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Jewish Territorial Organization

A LAND OF REFUGE

ISRAEL ZANGWILL



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A Mrs. S. Reinach
Hommage d' / Zangwill

A Land of Refuge.



[Speech delivered in connection with the half-yearly Conference of the British Delegates, by the President of the ITO, at the Manchester Hippodrome, on the 8th December, 1907, at a mass meeting of 4,000 Lancashire Jews and their fellow-citizens, organised by Dr. Dulberg, and presided over by E. H. Langdon, Esq., President of the Manchester Chamber of Commerce, when a resolution in support of the ITO'S programme was carried unanimously.]

THE resolution which I have the honour to second has been broadly and briefly explained by my valued colleague, Mr. M. A. Spielmann, the President of the British Federation. I, however, propose to deal with our text, word for word, as if I were a preacher, and I can only hope you will not go to sleep. Our programme has been so misunderstood by malice or stupidity that it is necessary to remind the world of our exact words: "*To procure a territory upon an autonomous basis for those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they at present live!*" We do not abate one iota of these words. But neither can we be responsible for any others. With your permission I will take the last phrase first: "*For those Jews who cannot or will not remain in the lands in which they at present live.*" For those Jews. Not for the Jews. For those Jews who cannot or will not remain where they are. Not for those who can and will. Of these Jews we only ask that they help the others. No Jew need therefore fear that we propose to whisk him off to a Jewish State. Twelve million people, scattered to the four corners of the earth, cannot possibly emigrate to a single centre in any one generation. That is a wild dream—dismiss it! We invite no Jew to leave his home—our material is the Jew who does leave it—who gives the best possible proof that he cannot or will not remain, by emigrating. The Jewish Emigrant then is our problem—the Wandering Jew.

PECULIARITY OF THE JEWISH EMIGRATION PROBLEM.

The stream of Jewish emigration, as you all know, is a vast and perpetually rolling stream—unlike the river Sambatyon of Jewish legend, it does not even rest on the Sabbath. The exodus



from Russia in 1906—after the great *pogroms*—was calculated at 200,000. Roumania—another volcano—is perpetually erupting Jews. They have just been spouted from Morocco. From Galicia there is a less violent but an even larger flow. There is a steady emigration from Palestine itself. The money spent by Jews in this endless emigration far exceeds a million pounds a year—enough to finance a small State. Our movement then is built not on fantasies but on solid facts. To a terrible problem we offer a practical solution—ITOLAND.

But, some may say, this problem is not peculiarly Jewish. From all the lands of Europe a large *Christian* emigration goes out in search of a better livelihood—the Jewish problem is only an economic problem of the same order. No, my friends, the Jewish problem is peculiar in its beginning, peculiar in its middle, peculiar in its end.

In its beginning—its source in the lands of persecution. A Roumanian Jew wrote to me last August, appealing to me to emigrate the Roumanian Jews, no less than the Russian. "We are living now among the Wallachians as among wild beasts," he said; "we are expelled from the villages and not allowed to lift up our heads in the towns. . . . While the Jews in Russia are persecuted by the Black Hundreds, we have even in the smallest town the Red Thousand, only intent on murdering and burning, clamouring for clearing the country of Jews or exterminating them by pogroms." No doubt there is, both from Russia and Roumania, a large volume of ordinary economic emigration, but there is a further large volume of extraordinary emigration that may be called Expulsion Emigration. And under Expulsion Emigration I include that produced even in periods of calm by artificial legislation destructive of the Jew's means of livelihood.

Our emigration problem is peculiar in its middle—on the journey. On land our emigrants are subject to peculiar ill-treatment from officials and land-sharks, on sea from sailors and petty officers. The bulk of the emigrants demand to be fed on kosher food, which the steamers do not naturally supply, and which many refuse to supply. And these emigrants of ours are going out—not for a temporary job, like the Italian or the Chinaman—but for ever. The Italian or the Chinaman looks forward to returning home with his gains. What home has the Jew to return to? He has burnt his boats; too often he has to fly without a passport—he cannot return if he would. Three hundred thousand Italians are said to be coming back from the

States this winter on account of the bad times: imagine 300,000 Jews coming back.

Most of all is our problem peculiar in its end—in the new lands which our emigrants seek. For these lands impose restrictions on their admission—restrictions applied equally to all emigrants, but pressing peculiarly on the Jew. Were America, for example, to close her doors altogether to the flow from other countries, she might plausibly maintain that Italy or Germany ought to consume their own smoke, and solve their economic problem at home. But what Jewish homeland is there to solve the Jew's problem? Close his cities of refuge and you pen him in a pale over which he has no control. At present no country wholly excludes Jewish immigration except Palestine, and that only on paper. But even the excluded *individual* suffers peculiarly. The excluded Italian or German can go back to Italy or Germany. But where is the excluded Jew to go to? *Wohin?* America will not have him, Germany will not have him, England will not have him—God knows what becomes of him. Sometimes, as Mr. Walter Rothschild has so vigorously pointed out, he is shot at the Russian frontier—perhaps it is the best thing for him. Do you realise that only the other day, Gibraltar, a *British* port, refused shelter to five hundred Jewish refugees, flying from the horrors of Casablanca? Spain, our old enemy, proved more chivalrous than Britain. But on such caprices does the great Jewish people consent to depend.

And from the Jewish emigrant having no homeland of his own behind him, it follows that even when he is admitted into a new country there is no old country to back him up. Pending the period of probation, while he is qualifying for the new citizenship, he is without protection. Let alien Japanese be injured in America and all Japan is up in arms. But who is behind the alien Jew, scattered helplessly through Canada or the Argentine? Do you think his native Russia will send a battleship to Montreal or Buenos Ayres? In any case, this uprootal from his early surroundings is a tragedy far sadder than the ordinary emigrant's break with his old life. His situation is likewise peculiar in that the new land offers usually every sort of obstacle to the practice of his religion. He must choose between keeping the Sabbath and keeping his family. He cannot keep both. Then there are the dietary laws, which, as Mr. Stettauer tells us from his recent visit to Canada, are a great hindrance to Jews working on remote farms and railways. I am far from saying orthodoxy is the only form of Judaism. But if a religion is to

develop, let it develop honourably, not sordidly and violently under pressure of the bread-and-butter question. America is far and away the best land for the Jewish emigrant, but even here, so great is the divorce between parents and children, that among the older generation a Yiddish proverb has grown up: *A Klug zu Columbessen*—Cursed be Columbus! In London the poor Jew is restricted by the Sabbath to a few sweated trades, and even if he tries to break through the charmed circle of tailoring and cap-making the Christian Labour Unions will not admit him. For as a man, wherever he goes, carries his shadow with him, so the Jewish emigrant finds in the new land the old anti-Semitism. If it is not there when he comes, his coming in large numbers helps to produce it. If, on the other hand, he comes only in small numbers he suffers from spiritual forlornness. I had a letter a few years ago from a Jewish schoolgirl in Vancouver Island, where only a few Jews have ever penetrated. Her father had been a military tailor in Russia, but when, after long and honourable service with the army, he desired to buy a home with his savings, the home and the right of citizenship were denied him. So he emigrated to British Columbia. "Here we have all these rights," wrote the girl, "yet we do not feel at home. We are placed in the same position as an orphan child is when placed in a family where there are many children. Though the children of the family quarrel, yet they are of kindred blood, and the orphan always a stranger. They will be ever ready to watch and slander him. These Gentiles among whom we live are seemingly kind and just. Yet how much do we endure from them. How often does one see Jewish boys buffeted and scorned because they are Jews We have a beautiful home and orchard Many a time have I seen my mother crying under the cherry tree, as she thinks of the gardens in Palestine where once our fathers toiled And though Palestine be shut to us," continued the girl, "must we lie doing nothing? Perhaps Uganda is the answer. We must have a State, where we may live freely and uphold our religion and where the physical and mental developments will rise to higher levels." This school-girl was only fourteen, but she understood our emigration problem better than all our philanthropists.

Thus, then, this Jewish emigration problem is *not* the ordinary economic problem. Our emigration is peculiar in its beginning, peculiar in its middle, and peculiar in its end. All other emigrants leave their motherland: for the Jewish emigrant, on the contrary, it is necessary to procure a motherland to take these

wandering children to her breast. It may be the old motherland, Zion; it may be a foster-motherland. But some territory or other of our own is a crying necessity.

DEFINITION OF "TERRITORY."

And this brings us to the word "Territory." Now by a Territory the ITO *means* a Territory, and not nationalistic speeches, debates, clubs, branches, picnics, and dances. We exist to get a land, not to promote an "ism." But I have already pointed out that "Territory" does not exclude Palestine. The ITO has always declared its readiness to co-operate in developing Palestine if the Zionists could guarantee the political safeguards. But, to borrow the words of a resolution passed in a Russian synagogue—the ITO cannot consent to tie the fate of the Jewish people to a single territory whose acquisition is uncertain. That, as the Kowno resolution rightly declared, would be treason to the Jewish people.

But if "Territory" does not exclude Palestine, there are other countries it does exclude—England, for example. It must be an empty or comparatively unpopulated territory. We do not hope to procure a going concern—roads, railways, docks, streets, and houses, furnished, with the cloth laid for supper! It is because the Jew has so long been satisfied with a ready-made country, with a second-hand country, that he cannot get one really to fit him. For a country to fit you it must be made to your measure. It must be a new creation.

And by a "Territory" we do not mean a toy colony, where you can tell to a twig how many olive trees are growing in the public plantations, and where you can count your chickens as soon as they are hatched. No, we mean a real live country, which shall ultimately exert upon the Jewish emigrants as potent an attraction as New York exercises to-day, and be as able to receive them in their thousands and their tens of thousands. Only, instead of congesting them in a Ghetto like that of New York, with 400,000 sickly souls in one square mile—which is the result of the opposition policy of drift—we propose that the foundation of the State shall be a strong and healthy farming population, scattered over thousands of square miles. But even the production of a Jewish peasantry is not our object. There is no need either to prove that the Jews can be farmers or to turn them all into farmers. There are plenty of Jewish farmers all over the world. We need a peasantry only as a means to an end, and that end, autonomy.

DEFINITION OF "AUTONOMOUS BASIS."

For this Territory is to be "on an autonomous basis." Here we strike the cardinal principle of our programme, as of every scheme of purposive colonization. Yet, strange to say, this is the point which has brought us the most opposition from Jews themselves. I am afraid their motive is not always a noble one—too often they are thinking, not of the great tragic problem we have to solve, but of their little selves. They fear that a self-governing Jewish colony would compromise their own status in the lands of emancipation. Quite the contrary. By not going to the Jewish colony they would have the opportunity of proving—for the first time in nineteen centuries—that they truly felt themselves citizens of the lands in which they dwelt. Citizenship in the modern world is optional. As Mr. Chamberlain once said to me, when I was discussing this aspect, no German who chooses to become an American citizen is told that Germany is *his* country; no Frenchman who becomes naturalized in England is asked to go back to *his* side of the Channel. The fantastic idea of every Jew being banished to the Jewish State would be laughable, were it not a tragic proof of how our nerves have been shattered by the long ages of persecution.

As a matter of fact the status of the emancipated Jew is much more compromised by the existence of Jewish sewers and shambles like the Russian pale and the Morocco *Mellah* than it would be by a free, happy, prosperous Jewish State. Do you suppose that your Christian friends can visit Morocco, where it is a proverb that every Arab may murder seven Jews, where the Jew's name is only mentioned with a shuddering apology, and where the cringing creature too often lives down to his reputation—do you suppose your Christian friends can visit Morocco and come back with an added respect for *you*? And even if the impossible happened, and through the rise of a Jewish State all the Jews were in the course of the centuries banished to it—what a horrible fate! The most cohesive people in history doomed to live together, as the French in France, or the Italians in Italy! Children doomed to be born citizens of their own free land, forced to grow up without persecution, compelled to create a Jewish social order, a Jewish art and literature! Pray, do not shudder, it will not happen in your day.

But even if the autonomous basis of our colony could produce such dreadful results, it would be an insolence for a comfortable English Jew to expect the millions whom England cannot receive

to consider *him*, or to expect a colony to regulate its policy by those who stay outside. The Russian or Roumanian Jew, when he shakes off the blood-stained dust of his native land, has shaken off his Russian or Roumanian nationality. He has *no* nationality. When he buys his steamer-ticket he is choosing a new nationality. Unless he is criminal or unhealthy, he can become a Briton or a Dutchman, a Canadian or a Mexican, or whatever he pleases. He is like a child buying a *Purim* mask. He can have any mask he likes—French or German, Persian or Turkish. But suppose the emigrant says, No, I will have nothing to do with masks. I will wear my own face—the Jewish face. I will go out and build up a nationality of my own. How dare you give him anything but sympathy? If I may parody the Gilbertian song :—

For he might have been a Roosian,
A French or Turk or Proosian,
Or perhaps Ital-ian,
But in spite of all temptations
To belong to other nations,
He remains a Jewish man.

But many cry out there is no Jewish man, no Jewish people, only a Jewish religion. What difference does that make? Whoever heard of a religious sect that did not yearn to live as compactly as possible, whether for communion or for self-defence? Why, in my *Times Atlas* there is a map of Europe coloured according to religions, and the division is almost as clear as that of countries. Judaism does not appear at all. Not having grouped itself predominantly anywhere, it does not count. So much for "the Jewish mission" without a Jewish State. Sect or people, race or religion, the duty of self-defence, of mutual protection, is equally clear. Do not some of the greatest colonies owe their origin to religious sects?

ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF AUTONOMY.

No, the ITO will not give up its "autonomous basis." Whoever heard of people colonising except to have liberty to live after their own fashion? Unless we are to have the control of the country, what is our reward for the Titanic labour of creating it? Nay, unless we had that control we should not have created a land of refuge at all. The whole object of the ITO being to avoid those difficulties—religious and restrictive—which come from being under foreign control, it would be a very comical

paradox to create all those difficulties over again—at a colossal cost. The mountain in labour would produce—an Irish bull! If we plant our vine and our fig tree, they must be our own to sit under. Fancy some superior power telling us we must not let our own brethren in to enjoy them. For I imagine the Jewish colony when once established would wish to show more Christianity than the Alien Bills of England and America. Christianity assures us that not a sparrow falls to the ground but the Father regards it. Who regards the rejected wretches whose “poor physique” is made the excuse for denying them the chance of improving it? How could our Jewish land receive those “who cannot or will not remain” where they are, unless—in internal matters, at least—we had all the say? The ITO has often been accused of megalomania, of insanely large ideas. Large ideas we have; to offer a small solution for a gigantic problem would be child’s play. Insane, too, we may be. But so insane as to try to create a land of refuge without autonomy—no, that we are not. *So meshuggah sind wir nicht.* We may not succeed, but at least we can prevent ourselves from failing before we begin. Better not begin at all than begin what can only be a futility. This is the sort of colonisation the Jewish Colonisation Association (called for short the ICA), the body which disposes of the millions of the late Baron de Hirsch, has begun in the Argentine.

POLITICAL FAILURE OF THE ICA COLONIES.

The very success of these colonies agriculturally—and I cordially congratulate the ICA upon their progress—only makes their failure from the political point of view the more heart-rending. For here are nearly 12,000 souls actually on soil redeemed from the wilderness by Jewish hands—a population greater than many an Empire has started with, six times as great as the present white population of British East Africa, with its area of 200,000 square miles. Only this population, instead of being concentrated in a single colony, is scattered over five small colonies, each as far from the others as London from Paris. Had these colonies been concentrated, particularly in that region of the Argentine where, dotted over half a million square miles, there are less people than in Manchester and Birmingham, they might at least have been worked up into local autonomy as a province of Argentina under the free Argentine constitution. For this second-rate sort of autonomy is, after all, better than none at all, and in countries with empty spaces and modern constitu-

tions concentration is the secret of power. But what power will the ICA colonies ever get? Already, as the last Annual Report naively records, the local Commissioner is suspicious of the school teaching. In vain the Argentines of the Jewish persuasion wave the Argentine flag in his face—in vain the children sing the national hymn—too much time is given to Hebrew, he complains; it interferes with Spanish. What guarantee even has the ICA that Jewish immigration into the Argentine, nay, into its own colonies, will not be checked, when the Argentine has made her profit out of us?

But you may ask, Considering the hatred to the Jews everywhere, considering how passionately every square inch of territory is fought over, considering that all temperate portions of the earth have been taken up and that the Powers have their eye on every odd tract, however unhealthy, how can the ITO hope to set up a self-governing Jewish territory? This criticism has been made more than once by Sir Francis Montefiore, one of our honourable opponents, who has declared that a politically virgin territory can be found only in the moon. Not even there, I fear. For there is a man in the moon, and he is probably an Anti-Semite. Yet the ITO does hope, and its hope reposes on two considerations: First, that the Powers themselves may find it expedient to foster an autonomous solution of the Jewish question, involving as it does the interests of twelve million people, or as great a population as those of Sweden, Norway, Greece, and Denmark put together; and second, that even if the Powers refuse to back us up, as they have backed up Bulgaria or Liberia, we can find a more roundabout way. For our programme does not demand autonomy, but "autonomous basis," that is, autonomous *foundation*. We can so lay the foundations of our structure that autonomy (which is like the flag waving over the roof) shall be *attainable* by the natural course of our development, as it is attainable, for example, by the citizens of Rhodesia, or of one of the American territories, as soon as they are on the soil in sufficient force. The only colonization that we absolutely refuse is one from which this prospect is shut out. In short, our colonization must be political, not philanthropic.

The ICA colonies in the interior of the Argentine, lacking the magnet of a political future, have little counter-attraction to offer to the charms of Buenos Ayres, the port of entry, a city as large and as gay as Paris, where accordingly the great bulk of the Jewish immigrants remain, and where they have established

not merely a Ghetto but a corrupt Ghetto. What indeed is there to prevent the wholesale degeneration of our people, torn from their ancient surroundings and set down by the floods of fate on remote foreign soils without guidance or teaching? Where there is no vision the people perish. Autonomy or the hope of it would give them a new uplift, a new inspiration. Not only the poor but the well-to-do would be attracted to the Jewish centre. Its population would be swollen not only by Expulsion Emigration but by Impulsion Emigration. There came into the Argentine last year no fewer than 13,500 Jewish souls; yet how many of these made for the Jewish colonies? Why, the total increase in their population was only 552, little more than the odd 500 of the 13,500. And it is a significant fact that while Moisesville, the oldest of the colonies, lost 316 of its inhabitants, Leloir, the newest and smallest, gained 279 souls. This Leloir Colony, founded only within the last few years on the principles of self-capitalization and self-government by the group, is the one promising spot in the ICA colonies, the one settlement which justifies the optimism of M. Narcisse Leven, the ICA's devoted President. Here the healthy land-hunger which has now arisen among Russian Jews possessing their own capital can be satisfied without the old grandmotherly government. The number of fairly well-to-do families settling at Leloir has increased in one year from 25 to 87, or 250 per cent.; and I ask you, if in one year, when the ITO's principles are even partially followed, such an amazing increase can take place, is it not proof absolute that the ITO nourishes no vain dream? These Russo-Jewish colonists, working only on a small scale and for their own advantage, work, according to the ICA's report, not only with the most scientific methods and machinery, but with energy, initiative, and a perfect brotherhood. How would all this have been intensified if they could also feel themselves working for the whole brotherhood of Israel! Do you remember the noble words written by Mr. Winston Churchill to Dr. Dulberg in support of the ITO, pointing out that national colonization, unlike individual, contains a soul, a driving spirit. But does such a soul, such a driving spirit exist in the Russian Jews? Let the ITO branches throughout Russia answer. Listen to a letter from the "Pioneer Group of Byezhitsa"—a place I never heard of before:—"Dear President,—How long have we to wait till the first pioneer groups are sent to our territory? Rejoice our sad hearts by the great word of comfort. We wait impatiently the happy moment of leaving the country of the *Goluth* and going to our own dear

country, which we shall learn to love. We shall work and toil for our people and lay the road of freedom and equality for the coming generations."

With such a driving spirit we may hope to found not only a colony, but an object-lesson in civilization. There is a proverb about killing two birds with one stone. It is a barbarous proverb. I would rather build two buildings with one stone. Whilst we are building a home for the wandering Jew we can also build a model for all mankind. And thus perhaps the stone which the other builders have rejected may become the head-stone of humanity's temple:—

אבן מאסו הבונים היתה לראש פנה

That would be a practical embodiment of "the Jewish mission."

SITUATION OF THE JEWISH TERRITORY.

But where is our Territory to be? This is the most momentous question before our Organization—the whole future of our people may turn upon the answer. The choice is therefore a solemn and serious responsibility, and if any ITOist has lost patience because we took two years to consider the possibilities of the whole world, we are better without such weaklings. Why, many people take longer to look for a house. In the year 1881, Pinsker, the first Territorialist, pointed out in his book "Self-Emancipation" that the selection must be made with every precaution by a single body, through a Committee of Experts. "Only such a superior tribunal," he wrote, "could competently determine, after thorough and comprehensive investigations, on which continent and on which part our final choice must be fixed." Exactly in accordance with this prophetic statement, the task has been undertaken by a single body, through a Committee of Experts. The single body is the ITO, the Committee of Experts our Geographical Commission. This Commission, as you are aware, is made up of five of the most trusted Jews in the whole world. Russia is represented by that grand old man, Dr. Mandelstamm; Germany by Herr James Simon, the President of the *Hilfsverein*, and by that indefatigable traveller for the Jewish cause, Dr. Paul Nathan; America by the Hon. Oscar Straus, Secretary of Commerce and Labour in Mr. Roosevelt's Cabinet; and England by Lord Rothschild. The British Sectional Council was charged by the International Council with the task of making a preliminary study of the whole field of political possibility, and after long and anxious weighing

of all the pros. and cons., we drew up a Report, which, I am happy to say, was signed by all my thirty colleagues. An abstract of our investigations, together with our final recommendations, was privately printed in this Blue-book, and I celebrated our second anniversary by handing it to Lord Rothschild.

Much of this preliminary work was in the melancholy nature of the discovery of lost opportunities. A century ago we could have had our pick in three continents. Nay, only three-quarters of a century ago a Jew named Nathaniel Isaacs, having fought for a Zulu king, was granted a large territory, with the title "Chief of Natal." There was no ITO then, and his one thought was to pass it over to England. To-day there is again a Jewish Chief of Natal, Sir Matthew Nathan, and he is even a member of the ITO Council. But the territory has gone to that bourne from which no territory ever returns. We produce men, you see, who can win territories and men who can govern them. Why not, then, win and govern a territory for ourselves? Although opportunities that lay around even as late as the first Zionist Congress are now for ever closed, adventures are still to the adventurous. Of some fifteen possibilities still surviving we have here printed ten, and of these ten we have specially selected two, and of these two we have, on the ground of secret information, recommended one to the Geographical Commission for prior investigation. This Territory, though one of the two best for our purpose yet left in the whole world, is not without its drawbacks and difficulties. But a Territory without drawbacks and difficulties there never was since Adam was expelled from Eden and the Expulsion Emigration began. Palestine, you will remember, was adversely reported upon by the original Zionist Commissioners, though fortunately Caleb and Joshua presented a minority report. Anybody who landed in London on a foggy day would refuse England. With the curiosity of Eve you are longing to know the name of our chosen land, but, alas! I must beware of the serpent. You know what happened with East Africa—how the Christians of that country united with the Zionists and anti-Zionists of this country to stamp upon our idea. Nor are our diplomatic difficulties lessened by the fact that this Territory is so much more desirable than East Africa. I am, perhaps, already imperilling the chance of its acquisition in telling you that it lies in that same continent of Africa, from which, according to the proverb, there comes always something new. But our people are such unbelieving Jews that they require even diplomacy to be carried on in public. And so—unless I am

to be twitted again with the moon—I must risk telling even a little more.

In July, 1903, two years before the ITO was born, at a period when I had been putting into shape the dismal report of the Zionist Commission which had investigated the Sinai Peninsula, I was asked by the late Dr. Herzl to summon a small Zionist Council to discuss the idea of acquiring Morocco for Jewish colonization. That land was much better than Sinai, he said, and it was a country in which the Powers—he prophetically declared—would sooner or later intervene. The idea struck me as rather fantastic, though it was an audacious conception to make the Jew dominant just where he was most downtrodden. But the more I have pondered since over Dr. Herzl's suggestion, the more I have convinced myself that in spirit, if not in form, it was a political inspiration, and that one of the best fields, if not the best field, for Jewish colonization, lies in North Africa. Here, in this vast half-known, half-populated, half-governed region, largely temperate and nowhere tropical, fertile in soil, supplied with a commercial channel through the half-developed or half-decayed ports of the Mediterranean, provided with a nucleus of Jewish population, and even Jewish agricultural population, within easy access from Russia and Roumania, the chief centres of persecution, here surely somewhere or other in this spacious Sun-land a place of Jewish refuge should be found. All around, dumbly eloquent of misgovernment and neglect and the chances of history, lie the ruins of great cities and ancient civilizations. I have myself sailed past the dark grey mound which marks the site of Carthage, once the mighty rival of Rome. And, apart from holding the traces of ancient empires which might again be restored, this vast North Africa holds tracts that have never yet been developed, stretches down towards a Sahara that modern science shows not to be a desert at all, but a country with a great future; and a Soudan that turns out to be a country with a great civilised past. There is even a country south-west of Morocco, as large as England, with a splendid seaboard, yet practically a no-man's-land, inhabited only by some nomadic tribes; and one of the most romantic episodes in the ITO'S career was the appearance in our offices of an Arab possessing influence with the Holy Man of Adrar and anxious to obtain concessions for us. Leaving Egypt for the Egyptians, I ask what other people has so great an historic claim upon North Africa as the Jews? Apart from our original residence in Egypt, we settled all along the South Mediterranean coast, while

Palestine was still a Jewish State, centuries before the Christian era. To-day, in a million square miles of North Africa you will find only twelve million people—just the number of the Jews. Fancy the Jews being allowed to monopolize a million square miles! But there is no reason why they should not have fifty thousand! That they are to play a rôle in civilizing this vast region is an idea that has of late been forcing its way into clear consciousness. But they must not redeem and regenerate North Africa and leave themselves unregenerated and unredeemed.

What, however, does our Geographical Commission say to the Territory indicated by us in this region? Unfortunately, I can give no full and formal report on that head, because one of the Commissioners, Dr. Paul Nathan, is travelling in the East, out of reach, and will not be back till the end of the year. But of the other four, I can tell you that none has dismissed the Territory as undesirable or impossible of acquisition. Lord Rothschild, however, counsels delay. He recommends "that in view of the unsettled state of things in North Africa no steps should be taken in connection with a Jewish project at present." Mr. Oscar Straus advises as an indispensable first step the investigation of the Territory by engineering, agricultural, and commercial experts. Herr James Simon offers two hundred and fifty pounds towards the expenses of such an investigation. Dr. Mandelstamm, while at first leaning to some of the Transatlantic Territories in our Blue-book, finally admitted that the North African Territory offers better chances of autonomy. On the whole, then, the Commission agrees with our Council that here is a possibility worthy of the most serious consideration by the Jewish people. The programme, then, that lies before us, I hope in the near future, as soon as the Morocco episode is over, is (a) Scientific Expedition to the Territory, and if the report is favourable, as I have every reason to believe, then (b) diplomatic and financial negotiations. I may mention that the Mayor of Salford has just offered me fifty pounds towards the expedition. Should, however, we fail in securing the necessary political safeguards here, we have still the second string to our bow, and if we fail again we must fall back on the Territories favoured by Dr. Mandelstamm; and after these there are still half-a-dozen other Territorial possibilities, not to mention Palestine. We need not abandon hope any sooner than the Zionists, you see.

DEFINITION OF "TO PROCURE."

And this brings me to the word "Procure." For, of course,

we have not yet "procured" a Territory. House-hunting is not house-taking, though it is far more tiresome. "To procure," according to the dictionary, means "to come into possession or enjoyment of by some effort or means." But what efforts have the Jews yet made, what means have they yet put at our disposal? Our people have fed so long on the expectation of miracles, they have so long lost the sense of real history and real politics, that they perhaps expect me to produce a territory out of nothing, as a conjuror produces a rabbit. Do you suppose the British Cabinet could run England for a day without money or soldiers? And England has not even to be "procured"; she is, as I said, a going concern. Three-quarters of a million was raised to help the victims of the *pogroms*, it has vanished without leaving a trace. Do you imagine any less heroic effort is needed to safeguard the whole Jewish future? Do you think it needs less capital than a brewery or a tobacco trust? Although our Colony must depend, like all colonies, upon the capital of its own immigrants, still there must be an adequate backing for administrative purposes. We do not say this money should be donated—let it be philanthropy and five per cent. Land companies can make large profits. And when they fail it is for lack of labour-force. Lack of labour-force has always been the great difficulty of new colonies. But this labour-force, this stream of population, our scheme carries with it in its very essence. The stream of population is the true Pactolus—it enriches immeasurably the land it flows over. Thirty-eight years ago almost the whole of the immense area of Canada belonging to the Hudson's Bay Company was transferred to the Dominion for £300,000. Now it is worth untold millions. Still further to increase its value, hundreds of our Roumanian agriculturists have—through lack of a Jewish land to enrich—been poured into Canada this year by the all-beneficent ICA, and we have seen some of these refugees passing through London with their scythes on their shoulders. Our stream of emigration, which is a source of infinite Jewish trouble, could be the source of infinite Jewish wealth. And yet the Jews are said to be a money-making people. We give this stream away to Canada, to the Argentine, to Brazil, and are only too thankful if it is let in. And yet the Jews are said to be a clever people.

But this is not a world in which everything can be bought for money. It may be that ere a Jewish State arises, whether in North Africa or elsewhere, part of the price will have to be paid in blood. Even British protection could not save us from

that. Not one of Britain's colonies, neither New Zealand, nor Canada, neither Natal nor East Africa, has escaped defending itself against the native tribes. To "procure" may partly mean to procure at the cost of blood. But just think what blood it has cost us not to have "procured" earlier! Nay, what war has ever cost the disembowelling of women and the braining of little children? Jewish poets, beholding these meaningless martyrdoms, have cried out in despair that there is no God. Let them behold the bodies of young men sacrificed for a Jewish State, and will they not cry *הי וקיים*—The God of Israel yet liveth!

North Africa, if it is not as safe for the Jews as North London, is at least safer than Russia. And, safe or unsafe, the Jews already inhabit North Africa in their tens of thousands, and are taking far greater risks to-day than they would run in a Jewish colony supplied with a defensive force.

I know there will be English Jews shocked at this idea, possibly the same English Jews who sent out their sons to the Boer War, and held military services last Sunday in the Synagogue, who have trained up our boys' brigades, and taught our school-children to sing the song of "The Jewish Soldier." For, you see, we have to pay in Jewish blood even for living in our present lands; and with lands like England we pay it gladly. But who can contemplate without bitterness Jews dying for Holy Russia on the frozen fields of Manchuria? Russia has now some 53,000 Jews in her army: by the right percentage she only ought to have 43,000. Give me only these surplus 10,000 and I guarantee you the safety of our Jewish State.

When I say, Give *me*, I am, of course, speaking only as a political thinker. You do not suppose I pretend to lead this legion myself. I know nothing of war: I cannot shoot—not even a snapshot with a kodak. But neither did Mr. Chamberlain conduct the campaign against the Boers. The actual leader of a colony must be a farmer and a fighter, like old Kruger, or rather, like Kruger when he was young—a Jew of the stamp of Nathaniel Isaacs, or Emin Pasha, or General Ottolenghi, or Sir Matthew Nathan. That we have the necessary agricultural forces the ICA alone proves, and I refer you to its last Report for an eloquent vindication of the Jewish farmer by its President. Even the necessary agricultural experts, the scientific leaders, are to be found in North Africa, where able Jewish farmers abound and where the *Alliance Israélite* has a valuable farm-school. The rise of the Jewish colony would provide billets for

the sons of our middle-classes, as India does for the English; and incidentally I would advise Jewish parents, instead of turning out so many briefless barristers and idle doctors, to send their sons to the agricultural colleges of Montpellier or Cornell, for whose graduates there is such a demand in these days of scientific farming. If we cannot lay our hand to-day upon the future leaders of the colony, yet, knowing as I do how stoutly Jews have pioneered and fought in every country on earth, I believe that when the hour strikes, the spirit of our race will provide the man or the men we need.

THE INTERMEDIATE PROBLEM.

But Rome was not built in a day, neither will a Jewish State be built in twenty-four hours. As the life of a State exceeds vastly the life of a man, so is its infancy proportionately long. Before a Territory is fully "procured," *i.e.*, made capable of receiving all those "who cannot or will not remain" in other lands; before railways and ports are built; before towns arise and factories are established, and mines are working, many years must pass. The foundations of a Jewish land must be laid slowly and cautiously in our best human material. To try to solve our emigration problem without an autonomous Territory is to build on sand; but to expect that such a Territory can receive our emigration immediately is to build on air. This is the dilemma of the Jewish position. No undeveloped land could receive our emigration. No developed land would afford us autonomy. If we grasp at an immediate solution we shall never get a final solution. If, on the other hand, we try for a final solution, we are left with the immediate problem. What is the escape from this dilemma? Why, the way the ITO has found—to try both for the temporary solution and the final solution; with one hand to work for the present, and with the other for the future.

Our solution of the more pressing half of our problem is known to you. The Chief Rabbi, alarmed by the Aliens Bills in England and America, had raised the cry *Wohin?* The ITO, by the advice and support of, perhaps, the leading American Jew, gave the answer "Galveston"—a United States port that was absolutely unknown to our Ghettos. Even to-day many an emigrant, when invited to go to Galveston instead of New York, replies wistfully, "But I want to go to *America*." We agree with that emigrant. Rather than see the myriads who leave Europe scattered through the other four continents and corrupted

in remote regions, the ITO would far prefer them gathered, millions of voters, strong for self-defence, under the free American constitution and under the influence of Jewish leaders and teachers. Only, if the States are to be and remain this land of refuge, they must go not to the slums of the overcrowded Eastern cities, but to the smaller healthier rising towns of the West, where their labour is in demand. Galveston is not the goal of the ITO emigrants; they do not remain a single day in Galveston. Indeed, few have been placed in Texas at all. Galveston was chosen in preference to New Orleans because it is only a port—it has no industries, and hence no Ghetto can grow up there. Our solution therefore is merely to twist the stream of emigration round—from New York to Galveston, thus opening up to Jewish immigration the whole great region west of the Mississippi, and, by facilitating the movement of the first twenty thousand pioneers in the new direction, to promote a spontaneous diversion of a great volume of future emigration. This idea sounds simple, as do all great ideas once you know them, but whatever its value, it is the only practical contribution to Jewish politics that has been made for many a day. I say Jewish politics, for it concerns not the charity classes, but the classes that pay their own way. It is the neglect of these classes, the entire neglect of Jewish politics, that is at the bottom of nearly all our troubles. It is our boast that we look after our own poor. But we do not look after our own rich, nor our own independent working classes, and the result of this policy of drift is the degraded status of our people throughout the world.

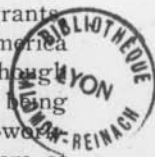
PRACTICAL WORKING OF THE GALVESTON PROJECT.

I said the Galveston idea sounds simple; yet the attempt to change it into a reality was fraught with incredible complications. There was the danger of Russia hampering us, the danger of America rejecting the immigrants as under suspicion of assistance, the danger of the emigrants refusing to exchange New York for a place they had never heard of and to go there at their own expense. And all these and many other difficulties were aggravated by the attacks and caricatures of the Zionist Press and many Russo-Jewish organs. But over all these things our Russian bureau—under the brilliant guidance of Dr. Jochelmann, Advocate Jassinowski, and their colleagues—rose victorious. After an anxious period, during which the bureau had to work its mimeograph in the dead of night, like an infernal machine, the Russian Government recognised the new department, and even

called its representative to a seat on a Government Emigration Commission at St. Petersburg. After months of doubt and scepticism on the part of the emigrants, a batch of believing Jews *was* collected, and on the 1st of July 86 pioneers arrived in Galveston, where, instead of being turned back, they were welcomed by the Mayor, who shook hands with every man and wished him good luck in the new land. By a curious coincidence this 1st of July was the very day on which a new and severer Restriction Law with a doubled head-tax came into force in the States—it seemed almost symbolic of our diversion having been begun only in the nick of time. Indeed, the National Liberal Immigration League of America, the body which is fighting desperately against further restriction, has written to thank us for our help in keeping America open. Best of all, one of the Washington Commissioners of Immigration came to see me and expressed his satisfaction with the Galveston project.

Since that 1st of July, which every Russo-Jewish paper now admits to be an epoch-making date in Jewish emigration, nine other ITO parties, of a thousand souls in all, have sailed out for Galveston. At first we were hampered by the intolerable conditions in the German lodging-houses and the German ships; but Mr. Salaman and I went to Germany, and now, as you may have read, the Jewish emigrant by the North-German-Lloyd lodges in a special Jewish house at Bremen, with a reading-room and a synagogue; he finds his berth on the steamer reserved, his food on board cooked in a specially-erected kosher kitchen, and himself protected against ill-treatment all through the voyage by a special ITO official. And not only do our Galveston passengers enjoy these advantages, but kosher kitchens have been placed on the ships going to New York, too, so that even the emigrants who do not take the ITO'S advice cannot escape its benefits. It is not our province to deal with our peculiar problem in its beginning—in the lands of persecution—but I think you will admit we have modified its middle and its end.

And there is scarcely one of our thousand emigrants who does not bless the day he landed at Galveston. Of 55 settled, for example, in Kansas City, the average weekly wage is \$10.25. One man receives as much as 21 dollars. For our emigrants, being a superior pioneer class, have scarcely been in America a fortnight before they begin to demand the Union rate, though they can only ask for it in Yiddish; and this, instead of being resented, makes them popular with their Christian fellow-workmen, and the newspapers remark with satisfaction that here at



last are alien immigrants who are not going to lower the standard of living. Nor is the ITO going to lower its standard of success. The tenth batch sailed last Tuesday, but rather than risk any of our emigrants not finding work during this industrial crisis that has followed on the financial panic, we shall probably suspend our next shipment till the factories are resuming operations on the old scale. But with a great growing country, or rather continent, like the States this can be only a passing cloud; and in any case New York remains doubly undesirable. We have now created in Russia no fewer than 150 centres of information and selection, and Galveston is now a household word and a word of hope throughout the Pale. For by every mail our emigrants' letters are arriving there, describing their brotherly reception by the Rev. Henry Cohen and his colleagues in our Galveston establishment and the brotherly kindness of the Committees of the towns to which they are directed. Not only are they helped over all their early difficulties, they are even taught English. Never in Jewish history has there been a longer chain of brotherhood. Beginning in the lands of persecution, and passing through Germany by the co-operation of the *Hilfsverein*, it stretches across the Atlantic and reaches by way of Galveston to all the Western States of America. But noteworthy as is its direct humanitarian accomplishment, all this is only a means to its end. Its object, like all the ITO'S objects, is political, not philanthropic, and could we point to 20,000 families happily settled in Western America, we should still consider our movement a failure did it not succeed—by the magnetism of their presence and by the force of imitation—in setting up a spontaneous movement to Western America to vie with and diminish the movement to New York. But with every Russian shipping agent now advertising Galveston side by side with New York, I think we may already proclaim that Galveston has caught on. One imaginative agent actually advertises that he is coming to London to arrange about a new line to Galveston with Mr. Zangwill. Most amazing of all is the action of the ICA. The ICA was the first body to which I took the Galveston idea, as being clearly the business of the trustees of the Hirsch millions. This was a year ago last October. But the ICA shivered and shilly-shallied so much over anything approaching an idea that I went to the Rothschilds, who at once financed the European end of it. Last Tuesday, on the very day of the sailing out of our tenth batch, I received a formal announcement from the ICA that it had resolved to initiate an independent emigration to Galveston.

Nothing could be more characteristic of the ICA, more flattering to the ITO, or more auspicious for the future of our enterprise. It even encourages the hope that a year after the ITO has started a Jewish State the ICA will decide to start another in the same place. For all this has been done in less than a year. It is difficult to realise that when I last stood upon an ITO platform, not one of the thousand souls now emigrated to the Western States had ever heard of Galveston. Is it not a pathetic proof of how our people are hungering for guidance, and what nonsense it is to say a Jewish State can only be set up in one particular spot?

ALTERNATIVE SOLUTIONS OF THE JEWISH QUESTION.

And if a proof was needed of the ITO's wisdom in supplementing its search for a State by this provision for our immediate needs, it would be supplied by a study of the human material we have emigrated. For although the stream of emigration contains all the types of labour necessary for a new State, it also—as I pointed out in my original ITO Manifesto—contains much that would only be clogging and hampering to it. Of the first 300 emigrants handled by us, 30 were tailors. What should we have done in ITOLAND with such a proportion of tailors? It may take nine tailors to make one man, but surely not to make one man's clothes. Dr. Gaster, not content with drawing a lurid picture of Texas worthy of the most imaginative Jew of the century, has recently censured us for not diverting the emigration towards the Holy Land. Well, the famine now raging in Palestine is the best answer to that criticism. Even were Palestine secured to the Jews by the tireless labours of Herr Wolffsohn and his colleagues, the young State could no more receive our stream of emigration than any other form of ITO-LAND. And the ITO would do Zionism the best service in its power by continuing to divert the emigration from Palestine till the new State had overcome its internal economic difficulties. On this point an honest Zionist like your Dr. Weizmann is the best guide. What report does *he* bring back from his visit to Palestine? Why, that Jewish labour cannot compete with the cheap Arab labour, that in most of the so-called Jewish colonies 60 to 80 per cent. are not Jews at all. Of 1,000 field-labourers in Petach-Tikwah no fewer than 800 are Arabs. I can tell you an even graver fact. A Zionist group of Russian agriculturists, possessing three or four hundred pounds each, and anxious to leave Russia, sought in vain for land in Palestine suitable to their means, and finally, in despair, they applied the other day to the

ITO for guidance. Let us hear no more therefore of Palestine as a field for our emigration. Unless you mean Palestine, U.S.A. For Texas possesses a place called Palestine, quite near to Galveston, with two Jewish families and one synagogue between them, and to this Palestine we shall cheerfully conduct the emigration.

But people may say, If your Galveston project not only solves our immediate emigration problem but safeguards the future of the Jew in America, why go further? I freely admit that after Territorialism (which includes Zionism) America is the best solution of the Jewish question, and if the ITO should do no more than safeguard that solution it will have amply justified its brief existence. But between the second-best solution and the first-best solution what a melancholy gap? Not to mention the Sabbath problem or the *Cultur* question, social anti-Semitism rages furiously in America, even though on paper there is full Jewish equality. The Jew has still a good deal to fight through there, as in every other land which he has not founded for himself.

Other critics may say, If your Colonization scheme is to take so long, will not the Jews of Russia get Equal Rights quicker than you can get ready your new land? But even should the Jews ever get these rights on paper, surely nobody imagines the Russians are going to turn out superior to the Americans; or that the *economic* emigration from Russia is going to dry up. Nor do these Equal Rights seem so near to-day as in the days of the first Duma. People seem to forget that complete Equal Rights in England are not fifty years old. And England is a free Protestant country that got its Magna Charta in 1215 and beheaded its Monarch in 1649—not a Greek-Church country with an anti-Semitic autocrat. I have here a pamphlet published in London in 1753 proving that to naturalize the Jew would damage British trade and dishonour the Christian religion. But Russia is far from being our only battleground. Read your Jewish Calendar. Let me take only the first fortnight of last year's, as given in the American Jewish Year Book for 5667:—

- August 16.—Disturbances at Philadelphia between Jewish strikers and non-Jewish working men.
- August 19.—Stolypin informs Dr. Paul Nathan Equal Rights for Jews are impossible.
- August 19.—National anti-Semitic Assembly of Bulgaria meets at Phillipopolis.
- August 20.—Rabbis of Palestine and Russia request Jews to observe the day as a fast on behalf of the Russian Jews.

- August 23.—First massacre at Siedlce, Poland, 7 Jews killed, many wounded, 33 arrested.
- August 25.—Thirty-four Russian children, orphaned by the outrages of last November, arrive in the States.
- August 29.—Union of True Russians issues its platform, demanding Jews be regarded as foreigners but without the privileges of other foreigners.
- August 30.—Mohammedan soldiers assault the *Hara* (Jewish quarter) of Tunis.
- August 30.—Arab insurgents attack Mogador and Morocco and insist that wealthy Jews shall return to the *Mellah*; 150 to 200 Jewish families homeless.
- August 30.—Galician village partly destroyed by fire (possibly incendiary); 1,800 Jews homeless.
- September 1.—New French Seventh Day Law presses heavily on the French Jews.

France, Galicia, Morocco, Poland, Russia, Bulgaria, America! What a frontier to defend—and all in the same fortnight! Everywhere, you see, we are living in a state of war. And the standard of conduct in a state of war differs from the standard in a state of peace.

WHAT THE WAR STANDARD DEMANDS.

Do you not remember how in this country only a few years back, men, young, noble, rich, were throwing away their lives for England, how the stateliest homes were like those Egyptian houses over which the destroying Angel had passed, leaving no house without its dead? But where is the *Jew*, young, noble, rich, who will throw away his life for his people? In the Japanese war the highest ladies of Japan spent their days, shut up in wards and roughly-clad like convicts, making antiseptic bandages for the wounded. Where is the noble Jewish lady who spends her days making bandages for the wounds of her people? Hunting and horse-racing, balls and dinners and operas are legitimate enough in the piping times of peace; but when we are on a war footing, when the agony of our people cries to us from the shambles of Russia to the *Mellahs* of Morocco, and from the *Hara* of Tunis to the ruined villages of Roumania, then I say that if our upper classes do not pause in their pleasuring and make a supreme effort of salvation, the blood of their brothers will cry out against them from the ground. And not only against them, but against every Jew, however lowly, who has done less than his utmost. Judæa expects every man to do his duty. Are

there a hundred Jews in the world who can say they have lived up to the war standard—that standard which exacts the last ounce of sacrifice, ay, even of the heart's blood, that standard which demands that all factions and parties should suspend their strife and take counsel before the common foe? Are there a thousand Jews who have lived even up to the peace standard? The race whose naturalization was regarded as a degradation to England now poses as the pillar of Throne and Church. They are Englishmen, our fashionable folk tell us; Jewish affairs are not their business. Englishmen? They libel a great race when they use its name to cover up cowards and time-servers. As if it was not the duty of Englishmen to right human wrong! As if great Englishmen like the Lord Chancellor and Lord Selborne had not presided at ITO meetings! I have had from John Morley and Joseph Chamberlain the sympathy I could not obtain from Solomon Jacobs, M.P. Did I not say that, though we look after our poor, we fail to look after our rich? We exact from them no standard of duty, not even a peace-standard. We are grateful for the dirtiest crumb of concession to race or religion. This must end.

What land in the world but shows us, amid all our humiliations, Jews mighty in wealth and name and power, merchant princes, statesmen, soldiers, judges, financiers. This Jewish power is a mockery to us—we enjoy only the envy it arouses, not the salvation it might afford. This power has destroyed us time and again—let it now stand up and save us. Money thrown to us is not enough—we want the brain, the heart, the soul of our best and strongest, not the dregs of their time or the scatterings of their philanthropy. In this financial crisis in America Mr. Pierpont Morgan and his fellow-financiers sat up all night to save American credit. When will our financiers sit up all night to avert the destruction of our people?

United we are invincible; we can build what we will. Centuries enough we have wept and wrung the hands that should have laboured. Centuries enough we have cried, "How long, O Lord, how long?" It is time we listened to the reply thundered to us through the ages: "How long, O Israel, how long?"