing should be done which might prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country; and

WHEREAS recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine and to the grounds for reconstituting their national home in that country; and

WHEREAS the Principal Allied Powers have selected His Britannic Majesty as the Mandatory for Palestine; and

WHEREAS the mandate in respect of Palestine has been formulated in the following terms and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

WHEREAS His Britannic Majesty has accepted the mandate in respect of Palestine and undertaken to exercise it on behalf of the League of Nations in conformity with the following provisions; and

WHEREAS by the aforementioned article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

Article 1

The Mandatory shall have full powers of legislation and of administration, save as they may be limited by the terms of this mandate.

Article 2

The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish national home, as laid down in the preamble, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants of Palestine, irrespective of race and religion.

Article 3.

The Mandatory shall so far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Article 4.

"An appropriate Jewish agency shall be recognised as a public body for the purpose of advising and cooperating with the Administration of Palestine in such economic, social and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish national home and the interests of the Jewish population in Palestine and subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country."

The Zionist organisation so long as its organisation and constitution are in the opinion of the Mandatory appropriate, shall be recognised as such agency. It shall take steps in consultation with His Britannic Majesty's Government to secure the cooperation of all Jews who are willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish national home."

Article 5.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no Palestine territory shall be ceded or leased to, or in any way placed under the control of, the Government of any foreign Power.

Article 6.

"The Administration of Palestine, while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish agency referred to in Article 4, close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes."

Article 7.

"The Administration of Palestine shall be responsible for enacting a nationality law. There shall be included in this law provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestinian citizenship by Jews who take up their permanent residence in Palestine."

Article 8.

The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Palestine.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the aforementioned

privileges and immunities on the 1st August, 1914, shall have previously renounced the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application for a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall, at the expiration of the mandate, be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Article 9.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that the judicial system established in Palestine shall assure to foreigners, as well as to natives, a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect of the personal status of the various peoples and communities and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Article 10

Pending the making of special extradition agreements relating to Palestine, the extradition treaties in force between the Mandatory and other foreign Powers shall apply to Palestine.

Article 11

The Administration of Palestine shall take all necessary measures to safe-guard the interests of the community in connection with the development of the country, and, subject to any international obligations accepted by the Mandatory, shall have full power to provide for public ownerships or control of any of the natural resources of the country or of the public works, services and utilities established or to be established therein. It shall introduce a land system appropriate to the needs of the country, having regard, among other things, to the desirability of promoting the close settlement and intensive cultivation of the land.

"The Administration may arrange with the Jewish agency mentioned in Article 4 to construct or operate, upon fair and equitable terms, any public works, services and utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, in so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration. Any such arrangements shall provide that no profits distributed by such agency, directly or indirectly, shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilised by it for the benefit of the country in a manner approved by the Administration."

Article 12.

The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the control of the foreign relations of Palestine and the right to issue exequaturs to consuls appointed by foreign Powers. He shall also be entitled to afford diplomatic and consular protection to citizens of Palestine when outside its territorial limits.

Article 13.

All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites in Palestine, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the Holy Places, religious buildings and sites and the free exercise of worship, while ensuring the requirements of public order and decorum is assumed by the Mandatory, who shall be responsible solely to the League of Nations in all matters connected herewith, provided that nothing in this article shall prevent the Mandatory from entering into such arrangements as he may deem reasonable with the Administration for the purpose of carrying the provisions of this article into effect; and provided also that nothing in this mandate shall be construed as conferring upon the Mandatory authority to interfere with the fabric or the management of purely Moslem sacred shrines, the immunities of which are guaranteed.

Article 14.

A special Commission shall be appointed by the Mandatory to study, define and determine the rights and claims in connection with the Holy Places and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities in Palestine. The method of nomination, the composition and the functions of this Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval, and the Commission shall not be appointed or enter upon its functions without the approval of the Council.

Article 15.

The Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 16.

The Mandatory shall be responsible for exercising such supervision over religious or eleemosynary bodies of all faiths in Palestine as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. Subject to such supervision, no measure shall be taken in Palestine to obstruct or interfere with the enterprise of such bodies or to discriminate against any representative or member of them on the ground of his religion or nationality.

Article 17.

The Administration of Palestine may organize on a voluntary basis the forces necessary for the preservation of peace and order, and also for the defense of the country, subject, however, to the supervision of the Mandatory, but shall not use them for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory. Except for such purposes, no military, naval or air forces shall be raised or maintained by the Administration of Palestine.

Nothing in this article shall preclude the Administration of Palestine from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory in Palestine.

The Mandatory shall be entitled at all times to use the roads, railways and ports of Palestine for the movement of armed forces and the carriage of fuel and supplies.

Article 18.

The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Palestine against the nationals of any State member of the League of Nations (including companies incorporated under its laws) as compared with those of the Mandatory or of any foreign State in matters concerning taxation, commerce or navigation, the exercise of industries or professions, or in the treatment of merchant vessels or civil aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Palestine against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, and there shall be freedom of transit under equitable conditions across the mandated area.

Subject as aforesaid and to the other provisions of this mandate the Administration of Palestine may, on the advice of the Mandatory, impose such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary, and take such steps as it may think best to promote the development of the natural resources of the country and to safeguard the interests of the population. It may also, on the advice of the Mandatory, conclude a special agreement with any State the territory of which in 1914 was wholly included in Asiatic Turkey or Arabia.

Article 19.

The Mandatory shall adhere on behalf of the Administration of Palestine to any general international conventions already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting the slave traffic, the traffic in arms and ammunition, or the traffic in drugs, or relating to commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation and postal, telegraphic and wireless communication or literary, artistic or industrial property.

Article 20.

The Mandatory shall cooperate on behalf of the Administration of Palestine, so far as religious, social and other conditions may permit, in the execution of any common policy adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of plants and animals.

Article 21.

The Mandatory shall secure the enactment within twelve months from this date, and shall ensure the execution of a Law of Antiquities based on the following rules. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archaeological research to the nationals of all States members of the League of Nations.

(1)

"Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year A.D. 1700.

(2)

The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorisation referred to in paragraph 5, reports the same to an official of the competent Department, shall be rewarded according to the value of the discovery.

(3)

No antiquity may be disposed of except to the competent Department, unless this Department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export license from the said Department.

(4)

Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5)

No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorised by the competent Department.

Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archaeological interest.

(7)

Authorisation to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archaeological experience. The Administration of Palestine shall not, in granting these authorisations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good results.

(8)

The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent Department in a proportion fixed by that Department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

Article 22.

"English, Arabic, and Hebrew shall be the official languages of Palestine. Any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew and any statement or inscription in Hebrew shall be repeated in Arabic."

Article 23.

"The Administration of Palestine shall recognize the holy days of the respective communities in Palestine as legal days of rest for the members of such communities."

Article 24.

The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated or issued during the year shall be communicated with the report.

Article 25.

In the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League of Nations, to postpone or withhold application of such provisions of this mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to those conditions, provided that no action shall be taken which is inconsistent with the provisions of Articles 15, 16, and 18.

Article 26.

The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should

arise between the Mandatory and another member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

Article 27.

The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

Article 28.

In the event of the termination of the mandate hereby conferred upon the Mandatory, the Council of the League of Nations shall make such arrangements as may be deemed necessary for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by Articles 13 and 14, and shall use its influence for securing, under the guarantee of the League, that the Government of Palestine will fully honour the financial obligations legitimately incurred by the Administration of Palestine during the period of the mandate, including the rights of public servants to pensions or gratuities. ✓

The present ^{instrument} shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations, and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

Done at London, the 24th day of July, 1922.

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