Prelude to Israel

The Memoirs of M. I. Bodenheimer

Edited by Henriette Hannah Bodenheimer

Translated by Israel Cohen

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These memoirs, by one of the founders of Political Zionism, Dr. M. I. Bodenheimer, cover the period from the beginnings of the Zionist Movement to 1940. Rich in factual material, vivid in its description of historical events and personalities, *Prelude to Israel* is essential reading for anyone interested in the story of the creation of Israel.

Throughout, Dr. Bodenheimer evokes the world of the Jewish intellectual in Germany at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century—a world that, before its destruction by the Third Reich, contributed so much, not only to the German state, but to the entire complex of Western culture. He describes with keen self-awareness the events of his youth that proved decisive in later life and that led him to become an ardent Jewish nationalist.

In his preface Dr. Bodenheimer tells how he came to write these memoirs: "When I was on the way to Constan-

(*Continued on back flap*)

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THE MEMOIRS OF
M. I. BODENHEIMER

to Israel

Edited by
HENRIETTE HANNAH BODENHEIMER

NEW YORK : LONDON

Prelude

Translated by Israel Cohen

THOMAS YOSELOFF

PREFACE TO THIS EDITION

I HEREWITH present to the English-speaking public the memoirs of my father, Dr. M. I. Bodenheimer, which have been published in a Hebrew translation (Jewish Agency, Jerusalem, 1952) and in the original German (Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Ltd., Frankfort-on-the-Main, 1958).

The ideas which conceived of Zionism as a State and had their origin in central Europe were by no means unimportant. Following the Balfour Declaration, issued by Arthur James Balfour and named after him, which received its further development at the peace conferences at Versailles in 1919 and San Remo in 1920, and as a result of the First World War, the political center of the Zionist world movement was transferred from central Europe to England. Owing to these events the beginnings of the Zionist movement have been more and more forgotten. Now that the Jewish State has found its fulfillment in Israel it may once again be of interest to the public to learn something more about the beginning of this movement.

This is the purpose of the publication of these memoirs. Bodenheimer conceived the idea of political Zionism six years before Dr. Theodor Herzl, as a result of his own reflections on the position of the Jews in the world. Herzl also arrived at the concept of Zionism as a result of his own reflections. Both men

grew up in the environment of central European assimilation, far from the Jewish masses, and knew nothing whatever about the non-political aspirations of the "Lovers of Zion," who were active in the countries of Jewish mass settlements, principally in eastern Europe. Even such forerunners of the political Zionist idea as Moses Hess, editor of the Bonn–Cologne *Rheinische Zeitung,* who published his book, *Rome and Jerusalem, or the last Nationalities Question,* in 1862, had sunk into oblivion. It was only through the organizing of "Congress Zionism" in 1897 in Basle that the forerunners were rescued from that oblivion.

The future Jewish State in Palestine and Syria was to come into existence in accordance with the "Cologne Theses" and the Basle Platform with the help of the great powers of the day. The leaders of political Zionism for a long time groped about in uncertainty as to which of the great powers was the one by whom the object would be most surely achieved. The end of the First World War, with the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate Treaty of the British Government following thereupon, brought about the first decision; the outcome of the Second World War, with the recognition of the State of Israel by the United Nations, the final development.

I have been asked by various people when Dr. Bodenheimer wrote these memoirs. They are the work of a man in his prime and in his later years. The first long chapters were written after his journey to Palestine in 1912 as president of the *Keren Kayemet* (the Jewish National Fund or Land Fund). The sources he used, in addition to letters, speeches, and articles, consisted of numerous diaries in which events and thoughts had been recorded. From that time forward the author constantly worked at and altered the book until shortly before his death in 1940.

The biography thus exists in several versions, of which the present book is the final one. Some materials of a historic and

literary character, which are included in earlier versions, are to be published elsewhere.

New thoughts often find expression in poetical form. Thus Bodenheimer also wrote, in the year 1891, the poem entitled "A Vision." This poem is given here as a historic expression of the Zionist idea in conjunction with the reminiscences. In it the author sings of a pilot who is the only living person among the dead on an enchanted ship, and who is to lead this dead people into the land of its destiny, where the daughter of Zion is waiting for Israel. He exclaims: "Who will revive this people, which no longer sees, no longer hears, no longer lives?" And suddenly he answers the call: "I am the pilot, I must seize with my hands the spokes of the rudder, I must direct this ship to Zion so that this people shall be once again alive.

"And a call came to me from the vault of heaven and cried in my ears: 'Save my people, that they may not die.' "

What happenings have come to pass in the history of the world since that first "detachment" of this European Jew from his native land! Countless times the pilot drove the bark between those shores in order to rebuild Zion jointly on a foundation of international law. The individual phases of this development are clearly manifested in the memoirs. The "Vision of the Pilot" is nearing its fulfillment: "And my people flocked to the land and kissed the soil and wept for joy and pleasure. . .

"But I wish to be the singer of my people, of the newborn Israel on the blossoming fields of his fathers. Calm and blissful peace filled me, and with fresh vigor I strode into the land of the newborn ISRAEL."

I should also like to point out that time references in the book, e.g. "today," date to Bodenheimer's version of the text completed in the years 1939/40. Bodenheimer died on July 19, 1940, in Jerusalem. The reader may now follow himself how the author in his youth was suddenly seized by the Zionist

idea, which drove him to the act of rebuilding Israel on the basis of international law.

In conclusion, I should like to express my cordial thanks to the translator, Israel Cohen, who, thanks to his life's work, is intimately acquainted with Zionist history and has enriched the progress of Zionism with his skilled pen. Thanks are also due to those who helped me in compiling the notes, a task which would have been impossible without the cooperation of many people. I particularly thank Dr. Bein, director of the Zionist Central Archives in Jerusalem; Dr. Heinz Hugo of the Society for Heraldry, Genealogy, and Cognate Faculties in Berlin; Dr. Iwand, of the University Library in Cologne; my friend Frau Dr. Meyer-Wurmbach, assistant at the Historical Museum of the city of Cologne; Dr. Alfred Wiener of the Wiener Library in London; and the translator of "A Vision," Mr. Daniel ben-Yaakov of Jerusalem.

Henriette Hannah Bodenheimer.

London
September 1959.

PREFACE

WHILE we were on the way to Constantinople Herzl asked me, "What made you become a Zionist?" He wanted to know whether the Zionist idea had come into being in the soul of a West European Jew by way of logical thought or by intuition. Thereupon I told him about my youth up to the time when I had become conscious of my Zionist task. "This is very interesting," he said. "I wish you would write it all down. I should like to have it for *Die Welt*."

Owing to preoccupation with my professional work, however, I did not get to it. Many years later Shmarya Levin, at a meeting of the Action Committee of the Zionist Organization, addressed the same question to me. He added: "For us East European Jews, Zionism was a matter of course. In a country where Jewish masses live and where they are subject to a constant pressure, their national consciousness remains alive and the solution of the Jewish question through Zionism is a natural consequence. But that you, an assimilated German Jew, arrived at the same solution seems almost a miracle." So in my leisure hours I wrote down these reminiscences, which perhaps will contribute an answer to the riddle of how a Jew through logical thinking arrived at the concept of Zionism. It is from this standpoint that the following account should

be considered—an account not motivated by vanity or a desire for prestige but by the effort to unravel a psychological puzzle.

The surroundings and circumstances of early youth are decisive for a man's later life. That is why I intend to deal in detail with my youth, although it passed without any exceptional outward events. In the course of this account I will show how it happened that, six years before the advent of Herzl and without knowledge of similar endeavors, I recognized the necessity of the founding of a Jewish State in Palestine. The conviction that the Jewish question is not a religious but a national one, sprang from psychic presuppositions which I can only indicate. I have dealt at greater length with my role in the establishment of the Zionist movement in Germany and with my activity within the Zionist World Organization. The book is, therefore, a modest contribution to the history of Zionism and of the careers of its most distinguished leaders. In many points it may also be regarded as a supplement to Adolf Boehm's authoritative history of the Zionist movement. This otherwise very detailed record hardly does justice to the efforts of the first Zionists of Germany and their influence upon the movement as a whole.

I should like to say something with reference to the critical observations in this book. It is the privilege and the function of the critics to call attention to errors and shortcomings in order that those to blame may put matters right. There are many passages in this book where in that respect I have not spared myself either. I have tried to say everything that I had on my mind. But out of respect for the leaders of our Organization, I have exercised at the same time a measure of discretion, in order not to disturb political negotiations in progress or to aggravate the unfortunate position of our fellow Jews in central and east Europe.

I was always zealously determined to serve the truth. This compels me to admit that we have in our movement leaders

of outstanding qualities, men of dedication, imagination, wisdom and experience, men who are guided by their best intentions. The errors which I have pointed out were only rarely caused by any lack of integrity, but merely by insufficient confidence in the strength of our people and an unduly high evaluation of the resistance of our adversaries.

But against this weakness in judgment stands the indefatigable optimism of the Jewish people, which has wrought the great achievemnts of the *Yishuv,* so much admired by the world. Although it is still a weak sapling which flutters in the wind, we may yet hope that in due time it will become a tree which will defy the storm.

The friendship which has united me with our leaders and which transcends time and mortal life, is a guarantee that my criticism relates only to the issue, not to the person. Whether my judgment is valid, my readers must decide. They should consider this book with the eye of the pilot of an airplane, who considers things of this world from the heights and at a distance.

M. B.

Jerusalem–Rechavia
February 1938

DEDICATED TO MY WIFE

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ILLUSTRATIONS

The following illustrations appear as a group after page 128.

A plaque of Dr. Bodenheimer.

Dr. Bodenheimer.

The author's draft of the Theses of the Jewish National Zion Club in Cologne.

The first page of the *Menorah Journal* of September 4, 1891, with Dr. Bodenheimer's lead article, "Zionists of All Countries Unite."

A sketch of a plan for a colony in southern Galilee, from Baron de Hirsch's records in Paris.

A page from a letter of Dr. Bodenheimer's to Colonel Goldsmid in London, in late 1895.

The author's first letter to Herzl, dated May 20, 1896.

The first page of the National Jewish Confederation's pamphlet of 1896 in which the "Theses" were published.

The author's letter to Herzl dated June 9, 1897, concerning the opposition of the German assimilationists to the program of the Munich Congress.

The National Jewish Confederation's pamphlet of 1897 that prepared the way for the German Zionist Conference in Bingen, Germany.

The five members of the delegation under Herzl's leadership on the deck of the ship to Palestine in 1898.

The members of the delegation in a Jerusalem street.

The members of the delegation on the way to Palestine in 1898 making a trip on muleback along the Suez Canal.

Dr. Bodenheimer's notes of December 8, 1898, concerning the statutes of the Jewish Bank.

The author planting a pepper tree at Ben Schemen in 1912.

The author and Dr. J. Tschlenow at Rechoboth in 1912.

The author and his wife in their home in Cologne.

The author with his son, daughters, and wife.

The author planting a tree in memory of Johann Kremenetzky in the garden in front of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem in 1936.

The draft of a letter of Dr. Bodenheimer's to Ze'ev Jabotinsky after the murder of Arlosoroff in the summer of 1933.

An example, following the author's proposal, of Hebrew letters including vowels.

Unworthy is the nation that does not willingly stake its all on honor—FRIEDRICH SCHILLER

A VISION

(1891)

Ocean glittering as a black jewel
Shrouded in dark cloaks of sorrow
Woven of black goat hair
heaped to menacing cloud cliffs
Colorless heaven and water
beach of coal dust and ash
Grief and despair over all.
A shadow rises from the waters
covering the darkness.
A ship rustling over the broad waves
a coffin leaving a blood-red wake.
A ghostly silence over all
broken by the dull creak of masts and spars.
Thousands of sleepdrunk beings
filling the decks
blocks of basalt with human faces
lying in deathlike slumber.
One fitfully clutching a bag of gold.
Greedily glistens the eye
but stiff and dried is the hand.
A black-eyed girl stands there
clutching pearls to her breast.
With longing look searching a far
seeking home and the playmates of youth.
A snowy head bowed in last slumber
upon weighty tomes yellowed with time.

A blinded eye seeking yet in death
to decipher the riddles of Cabbalah.
Clinging and clung to by kith and kin
another lies locked in the sleep of despair.
Locked in stiffened death, no breath
of life or hope.
One upright figure stands at the mast
Wild are his locks as coiling snakes
Wild is his beard lashed by the storm.
A golden-stringed harp in his right
Sighing, moaning with every gust of wind.
Dark is his glance
Scornful and melancholy the curl of his lips.
I am that man, a seer and prophet.
Once I sounded the strings to joyful song.
Happy tunes arose from my lute.
Maidens' smiles shone upon me
Breasts uplifted in longing.
A singer of the Lord I deemed myself
touched by heavenly breezes
and happy was I
Lilies are the cheeks of love
Cherries her lips
as white rose petals her bosom
her body soft velvet.
Joy is love.
Life is love.
Here is death.
My arms I raised
tearing my hair
and I quarelled with the Lord.
Why tear me from the shores of living nations?
Drag me from the warm embrace of pleasure?
To save this people?
When it is dead?
Whereto with ten million corpses?

They lie as stones
and know not they have died.
What shall I, one sole human
among a lifeless people?
Chased they were, as dogs,
beaten, even as cattle,
crushed as one crushes grapes,
underfoot by trampling serfs,
Their warm life blood flowed forth.
Crushed, beaten, mocked by the nations
as if a misbegotten cretin,
dying they fled to this ship.
Here they lie, dumb yet speaking
Like the book of history.
But I was beloved of the nations
flattering, they hung upon me
With love caressing my cheeks
Blond maidens trembling, kissed my lips.
An apostle of their spirit was I
Poet of their dreams.
Balsam I dripped into their wounds
healing their pain and raising their fallen.
Therefore they all cried as one :
You are not of this accursed people,
not flesh of their flesh, blood of their blood.
You are a sendling of the Gods,
Bastard of our Princes.
Beauty in your face and light in your eyes.
Stay with us, the peoples of the earth.
But my heart cried out
a voice within me called :
They are Your People !
A heavenly call rang in my ears :
Save your people, lest it die !
And I saw their crippled forms,
swaying towards the shore,

whipped and tortured by the nations.
My wrath waxed high for the evil of mankind
for the black thanklessness of man.
My feet flew over hills and valleys.
I tore myself from the sweetness of home
tore myself from the soft arms of life.
Here I am.
Restless, without aim or end
tossed are we by the storm
upon the wide, wild waters.
Here and there flickers a light from far strands
a ray of hope for the lost.
And I sounded my lyre
and sang of the love of mankind
and eternal joy, praised the blessings of gentleness
the flowering garden of eternal peace,
the glittering throne of justice,
the palace of the only God.
Of you I sang, of your glory power and goodness.
But the rough hands of human hate
abandoned the ship to the storms of the sea.
Thrusting the vessel into the raging breakers,
their mocking laughter shrill in my ears.
My people moved not to the tones of my harp.
My people lay as dead.
Rotting not, but waking not.
Weak is the arm of one man
too weak for the wheel of the coffin of our hopes.
But show me the end. Where is it?
Strong is my speech, warm my breath,
I will shout to raise stones,
dry wood shall feel my anguish,
the pain for the misery of my people.
Perhaps it will wake.
And I cast my glance afar
Thrusting through the world darkness,

as an arrow, a bullet to its mark.
All the force of my soul in that glance
hunting the ring of the horizon.
Behold! A light shines afar
dancing as a troll at the end of the world
in fairy tale shine shimmers a ray of hope.
My eyes glowed, and I beheld:
A wondrous image rising in that light
an angel of the Lord, glory of the eternal.
A beauteous maiden
white as the snows of Lebanon
flimmering in silver moon light.
Black is her hair, tied high with a golden circlet
of gentleness.
Proud is her bearing
In a thousand folds her garments flow
covered as the hills by the glory of morn.
Soft bell-like voice grasping my bursting heart
with joyous longing.
She spoke:
With your lyre you wish to awaken your people?
With stale songs of common lust
fulfill an eternal work?
Condemned is your harp,
damned is your song!
A dying world lies at your feet
and as in play you twang your strings.
Rise! Grasp the spokes of the wheel,
Turn, turn the ship to my shore.
Lift up your voice and speak the word of Zion.
But I held back and doubted,
my head sank upon my breast.
How can a word release this people
where my song went for naught?
Trust they the saving force of your word?
Long gone is Zion from their hearts.

Even should I believe, lost is this nation.
Soft her reply :
You doubt me but wanted to wake the stones
with your faith?
Cast out your earthly fears
Free yourself and you shall free your people.
You look for help around you,
but in your strength lies salvation
when you will it,
Throw off your harp,
uplift your arms and cry the word of Zion!
And I lifted my well-loved lyre
and smashed it upon the deck.
It wailed yet and I swept it overboard.
Joyously gleamed the eye of the wondrous maiden
She grasped my right and magic waves of strength
and faith came flooding through me,
and the vision passed into the night.
But I strode to the wheel
and grasped the creaking spokes
turning, turning the ship to Zion.
My voice I raised that it thundered
throughout the vessel :
Arise you sleepers, awake you dreamers,
stir your arms and set the sail towards freedom!
We go to Zion, land of our fathers
our eternal heritage.
Scarce had they fled my lips, these words
and the breath of life crept over these dead.
Amazed they rubbed their eyes, a curtain fell
from before their faces.
Hundreds cried with me and the vessel sounded
as the din and clamour of a thousand battles.
Wake up, you sleepers! Salvation has come!
Stir your arms and set the sail to Zion!
They spoke who clung to gold :

What use of gold when the body is withered?
With this gold I did not purchase freedom.
Chased I was from land to land
that joy never knew my heart.
Into the sea they cast their gold.
And the maiden sighed :
What use my love?
The peoples have decried me as a slave.
Not I a harlot.
My jewels I give for my honor,
and the sea took her castoff heirloom :
What use the signs and formulas,
for while we slept, salvation came.
And the sea swallowed the leaves.
And hundreds swore : May my tongue cleave to the palate,
my right hand wither, if ever I forget thee
Oh, Jerusalem!
And all cried :
Salvation is here! Stir your arms!
We set our sails to the land of hope,
to the land of longing and freedom, to Zion!
The rolling thunder shook the earth.
Deemed dead, they lifted their arms
mysterious power swelling their deedseeking muscles.
Millions of voices roaring
stirring the sea into rage.
The clouds parted and the gleam of dawn
lit up the glowing waters, hissing the ship
cut through the foaming waves.
Lighter and warmer
the sun poured forth upon a newborn world.
Sapphire blue is the sea, the firmament an opal.
White swan wings the billowing sails.
A light yellow line heralding the saving shore.
And as the ship drew nearer the land
dust-buried ruins stirred

Temples and Palaces grew in white and
in colored marble, pillars and golden domes.
And the waste lands bloomed, rocked by Zephyrus
Olives and Cedars, and Palms,
Cypress and Orange groves, fields and meadows
Vineyards and gardens.
High upon the mountain, in the bright gleam of day
Splendidly crowned stood Zion, the daughter of Israel.
And my people streamed ashore kissing the ground
tearful with joy.
But the maiden restored my golden lyre,
speaking kind words :
Sing now, sing the songs of your heart,
Songs of love and of friendship.
But I rejoiced :
What could I sing but the love of Zion?
What is fairer then the daughter of Israel?
My people's singer I shall be, the newborn Israel
in the flowering fields of its fathers.
Calm and eternal peace came over me
and with new strength
strode I forth into the land
of reborn

ISRAEL.

PART ONE

MY YOUTH

THE place and time of a man's birth leave their stamp on his history. Accordingly the ancients believed in an intrinsic connection between the position of the stars at the hour of his birth and his subsequent fate. For Jews, the country of their birth has an added significance. This is their remarkable adaptation to the physical and mental traits of the predominant population. I do not mean the so-called Nordic type of blond and blue-eyed Jew; that type is also frequent in Palestine, where Jews converge the many countries, and is the consequence of a mingling of races, which dates back to prehistoric times. The adaptation to which I refer is the way in which the Jewish folk type assumes in the course of several generations, the outstanding individual features of the surrounding population. Thus the American, the English, the French, the German, and the Russian Jews are easily distinguished, although one always recognizes them as Jews. Now to satisfy those who would detect in me certain marks of the Swabian character, I state that I was born in Stuttgart on March 21, 1865.

The grandeur of the royal court and of the military estab-

lishment endowed my native city with outward splendor. It had the advantage of other capitals which, during the time of the German petty states, were adorned as a result of the taste for opulence and princely rivalries with castles and parks. An interest in art gave birth to theaters and museums, while colleges and grammar schools advanced education. The promenades of the New Palace, extending to the mansions of Rosenstein and Wilhelma, with their numerous marble monuments, served the inhabitants as places of recreation and enjoyment. They provide me with pleasing memories. The palace of the Duke of Württemberg with the statue of Eberhard the Greiner is a remarkable monumental building. When I last visited my native city in the year 1931, the galleries of the illuminated inner court formed an inspiring setting for a concert in the moonlight. With its surrounding vine-covered hills and woods, Stuttgart is one of the most charming cities of Germany. At the time of my childhood it was a small city of about 90,000 inhabitants.

Four factors affected my life: the German, the Jewish, the anti-Jewish, and Jewish nationalism. I was hardly five years old when the Franco–German War broke out. The events of that time made a deep impression upon my mind, which together with my native surroundings, struck a chord which has echoed throughout my life. On a hot summer evening I saw from the window of our home in the Gerberstrasse a soldier taking leave of a girl who wept bitterly. In reply to my astonished question about what it meant, my mother told me that we were at war with the French. The soldier was going to the front and would perhaps never see his sweetheart again. I was told that the French were our mortal enemies. If they were to come down the Hasenberg, a mountain near Stuttgart, they would pitilessly murder fathers, mothers, and children. So the soldier taking leave of his sweetheart became for me the image of a hero. According to my playmates, the wickedness of Emperor

Napoleon alone was to blame for the war. That inspired me with a bitter hatred against him and the French. I often sat with my mother and sisters around the lamp, late at night, making lint bandages for the wounded. Sometimes our mother would read to us a poem which in resounding verses acclaimed the victories of the German troops. The title of one of these songs, "Hurra Viktoria," made me so enthusiastic that I repeated it over and over. After the victories of our troops at Weissenberg and Wörth there was a torchlight parade, which I was allowed to watch from the windows of our house. It gave me special pleasure to accompany the troops who, with bands playing, marched through the Königstrasse to the railway station. My father also once led me to a side exit of the station where the first contingent of wounded had arrived. The sight of the stretchers on which pale-faced men lay with bandaged heads is one I have never forgotten. Prisoners, who attracted my attention with their wide red trousers, were arriving at the freight station. Among them were Turks and Zouaves, who had been described as particularly bloodthirsty but who, with a friendly smile, accepted small gifts, which we were then allowed to give the enemy, as we considered our prisoners to be. In the square in front of the War Office, some captured guns were displayed, and we gazed at them in astonishment. It was said that they had been invented by Napoleon. These were cannons which hurled death and destruction. One day my father came home with the news that the Emperor Napoleon had been captured. He rejoiced at the thought that the war was finally at an end. To celebrate the event there was a triumphal parade of men in the uniforms of bygone days. This splendid treasury of costumes was later used by us in a students' performance of *Duke Ernst von Uhland,* in which they lost a great deal of the magnificence with which my memory had adorned them.

On the occasion of the proclamation of the Empire, the city

was illuminated in a festive manner. Tallow candles in little earthenware bowls, which went out whenever the wind blew, were placed in the windows throughout the city. It was a special sport to light them again. The colored paper lanterns with which many of the lights were surrounded made a particular impression upon us children. But when one of these lanterns went up in flames we were terrified.

In the Palace Square at Stuttgart there are two great fountains consisting of wide bronze bowls from which water pours into a large basin. Underneath these were numerous pipes by means of which hundreds of small gas jets were lit up. Since then I have seen more magnificent illuminations with electric bulbs, searchlights and colored fireworks. But on that occasion, the city illuminated by the simplest means afforded me the greatest delight. A happy, excited crowd filled streets and squares. The crush was greatest in front of the palace, causing panic as first one and then another—out of fear of being crushed—began to swear and shout. Finally, in the crush I lost my fur hat, of which I was very proud, so that for me this festive evening had a depressing conclusion. French officers who had been set free on their word of honor were strolling through the streets. They were quite a strange apparition to me, with their black mustaches and pointed beards. In the Café Marquardt, to which my father often took me, they used to amuse themselves by playing cards, chess, or dominoes. They thus enjoyed humane treatment which was not any longer to be accorded to prisoners in the First World War.

These war recollections close with a colorful spectacle—the march of the troops into the city which took place in 1871. Triumphal arches covered with aromatic fir branches, paper flowers, and flagstaffs with fluttering banners adorned the streets. From the flat roof of a one-story house, I saw the troops marching in from the Tübinger Gate, acclaimed by the frenzied jubilation of the masses. The soldiers' caps were decorated

with oak leaves. Each with a bunch of flowers on his breast and in the muzzle of his gun, and with bronzed faces, they strode proudly into the city.

It is understandable that under the influence of such impressions my youth was dominated by strong patriotic feeling. For me all events of world history seemed mirrored in that mighty epoch, that iron year of war. The struggle of the German people for unity and greatness was in the background of my further development. That in my childish mood I shared the joy and sorrow of the entire German people is quite obvious. Nothing clouded the feeling of participation. The old Teutons who lay on bearskins, drank mead, and gambled away their wives, I regarded as my ancestors. I was very proud of Hermann the Cherusker. At the same time, I had a strong feeling that Swabia was my home.

My parents were simple people who soon after their marriage moved from the narrow confines of their village into the city. My father's wholesale business was so successful that it earned him a considerable fortune, which enabled him to retire while still young. In summer my parents used to visit the Black Forest, so that my mother, who was in ailing health, could take a cure at Stahlbad Imnau or the hot springs of Wildbad. We children used our freedom to stroll through the neighboring forests, or to spend all day in our garden by the Kanonenweg, where flowers and fruits were ours for the taking. The absence of my parents was particularly welcome to me as I was able to indulge my fondness for reading without restraint. I spent even the nights with such books as I was able to obtain secretly. My parents did not by any means approve of this, because indiscriminately I devoured every book that fell into my hands. During the holidays, which I spent with my grandparents in the village, I found in the storeroom a complete edition of the *Arabian Nights* which I fairly devoured. Through this reading my imagination was stimulated by the fantastic world of the

Orient. The picaresque novels of the Berlin Hofrat (court counselor) Clauren, splendidly caricatured by Wilhelm Hauff in his *Mann im Monde,* also fell into my hands by chance. The confusion which such books were bound to produce in the head of a ten-year-old boy can be imagined. But I soon began to prefer the classics. My particular love was devoted to the ballads and dramas of Schiller and the works of Goethe. But I also read and became fond of Theodor Körner and Ludwig Uhland. Then followed Heine, his opponent Platen, Wieland, and Kleist, in whose writings I steeped myself. My scanty pocket money found its way to the second-hand bookseller and to the theater box-office. The translation of Shakespeare's dramas by Benda aroused my greatest delight. A visit to the theater cost not only thirty *kreuzer* (about fourpence) for a place in the top balcony, but also hours of standing in line before the entrance to this paradise.

My maternal grandfather was a linen weaver in the village of Hochberg on the Neckar, where in the fifteenth century the Counts of Württemberg had granted Jews legal protection. My feeling for Judaism goes back to this grandfather, among whose possessions I found a collection of Hebrew books. There were also German books on Jewish subjects, among them the history of the Jewish War by Josephus. One can understand my enthusiasm over the discovery that the Jews, contrary to the popular view of their supposed cowardice in ancient times, could point to such heroes as Simon bar Giora and John of Giscala. From that moment on, I acquired a great interest in Jewish history. The annual reports of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* which came into our household, also provided me with rich material. The persecutions to which the Jews in the East were subjected filled me with bitterness; on the other hand, the Books of the Maccabees, and above all the figure of Judas Maccabaeus, evoked my boundless admiration.

I was more often a visitor at the home of my father's parents

in Berwangen. It was from this grandfather, who was a cloth weaver, that I inherited the passion for travel. As a journeyman he had wandered halfway across Europe into the interior of Russia, and was very proud of the fabrics he himself had woven. It was from him that my father acquired his peculiar habits of benevolence. He often invited Polish *Schnorers* to a meal on the Sabbath, a custom which gave us children amusement on many occasions. In addition to his hospitality, so much in accord with Jewish tradition, he made it a point always to make a gift of money to these poor people before they left.

My mother was full of a touching love for her children, to whom her life was devoted. Her graceful figure was always busy with housekeeping or in the kitchen. It was a solemn moment when she sat dreaming in an armchair, her blue eyes gazing into the unknown distance.

To my parents I was not a reassuring youngster. My dreaminess and an imagination overstimulated by my passion for reading made me a difficult pupil in the lower classes of the grammar school, causing my father in particular a good deal of vexation. I frequently visited the house of an uncle, a man of imposing appearance, who as an officer in the City Guard, in a uniform richly adorned with braid, used to ride at the head of his squadron through the main streets of the city when escorting princely personages or attending public functions. All of this impressed me very much. And I was always in love with one of my cousins, whose beauty was famous in Stuttgart.

When and where the first discord disturbed my feeling of attachment to the surrounding German world, I do not know. But it must have happened when I was still attending preparatory school. During the lessons in biblical history, which we took together with the Christian children, we learned of the wanderings of the Hebrew people through the wilderness to the Holy Land. Everything went smoothly until we began to study the Gospels. Then the little anti-Semites maintained that it was

we Jews had nailed the Savior to the cross. We were Judases and traitors. Thus were the minds of the Christian children poisoned with hatred for the Jews in their earliest youth. It is a curious contradiction that this hatred of Jews should have been implanted during instructions in a religion of love. As a result of the creation of such anti-Jewish sentiments, a feeling of inferiority developed among Jewish children at a tender age, which henceforth dominated their relation to their religion and to the Jewish people. Jews in eastern Europe, where they lived massed together, were presumably spared from such harmful influences.

My given name Isidor, also caused me much annoyance. In accordance with the old custom, I was named for my maternal grandfather, who was called Isaac. But to adapt ourselves to the surrounding world, the custom had arisen of giving a child a name common among the general population, with the same initial letter or a similar meaning. But Jewish parents were often behind the times and used names which were out of fashion among non-Jews. As a consequence of this foolish custom, such given names were used in Jewish cartoons, in comic sheets and provoked one's fellow pupils to mockery. My friends, therefore, called me by the name of Max, and at the university I received the nickname "Mohrle." If assimilation was considered a way to the liberation of Jewry, this was surely no organic integration but only a mimicry of other people's ways.

In the squabbles resulting from traditional feuds among the youths of different schools or districts I took an active part. Once a chip of wood struck me in the eye, so that for some weeks I was in danger of losing the sight of one eye. My friends were almost all non-Jewish boys, sons of officers and officials, and these friendships were warm and devoted. I was also influenced by the companionship of the son of the editor of the *Neuen Tageblatts,* the most widely read paper in Stuttgart.

This youngster provided me with travel books, among which was one by the naturalist von Heuglin, which interested me because his sister supervised our school work. Through her I came to know him, and found him pleased by my interest in his stereoscopic pictures, which gave me an idea of life in foreign countries. I also admired the strange clothes which he had brought home from his journeys. Once at carnival time, I was allowed to dress in Oriental costume along with the nieces of the naturalist. It was with profound shyness that I first entered the study of the scholar, which was filled with mounted animals, books, and maps. A large round table covered with an enormous slate served him as a notebook. I myself often used it for my childish drawings. He also inspired me with great respect by reason of his official uniform as Württemberg Consul in Egypt and the esteem in which he was held by everyone.

Once the realm of German literature was opened up to me, ambition and vanity moved me to attempts of my own in this sphere. Thus, at the age of eight, I composed a patriotic poem on the heroic death of the brothers von Taube in the battle of Champigny. I had no idea of prosody; the principal thing seemed to me to be rhyme. Soon love began to play a part in my poems. It is a mistake to suppose that there can be no question of this at such an early age. I dedicated some poems to a girl with a pale face and melancholy eyes. But a peculiar shyness prevented me from handing them directly to the adored one. I got them into her hands in a roundabout way and was curious to know whether she reciprocated my feelings. When I found out that she was looking for the author among the classical poets whom I revered so much, my ambition was satisfied, and I enjoyed this game of secrecy for a long time.

In another poem I dealt with the legend of Phaëton, who drove the chariot of the sun across the zodiac and through arrogance came to a wretched end. I was bold enough to recite the poem in the German literature class of Professor Maier,

who made a search for the author, and in this way the culprit was unmasked and I earned the reputation of a poet. My teacher of religion, Kirchenrat von Wassermann, who had written the novel *Judah Thouro,* also heard of it and praised my talent. But it was like an icy bath when he seriously warned me against the path to Parnassus. I never forgot his admonition, which restrained me from an exaggerated opinion of my poetic efforts. They occupied me in my leisure hours from my twelfth to my eighteenth year and were very strongly inspired by the legends of the world of Greek gods. Next I was much occupied with problems of the fatherland, and then, finally, grim indignation over hatred for the Jews drove me to poetic composition. These poems provided an outlet for my feelings. I did not think of having them published, since I would have considered that a profanation of my feelings. But when I later took part in the Zionist movement, some were printed in Jewish calendars, in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* and in songbooks of the national student organizations.

Around the year 1881 and thereafter, news of the persecution of the Jews in Russia increased. Looting, burning, and murderous assaults raged there, and Ahasuerus took his wanderer's staff into other countries. Refugees also came to Stuttgart. Emaciated, ragged, sick, and hungry, burdened with their scanty belongings, they lay in front of the headquarters of the synagogue community. The distress of the exiles also touched the non-Jewish world, and public collections were taken up in their behalf. Who would then have thought that a similar fate awaited the German Jews? The head of our school, Dillmann, considered it to be his humanitarian duty to collect donations from his pupils for the unfortunate victims and none of my schoolmates refused to contribute. I sacrificed for this purpose the little money I had saved for many years. But these gifts were a mere pittance for the relief of distress. Nevertheless the readiness of my Christian schoolmates to help gave me a

great satisfaction and I felt indebted to them. They were indignant at the barbarism towards innocent people. The Nazi revolution is proof of the degradation of the mind to which decades of incitement can bring a people. Under the profound influence of that time, I wrote a maudlin novel in which I described the expulsion of the Jews from Prague in 1397. This contained my first suggestion in regard to the solution of the Jewish question, namely, the marriage of a Jewess with her rescuer, a Christian nobleman. After the completion of this story I engaged in the study of the history of the German Jews, in which I found Stobbe's work on the Jews in the Middle Ages helpful.

The conflict between Jewish and German feelings which thus gradually developed was considerably intensified by the observance of religious customs in my parents' home. My mother was a very pious woman of profound sincerity. She adhered to religious rites with devotion and endowed them with beauty and serenity. Each Sabbath found her busy with preparations. On the table, covered with a white cloth, were placed two silver candlesticks with lighted candles, a Kiddush cup, and the Sabbath loaves straight from the baker. In the evening the whole family was gathered round the table and my father pronounced the blessing on the wine and bread, in accordance with Jewish law and tradition.

At the New Year, the atmosphere was particularly solemn. After coming home from the synagogue, we children offered our greetings, which we placed neatly, often in rhymed form, under our parents' plates, whereupon we received a blessing. Seder evening was for us a great feast. The *Haggadah,* with its history of the redemption of the Jews from bondage in Egypt, and its Talmudic interpretations, was recited, and the traditional songs were chanted together. The *mazzoth* were broken in the prescribed manner, and we children followed to the best of our ability the commandments of drinking four

cups of wine. This rite, from which the Christian rite of the Lord's Supper is derived, was greatly enjoyed by our family. On the Feast of Tabernacles we shook the *lulaf* with the *ethrog,* and on Sabbath eve my father often chanted the Psalms for his melodious voice. I also remember the strange custom of waving a hen round one's head on the eve of the Day of Atonement, presumably an old sacrificial practice. On the Day of Atonement we kept a strict fast and thus enjoyed all the more the festive meal with which this day ended.

The feasts of Chanukah and Purim afforded us a happy change. It is certain that the Jewish people knew how to celebrate their festivals worthily in their own country. Under the afflictions, anxieties, and confinement of the Middle Ages, these celebrations became petrified into mere distorted relics of their original vitality. For us children, the observance of these festive occasions created a sharp separation between the outside world and the life at home. Outside, there was unrestricted freedom; in the home, strict constraint. But how splendid could these customs be made if they were infused with the breath of a new life. Even so, the feast of Chanukah with the glistening lights of the Menorah, the picture of my mother spreading her hands over the Sabbath candles as she blessed them and of my father, singing as he quenched the neatly plaited taper with the poured-out wine, remain a cherished memory of my parents' home. But on the reverse side of this were many restrictions and deprivations. I was never allowed to do my homework for school on the Sabbath, and thus was spoiled for me the Sunday, which I could otherwise have spent with my friends. The result was estrangement from many of them.

My interest in literature opened my eyes to the value of humanistic studies. Since I was intended for a career in business, I had to leave the *Gymnasium* (secondary school with classical languages) for the *Realgymnasium* (secondary school

with modern languages). I now had an ardent wish to return to it. For this a special examination was required. I passed, with the result that I was admitted to the class of my former schoolmates.

I had a great love of solitude in the freedom of nature. When I was depressed by some anxiety or other I would wander alone for hours through Stuttgart's extensive forests of pine and beech. This *Wanderlust* prompted me to undertake a walking tour through the Black Forest, on which I went alone. As the phenomenon of the *Wandervögel* was then unknown, my parents looked upon the plan as a passing whim. But one morning quite early I took leave of them to begin my journey, and before my parents had recovered from their astonishment I was out of the house. I went over the glorious mountains meeting with all sorts of odd encounters. In Freiburg my money gave out. While waiting for money to arrive, I had the opportunity to become acquainted with this city, where the cathedral and the houses surrounding it particularly attracted my attention. Invigorated by lively impressions and the effect of being on the move in the freedom of nature I returned home mentally and physically refreshed. I was proud that I had carried out this three weeks' journey at a ridiculously small expense. But let nobody ask me where and how I spent the nights. When I took the same ramble twenty-five years later with my son Fritz, I planned to stay at Neustadt in the same inn on the Titisee where I had spent a night before. But when I stood in front of it I could not bring myself to pass the night in this wretched hole, and we therefore took a room in the "Adler," where we could be more comfortable.

My form master, Professor Friedrich Maier, exercised a great influence over me although I did not become aware of it until later. He aroused my taste for the beauty of classical antiquity and the joy of intellectual creation. A sort of demonic quality gave him almost hypnotic power over women. His

amorous adventures were the talk of the town. Many years later I visited him in Tübingen, where he lived on a small pension, after having been dismissed on account of his untidy love affairs. I found him alone at a small table. He told me that when I came in he had just been having a conversation with a dead lady friend, who had been a victim of blood poisoning during his stay in Paris many years before. In reply to my evident astonishment he explained that he communicated with his friend by rapping on the table. I assumed that, owing to his plight, he had become mentally unbalanced, as I then had no idea that the problem of occultism existed. Thus I made no suggestion aimed at testing the phenomenon. In Tübingen he was a well-known personality, and was called "the girls' professor" or "the red Maier."

By the time I reached the upper form in the *Gymnasium* I had shaken off the painful memories of the anti-Jewish slurs and mockeries of my childhood. I saw the world about me with the eyes of an experienced citizen of the world, and believed in the progress of civilization and in the brotherhood of nations in a spirit of humanism. But I soon realized that the deadly fungus of Jew-hatred was developing among my schoolmates. Some of them had a secret society from which Jews were excluded. I had no interest in the drinking bouts of this club, and was by no means hostile to its members on that account. On the other hand, I felt a shy attraction toward the young girls of my own circle.

For a boy going into the upper form there was the cheerful pastime of evening dancing lessons. I joined a club consisting of young people from a respectable section of the middle class. After several weeks passed in happy youthful enjoyments of these evenings, I was suddenly awakened with fright out of my innocence. An acquaintance of our family, a young businessman, asked me to introduce him as a guest at our dancing lesson. As there was nothing unusual about this I could not

refuse him. But he made himself unpopular by an arrogant manner, and when in my absence he forced his way into the café frequented by our club he was the subject of some anti-Jewish remarks. When he complained, I reproached him with his conduct and told him that if he had noticed that his company was not wanted he should have gone away immediately. He replied that he wanted to speak to the members of the club about their prejudice, whereupon I pointed out that his tactless conduct certainly did not do anything toward preventing it. He was very much annoyed with me on account of this, and I never saw him again. Nevertheless, I felt obliged to reproach the members of the club for their attitude, whereupon one of them declared that they regretted the offensive manner in which they treated a guest, but the truth was that they belonged to the anti-Semitic movement. That, he said, had nothing to do with their personal relations to me. They esteemed me very highly and would regret it if our friendly relations were affected by the incident. I replied that my feeling of honor forbade me to remain in an anti-Jewish circle, and at once gave up the dancing lessons. At last I began to doubt whether there was any cure for the deeply rooted hatred of Jews in Germany. But I did not yet realize that this applied also to the other countries in which the Jews formed a minority and where it had not proved possible to ensure the triumph of culture over the instincts of the multitudes. Despite this incident I still felt a strong bond with all that was German, and my faith in the progress of human civilization was still unshaken.

I was to have many experiences before I became fully aware of the ambivalent and problematical character of my feeling for Germany.

The last weeks before I entered the university were the happiest of my life. The expectation of academic freedom, of which I had an exaggerated conception, put me into a state of exhilaration. Motley caps, colored ribbons, rapier and fenc-

ing gloves, all the paraphernalia of a German student hovered alluringly before my eyes. My father did not impose any obligation upon me with regard to the subjects I was to study. He only advised me not to take up natural history and astronomy, for which I showed great partiality, because those subjects would not provide me with a living. Jurisprudence seemed to me too formalistic; but I could not decide in favor of medicine for the reason that anatomy, with its compulsory task of dissecting the human body, was repulsive to me.

Before the beginning of the term, on a glorious day in autumn, I tramped with my friend Kaulla through the Schönbuch to Tübingen, where we hoped to find lodgings. The distance is about forty-seven kilometers, and we walked it in ten hours. The mighty oaks stood innocent in the splendor of their autumn coloring. It had been a long time since Hans von Hutten had been hanged on one of them, murdered by a duke out of common jealousy. Peace reigned over the whole landscape, and we walked into Tübingen full of joyous hopes. Soon after the beginning of the term I was persuaded by students from my former class in the *Gymnasium* to take a carriage drive into Stuttgart, an expedition which re-opened an old wound. The harm was not in the accident that befell us on the vine-clad path, though the carriage turned over and tumbled us into the ditch, but in an outbreak of anti-Semitic vulgarity. When, late at night, we reached a royal hunting lodge in the thickest part of the forest, behind Bebenhausen, these fellows suddenly began, as though at a word of command, to sing the mocking song:

Three Jews with pointed beards strode through the forest.
Their names were Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

They did not cease from this rudeness until I became very indignant and threatened to leave the carriage. This would have annoyed them only because I had not yet paid my part of the fare.

All the same, because of another incident, the castle of Bebenhausen, with its rich art treasures, remained a happy memory. My friendship with Otto Kaulla went back to my childhood days, but it assumed a more intimate character shortly before I went to the University. What pleased me particularly in Kaulla was his simple, modest nature, which, despite his cleverness, was combined with a certain aloofness from the world. He belonged to the old and esteemed Jewish house of the Barons of Kaulla-on-Oberdischingen, who had been connected for a hundred years with the Court Bank of the Kings of Württemberg. The father of my friend was the British Consul General and Privy Court Counselor Albert von Kaulla. One day my friend and I were invited by him to Bebenhausen. There we met an uncle of my friend, who entertained the company with his wit and good humor. A festive meal with champagne made us very animated. The company of these distinguished, educated, and proud Jews gave me a certain support against attacks upon my Jewishness.

A scene in the house of my friend's parents was not without significance. Shortly before we left for Tübingen we were chatting in the smoking room after dinner, while my friend's father, a stately figure, listened to us thoughtfully from his armchair. Our conversation seemed to interest him very much, for he suddenly jumped up and said emphatically: "You should make a note of it, Otto—duels are ridiculous, but if anybody attacks you because of your religion then you must defend yourself with a weapon in your hand, even if it comes to a matter of life and death."

When I entered the hall of my alma mater for the solemn act of matriculation, I intended to refrain from joining a group. These groups, which because of their strict discipline had a great attraction for me, no longer admitted any Jews, and those fraternities that were founded on the basis of the ideals of the German freedom movement, whose members

were close to me personally, admitted them only as exceptions. In the other societies there were students from different classes, so that they lacked a uniform character. I therefore toyed with the idea of founding a Jewish society. My plan was not based on Jewish national activity, but, on the contrary, on the fostering of German fighting and drinking customs, German song and German poetry, all under the illusion of demonstrating a German consciousness. This self-contradictory attempt failed simply through the lack of suitable and willing participants. My fundamental mistake was that I saw the causes of hostility to Jews in external matters, in the traditional occupation of Jews with trade and finance, in the lack of tact, and in the arrogance of certain Jewish circles. I hoped by means of an exemplary student society to increase esteem for the Jewish students and to remove them from isolation. This idea was then entirely new : not until later were the first Jewish societies founded in Breslau and Heidelberg. While I occupied myself with this plan I sought my way to the heart of the German people by means of a popular poem, and thus in the course of the first weeks of the winter term of 1884 there came into being my drama *Duke Ulrich* freely based on the novel *Lichtenstein* by Wilhelm Hauff.

By chance, in the end, I did become a member of a student society. In the *Ratsstube* where I ate I made the acquaintance of some chess-players, who invited Kaulla and me to visit their club. The friendly reception we found there caused us to join. We thought it was only a matter of chess-playing, in which I gladly took part. But only one evening in the week was devoted to this pastime. On the other evenings there was beer-drinking, with inane speeches which I found annoying. On the other hand fencing with sword and rapier, which was diligently practiced, gave me much enjoyment. The members of the club belonged to a circle of philistines and minor officials, and their manners displeased me. In order not to be looked down upon

by the societies which wore colored ribbons, they competed with them in their customs of drinking and fighting, to such a degree that these excesses of student life took on a repulsive character. I opposed all this in vain and thus came into conflict with some members of the society. On one of our beer-drinking evenings their hostility found expression in an irritating manner. My poems had fallen into the hands of one of these fellows, who made indecent parodies of them. Although I was inclined at first to attribute this incident to drunkenness, I soon realized that Jew-hatred had played a part in it. I therefore resigned from the club and challenged my opponent to a duel. This was fought in the village of Derendingen near Tübingen at the end of the next term, which I spent in Leipzig.

It was a cold wintry day. My second went out to the place with me in the early morning, along with the "wound doctor," who was, as usual, a dissolute senior student. The hall was freezing, the walls still spattered and smelling of blood from a duel that had taken place shortly before. While the "doctor" was making his leisurely preparation of the basin containing his instruments and the catgut strings for sewing up wounds, we opponents got ourselves dressed for the occasion. We were each wrapped in a padded coat of mail, which left only parts of the breast, the shoulders, and the face exposed.

Owing to my short sight I had provided myself with spectacles to be placed inside the eye-protector. When I faced my opponent I discovered, to my astonishment, that owing to their distance from the eye, the glasses in the eye-protector caused an extreme reduction of the image, so that my opponent looked to me like a Lilliputian. But that could no longer be altered. At the command of the neutral I lunged out wildly, in the expectation that I would at once be cut to pieces. Instead my opponent hammered on my head with his sword so that my cranium buzzed. But they were only flat strokes. In my anger I gave him a blow over the ear. When the blood gushed out I

was filled with a great satisfaction. A brutal instinct asserted itself. I now had an absurd desire to continue the fight to exhaustion, and was annoyed when the neutral man ordered us to cease because I had cut an artery. After my opponent had had his wound sewn, we shook hands according to custom and drank to one another of the sour red wine which is produced in this district.

As a means of preserving one's honor, these student duels are a survival of the so-called divine judgment from the barbarism of bygone times. But proof of moral purity or uprightness is not obtained by victory with a weapon. The kind of duel customary among the military societies in Germany and Austria is another matter. This is purely sporting in character and is intended to promote cool-headedness and presence of mind in situations where a fight is forced upon one. It is a product of German history and the national character. Imitation by Jewish students was a consequence of assimilation, to which at that time I was still subject, and which went so far that I copied other bad customs of student life as well. Thus, I would boast of my drinking capacity, even though excessive beer-drinking was repugnant to me.

My endeavor to show my German comrades that Jews could rival them in this field resulted in some adventures which I shall pass over in silence. For emerging from these ventures hale and healthy, I can only say that I had Dionysos--Bacchus, the protector of the intoxicated, to thank.

In Strasbourg, where I spent my next term, I became acquainted with the French character. Although the population was basically German in character, there was a French theater, and the educated classes used the French language. The time in which I had regarded the French as mortal enemies was by then long past. On the contrary, I came to have a great admiration for their literature and the more liberal of their political and social endeavors. Montesquieu,

Jean-Jacques Rousseau, and Voltaire were as close to me as the German classics.

A certain difficulty in the conversational use of the language gave me a desire to spend some time in France. I regarded a mastery of the language as useful for my somewhat grandiose plans for the future. I thought of Nancy, where the best French was supposed to be spoken, and after I had taken solemn leave of my Strassburg friends I traveled there by the night train. Although my stay there lasted only a short time, I nevertheless carried away a wealth of new impressions. The city was dominated by the strong garrison stationed there. The various troops in their bright-colored uniforms, cavalry regiments out on maneuver, the marching infantry with the familiar wide red trousers, artillery and engineering units—all showed how strong were the preparations for the event of war. The Place Stanislas and the garden-like promenades reminded me of Stuttgart. The cheerful character typical of Lorraine, which showed itself in the street life and in the numerous *cafés chantants,* had a particular attraction for me. I was already rejoicing at the prospect of spending my holidays here usefully and pleasantly when I received an invitation from my cousin Loeb to come to Paris. This was naturally the realization of my dearest wish, and I set out immediately.

When I arrived early in the morning at the eastern railway station the prodigious traffic first of all aroused my astonishment. Driven by insatiable hunger for the novel and the remarkable, I wandered through the main streets of the city. For this I had a welcome opportunity, as I had some difficulty in finding out just where my cousin lived, owing to the vagueness of the address I had been given. Thus I came to the Place de la Concorde. It was the time of the year when people fond of travel, from all parts of the world, met in that Babel by the Seine. The wonderful square, with its monuments to the twelve large cities of France around the towering central point of

Cleopatra's Needle, swarmed with hundreds of carriages and omnibuses, which drove through the Tuileries between the Louvre and the Arc de Triomphe. As there were then no automobiles and no underground railway, the traffic was much more confusing than now. There was a constant stream of horse-drawn carriages, drivers, and pedestrians. I sat down on a bench, overwhelmed by the beauty, grandeur, and animation of the scene. In my fancy the enormous development of culture, the labor of many hundreds of thousands of men who in the course of the centuries, had made their city a work of art, passed vividly before my eyes. But I also saw the Palais-Bourbon, where the French people had created the focus of their politics. Then the picture of those heroes of the revolution emerged, who had proclaimed human rights to the world and defended their ideals with a gigantic effort against the whole of Europe. Whether it was these ideas which animated me or the fact that I had not enjoyed any sleep for three nights running I do not know, but I burst into tears, so that the passers-by looked at me in astonishment. Then I pulled myself together and strode through the Rue de Rivoli and the varied noisy activity of the big markets, to the Rue Paulle Long. Here I met my cousin, who for several weeks offered me friendly hospitality in his bachelor quarters.

I spent much of my stay in Paris in becoming acquainted with the art collections of the Louvre and of the Luxemburg Palace. In the Cluny Museum I saw the tendency of the French people towards art in all its classic forms manifested in the most splendid manner. All this remained indelible in my memory. But it was above all the National Library which attracted me, and in which I spent several hours almost every day. As I had no opportunity to cultivate the French language in my cousin's circle, which consisted only of Germans, I took lodgings in the vicinity of the Café Saint-Germain and later in the Latin Quarter, where I struck up the acquaintance of some

students. I had a sixth-floor room on the Carrefour de l'Odéon, from which I was able to have a bird's-eye view of the life of the street. To the left lay the Théâtre de l'Odéon, which was surrounded by bookshops. It was a great enjoyment for me to visit it. Watching the French classics and works by Victor Hugo on the stage, I observed the difference between French and German dramatic art. The traditional unity of the former, and its severe style of presentation, seemed to me to correspond more to the character of the theater than the realism of the German stage. For art does not consist in a faithful imitation of life, but in its elevation to a higher plane; otherwise, color photography and the cabinet of waxworks would be the ideal of plastic art. The same applies also to the stage: if it is to be effective as education, it must teach a higher truth.

About this time in the year 1886 there arose the movement centered around General Boulanger. From the window of my room I was able to observe this famous general riding along the Boulevard Saint-Germain on a prancing charger at the head of his cavalry regiment equipped with gleaming helmets, swords, and waving lances, acclaimed by crowds numbering tens of thousands. The popularity of such a folk-hero is a rare phenomenon. Nothing was known of the military achievements of this man, only that he was preparing for a war of revenge. But he was a handsome figure with a dark full beard, which particularly aroused the adulation of the feminine populace, and he was full of glowing ambition. When the leading politicians recognized the danger into which he threatened to drive the French Republic by his warlike ambitions, they destroyed him. If there had been a strong government in Germany before Hitler seized power it would have been an easy matter to mete out a similar fate to the adventurer who hurled the Reich into the abyss. Popularity among the people is a disruptive spectacle. When I saw General Boulanger acclaimed by those blind masses, I was forced to think that the

whole of France stood behind him and had no suspicion of his impending fall.

In Paris I also met with Socialist ideas, whose French protagonists aroused my enthusiasm. The works of Proudhon and Saint-Simon in particular were my introduction to the subject.

What was decisive in the matter was my friendship with the author Karl Hirsch, who as a Socialist leader had been expelled from Germany and was still pleased to speak of his dealings with Engels and Karl Marx. In the tidy house at Neuilly where I often enjoyed his hospitality, I found him consumed with longing for Germany. A man of almost appalling ugliness, he was later to become editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung,* at whose offices we frequently met. He went to a good deal of trouble to persuade me to stay in Paris, and to influence me to devote myself to writing. But when I saw how hard the struggle for life was for a foreign writer in Paris, I was doubtful. A contributing factor was that I had fallen in with a circle of bohemian students who vividly reminded me of Murger. In the conduct of these young people, which gave occasion to many adventures, I found no satisfaction, either emotionally or intellectually. They issued a periodical devoted to literature and art, whose editors occupied themselves with the productions of the students in the Café Saint-Germain. The life of the streets gave us plenty of material for conversation and for the exchange of revolutionary ideas. There were also some modest salons and artists' studios in the Latin Quarter, the visitors to which lent a willing ear to the mysteriously whispered poems of the *Forum Illustré.*

My reading led me to thoughts about the State and politics. I envisioned a social régime which seemed to me the means of making humanity happier. In the Republic personal ambition played too great a part. It seemed to me that only those came to the top who had at their disposal the most powerful elbows, nerves of steel, and the loudest and most resilient lungs. Dema-

gogues and slogans paved the way to Parliament, which formed an oligarchy of ambitious people, far removed from the ideal of the Greeks, who wished to entrust the leadership of the community to a council of philosophers. My plans to improve the world sought other ways than those of the Social Democrats or even of Communism. Equal reward for unequal performance seemed to me contrary to human nature. I also attached no value to the equal distribution of goods by the transfer of the means of production to society. I saw in this only a change in the person of the authorities. I considered it much more important to further education by means of free instruction, free school lunches, and free admission of the most industrious to the high schools. All offices and occupations, I thought, should be open to anyone. I believed that the equal distribution of goods could be achieved by a progressive inheritance tax, the proceeds of which should be devoted to the public welfare. Only those undertakings which served the public interest were to pass into the hands of the State. Among these I included the means of communication, mines, heavy industry, and joint-share banks. In all other undertakings there was to be free competition. Such a system of society seemed to me to guarantee the economic, spiritual, cultural, and ethical progress of mankind. A league of all civilized peoples would ensure permanent peace. I then still indulged in the illusion that people were led by the insight, the wisdom, the love of justice, and the unselfishness of their rulers. Later in the course of my life I was to have the sad experience which led me to see that on the contrary brutal power, stupidity, delusion, and hatred ruled in many countries, where noble efforts were condemned to an almost hopeless struggle against the might of barbarism.

As my father by no means approved of my prolonged stay in Paris—for reasons which were well-founded, since I was seriously neglecting my legal studies—I fell into debt. My friends told me I should go to a "Jew," and gave me several

addresses. In a roundabout way I discovered that these "Jews" were not Jews at all, but Greeks and Americans. I could see in this circumstance nothing else but the signs of anti-Jewish prejudice. Fortunately, since I soon became reconciled with my father, I did not need the help of these usurers. Anti-Semitism in France then seemed to me more social than political in character. But in this I was mistaken, as the struggle over Dreyfus that broke out ten years later demonstrated.

In the autumn of 1886 I went from Paris to the University of Berlin. The difference in character between these cities was very striking. I was chilled by the long, sober, monotonously straight avenues. It was as though the entire city were no more than an extension of its numerous barracks. The time of my stay in Berlin was one of agitation. From France there threatened the danger of war. Boulanger was at the height of his power. Then came the death of Kaiser Wilhelm I, whose friendly figure I had often seen at his corner window as he greeted the crowd which followed a parade of sentries. There followed the ninety-day rule of Kaiser Friedrich, whose fatal illness filled all those who had expected an era of liberal development with sorrow. Finally I saw in the Friedrichstrasse, where I lived, Wilhelm II riding in at the head of the regiments of guards from the Tempelhofer Feld. The Kaiser was presumed to have warlike inclinations, as indicated by his public attitude. The streets resounded under the heavy tread of the infantry, the clattering hoofs of the horses, and the rumbling of cannons. This warlike display did not look like what it turned out to be —the prelude to more than twenty-five years of peace.

I now devoted myself zealously to my studies. For recreation I joined the academic skittle club, which gave itself the air of being interconfessional, but in fact, consisted only of Jews. This sole *goy* was a writer named Marx, a baptized Jew. He possessed a sparkling wit, and it was incomprehensible to us

that in the examination for admission to the bar he had failed three times. The doggerel verses that he composed for our evenings of beer-drinking were delightful. He eventually became the editor of one of the big Berlin dailies. We would have welcomed those who were non-Jews by race as well, in order to preserve the society's air of neutrality. But no such candidates appeared. In our circle there was never any talk of Jewish matters. However, social relations with upper-class Jews in Berlin were gladly cultivated. The youngest of us we called the "baby." Slight and slender, he had, although he was only sixteen, an astonishing appetite for life. I see him before me with his large, dreamy eyes and the hooked nose in which a sword had made a notch, as he tried to solve philosophical problems in conversation with me. Judaism as a religion represented for him an outmoded point of view. With the establishment of Christianity it had, he thought, fulfilled its task of propagating monotheism among the nations.

During winter semester in Leipzig I worked under the famous teachers of criminal law Wach and Binding. At that time the Society of German Students dominated academic life. It tried to stuff the heads of uncritical young students with the trash and drivel put out by the anti-Semitic press. I would have liked to speak at its meetings for the purpose of refuting its views. But I had observed that opponents were shouted down with scornful laughter before they were able to get a hearing. I found recreation in skating in the Johanna Park, a sport for which, that cold winter, there was ample opportunity.

I sat for my law examination in Berlin. My Swabian home town was too small for my ambitious plans. Visions of a consular career and the position of an attorney in one of the international lawcourts in Alexandria or Constantinople danced before my eyes. In my unbounded optimism I underrated the obstacles that stood in the way of my intention. First I visited the newly founded Oriental Seminary, which was

under the direction of Professor Sachau. I registered for the Japanese department, as the Arabic one, which I first had in mind, was filled. Incidentally I passed the bar examination, to the great astonishment of my fellow students. The President of the Court (*Kammergericht*), von Ohlschläger, had promised that I would be admitted to the preparatory service in the court in Berlin, which would have made it possible for me to attend the seminar. But he had confused me with a baptized Jew who had been examined at the same time. In the Prussian ministry particular favor was then shown to converts in an effort to assimilate Jews into German life. Accordingly, after my plan failed, I resolved to use the interval until I could be admitted to another upper court for the purpose of obtaining my doctorate. I chose the University of Freiburg for practical reasons, although things were said to be difficult there for the candidate for a degree of Doctor of Laws. The examinations were a solemn affair. The professors who sat around the large conference table were all in evening dress. I felt like a lamb led to the slaughter, for Professor Amira, a man with a wonderful prophet's head, seemed to take me for a Baden lawyer with some years of practice already behind him, and his questions therefore caused me some embarrassment. But as Professor Rosin thought highly of my written work, he saved me and I got the "doctor's hat."

At home the newly hatched doctor was received with great joy. I then reported to the Rhine Province and without further ado obtained my appointment to the district court at St. Wendel. This small district town in the southwest of the Rhineland was until then quite unknown to me. The Law Court was at Saarbrücken, where I presented myself to the president. The town seemed to me a dull place, but I was more pleased with St. Johann, which at that time was still a twin town on the opposite bank of the Saar. One had only to go over the bridge to come to a prosperous business town. The miners and

other workers streamed thither on Sunday to make their purchases, with resulting traffic which was almost that of a big city.

At St. Wendel I took a room in a modest inn on the market square. The very next day proved to be market day. The bleating of sheep, the bellowing of bulls, the cackling of geese and hens, the grunting of pigs, and the noisy shouts of dealers and market women awoke me from sleep. I had hardly expected so rural a picture. Walking across the square, up the high street, which ran along a hill, I came to a little wood. I had also passed by the casino, the scene of countless hours devoted to "beer bench politics." The news of the arrival of the junior barrister (*Referendar*) announced in the local paper had spread like wildfire. From all sides I was regarded with astonishment.

I had no idea that this town was to be of decisive importance in my career. The strange surroundings, to which I was totally unaccustomed, the triviality of all affairs, the obligation to have intercourse only with non-Jews, sharpened my observation, and led to my recognition of the true cause of Jew-hatred, which gradually rose to the surface of my consciousness. The stately burgomaster, Müller, who liked to relate anecdotes of the Franco-Prussian War; the senior forester, a German to the core; the sullen postmaster, who was credited with a concealed curiosity and constant breach of official secrets; yes, even the senior teacher of the *Gymnasium* (or grammar school), all regarded me as a sort of exotic animal. The most astonished were the varyingly pretty but uniformly conceited daughters of the local grandees. They had formed a conception of the Jewish *Referendar* on the basis of the pictures in the funny-papers. They found me better-looking than the other *Referendar,* who was undoubtedly of Aryan descent. I was therefore able to regard it as a special honor that the ladies' croquet club, which was very exclusive in the selection of men, invited me,

through Heidermanns, the district judge, to play in the afternoons in the casino garden. I was received with great amiability at the house of the district judge and his young wife. In official respects also he was favorable to me and helped with my transfer to Cologne. The officials of the place remained aloof, although I took part in the morning round of drinks and spent very monotonous evenings of beer-drinking with their circle at the casino. I noticed no unfriendliness towards me until an artist who was on a visit at St. Wendel opened my eyes. When I returned from my summer leave he advised me quite confidentially to avoid the casino. Upon my pressing him he told me that anti-Jewish remarks were made in my absence. I therefore stopped visiting the casino in accordance with the advice of my acquaintance, though I could not avoid taking part in the celebration of the Kaiser's birthday as this was an official duty.

In the excesses in the casino the regiment adjutant, a vain, empty-headed fellow and a chaser of girls, who was hostile to me from the beginning, particularly distinguished himself. The demon of alcohol caused him to indulge in a particularly insulting anti-Jewish attack against me. It was time, he said, for the Jews to cease to be allowed to wear the royal uniform. I therefore challenged him to a duel. But he was cowardly enough to excuse himself on the grounds of being drunk, and declared that he could not remember what had been happening. I allowed the matter to pass because his table companions did not consider that a duel brought about by the drunkenness of the adjutant was justified. Perhaps an experience from my Berlin days when the Jewish student Eichler had been shot in a duel by an anti-Semitic student also played a part in the matter. For I saw as in a dream the solemn march to his burial, in which all the student societies of the university, in uniform and carrying banners, took part; and then the picture of the desperate parents, who had lost their son because of his parent-

age, suddenly appeared before my eyes. So I tore up the sentimental farewell letter which I had written to my parents.

But a principal reason for overcoming my anger was that at about that time a new idea had taken powerful hold upon me. I believed I had something to say to the world and hoped to render Judaism a better service by remaining alive than by letting myself be shot down by an unscrupulous windbag for no very urgent reason.

THE ZIONIST IDEA

THE Zionist idea was the result of a sudden inspiration. It was like a light that suddenly broke forth within me. The remarkable character of this phenomenon shook my whole being. I felt like a slave for whom the road to liberty suddenly opens, like a prisoner who by a miracle, finds the tool to break his chains. The state of mind into which this thought transported me can hardly be described. Whereas shortly before I had wrestled with the decision to abandon Judaism and seek refuge from Jew-hatred in new surroundings where my origin was unknown, I was now filled with a holy zeal to serve the cause of my people. Perhaps it came from the fact that I suddenly recognized the futility of such an assimilation for the people as a whole, perhaps also because my feeling of honor resisted such a flight from the community into which I had been born. At any rate the change was inexplicable to myself, especially since it had nothing to do with religion. Rather I remained a godless atheist—if a man can be so designated who regards the idea of a personal God as the superstition of a primitive people.

Whether it was the life of the small town, the unaccustomed surroundings, the compulsion to introspection, who can say? Perhaps I was already on the verge of this recognition, and only a slight puff of wind was needed for one banked fire to burst

into flame. It often seems as though there were a divine spark traveling through the world's ether waves. Where a human soul is ready to receive it a new recognition emerges. This explains how it is awakened at the same time in different minds without any relation between these men.

Perhaps the concept developed as a result of a book which I was then reading with great interest. This was Schaeffle's *Structure and Life of the Social Body*. In it the idea of an organic development of State and society was represented as analogous to genesis and growth in nature, where all diseased organisms and their products decay and are inexorably rooted out. At that time I also read the books of the Hamburg Police Counselor (*Polizeirat*) Avé Lallemant, *Die fahrenden Leute* (*The Wandering People*) and *Die Gaunersprache* (*The Language of Thieves*). These works gave me an insight into the international connections of Jewry at the beginnings of the eighteenth century and their communication through the Jewish folk-idiom, from which the criminal world had borrowed a good many words. It thus became clear to me that up until the beginning of the eighteenth century the Jews in Germany had likewise preserved their nationality (*Volkstum*), and a language of their own, Yiddish. At the same time I began to reflect seriously on the character of the anti-Semitic movement. For years I had followed the growing influence of anti-Semitism in the German press. The old, nearly abandoned canard of the "ritual murder" was again fetched out of the arsenal of Jew-hatred. It was with horror and bitterness that I lived through the pogroms of Konitz in East Prussia and Tisza-Eszlar in Hungary, and the barbarous persecutions in Russia. I began to realize that Jew-hatred had been rooted in the German people from the early Middle Ages.

During the period of enlightenment in the eighteenth century noble minds sought to combat this prejudice. One has only to think of Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, whose comedy, *Die Juden,*

and whose classic drama, *Nathan the Wise,* gave the German people a picture of noble Jews. But emancipation also had strong opponents in Germany on the basis of a fallacious racial theory. It was thus no wonder that the arrogance of the German people, increased by the victory of German arms and the growing wealth of German Jews, led to a movement aimed at depriving the Jews of the civil rights they had acquired only a short time before. At the head of this movement at the time was the Court preacher Stöcker, who as a result of his success in conducting missions enjoyed great popularity among the nobility and society people. It filled me with anger and a holy rage to hear how, in one of the vast halls in Berlin, this people's tribune amid the thunderous applause of the masses, had called upon his audience to fight against Jews. Lies and libels concerning Judaism were advanced with an eloquent sophistry, which mingled true with false and represented criminal exceptions as characteristic types so that I could well understand how the masses became victims to these tactics. Germany for the Germans was the slogan, and generally these meetings concluded with the German national anthem. Men inferior to Stöcker—Ahlward, the German Rector; Dr. Werner of Kassel; and many others—trod in his footsteps using the most despicable means to win the masses over to hatred of the Jews. These events awoke me as out of a flattering dream. It seemed to me that until then I had been blind to the condition of the Jewish people. But now I saw it in a new light. I considered the root of their misfortune to be their dispersal among the nations. Their fate was not different from that of any minority group which, cut off from the soil in the country where it has settled, is thus left without any real home. Everywhere such a people is looked upon as an alien body. Looked at in this way, it becomes understandable that such a group is received with good will only in countries where a perceptible gap remained to be filled in their own national life. In the Middle Ages this sociological

law manifested itself as a result of the canonical prohibition of interest. But as money transactions and business were possible only on the basis of charging interest on capital, the Jews, who were under no prohibitions against taking interest, were welcomed in the towns as moneylenders. It lay, indeed, in the hands of the Kaiser and the Princes, by remission of debts or by even more drastic means, to attract to themselves once again the wealth acquired by the Jews. The plundering and the murder of Jews which took place in south and west Germany at the time of the Crusades, are a testimony to this fact. The fugitives found a home in Poland, for a special reason, namely that the Polish people consisted of two classes—the peasants and the nobility. The bourgeois element was missing. That was why the immigrant Jews were welcome. But the prospect of a strong development of the Jewish people there did not appeal to the Polish authorities. As soon as the bourgeois German settlers who had immigrated began to populate the cities the system of oppression also began here.

These examples should suffice to show the fate of the Jews in other countries. The legal and social limits in regard to the host population allowed the Jews space for their development only within the confines of the Ghetto. Their freedom was so narrowly restricted that every advance was suppressed and all intellectual progress was prevented. The rigidifying of all institutions was a necessary consequence. There are other peoples, I said to myself, who have dispersed themselves throughout the world. The Germans, the English, the French, to give only a few examples, have gone into other countries and formed colonies there. But they still have their native country, which permits them to live freely, as it affords them an asylum in cases of distress or persecution. They have legal representation abroad which is equipped with more or less power to intervene in the interest of their compatriots. But in addition there is the religious and national character of the Jews. They remained

strangers to other nations partly because they were deliberately excluded, partly through the inertia of custom. But the unknown is feared, and thus, as a result of a primitive tendency in the human spirit, they became an object of hatred and persecution. The form in which this hostility clothed itself changed according to place and time. The fact itself always remained the same. In the Middle Ages religion had been the occasion of persecution, if one took no account of the acquisitive instincts of the masses, who had their eyes on the property of the Jews. All the conflicts of the Middle Ages were carried on under these same colors. The Spanish persecution of the Jews and the Inquisition were both for the maintenance of the purity of the Catholic Church. When the proclamation of human rights in France called for equal civil rights in the countries of Europe, the fight against Judaism took on a political character. National and social endeavors brought about a transformation in anti-Semitism. All this was possible because, and for as long as, the Jewish people were without a home, without refuge, without a center for their own political development. As the fundamental cause of anti-Jewish hostility was dispersion, the evil could be done away with only by the creation of a nucleus for the people, the gathering together of a substantial number of Jewish people in a country of their own. Only from thence could hatred and prejudice against the Jewish minority be combated with success.

The mere existence of a Jewish State would contribute towards the fight against prejudice by joining other peoples in their struggle for human ideals. But where was the country that could serve the Jews as an asylum? On this point too, in those memorable hours in the early part of summer 1889, I arrived at an immediate clarity. It could be only Palestine—the old home of the Jewish people. Religion and history both pointed in that direction. The awakening of a national feeling seemed connected with this country. Only the strongest ethical

impulses would be capable of leading a people excluded from landownership for almost two thousand years back to agriculture, to find their roots in the soil. It was strange that I had not hit upon the idea until then. I had never heard of anything similar. How did it happen that it had not long ago been proclaimed by men who were closer to Judaism than I? Was I so superior to those who thought otherwise, or had I been misled by a logical error? But this was something I could not unravel even by the strongest mental effort. Perhaps the idea stemmed from regarding Judaism only as a religious community, while the awareness of factors having a different origin remained hidden from me. These reflections finally became frightening, for I began to suspect a mental aberration.

I sought to obtain clarity by entering into correspondence with my friend Bredig of the academic skittle club, whose sober, logical understanding I esteemed. But his reply vexed me greatly. He took up the question light-heartedly, with jokes and commonplaces, and pointed to the progress of humanity, which showed the way to the solution of the Jewish question within the framework of the entire social problem. I answered him seriously and compelled him to enter into the question more deeply. He thereupon wrote that the idea of a Jewish State had already occupied him while he was still in the third form at school. He regarded it as a childish fantasy. National points of view, he said, should not obscure the great international ideals which formed the ultimate aim of human culture. National barriers and the accompanying prejudices could be overcome. This mission had already been partly fulfilled by Judaism under the mask of Christianity. If the Jews were to withdraw to Palestine they would be acceding to the narrow-mindedness of all national concentrations. German Jewry was no nearer to him than the remaining people who happened to speak German. I replied that the consciousness of common interests and the feeling of solidarity with fellow Jews in other

countries had ceased, and that this was regrettable, but gave them no right to deny such a national feeling among the masses of Jews. These others manifested it both through common readiness to help and through social and religious institutions of many kinds. For all those who possessed this feeling, which could be designated either as racial consciousness or as national feeling, there was the duty to make possible the conditions conducive to a free development of the energies of the Jewish community. It was a matter for others to further this work of humanity. All who today suffered under a dualism in their national feeling had a right to live in their own peculiar manner.

Fifty years afterward I received from my friend a letter from which I saw to my great satisfaction that he had become an adherent and promoter of the Zionist movement. He explained his former position as due to youthful immaturity. He had meanwhile acquired a reputation as a scholar and held the dignified position of rector at a German college. Our correspondence of the year 1889 contained in essence the antithesis which from now onwards was to split German Jewry into two camps. There was on the one hand the idea of assimilation and of world citizenship, which would dissolve the Jewish people among the host countries, and there was on the other hand the idea of a national rebirth of the Jewish people upon their own soil. The former, however, offers only an individual solution, as a total, collective absorption of the Jewish people into the host countries is impossible. The loss to their community of individual Jews through baptism and mixed marriages leaves the continued existence of the Jewish people unaffected. No matter what diminution the people might suffer, there would still be a remnant of the Jewish race or people, and the question of how their relation to the host countries was to be regulated would remain unsolved. Even where, by some act of State, the Jews of a country could be

absorbed into the host people nationally, politically, and socially, the Jewry of other countries would continue to exist as before.

I began my first recruiting activity in a naïve manner, when I went to spend New Year's day in Saarbrücken. In the Jewish inn there I met a number of young business people, with whom I fell into conversation. But I had overrated these people. A great number of these commercial travelers and business employees were impervious to ideas. They lacked even an elementary knowledge of Jewish history, and their interest in Judaism, where it existed at all, was superficial. Anti-Semitism to these people was a passing phenomenon which no longer troubled them, as it did not disturb them in either their business or their pleasures. I encountered a total lack of understanding, nay, even hostility, because they were afraid for their comfort and repose. They regarded me, apparently, as either a crank or somebody out of his mind. My attempt there proved a failure.

Although the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine seemed to me necessary and inevitable, nevertheless the seriousness of the question demanded an investigation of the possibility that it could take place in some other country. Before I knew of the plans of Baron de Hirsch, the idea of a settlement of the Jews in the spacious, uninhabited regions of South America seemed to me very enticing. I therefore used what remained of my month's income for a trip to the 1889 International Exposition at Paris in order to gain an insight into the geographical and economic conditions of the South American countries. Their enormous dimensions and the great possibilities of development made a considerable impression upon me. But I soon dropped this idea, as I considered the ideal of a reunion of the people with their ancestral land more important than the possibility of a wider dispersal. I reached the conclusion that only in Palestine could a national and political center be

created as the foundation for a moral, religions, and social revival of the Jewish people.

But as a result of what I saw otherwise in Paris, the Zionist idea suddenly appeared to me in a new light. All the peoples on earth, even the smallest, were represented at the Exposition; all had their appointed districts and their own exhibition palaces. Only for the Jewish people, it seemed, there was no room. Formerly I would not have noticed it; now the scales fell from my eyes. This was no normal condition.

During a visit to the cemetery of Père Lachaise I came by chance to the Jewish corner, where the burial of a distinguished Portuguese Jewess was just taking place. The ceremony was simple and dignified. But as I went down the principal road of this Jewish city of the dead, where many rich and respected Jews reposed under magnificent monuments, I learned from my companion that almost all their descendants had turned their backs upon Judaism. Formerly this fact would have left me indifferent; now it caused me deep grief. Ghetto Judaism, with its antiquated forms, was not in a position to preserve the ancestral faith for the advanced generation of the present day. To do so it needed a new ideal. I was so full of this that without being conscious of the fact, I had been thrown into the arena where the struggle over the future of the Jewish people was to take place. But as it then appeared I was quite alone in my idea. This was depressing, and hampered my urge to act. Nevertheless, when I moved to Cologne in February 1890, I undertook to gain adherents for my idea; and what could be better than to put myself in touch first of all with Dr. Frank, the rabbi of the community? I was received by him in a friendly manner, and was a frequent visitor at his house in the years that followed. But he rejected the idea of a national rebirth of the Jewish people in Palestine. He was of the opinion that hardly an echo could be aroused among German Jews. If one wished to undertake anything in this direction, one must first

of all awaken an interest in Jewish history and literature. He was mainly interested in having me help him establish a society for this purpose. I was quite willing to do so, as the project was in accordance with my intentions. I hoped in this way to find a forum for expounding my thoughts to an interested Jewish circle. The society was presently founded despite the opposition of Jewish assimilationists, who were afraid that emphasis on Judaism at public meetings would lead to a strengthening of political anti-Semitism. It did good service in the direction of enlightenment concerning the national idea. My friend, later Judicial Counselor (*Justizrat*) Adolf Apfel, was an enthusiastic supporter of the organisation. He also aroused the interest of another of my friends, *Referendar* Falk, who was later a member of the Reichstag and representative of the State Party in the Prussian House of Lords, through the remark that a national matter was involved. His enthusiasm soon waned, however, when he realized that the society was to serve not a German but a Jewish national idea.

Dr. Frank also soon got me to join the *Alliance Israelite,* of which he was the German representative. I hoped to win over the *Alliance* for work toward a settlement in Palestine, since it was already connected with Palestine through its agricultural school at Mikveh Israel. Dr. Frank was an honest, keen-minded personality of impressive appearance and great energy. He was an excellent preacher and naturally had great prestige in the Jewish community. He was also respected among non-Jews and cultivated friendly relations among the Catholic hierarchy. In conversation he had a winning manner and knew how to enliven conversation with anecdotes from a rich treasury of Jewish lore.

When I established the Jewish Colonization Society with David Wolffsohn a few years later, Dr. Frank declared himself willing to become chairman—a matter which was very important for us. But when the committee, against his wish,

invited Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer from Berlin to speak at the inaugural evening, Dr. Frank retired, presumably out of injured vanity. He gave as a pretext his conviction that the society had Zionist aims, which could not be reconciled with his German patriotism. But Dr. Frank's love of the fatherland appeared to me in a peculiar light when I heard some details about his career. He was a native of Holland, and had become an Austrian citizen while he held a position in Linz. Many years later he had transferred his allegiance to Prussia, upon becoming a rabbi at Cologne. His attitude could not be explained if fatherland and nationality were identical. But they are not. Nationality is something with which one is born, and one cannot change it like a garment according to one's fancy. But it is different with citizenship, which has often been changed by the greatest patriots where circumstances required it. One has only to think of the Huguenots in France, the Puritans in England, and the Salzburgers in Austria, who, owing to religious oppression, sought refuge in other countries. That is why Jewish national feeling is a different matter from love of the German fatherland. The two can be combined as is the love of a child for the mother with that for the father. Attachment to the Jewish people is by no means a contradiction of the duties towards the fatherland. A conflict of duties is hardly conceivable. Even the First World War, which aroused feeling to the deepest degree, gave no occasion for it. The Jewish Colonization Society came into existence despite the resignation of Dr. Frank and supported the colony of Moza for many years.

I made another attempt to obtain support by approaching the director of the Cologne Teachers' Seminary, Rabbi Dr. Plato, a son-in-law of Samson Raphael Hirsch in Frankfort-on-the Main. But here, once again, I met with no cordiality. I had taken it for granted that he would be willing to further my plans, as he belonged to the strictly traditional orthodox school.

But the opposite turned out to be true. He said that in certain circumstances he would be in favor of agricultural colonies in Palestine, but that it would be difficult for the colonists to keep the *Schmitta,* (the biblical law requiring that the land lie fallow every seven years), and that they did not follow the laws of the Talmud, then he did not wish to know about the agricultural colonies in Palestine. He was opposed in principle to a political solution of the Jewish question by the establishment of a Jewish State. Here for the first time the objection was raised that the redemption of the Jewish people was in the hands of God, and that we were to do nothing to expedite it until the Messiah came. Nevertheless Dr. Plato gave me some numbers of the *Jewish Chronicle* in which there were reports concerning the establishment of Jewish villages in Palestine. From these reports I learned that others had already begun the realization of my plan, and the discovery filled me with indescribable joy. The idea of a Jewish State was therefore by no means a product of mere childish fantasy. There were Jews who thought just as I did. It was our common lot that had produced in my soul the emancipating thought. Now I stood on firm ground. I said to myself, if the other nations do not recognize us as citizens with equal rights we must again become a unified people, independent of the caprice, the hatred, or even the good will of other nations. We must forge our own fate. In this mood I composed in 1891 a poem entitled *Eine Vision* ("A Vision"). It was the outcry of a soul struggling for its liberation. This poem was not intended for publication, as I was afraid of profaning my feelings before an apathetic crowd.[1]

[1] The poem appears in translation at the beginning of this book. See pp. 19–26.

ON THE ROAD TO THE GOAL

IT was at about this time, in the year 1891, that the Jewish persecutions in Russia were renewed. I now believed that the time had come to put my views before the public. I strongly believed that the need of their co-religionists would arouse the feelings of Jews with elementary force and enable them to see the urgency of a national solution to this question. I wrote in the first place some articles for the *Menorah Journal,* which appeared in Hamburg, and which was a forerunner of the *Hamburger Israelitisches Familienblatt.* In this way I came into contact with the editor, Deutschländer, to whom I proposed the publication of a pamphlet on the Russo–Jewish question. To this he readily agreed. I had scruples, I must admit, because of the hostile attitude of authoritative German Jews, about proposing a political solution to the question. I therefore confined myself to the plan of a mass colonization in Palestine. I was strengthened in my intentions by my friend Rahel Apfel, the wife of Privy Councilor Dr. Apfel in Cologne, in whose house I was a visitor for many years. Rahel Apfel had a knowledge of literature, and her house was a meeting place of authors and cultivated women. From her parents' home at Siegburg she had brought a strong interest in Judaism. She was enthusiastic about my idea, but pointed out to me that the German Jews were not ripe for it.

The intellectual élite, who had influence mainly because of their comfortable position, aimed only at absorption into German culture; the rest were too prejudiced, as a result of their narrow religious views, to be able to rouse themselves to act politically. She therefore advised me to eliminate the political part of my pamphlet completely and to publish it as a philanthropic effort to help the Jews of eastern Europe.

I entitled the pamphlet "Whither the Russian Jews?", and developed the idea of a settlement of Jews in conjunction with the building of railways and harbors in Syria and Palestine. This object was to be served by a limited corporation, to be supported by the formation of relief committees, which would raise the funds for purchasing land by means of voluntary donations. Along the railway line there were to be settlements of Jewish immigrants capable of engaging in agriculture. I considered it a new idea that an economic undertaking should be the foundation for social assistance. The Frankfurt philanthropist Gamburg, who was president of the local B'nai B'rith lodge, and with whom I discussed the plan, pointed out that railways were ordinarily built to satisfy the need for communications, while I intended to build them in order to create the communications; and thus, if my settlement plan failed, the railways and harbors would be useless. I replied that a plan that aimed at ensuring the future of a people could not be measured only according to economic standards. If an energetic popular will were behind it, the work of colonization must succeed.

At any rate, I soon clearly realized what courage was necessary to publish my plan. I knew neither the country nor the requisite economic conditions for so important an undertaking. I was only scantily informed about the existing colonies, their development and extent. For one who knew the conditions my pamphlet could hardly be expected to carry conviction. I was therefore all the more surprised, and found therein my justi-

fication, that it aroused widespread interest and had a circulation of many thousands of copies, particularly in Russia and Poland. Through the pamphlet I came into contact with the *Jung-Israel* society in Berlin, which consisted mostly of Russian students, and the *Kadimah,* the national Jewish student society in Vienna.

I became acquainted with Nathan Birnbaum as the publisher in Vienna of *Selbstemanzipation,* which took a Zionist line. Birnbaum was a man of burning ambition but also with a strong love for the Jewish peoples. Unfortunately he was inexperienced in economic matters, and unstable as well, so that he was in a constant state of distress. It was not a unique phenomenon that under the influence of the Zionist idea he turned from atheism to traditional Judaism.

From Leon Pinsker I received a letter in which he expressed his approval of my plan and added the hope that I had not come too late with it: he himself had come too soon with his *Auto-Emancipation.* Subsequent developments showed that for my brochure also the time was not yet ripe. Pinsker died shortly afterwards, and as a result I did not come into contact with the Russian *Chovevei-Zion* at that time. The author Karl Emil Franzos, who was entirely under the spell of assimilation, rejected my idea of colonization in Palestine on principle. As an appeal for the intended relief work I published a poem in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums,* which was edited by Gustav Karpeles, and also in the popular calendar issued by our small group in Cologne. Some surprise was evoked by the appeal which I published in the *Menorah Journal* on September 4, 1891, under the title: "Zionists of All Countries, Unite!" Some sentences from it are still applicable even today. I wrote: "The powerful hand is still missing to combine all these endeavors of the 'Friends of Zion' into one large whole. Why cannot open propaganda take the place of quiet action? Today, when the fate of six million of our fellow Jews depends

upon the stroke of a pen of an unpredictable despot, nay, when the prosperous development of Jewry is altogether in question, we must demonstrate our intentions with unstinting candor and make them the sole aim of our action. But the means to attain this goal lies in the union of all existing Zionist societies into a league comprising the nations of the entire globe. That is why we call to all those who have a voice in the Zion societies: 'Zionists of all countries, unite!' "

I had sent Dr. Frank a copy of my brochure with the request that he transmit it to the *Alliance Israélite*. One evening he asked me to call on him. At his house I met two intelligent-looking, active men, one of them the secretary of the *Alliance,* Isidor Loeb, and the other a member of the Central Committee, Erlanger of Paris, who were traveling in the interests of the Jews in Russia. The conversation revolved around the conditions prevailing there. I expressed doubt as to whether the *Alliance* could enlighten the public about the terrible situation of the Jews in Russia with the necessary emphasis, because of the Franco-Russian alliance. Loeb denied this vehemently. The *Alliance,* he said, regarded this question from the human standpoint alone, and had already found some support among high officials in France and England. The Imperial German Government, on the other hand, had held back. The *Alliance,* he said, had publicly denounced the anti-Jewish laws of Count Ignatieff without regard to political consequences. The plan for the founding of colonies in Syria and Palestine were regarded as unpractical by the representatives of the *Alliance*. As a land for immigration this territory could not be considered, since it could not accommodate any very large numbers. The position was quite different in the case of America, which every year afforded tens of thousands of immigrants a refuge. I replied that the immigration to America might provoke a new outbreak of Jew-hatred. It would be maintained that the Jews were lowering wages, and immigra-

tion could be restricted by law. There were already voices in the American press which advocated passing such a law. This showed that America did not offer an infallible solution of the Jewish question. Both men admitted that the danger I mentioned did exist. Erlanger also showed some interest in my proposal to connect a large-scale railway building enterprise with the establishment of farm settlements. But he doubted whether the necessary capital was not to be found. Baron de Rothschild had become discouraged because the colonies financed by him had not developed. It could not be taken for granted that he would make further financial contributions for Palestine. Baron de Hirsch, the one other possible contributor, was frankly hypnotized by his plan for a settlement in Argentina. He was not to be counted on for anything else, least of all for Syria and Palestine, as he was doubtful over the future of Turkey. It was an open secret also, that the Sultan wanted to have nothing to do with de Hirsch because of a belief that the latter had taken advantage of him in the railway affair.

In Frankfort-on-the-Main I made the acquaintance of the lawyer Plotke, who was in the forefront of the battle against anti-Semitism and the canard of the "ritual murder." He showed great interest in my plans. As he had close contact with Baron de Hirsch, he persuaded me to work out a practical proposal for a colony in Syria. I devoted myself to the task at once, with two regions in view. One was the plain of Bekaa, which lies between the mountain ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. It was traversed by the Litani River, and constituted an extraordinary fruitful and at the same time thinly populated land. The other region was the Valley of Jezreel. The basis of both settlements was to be a railway line. In the Bekaa I visualized a connection with the already existing line between Beirut and Damascus. In the event that the Valley of Jezreel were chosen, Haifa would be connected with Tiberias by a railway line, and a harbor built at Haifa.

I gave primary attention to the second proposal, which I considered promising as an extension of existing settlements and for political reasons. In discussing the prospects of colonization, I found useful the book by Baron von Südenhorst on Syria. I was impressed by the fact that there were so few works of research on Syria and Palestine. This was a hindrance to promoting the plan. It was maintained that while the land had been fruitful in ancient times, it was now barren as a result of climatic conditions. On being shown my plan Plotke told me that Baron de Hirsch had already seen my brochure and thanked me for it, saying that he would perhaps come back to the proposal later. I regarded this as a polite tabling of the suggestion. However, a short time later I had a visit from the secretary of the Grand Lodge of the B'nai B'rith in Germany, Simmel, who was on his way to Paris. He suggested that I offer my services in promoting the Argentine colonies of Baron de Hirsch, since my own plans, for the present, appeared unrealizable. As I had not known Simmel previously I could not but assume that his visit had been made at the Baron's request. At any rate, I told him emphatically that I was prepared to give up my career as a jurist for work in Palestine, but not in Argentina.

A few weeks later Simmel came to me again and informed me that he had spoken with the Baron and that he now showed some interest in Palestine. Dr. Hildesheimer of Berlin had also been present at the meeting. Baron de Hirsch had urged that a deputation be sent to Constantinople in order to bring about the abolition of the ban on Jewish immigration. For that, naturally, money would be needed. A sinking fund of 500,000 francs should be made available. If half of this amount were raised by donations, then he would himself give the other half.

But despite all efforts only 40,000 francs could be raised, an amount which was handed over to Baron de Rothschild as trustee. Baron de Hirsch then withdrew completely from the

Palestinian project. The land reformer Fluerscheim had heard of my proposal and tried to win me over to a "Freeland" colony with his friend Theodor Hertzka. He had all sorts of objections to Palestine, but even so it seemed to me that he might have been won over for this too if I had agreed to his land reforms.

In the house of my friend Frau Apfel I made the acquaintance of Gustav Karpeles. He also often lectured to the Society for Jewish History and Literature at Cologne. Karpeles was an amiable conversationalist and a warm-hearted Jew, who took genuine pleasure in the idealism of my Palestine plan. A distinguished Heine scholar, he also had, in the cut of his beard and his half-closed eyes, a certain superficial resemblance to the famous poet. His dependence on Rudolf Mosse made it impossible for him to work for Zionism. But he called my attention to the book by Moses Hess, *Rome and Jerusalem, or the Last Question of Nationalities,* which up until then I had not known. I found the book intoxicating. The author's conclusions seemed to me irrefutable. I doubted only the correctness of his supposition that the emancipation of the last historic people was to be expected from the establishment of a Jewish State by France, since Hess had not succeeded in winning adherents in Paris, where he lived.

The first differences of opinion about Zionism were fought out, just as I had expected, in the Society for Jewish History. On the very first evening I spoke on the Maccabaean struggles, which I described as a national uprising for the liberation of the Jewish people from the ignominy of alien rule. The opposition maintained that only religious motives were involved. I was highly pleased to find in a man of engaging manner an ardent defender of my view, who dealt with the opposition skilfully out of a knowledge of Jewish sources. This was David Wolffsohn. He had come to Memel from Russia as a sixteen-year-old youth, and thanks to Rabbi Dr. Isaac Rülf had acquired a

knowledge of the German language. Through this same rabbi he has also become acquainted with the efforts of Russian Jews to establish colonies in Palestine. At Cologne he had a lumbering business, which from modest beginnings he has developed with energy and astuteness into a considerable undertaking. When I pointed out to him that the Jewish question was to be solved only by political means and through the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine, he was enthusiastic. He told me that he had recently read something on the subject. It was my brochure, and he was astonished to learn that I was the author. On that night in February 1892 we walked back and forth between our homes until early morning. A lifelong friendship, which was not limited to similarity of conviction, was formed then and there. Thus it was that German Zionism came into being.

The beginnings of the movement in Berlin had remained stuck in either philanthropy or nationalism. But we two gathered together in Cologne a group which propagated the idea of the political solution of the Jewish question. In Berlin, where I went in the summer of 1893 in order to sit for the advanced State examination in law, I used every opportunity to form relations with men whose ideas resembled mine. I thus became acquainted with Dr. Hirsch Hildesheimer, editor of the *Jewish Press,* and Willy Bambus, secretary of the Society for Combating Anti-Semitism. As a member of the committee of the Cologne branch of the same society, I had already been in communication with Bambus. We first met, together with the banker Heinrich Meier Cohn, at the Café Bauer on Unter den Linden, where we discussed the Jewish problem behind a mountain of newspapers which Hildesheimer had collected. Hildesheimer, who, thanks to his outstanding knowledge of Jewish history and literature and to his brilliant pen, enjoyed great esteem, had a fighting nature. I have always regretted that he parted from Herzl on the question of politics. Bambus,

owing to his dependence on Paul Nathan, the editor of *Die Nation* and of the *Zeitschrift zur Abwehr des Antisemitismus* (*Journal for Combating Anti-Semitism*), who was a vigorous opponent of the Zionist ideology, was obliged to exercise constraint. Heinrich Meier Cohn was not a man of outstanding caliber. He was of the type that contents itself with a carefully circumscribed philanthropy. I was greatly astonished later to read in Herzl's Diaries that he had set hopes on this man's cooperation.

In Berlin I also made the acquaintance of Heinrich Loewe, who, as a young student, was active in a circle of people of like views on the national question. Along with Ehrenpreis, Soskin, and Zlocisti, he was a member of the national Jewish society, *Jung-Israel,* which issued the journal *Zion*. I still recall with pleasure the agreeable propaganda of Heinrich Loewe at the Berlin Industrial Exhibition in the year 1896, where in a small pavilion the Ezra Society exhibited products from Palestine. Loewe welcomed visitors in a red fez and won over many through his fervent eloquence. I also entered into relations with Motzkin and Kaminka, who were active in the Russian Scientific Society. Friedemann, Alfred Klee, and Hantke were then still young students. They formed a circle which they wished to win over for Zionism, and I was soon to count them among my friends. I felt particularly attracted to Friedemann and Klee. Friedemann's tactful and distinguished personality, combined with a lively spirit and excellent education, qualified him for great tasks. Had Herzl lived longer I have no doubt that he would have appointed him to a position where he could have achieved something important. Klee distinguished himself in these early years by his oratorical gifts through which he rendered valuable services to our Cologne group during his period at Bonn. I esteemed Hantke because of his quiet objectivity and energy, which he placed indefatigably at the service of the movement. It was said by some of his friends that he had

a cold heart and did not know the feelings of love, but others maintained that this was a mistake, for he had a love which filled his whole heart, and that love was Zionism. These young men, together with other students—among whom later were those who were to become known as Professor Karl Lewin, Privy Councilor Professor Blumenthal, Professor Citron, and Dr. Sachs—founded the Humanitarian Society, whose Zionist aims were hidden under this innocuous name. In view of the mood that then prevailed, public activity for the Jewish national idea would have meant a breach with home and family. This society quietly went out of existence after Herzl appeared on the scene.

By the time I returned to Cologne Wolffsohn and my friend Rahel Apfel had secured some new members, and we now proceeded to establish in Cologne the Jewish National Association, of which I undertook the leadership.

In the spring of 1894 the Hamburg philanthropist Gustav Tuch invited me to join the Free Israelite Association, which was to amalgamate all sorts of tendencies in German Jewry for social betterment. A successful merchant animated by high ideals, Gustav Tuch, aimed at a Judaism freed from the fetters of Orthodoxy without straying along the path of Reform. For him the fact of a common descent was reason in itself for adhering to Judaism. I therefore hoped to be able to work in his organization for the national idea. I had all the better reason since its program also called for the regulation of emigration and Jewish colonization. At the inaugural meeting, which took place in the summer of 1894, at the same time as the conference of the Grand Lodge of B'nai B'rith in Hamburg, I was to give a report on Jewish settlements in Palestine. Owing to the lateness of the time, however, this was postponed until the next conference, at Berlin in the summer of 1896, where it was greeted with applause.

Unfortunately I failed to move the Colonization Commis-

sion, which consisted of some of the most influential German Jews, to practical work. Like so many other new organizations, it existed only on paper. After the advent of Herzl and the fight about the Congress which soon broke out, it vanished from the scene. But despite the failure of the Free Israelite Association I never gave up my efforts to carry political Zionism into wider circles. At the end of the year 1895 I had entered into communication with the English "Lovers of Zion," who had organized themselves into what they called "Tents," at the head of which was Colonel Goldsmid in London. I turned to him in the hope of persuading him to lead the movement. My argument was as follows: Colonization was a notable attempt to give proof that the Jewish people were capable of engaging in agriculture no more. Out of the colonies a national center for the Jewish people must arise. That was its ultimate significance—a political aim which could be reached only by political means. I therefore considered it necessary to call together the friends of Zion throughout the world for a conference to deliberate on the matter. I left it to Colonel Goldsmid to arrange for the conference in London or on the Continent.

In response to my detailed letter I received only a brief reply from the secretary of the *Chovevei-Zion,* to the effect that Colonel Goldsmid could not take part in such a discussion, but recommended that I enter into communication with Dr. Theodor Herzl in Vienna, who pursued similar intentions. Since at that time I did not yet know Herzl, I let the matter rest. Shortly afterward *Der Judenstaat* appeared and the fight for the Congress began, and thus my endeavors in the direction of the English *Chovevei Zion* gave way to a greater goal.

One of our most faithful adherents was Dr. Eliezer Rubinsohn, who had been transported to Cologne from a little town in Lithuania to practice dentistry. He was a strange man,

something of a crank, who gathered a circle of pupils around him for discussions of the Talmud. He kept strictly to traditional observances, without being intolerant towards those who held other views. His philosophical outlook seemed to me hardly reconcilable with his orthodoxy. He was an adherent of Kant, whose *Critique of Pure Reason* was always to be found on his reading desk. As a friend he was devoted to me, and he advised me, when difficulties arose through differences in the organization, under no circumstances to retire from the leadership of the Jewish National Fund. When this question later became a burning one, I did not follow his advice. Until his tragic death in 1911 he never gave up his belief in the ultimate success of the Zionist cause.

Nor can I overlook Gustav Wolff, who left the circle of assimilationists in Cologne to join us. He handled the correspondence of our society on a voluntary basis for years, when we were no longer in the position to pay for a secretary.

I had brought Fabius Schach to Cologne to act as secretary of the Society for Combating Anti-Semitism. He wielded a skilful pen and lent authority to our first publication. In his pamphlet *Zionismus und Salonjudentum (Zionism and Drawing-Room Judaism)* he had taken up the cudgels on behalf of the new national movement, and his *Resurrected Language* had won over adherents to the cause of Hebrew as a living language. These pamphlets had aroused my attention, and it was a source of great satisfaction to me to rescue him from the poverty in which he was then living in Berlin. He acted as secretary of our society until the year 1898. Then there were differences, as he was suspected of being the author of attacks upon Herzl published under a pseudonym in the anti-Zionist *Oesterreichische Wochenschrift* of Dr. Bloch. As a result he was obliged to leave Cologne. But it is more likely that Dr. Holtzmann, a follower of Bambus, was the author of these diatribes.

After our society had succeeded in increasing its membership to ten (a minyan), we sat one evening in the now vanished Café Runge in the Hohenstrasse and spoke about Herzl's book, *Der Judenstaat,* which had just appeared. For us this book signalized a new epoch. Herzl had spoken out openly on what moved us. We had the feeling that behind this man there was more than a mere utopian visionary. We surmised that in him was the genius for statesmanship which had hitherto been lacking in our circle. We were eager to know about the intention behind his book. It was decided that Wolffsohn, who had business to attend to in Slavonia, would look him up in Vienna and report to us. We were full of the hope that Herzl would try to realize his plan. Wolffsohn came back to Cologne full of enthusiasm. He described Herzl as a man of impressive appearance and great energy, who did not for a moment regard his work for the Jewish State as ended with his book. He was occupied with preparations for a Zionist Congress. The *Kadimah,* the national Jewish student society, had already given him its support, and he reckoned upon our cooperation. In this respect our wishes coincided. We were ready to entrust ourselves to this new helmsman for the voyage to the haven we desired. I immediately wrote Herzl to this effect, and thus began a correspondence which continued until his death. First of all I gave him certain data concerning the early history of Zionism, as I had the impression from Wolffsohn's report that Herzl knew little about it. I also mentioned my letter to Colonel Goldsmid, in which I had proposed a conference of Zionist organizations, explaining that I did not regard colonization as an end in itself but only as a means of reaching our goal, and that what was necessary in the first place was an agreement on the fundamental principles of our movement and the establishment of an inter-territorial organization.

Herzl was highly pleased with the views of the Cologne group. I myself was elected to the organization committee of

the Congress at a preliminary conference in Vienna. Herzl wrote me that if he had known of the existing Zionist literature, he would not have written the *Judenstaat*. What good fortune, I thought; for then possibly the failure of his forerunners might have checked his impulse to act and he would never have come out into the open as a Jew. At the end of June 1896, the Society of Jews was to be founded in London, and he invited me to attend. As I could not, he reported to me by letter about his position on the question of colonization. He was, he said, full of gratitude and admiration for what the Zionists had hitherto achieved, but he was opposed in principle to infiltration, whose effect would be constantly to raise the value of land, thus making purchase increasingly difficult. His program consisted, rather, in an end to immigration and the concentration of all energies upon the acquisition of Palestine through international law. For this diplomatic negotiations which he had already begun, were necessary, as well as propaganda activity on the largest scale. The Society of Jews was to be the instrument, in order that the movement should not be embodied in any one person.

In the meantime we had decided to formulate our efforts in a platform and to declare publicly what we wished to be understood by political Zionism. We drew up a statement containing three theses, which were as follows:

1. United by common descent and history, the Jews form a national community.
2. The granting of civil equality to the Jews has not sufficed to ensure the social and cultural future of the Jewish people. A definitive solution to the Jewish question can take place only by the formation of a State, which is in a position to represent the Jews on the bases of international law and to receive the Jews who cannot or do not wish to remain in the country of their birth.
3. The means of achieving this purpose are:

(a) Colonization in Syria and Palestine.
(b) Cultivation of Jewish studies and Jewish customs.
(c) Improvement of the social and cultural position of the Jews.

With these theses, except for the mention of infiltration contained in the third paragraph, Herzl declared himself in agreement. At the same time he informed me of his own plan of organization. The Society of Jews was to consist of a large committee and a smaller executive board, which would be strengthened by members from other countries. In connection with this, however, he was having the same experience as I had had previously with my colonization committee made up of German Jews. He complained that the formation of the committee was being rendered very difficult by a lack of readiness to subordinate oneself to a common task, resulting from indifference, distrust, arrogance, and ill will. With a certain resignation he added that when he had established the English society he would have done all that any man could do single-handed, and then he would retire.

Although we did not approve of Herzl's sharp opposition to colonization as a means of implementing our plans, we did not think for a moment of separating from him on that account. He reckoned upon having this question decided by the Congress. What was doubtful was the attitude of the Berlin Zionists with Hildesheimer at their head. He regarded Herzl's plans as fantastic and did not wish to give up the slow but—according to his view—surer road of colonization. During a joint discussion in which Hildesheimer, Wolffsohn, and I took part at the Palestine pavilion of the Industrial Exhibition in Berlin, Hildesheimer expressed the fear that Herzl would go the way of Sabbatai Zevi. At any rate, Herzl informed me shortly afterwards that the holding of the Congress was now assured. It was to take place at the end of August, probably in Munich. At a conference of the Berlin and Vienna representatives, which

Bambus, Birnbaum, Moses (Kattowitz), and Turoff had attended, an agreement had been reached. Max Nordau was to undertake the general report and I was to give a report on finances. This I declined, declaring myself ready to speak on organization, which I considered more important. Herzl tried in vain to persuade me to change my decision. He said somewhat ironically that the report was only an empty sack which I was to fill, naturally not with my money but with suggestions and proposals, like the other, still unnamed participants in this great work. But I insisted on submitting the organization report and Herzl agreed.

Even before the advent of Herzl, as my letter to Colonel Goldsmid shows, I had reached the conviction that colonization was too slow and problematical a means of reaching the goal. I was therefore looking into other possibilities as well. In Berlin I had made the acquaintance of a hot-headed young Jewish estate owner by the name of Böhlendorf, who had formed a plan of gathering around himself a number of comrades, who were to establish themselves in Transjordan, and begin a jolly guerilla war with the Bedouins, if they should hinder his idea of the founding of a Jewish State—a completely crazy undertaking. Fortunately he found no adherents, and I heard no more of him.

Another adventurer was a certain Friedmann—on no account to be confused with my friend Adolf Friedemann—who wanted to create a Jewish State in Midian. As may be seen, both ideas were based on biblical tradition. Friedmann recruited a number of desperate men, who followed him there. But as soon as a small Turkish detachment appeared the undertaking evaporated.

Although I rejected the idea of launching a military enterprise in the absence of any situation calling for it, I nevertheless could not but hope that the involvement of Turkey in war might pave the way to securing possession of the land. That

this idea had taken root in the heads of some enthusiasts was clear later from the attitude of a co-founder of Tel Aviv, Scheinkin, a simple elementary-school teacher, who on the Congress platform declared in his homely Yiddish: "One does not buy a land, one takes a land for oneself." The importance of military action in achieving our purpose was to be shown with the participation of the Jewish Legion in the conquest of Palestine. But if I had uttered such a thought at the time of the beginning of our movement, it would instantly have been dealt the death blow of ridicule. In order, however, to give expression to my feelings, I set to work on a drama, in whose hero, to whom I gave the name of Srul, the people of Israel struggling for liberation were to be symbolized. The fact may be noted that I would have welcomed the liberation of a fight for the Wailing Wall and was of the opinion that the Turkish police intended to bar the Jews' approach to it. Almost forty years later the disorders of the year 1929 were to have their beginning in just such circumstances. Perhaps it is right that religion should be the strongest impulse in bringing the Jewish people's will to power into action. Through this drama I hoped to arouse nationalist enthusiasm among Jewish youth. But later I learned that Herzl had likewise originally conceived, instead of *Die Judenstaat,* the idea of writing a romance with the same intention. Fortunately my drama remained unfinished. After the advent of Herzl and the founding of the World Zionist Organization it could only have been harmful in its effect on later developments. That I did not think then of showing an unfriendly attitude to Turkey is proved by a proposal that I made to Herzl in April 1897, during the Greco-Turkish War. To show the Sultan what valuable services we could render him, I suggested that a subscription campaign for the Turkish Crescent should be organized. Herzl took up the idea with enthusiasm. He set up a committee and issued an appeal to the Zionist societies. Turkey accepted the offer, and

with the help of the funds collected a small group of doctors was equipped, which went to the scene of battle and set up a useful service at Volo. Two of the most devoted participants were Herzl's colleague Dr. Schalit of Vienna, and the indefatigable secretary of the first Congress, Dr. Donreich, who regrettably died while still a young man. *Die Welt* published a photograph of this expedition.

But later it became even clearer to me that the efforts of Herzl to persuade the Sultan, by means of negotiations, to grant a charter for Palestine were bound to fail. Turkish law recognizes only the conquest of a land as title deed and permits the Sultan to cede Ottoman territory only after the loss of a battle. It was therefore clear that the Sultan was not at all in a position to cede Palestine to the Zionists in return for financial assistance. Honest Turkish politicians like the then Turkish Ambassador Tewfik Pasha did not leave the least doubt about this. At the time of the London Congress (1900) I also expressed my misgivings about the prospects for the charter to the Russian Zionist leader Professor Mandelstamm, who thereupon asked me the brusque question: "Then why are you a political Zionist?" I answered that political events could create a new situation. I was convinced that Herzl was already taking this possibility into account. The main thing was that we should not lose sight of the goal. Where there was a question of the fate of a people, one should not allow oneself to be discouraged by a temporary difficulty.

However, I have anticipated events, somewhat. New difficulties in the way of the intended Zionist Congress arose. The attempted union with the group around Hildesheimer failed, and they published a declaration in which they formally withdrew from the Congress. Herzl expressed himself concerning their attitude with great indignation. I could imagine, he wrote me, with what bitterness this conduct had filled him. The Congress, he went on, was naturally not weakened by a repudi-

ation made in so rude a form; but he now begged me to take energetically in hand the organization of German Zionism from Cologne. For all his friends in the various countries there would now be only one authoritative center, from which the movement was to be directed, and that one was in Cologne.

I did not regard Hildesheimer's refusal as final and tried to mediate. Cologne as a center for German Zionists also seemed to me unsuitable because of the situation in the extreme west of the Reich. A visit from Bambus, who sought to explain to me the attitude of the Berlin *Chovevei-Zion,* was therefore very welcome. Bambus believed that no notable personality from Germany, France, or England would take part in the Congress. I told Bambus that to give up the Congress plan was out of the question. He thereupon proposed to convene a conference of Palestine societies at the same time as the Zionist Congress, in which he and Hildesheimer would take part as representatives of the Ezra Society. I submitted this proposal to Herzl and informed him of the substance of my conversation with Bambus. The organizing commission for the Congress rightly rejected this plan, since the simultaneous deliberations of two bodies with similar aims would result in a split and arouse confusion. Herzl feared that the Berliners would use the opportunity to organize an attack against the idea of a Jewish State. In his view the unconditional adherents of colonization in Palestine would also be welcome at the Congress if they joined the general organization.

In the meantime the Executive of the Munich community was mobilized against the holding of the Congress. Herzl believed that this was the work of Hildesheimer, but he was mistaken. The bitter fight against the Congress had in fact started from Cologne. For the Jews of Cologne our work for Palestine had been a slow-moving stream which did not appear dangerous. At most they wondered about those strange enthusiasts who, instead of attending simply to their businesses and

occupations, busied themselves with such remote and unfruitful matters as the founding of agricultural colonies in Palestine. Matters looked different, however, when we published our "Theses" and began arguing the necessity for the creation of a Jewish State. When the plan of a Zionist Congress assumed practical form the Cologne assimilationists suddenly saw that the peaceful rivulets had become a raging torrent, which threatened to undermine the laboriously erected structure of assimilation to its very foundations. It is a remarkable concatenation of circumstances that German Zionism as well as the opposition movement both received their strongest impulses from Cologne. When the "Theses" became known in the Rhineland Lodge of the B'nai B'rith, they provoked a storm of indignation, which saw in them treason to the German fatherland, danger for Judaism. That the plan was grist for the mill of anti-Semitism, that it was hopeless, utopian—the fantasy of literary men unacquainted with the world—such were the slogans with which they sought to destroy us. It is difficult nowadays to form a conception of the impassioned bitterness of the Lodge brethren who had thus been awakened out of a sleepwalker's security. Even very clever men were infected by this anxiety psychosis. One of my best friends, Dr. Ludwig Cahen, later Judicial Councilor, declared that he would break off all personal relations with me if I did not abandon my wild schemes. He would rather, he said, see Jews baptized than have them become Zionists. This same man was thirty years later to take over the direction of the *Keren Hayesod* in Cologne, and to work with genuine enthusiasm for the building up of Palestine. Concerning the situation in Cologne I wrote to Herzl that it was only a tempest in a teapot, that Jews anxious about their rights had been seized by an insane fear, and that it was all the more necessary that the intended Congress should be outwardly representative and internally a success. Wolffsohn and I stood firm against all

these attacks. However, we could not prevent a protest against the Congress from being submitted to the Munich Lodge, with a request to have the community organize opposition because of the dangers of the Zionist Congress for Jewry. The Berlin Grand Lodge was also informed of this protest, and all the lodges of the B'nai B'rith in Germany re-echoed with the battle being waged in Cologne. Everybody who knows what a great influence these lodges had upon the public life of German Jewry will understand how very much our propaganda work was impeded thereby. The immediate consequence of this protest, at any rate, was an exchange of letters between the Executive of the Munich community and Herzl, leading to the transfer of the Congress from Munich to Basel.

The amount of prejudice, hatred, and vindictiveness which broke out blowing up the small Zionist circle, is today hardly conceivable. Even economic and social boycott were attempted: whereas shortly before the chairmanship in the cultural committee had been offered to me, with a view to my eventually becoming President of the Lodge, a Chinese wall now rose up around the Zionists. A high degree of determination and firmness of character were necessary to hold one's ground. To the honor of the Cologne Zionists it must be said that all except two remained loyal. Their names, out of shame, will not be mentioned. In the meantime our canvassing continued indefatigably. It is hardly explicable to me today that our strength came to be so overrated by our opponents. In reality the number of our adherents in the whole of Germany was hardly more than a dozen. From this example one can clearly see that the power of an idea is immeasurably greater than that of the men who represent it. Perhaps the solution of the riddle is to be sought in the fact that we in Cologne formed a united fighting comradeship. In Berlin it was different. In *Jung-Israel,* the only local organization with a concrete aim, three groups fought one another. One was under the influence of

Adolf Friedemann, a second under that of Heinrich Loewe, and the third under that of Bambus. Each aimed at the leadership. The differences of opinion, however, were concerned only with tactics, and by no means with the principle of the Jewish State. Friedemann was an unconditional supporter of Herzl's policy, Loewe was inclined to the *Chovevei-Zion,* and Bambus outwardly placed colonization in the foreground while intending to work secretly for the ultimate goal. For this his relations to the Russian B'nai Moshe were of importance. I complained bitterly to Herzl about the situation. Not wishing to bind ourselves any longer, since we could expect only hindrance to our work from that quarter, we therefore followed Herzl's suggestion of taking the leadership of German Zionism from Cologne into our hands.

One of our propaganda pamphlets went to Hermann Schapira, who was professor of mathematics at Heidelberg. On April 20, 1897, he replied with sharply worded objections. The Zionists known to him did not speak of a State, but of a centre—a term which, as is well known, was later to be adopted by Lord Samuel. He considered the plan for a State unsatisfactory from either the theoretical or the practical point of view. A more detailed argument would have been possible only verbally. I nevertheless tried to win Schapira to our views through an exchange of letters, which became very lively. According to Schapira's opinion, our greatest danger was from the German Jews, who feared nothing so much as a blot upon their pure and exclusive German nationality, and thus only colonization and the cultural aims in our program were unobjectionable. He sent us a counter-program which was far-reaching and vague. I replied to Schapira that despite the prudent wording of its statutes, the Zionist society founded by himself had had no success—for outside of Heidelberg nobody had ever heard of him. Schapira, disagreeing, replied that the concept of a State included outward power, which was un-

thinkable without an army and navy, but that such a plan was fantastic and would meet with inexorable opposition. The pamphlet of Dr. Güdemann in Vienna, he said, upheld his conviction. In reply to my objection that his plan meant an obscuring of objectives, he said this was not true, since the projects he envisioned were the only ones that could be realized at present. Everything beyond that consisted of religious hopes, and those nobody could answer for. When he suggested the plan of a Hebrew University the question was put to him whether he wanted to begin the house by building the roof. He in his turn asked us whether we considered the flag on the roof more important than the house. But he fought passionately against assimilation and the symbolization of the Jewish religion. For him it was terrible to see how eagerly the assimilationist press grasped at this poison under the feverish notion that the people might again lose what little freedom it had acquired after long servitude. Our ancestors, he wrote, would rather have let themselves be burned at the stake than change their most sacred hopes and principles into mere symbols. But a people that was notoriously ill-informed about its religion, that knew nothing of its literature and history, that had always heard only: "We are German, we live as Germans, we feel as Germans"—how could it lend or even wish to lead a life of its own? Living required both the body and the spirit. That was why an indefatigable fight was necessary to prevent the spirit from being killed entirely. A strange contradiction! While he was himself so eager to fight he warned us of the fight against German Jewry which would be precipitated by advocating the idea of a Jewish State. The correspondence had brought us closer together. I did not give up, for I felt that at heart he was ours. Eventually he wrote to me with engaging flattery: "You have given me great joy in permitting me the opportunity of seeing deep into your inmost thoughts. Were there a thousand such as you, our unfortunate people would

again take courage." But in the matter itself, he said, he could not give way. The steps that we were on the point of taking would deal the movement its worst blow. Until now all messianic attempts from Bar Kochba to Sabbatai Zevi had, he reminded me, brought the unfortunate people only harm and despair.

After our exchange of letters I had expected to meet, at the Bingen conference which took place at the beginning of June 1897, an imposing man, a bellicose personality. He turned out to be the opposite. On a small, frail body sat a patriarch's head with long, waving hair and beard. It was true that his fiery eyes bespoke courage and spirit, but the gentle tone of his speech was once again a contradiction. In him a cool head was united with a warm heart. Nobody was so gripped by the cause in his inmost being as he. And in Bingen we won him over. I had gradually entered into contact with all German Jews who were at all in sympathy with our cause, including my colleague, Dr. Rudolf Schauer of Bingen, who in Sofia, during the course of a journey through the Balkans, had been won over to the movement by the Zionists there. We had agreed that for the preparation of the Congress a conference was necessary and the place chosen was Bingen. We met on a brilliant fine Sunday in Schauer's office.

About Schauer, who soon became active as one of our most enthusiastic comrades, something needs to be said. His smart appearance suggested an officer rather than a lawyer. Soon after the conference at Bingen he removed to Mainz, where he hoped to be less seriously affected by the boycott against the Zionists. He appeared as a propaganda speaker, together with Friedemann (who was then practicing as a Court assessor at Büdingen, a small village in Hessen), at Wiesbaden, Frankfort-on-the-Main, and many places in the vicinity. The two men were close friends, and both were by nature joyous but filled at the same time with a strong idealism. Schauer produced an

effect mainly by his temperament, Friedemann by his measured and elegant form of address. In Mainz, too, Schauer was obliged to suffer the hostility of the assimilationists, and he decided to go to Paris, upon whose unfruitful soil his value as a propagandist faded away. He did not have the strong will of a Nordau or Marmorek, or the depth of Zionist feeling to sustain him in this wilderness of Jewry. Herzl, whom he influenced through his winning personality, invited him many times during the early period to take part in the Zionist work. In Paris he became the esteemed adviser of the German Embassy and during the First World War, he became the highest judicial administrative official in Belgium. He was also a member of the German Peace Delegation at Versailles. Despite his brilliant career in the service of the Reich he died neglected and forgotten after a long illness in Frankfort-on-the-Main. It was not until some time afterward that I heard of his tragic end.

Apart from our group at Cologne, the only society to send a delegate to the Bingen conference was *Jung-Israel* in Berlin. It was Estermann who, thanks to his skilful and objective handling of questions, contributed much to the success of the conference. Among those from Cologne there were, besides myself, Wolffsohn, Fabius Schach, and Gustav Wolff. From Frankfort came Goitein and Birkenstein, from Mainz Friedemann, and from Bingen Schauer, in addition to Schapira and his wife. Finally, after a discussion which turned in particular on the question of the Jewish State, our program was unanimously adopted. At the suggestion of Schapira the expression "Jewish national" was changed to "Zionist," and from that moment we called ourselves *Zionistische Vereingung für Deutschland* (Zionist Federation for Germany). Experience was to show that the change of name was of no significance so far as the attitude of the German Jews toward us was concerned. It was the thing which they were against, not its name.

In Bingen we had created the first territorial organization, on a model which the organization in other countries was to follow.

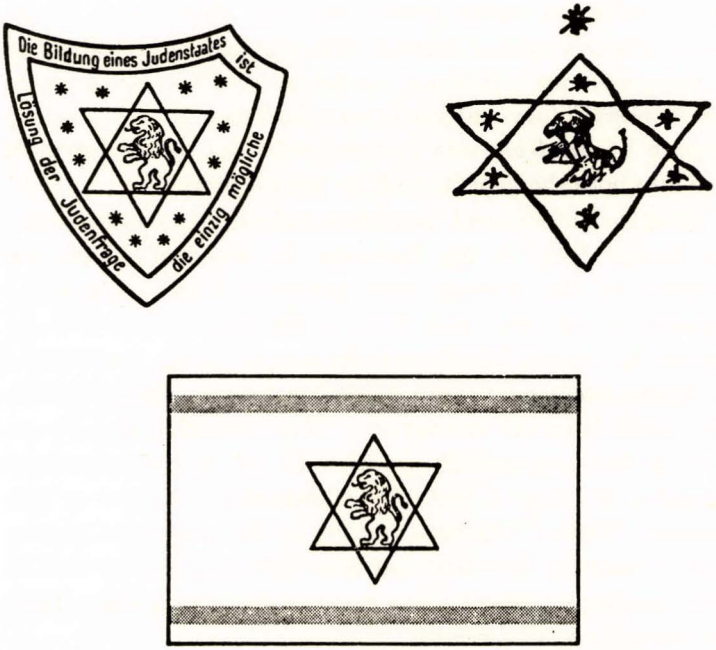
An important subject of our deliberation was the protest against Zionism of the Executive of the German rabbis. Under pressure from communities dominated by Jewish assimilationists, they had declared that political Zionism was an affront to religion and to the civil duties of German Jews. They were, as before, benevolently disposed toward the establishment of agricultural colonies in Palestine. We drafted a sharp rejoinder, in which we pointed out that the adherence of numerous strictly orthodox rabbis proved that our efforts were by no means directed against reiigion. The reproach concerning lack of patriotism we repudiated as denunciatory by referring to our "Theses." Our statement was published in a prominent location by the *Kölnische Zeitung* and from thence found its way into both the general and the Jewish press.

Schapira had reserved the right to defend his attitude toward the Jewish State at the Congress. An incident which was evidence of this aroused some laughter. I had prepared a vignette in red, gold, and blue, in the middle of which appeared the Star of David with the lion of Judah, surrounded by twelve small stars symbolizing the twelve tribes of Israel. The shield bore the inscription: "The founding of a Jewish State is the only possible solution of the Jewish question." Schapira was one of the most enthusiastic collectors of this vignette. When I expressed my joy to his wife there came a rude awakening. Her husband was collecting the vignettes in order to destroy them! Thus it came about that today there are scarcely any in existence.

The shield which I later used as a watermark in the prospectus of the Jewish Colonial Trust gave rise to an argument with Herzl. He approved of the Star of David and the lion of Judah, but rejected the twelve small stars. At the same

time he added a sketch of his own.

"Assume," wrote Herzl, "that the scrawl in the middle is the lion, that in each of the small triangles there is a star, and that there is a star above." Eventually the Star of David enclosing the lion, on a white field with two blue stripes, was adopted, and this was used at all Congresses until the death of Herzl. The two blue stripes are due to a suggestion of Wolffsohn, who wanted to indicate thereby the stripes on the *Talith* or prayer shawl.



Zionist shield designed by the author, Herzl's sketch, the final version

THE CONGRESSES WITH HERZL

BEFORE I went to the Congress I took a holiday in Switzerland. My impatience to make the acquaintance of the man who had breathed new life into us will be understood; and when I heard that Herzl was likewise in Switzerland, I imagined that I might meet him there somewhere or other. But I had to wait until the Congress. If I had seen an early photograph of Herzl I would not have recognized him. Even in his first Paris period his face had the expression of one who had shone with success in the salons of Parisian society. After the publication of the *Judenstaat* he became a different man. The gentle cheerfulness of the countenance had given way to a profound earnestness, and the dreamy eyes had acquired a look of power. From the moment when he greeted me at Basel, like an old friend, I knew that he was indeed to be the leader of our movement.

At the inns there was a great deal of talk about Zionism and the Congress. I found that the non-Jewish public accepted the Zionist plan as something quite natural. I took a room at the Hotel Kraft, in Klein-Basel, where I made the acquaintance of a number of Russian fellow Zionists. My venerable but highly temperamental colleague Jasinowsky of Warsaw

presented himself to me as a participant in the Kattowitz conference. Bernstein-Kohan and Ussischkin were then young men with great enthusiasm for the cause. The Congress was to take place in the *Burgvogtei.* But no sooner did Herzl see the room than he refused it. He declared that it was undignified to meet in a hall that was used for dancing and low music-hall turns. Finally the small salon of the casino was found to be suitable.

Herzl was staying at the Hotel Zu den Drei Königen, where he had a small room with damask-covered furniture which served as reception room and study. His appearance filled me with joy and pride: a magnificent man. It had been someone like this that I had imagined during my school days, in thinking of the Trojan hero Hector. Above all his eyes and mouth impressed me. Spirit was united with strength and goodness, severity with mildness and grace, in features that were both noble and agreeable. He was well above middling height, and his bearing was not inaccurately described as a kingly one. Thus he cast a spell through his personality. He spoke a few friendly words with me, attaching particular value to the report I was to submit: "To a certain extent," he said, "it will have to form the basis or foundation of our movement." When I submitted the manuscript to him he gave it extravagant praise.

At a preliminary conference in a room of the *Burgvogtei,* my attention was drawn by a short man with a full, grizzled beard, whose lively gestures, powerful forehead and large, luminous eyes attracted me. Many people crowded about him. I asked his name and learned that it was Max Nordau. So now I knew the second of the great figures in the movement. A remarkably heterogeneous group of people had gathered round Zionism. Among them were a Baron von Manteuffel and the poet Börries von Münchhausen. An English clergyman, the Reverend William Hechler, was of historic importance to the cause of Zionism. At one of the preliminary conferences Herzl gave

a warning against two men whom he linked with his Berlin opponents—namely Ussischkin, one of the most important leaders of the Russian *Chovevei-Zion,* and the Hebrew author, Sefer Rabinowitsch. As a result of this distrust Ussishkin was at once forced into the opposition. He had never made a secret of the fact that he did not share the views of Herzl about infiltration, and had always combated his policy. I had already known the editor of *Selbstemanzipation,* Nathan Birnbaum, since the appearance of my brochure. I had persuaded my fellow Zionists in Cologne to support his journal and thus, for some time, to provide him with a means of existence. He was also one of the opponents of Herzl at the first Congress. This, in view of the conflicting character of the two men, was by no means to be wondered at.

In deference to his seniority, the Congress was opened by the septuagenarian Dr. Lippe from Rumania. Dr. Schnirer and I had been chosen to sit beside him in order to put a brake on the excess of his eloquence. But the precaution was unnecessary. His address was dignified in form and content. The speech by Herzl which followed it came like a revelation to us and was received with enormous acclaim. He concluded: "Wherever we are and however long it may be until our work is completed, our Congress will be noble and serious, for the benefit of the unfortunate, to the harm of noone, and to the honor of all Jews, as worthy of a past whose fame, remote though it may be, is eternal." It was not only what he said that gripped us but also the noble and heart-warming way in which he said it, and the appearance of a man of such towering distinction that he was a credit to all civilized peoples.

The speech by Nordau had an equal effect. His description of the position of the Jewish people in all lands and periods was moving and tragic. It must be read in the Congress Protocol in order to form a conception of it, and to do so is to be gripped by the truth of its message. He spoke of the material distress

of the Jews in eastern Europe and of their moral distress in the West. A nation without a home and without the soil under its feet—such, he said, was the moral distress of the Jews which was more bitter even that the physical. The emancipated Jew was rootless, uncertain in his relations to his fellow men, anxious in contact with the unknown, mistrustful concerning the secret feelings even of friends. He had used up his best energies in the suppression or at least the dissembling of his own character. He never had the straightforward urge to give himself wholly as he was. Thus inwardly he became crippled, while outwardly he produced the effect of not being genuine, with the result that he only looked ridiculous and, to the lofty-minded, repulsive like anything else that was false. In this way there had arisen a new Marrano Jewry, which was far worse than the old. Nordau concluded by saying that he had a horror of the future development of this generation, which morally lacked the support of a tradition, whose spirit had been poisoned by hostility against its own as well as against alien blood, and whose self-esteem was destroyed by the ever-present consciousness of a fundamental lie. To find a remedy for this Jewish distress, he said, was to be the great task of the Congress.

Of the greatest importance for the future of the movement were the negotiations about its platform, which has remained unchanged down to the present day. After a long debate the preliminary conference decided to choose a five-member commission to draft it. In accordance with this proposal the commission, whose members were Nordau, Nathan Birnbaum, Sigmund Rosenberg, Dr. Minz, and Saul Rafael Landau was formed, and in addition Professor Schapira and I were also included on the basis of our own proposals. The account of this matter given by Landau, in his book *Sturm und Drang in Zionismus* is misleading. No member of the preliminary conference failed to appreciate the necessity of a platform. In the discussion the only point at issue was whether the platform

was to be dealt with as a separate item of the agenda or in connection with the matter of organization. The majority, in which I concurred, considered the latter more expedient, since a platform was to be the very heart of the organization and could hardly be separated from it. The statement that Herzl argued against the necessity of a Zionist platform, but referred the Congress to his *Judenstaat,* is incorrect. Landau's account of the way in which the platform came into existence is also erroneous. There was a draft by Professor Schapira, which was quite neutral, setting forth only the idea of the colonization of Palestine and then the Theses of the Cologne Zionist Society. Out of these Nordau framed the succinctly worded statement: *"The aim of Zionism is the creation of a homeland, recognized by international law, for the Jewish people in Palestine."* This statement was opposed by Schapira, who emphatically rejected any formulation that would arouse suspicion of an intent to create a Jewish State in Palestine. In order to obtain a unanimous vote the lawyers in the commission proposed the version: "the aim is a *legally secured homeland.*" They were guided by the consideration that this phrasing admitted of the possibility of constitutional law as well as international law, without particularly emphasizing the fact. This phrasing was the one adopted. Nevertheless no member of the commission had in mind anything other than the securing of a homeland through international law.

The definition of the means for carrying out the platform met with no difficulty. However, when Nordau submitted the platform to the Congress, some lively opposition arose. Fabius Schach energetically insisted upon the word *völkerrechtlich* (through international law). With wise foresight he said that no one had ever yet called a national movement into life; that now we no longer wished merely to be tolerated, we wanted to have a civil law of our own, on our own soil; and that without a national center and an international legal guarantee,

the permanent existence of a small people had never yet been secured. If we dispensed with that, we would have denied our aim and abandoned the road of political Zionism. Motzkin as "general speaker" was in favor of retaining only the word *völkerrechtlich*. These objections were of importance, and we sought a way of dealing with them. It was provided by Herzl with the compromise phrase, "a homeland secured by public law" (*öffentlich-rechtlich*). This version was adopted amid enormous applause, and therewith the foundation of the organization was laid.

A sharp attack upon Herzl is made in his book of recollections by Landau, who maintains that after the Congress Herzl repudiated the platform. In support of this view he cites some statements made by Herzl in propaganda speeches; but in fact no conclusion can be drawn from them. Every one of his hearers knew that by the homeland of which Herzl spoke he meant Palestine. When he made the statement, in a phrasing accepted by other leading Zionists, that this homeland was intended for those Jews who could not or did not wish to be assimilated, the meaning was only that no compulsion of any sort should be exerted over Jews in general to compel them settle in the national community in Palestine. The contention that Herzl fundamentally altered the Basel platform is foolish and unfounded. It is contradicted by a continuous chain of utterances made by Herzl up until the May meeting of the Action Committee just before his death.

After the question of a platform had been disposed of and reports from various countries had been delivered, the attention of the Congress turned to the question of the organization of the movement, on which I was to report. I dealt first of all with the question of whether and why an organization was necessary at all. The people, I said constituted a social body. If that body created instruments for its preservation and development it became an organized national body, i.e. a nation. Its

highest expression and aim were recognition as a State by international law. In the philosophy of law the State was designated as a people's legally organized will to power. In every nation there was an impulse to show its strength and its peculiar character through the formation of a State. However the organization of a people may be constituted, it must afford the possibility of further development into a State. It must contain the germ of a State. The entire misery of the Jewish people consisted in the fact that as a minority they did not possess enough power in any State to achieve the realization of their will to achieve statehood. The communities, I went on, which had created Jewry in the *Galuth* had not been national but religious, social, and humanitarian organs. I then addressed myself vehemently against the protesting rabbis, those who asked who had given us a mandate to act for the whole of Jewry. Men, I said, who had summoned their people to liberty and to national union would never have expected any mandate from cowards or hypocrites. A conviction of the necessity for an act of liberation was the only mandate that could move them to action. The organization of the people and their gathering in one land were a necessity. Therefrom, if the prerequisite conditions were present, the Jewish State would arise. The Congress had already decided upon a platform for it. As a nucleus of the organization I suggested a committee with various subdivisions. The financing of the organization would rest upon two institutions—a national donation fund for the purchase of land and a Jewish bank for the purpose of colonization. In conclusion I remarked: "At the beginning of my speech I compared an organized people with a living body. The Jewish people, however, is a living entity whose organs, owing to hundreds of years of inactivity, are weakened and paralyzed." Our task was to revive it anew, to infuse into the people a spirit of cheerful confidence, so that it might become healthy and strong and be able once again to offer mankind

the rich gifts of a free spirit. I closed with these words: "We stand on soil where men freely allied secured their liberty hundreds of years ago. Let us fill ourselves with the spirit of these men, and the victory of our cause is sure. Discord and dissension have often been a source of harm to the Jewish people. But may a spirit of unity, the spirit of Rütli, likewise hover over our assembly of men freely allied."

My report also received the applause of the Congress. My greatest personal satisfaction was in the fact that the organization commission adopted my principles and that I was thus able to contribute toward establishing a foundation for the movement.

The deliberations of the Congress were interrupted by a students' "beer-evening" in the *Burgvogtei,* at which they gave unbounded expression to their enthusiasm. At a late hour, when the other members of the audience had left, I saw the gray-bearded Schapira in the midst of a dozen students from Heidelberg, who were dancing around him in jubilation. "What do I want with children?" Shapira called to me, as I looked smiling on this spectacle. "These are all my sons." The jolliest of the group was young Josef Klausner, who is now a professor at the University of Jerusalem.

The conclusion of the Congress was a solemn occasion. It was the birth-hour of a new Jewish life. Our enthusiasm then cannot be described. "If we ask the downtrodden to set their hands once again to the plow," Herzl ended, "is it then a question whether they prefer work to defenselessness and misery? Just ask them! On the day when the plow again rests in the toughened hands of the Jewish farmer, the Jewish question will be solved."

During the Congress a man with a long gray imperial beard had sat among the delegates, silently and attentively following the deliberations. He now rose and offered to Herzl the thanks of the Jewish people. He was Professor Mandelstamm of Kiev,

a famous oculist, a member of the Kattowitz conference of the *Chovevei-Zion* and one of the most esteemed leaders of the Russian delegation. When he had finished the whole assembly rose as one man. They sang national songs, they embraced and kissed one another, and many could not suppress tears of emotion. A historic event, one of epoch-making importance for the Jewish people, had taken place, and at that event I had been present: an exalted sense of well-being filled me at the thought, while Herzl, in the storm of enthusiasm, was being lifted by the youth and carried through the hall.

After the Congress I expressed in a letter to Herzl my admiration for the prudent and at the same time powerful conduct of the Congress. Then I pointed out the necessity of immediate action in raising the money for propaganda purposes. In Russia, I wrote, it would only be possible to raise money for the Jewish National Fund and the Bank, the masses not being in a position to make other financial sacrifices; and it was therefore necessary to turn repeatedly to high finance. But my reminder was unnecessary, for Herzl had already begun upon a period of tireless activity. This included the carrying out of the resolutions made by the Congress and the building up of the organization. I myself, together with the gray-haired Rabbi Dr. Isaac Rülf, was elected to represent the German Zionists on the Action Committee. This position obliged me to carry on an intensified propaganda campaign in Germany. New local societies had to be formed. The old ones needed revivifying through the recruiting of new members. With all the members correspondence had to be carried on. I mention among these only Dr. Moses of Mannheim and Dr. Kaufmann of Freiburg. The office in Cologne had to be maintained; since means were lacking, the expense of this, as well as of numerous journeys, was borne by Wolffsohn and myself. It is understandable that such a propaganda campaign presupposed unshakable faith and iron determination. The bitter-

ness that I felt when the official representatives of German Jewry, and the press supported by them, threatened to destroy us with slander, and when Professor Ludwig Geiger even proposed to deprive Zionists of civil rights, found the sharpest expression in my letters to Herzl. I also took a stand on the question of organizing a general Jewish students' conference. "What our opponents say," I wrote, "is a matter of indifference. If we win the youth we have the future, we have everything." I was given great anxiety by the fact that as a result of the sharp dispute, a gap between us and the friends of colonization was becoming evident. I addressed myself urgently to Herzl. We could not, I said, dispense with the cooperation of those who placed their hopes for the future on the development of colonization. I did not consider the question ripe for discussion as to whether colonization might harm our political plans. In this I believe that my appeals were not entirely without effect, as Herzl now began to look with favor upon practical work in Palestine. His attitude showed itself first in his lively interest in the National Fund, in which he was in agreement with Schapira, that splendid man who was all too soon to be torn from us by death.

In May 1898 we held our delegates' conference in Cologne. We were unimportant in numbers, but could rely upon our followers. Whoever was weak-willed and had not borne the ordeal by fire, disappeared from our ranks. In Cologne Rabbi Dr. Nobel joined us and became a member of our executive. Martin Buber also took part in our meeting; he was then a slim, pale, beardless youth, and there was as yet no hint of his later messianic look other than a certain visionary remoteness that shone in his eyes. Despite his weakened health Schapira came to Cologne, and with his usual lively spirit gave us many a suggestion. When he left my house, accompanied by Dr. Rubinsohn, he felt so unwell that the latter was obliged to take him to the Jewish Hospital. There it was found that he was

ill with inflammation of the lungs, to which he succumbed a few days later. His wife, who shared his ideals, was immediately informed of his condition, and she arrived in Cologne a short time before his death. When I visited him on his deathbed the National Fund was his greatest anxiety. He begged me earnestly to undertake the work for the establishment of this Fund and to continue his activity. With trembling hands he gave me his draft constitution, whose essential proposals were later embodied in the constitution of the National Fund.

On the morning of the burial of Schapira I had a strange experience. At a very early hour the doorbell rang, and the maid announced a Herr Schapira, who wished to speak to me. For a moment I felt as though I were dreaming when I found an old gentleman who so closely resembled the dead man in stature, appearance, and manner as to be easily mistaken for him. He was in fact his brother. He told me that he lived in a little town in the vicinity of Königsberg and had not heard anything of his brother for twenty years. But a few days before he had felt an irresistible longing to see him again and had traveled to Heidelberg without stopping to reconsider or to let anybody know. From there he had followed him to Cologne and had only now learned from our maid that his brother was dead. After the burial I heard no more of him. The members of the Zion Society, Dr. Marcuse and Dr. Sack of Heidelberg, took part in the funeral and afterwards handed over the funds of the society to me.

Immediately after the death of Schapira I turned to Herzl on behalf of the National Fund. I declared that the drafting of a constitution for this Fund was more urgent and important than the constitution of the Bank. It was the legal security of the Fund that presented special difficulties. I suggested that one of our Vienna colleagues should be entrusted with it, because I saw no possibility, under German law, of establishing the Fund as a legal entity.

With regard to the Organization, I suggested that non-delegates be allowed to take part in the Congress, thus making it truly a people's Congress. This proposal was rejected by Herzl on the ground that it must remain a delegates' Congress as a matter of principle. He wrote: "We look upon it as our National Assembly, and it is nothing at all if it is not a representative body. For the future of the Jewish State, which through Congress virtually exists for us already, this is of capital importance. Our constitution is at present still miserable and sketchy, but gradually we shall develop it." In reply to my objection that with the election method proposed by him there was a danger that it would be a Parliament in name only, Herzl replied: "That our Congress at first can be no more than a defective Parliament, I know quite well. But the principle of representation is of major importance because thereby we express through conclusive action an intention to set up a State, which, as a matter of expediency, we are unable to make explicit. The same applies to the flag, which is for me by no means a plaything. If you intend to lead, you need flags and trumpets, otherwise you cannot convey your words of command to the crowd. Surely you don't take me for a fool."

After the Organization was properly set up Herzl pursued the matter of the Bank with great enthusiasm. I was to do my utmost even though I was not in agreement with him in everything. Therein lay the discipline without which we could not succeed. I must attribute it to his esteem of me that he pushed me into the various commissions. He gave me no peace until I declared myself willing to draft the Bank prospectus, an undertaking in which Jakobus Kann, of The Hague, was helpful to me. I submitted it simultaneously with the draft of a constitution to the second Congress. Since the Bank was later to become the National Bank of the Jewish State, I based its constitution, with some necessary alterations, upon that of the German Reichsbank. It was to be strictly a business under-

taking, which would serve the Zionist cause by accumulating Jewish capital for the contemplated colonization of territory in Syria and Palestine. Apart from our political plans, the inclusion of Syria in this territory was necessary because Palestine under Turkish rule was not a political concept but only a geographical one. In its financial status the Bank was to be independent.

The drafting of the constitution of the company was handed over by Wolffsohn to the English lawyer Herbert Bentwich, who as president of the London Maccabaean club, had rendered Herzl important services. As Bentwich did not know my intentions and tried to force my draft into the Procrustean bed of English laws, there arose a difficulty in the constitution which could be removed only by a thorough revision.

At the second Congress there occurred what might have been a dangerous incident for the movement. A French delegate, "Delines," of whom nothing was ever to be heard again proposed that the recently published pronouncement by the Tsar on the convening of a peace conference should be acknowledged by the Congress in a letter of approbation. This proposal had the effect of a bomb. There were unheard-of scenes of disorderliness, in which Syrkin, the labor leader from New York, particularly distinguished himself. Nordau, who had the task of translating the proposal, was noisily interrupted, although he emphasized that he did not wish to express any opinion of his on the subject, since he did not trust himself to speak *ex tempore* on matters that should be treated with the greatest care. For some reason or other Herzl wished to force the proposal through—a course which would have been dangerous for the Russian delegates, since it would certainly have been rejected. I therefore took the floor to argue that while naturally any appeal which called for peace in the world could not but awaken an echo in the Congress, our assembly should concern itself with its own politics, however petty, and not

allow itself to indulge in demonstrations arising from a momentary emotional outburst. It was gratifying, I went on, that from such a high place the time had been proclaimed when, in the words of our prophets, the instruments of war should be beaten into plowshares and pruning-hooks. For this we could give expression to our joy by acclamation, and move on to the next point on the agenda. The thunder of applause that followed my words extricated Herzl from a painful vote.

Immediately after the Congress Herzl received an invitation of the Grand Duke of Baden to Schloss Mainau, where he won him completely for our cause. Toward this it is known that the Reverend William Hechler had contributed greatly. This fanatical venerator of the Bible was the tutor of the Baden hereditary princes, and had thus become known to the German Kaiser. He believed in the early advent of the Messiah. There are many legends about his meeting with Herzl. He himself related that when he saw Herzl's *Judenstaat* displayed in a bookshop in the Leopoldstadt in Vienna, he bought the book immediately, and that it had filled him with enthusiasm. Thereupon, he said, he hastened at full speed to Herzl and greeted him with the words: "You are the one I have waited for. You are the Messiah." According to his own account, he had immediately informed the Grand Duke of this meeting and gave him no rest until he had invited Herzl to an audience at Mainau. But Landau's account, that he had mediated in the meeting between Hechler and Herzl is correct, and is further confirmed by correspondence communicated to me by Landau. Hechler's story, on the other hand, is simply too fantastic to be believed.

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[1] *Translator's Note.*—According to Herzl's diary, his first audience with the Grand Duke of Baden was at Karlsruhe in April 1896; his second audience was at Mainau in 1898, after the second Congress.

But in any case Hechler had a prophetic gift. In the summer of 1913 he was a guest at our home on the border of the Stadtwald, in Cologne, along with the sculptor Henryk Glicenstein. The conversation of the two temperamental men enlivened our dinner table. On one occasion, when the subject was politics, Hechler remarked that next year a world war would break out, and the House of Hohenzollern would be at the height of its power. It would then break up and the Kaiser would be forced to flee for refuge. I regarded Hechler's biblical expositions as mere fancy, but this prediction of his is remarkable enough not to be overlooked. Again, while I was in London at the annual conference of 1920, during a stroll through Kensington Gardens with Friedemann and Hechler, the latter suddenly said: "I must tell you something. I have seen from the Bible that in the near future great danger will threaten Jews in Palestine. I believe it is from the Arabs." Shortly afterwards the Arab riot against the Jews broke out.

Let us now return to the course of our history. The Court Marshal von Babo had expressed to Wolffsohn his astonishment at how strong an influence Herzl had over the Grand Duke. Despite his dislike for banking and financial matters he had nevertheless sat down late in the evening to write a long letter that was to serve to introduce Herzl to the world of high finance. But all our efforts continued to be without success. Even Schröder who was the director of the Schaaffhausen'scher Bankverein, and who was a Badener, failed us, although he took the letter of the Grand Duke into his hand with every mark of reverence, as though it had been a relic.

To this period belongs a suggestion that Herzl immediately pursued with zeal. Hinrichsen, a member of the Citizens' Council in Hamburg, whom I looked up during the meeting of the *Freie Israelitische Vereinigung,* and whom I wished to win over to the idea of the Jewish State, had told me that Baron de Hirsch had originally intended to make a Jewish

State out of his colonies in Argentina. He wanted to arrange a conference of the great Jewish communities for this purpose. But his brother-in-law, Baron von Bischofsheim, opposed him, objecting that through this plan he would be dealing a blow against the emancipation of the Jews for all time. When I expressed doubt Hinrichsen said, "Believe me, I have received a circular about this myself." He brought it out of his desk and read some passages to me. I informed Herzl of all this in the hope of winning over the widow of the Baron for our cause. Herzl took the suggestion very seriously. He asked me whether I would go to Paris to call on the Baroness along with Nordau. But it appears that owing to the difficulty of approaching the Baroness on such a matter, Nordau declined, for I heard nothing more about it.

In the second week of October 1898, Wolffsohn asked me to call on him. He sounded very mysterious, and asked me whether I would be prepared to undertake an important journey with Herzl. He could inform me of details only if I promised strict secrecy. He then told me that the Grand Duke of Baden had won over the Kaiser to the idea of a Jewish State. The Kaiser was even prepared to assume a protectorate over the new State. He had expressed a wish to receive a deputation of Zionists in Jerusalem in order to declare his willingness to them. I would go with Wolffsohn as the representative of the German Zionists, while he himself would act as representative of the Bank. Dr. Schnirer, as member of the smaller Executive, and the engineer Seidener, the latter on account of his knowledge of the country, were to join the party. In reply to my question as to why Nordau was not going, Wolffsohn replied that he had declined for political and personal reasons. Dr. Gaster, whom Herzl had also considered, would be able to decide only after a discussion in Brussels, but there was no longer any time for this. In the light of the Kaiser's known attitude to the Jews and his intimacy with

anti-Semites of the type of Stöcker and Count Waldersee, Wolffsohn's information seemed to me so incredible that I suspected some deception. I therefore wanted to decide only after an exchange of views with Herzl in Vienna, but prepared everything in great haste for the journey, which was to begin the next day but one. It proved difficult, especially in this short time, to get a dress suit for the reception. My green traveling shoes, which I had stowed away in a trunk and which were then the height of fashion, afterwards aroused the hilarity of the deputation, as Wolffsohn maintained that I had got them instead of patent leather shoes to wear with the dress suit.

I had only two hours in Vienna. I met Herzl at his house in the Währingerstrasse, where he was busy with the arrangements for the journey. At the last moment Kokesch also appeared bringing the modest travel fund of 4,000 gold marks, which had been clubbed together by our Russian friends. With this sum we set out on our journey to the German Kaiser. I still had time to point out to Herzl that if our journey produced no tangible result, it would do us more harm than good. Herzl only looked at me with wide eyes and said: "You shall see my correspondence with the Grand Duke on the way."

The extent of Herzl's suggestive power can be seen from the fact that I did not press him any more and decided without further ado to take part in the deputation. In the dining room the whole family was gathered for tea. Herzl's father was an impressive man of fine appearance, with a friendly expression in his dark eyes, and wearing a full beard touched with gray. The noble shape of his head Herzl had from his mother, a slim, elegant woman with unmistakable traces of former beauty. Frau Julie Herzl was small, elegant, and lively. Her intensity was striking, and so was her marked coquetry. She allowed Seidener to take her measure for a pair of slippers, which he was to procure for her in a bazaar in Constantinople. The tall, strong man of serious mien and the worldly woman with a

thought only for outward appearance were truly an ill-matched couple. When we left the children would scarcely let their father go and overwhelmed him with caresses.

On the train I shared a compartment with Herzl. I now asked to be taken into his confidence, and Herzl told me of his negotiations with the Reich Chancellor, the Prince of Hohenlohe, and the State Secretary of the Foreign Office, Baron Bernhard von Bülow, later Prince Chancellor. The details are already known from Herzl's diaries. But a remark of the Grand Duke was especially interesting, namely that the intelligence from Constantinople was encouraging. The Ambassador, Marschall von Bieberstein, since the Cretan question had been in great favor with the Sultan. It was a difficult matter to find a form for establishing a State which would guarantee the overlordship of the Sultan. He had added he was afraid that certain circles of Jews would regard an intervention of the German Government with distrust. In a letter to the German Ambassador in Vienna, Count Eulenburg, he had put together all points of view that might influence the Kaiser to take the matter in hand: namely, that the founding of a Jewish State would be followed by an alleviation of the internal situation in many countries; that as a result of the emigration of Jews who were felt to be superfluous, anti-Semitism itself would come to a standstill; that the return of the Jews to Palestine would bring culture and order into this neglected corner of the Middle East; and that a German protectorate would bring about orderly conditions. In reply to this letter the Grand Duke had informed Herzl that the Kaiser was full of enthusiasm for the cause.

Less gratifying were the impressions that Herzl had received from his conversation with State Secretary von Bülow and the Imperial Chancellor, Prince Hohenlohe. They seemed inclined to deal with the matter in a dilatory fashion. However he believed that in this question the will of the Kaiser would be decisive. The Kaiser wanted to meet with him in Constanti-

nople before the reception at Jerusalem. From this Herzl concluded that his intentions were serious. My objections were cut short by Herzl with the words: "In Constantinople we shall see whether this matter is only a romantic whim of the Kaiser's." We then discussed the insufficiency of our means. If the Kaiser's intentions were serious we should be in an embarrassing situation. It required courage to approach the most powerful monarch in Europe with our requests on behalf of an organization that was still in its infancy, and that had no prospect of help from high finance.

During the journey I had the opportunity to become better acquainted with Herzl. We were continually together, day and night, for six weeks. His appearance was that of a master of men. The critical but kindly look of the dark eyes pierced into the depths of one's being. When his face, whose complexion was like ivory, shone with quiet confidence, he warmed our hearts. Whenever, after brief reflection, he formed a resolution or settled a question with a rapid movement of the hand, we submitted to the strength of his will. There are unfortunately few pictures of Herzl which make his masterful character credible. In the bust by the sculptor Friedrich Beer, which belongs to the time when Herzl wrote the *Judenstaat,* there is a charm in the poise of the head and in the dreamy expression suggested by the direction of its gaze. But there is still no trace of his dominating will. The etching by Hermann Struck, which dates from Herzl's later period, does more justice to his character. But it represents him as a kind of Atlas, on the point of breaking down under the weight on his shoulders of his tormented people. The Congress picture by Pilichowsky was not made until 1907 after Herzl's death. Herzl is represented as a powerful, striding pilgrim, who points from the mountain to the promised land. But this representation does not have a convincing effect. The frock coat ill suits the mountain climber. In Styria I once saw Herzl dressed in sport-

ing costume. That would seem to me to have been more suitable and to correspond more nearly to the artist's intentions. Why Pilichowsky did not represent Herzl as president of the Congress was inexplicable to me. Whether it was artistically justified to represent him as wearing dark gloves and carrying a cloak over his arm can be left undecided. The explanation that Pilichowsky gave me was that he wished to direct the entire attention of the onlooker to the head, which stands out brilliantly highlighted. But I rather think that the gloves are an artist's trick. Pilichowsky had never seen Herzl. To paint the fine, slender, and expressive hands of Herzl from imagination was repugnant to him—hence the gloves.

We passed through Budapest at night. When we reached Semlin, the birthplace of Herzl's ancestors, day was breaking. The Serbian mountains rushed past us. Shepherds and goatherds crowded the stations. During the journey through Bulgaria we conversed with Tewfik Pasha, the Turkish Ambassador to Berlin and a brother-in-law of the Sultan, who was on his way to Constantinople for the Kaiser's reception. At San Stefano we had the first foretaste of Constantinople. Turkish ladies greeted the train, which they imagined to be filled with high dignitaries, with endless obeisances. The landscape was uncultivated and looked desolate. The telegraph poles which ran alongside the track looked like the ghosts of the trees whose branches had been cut off and whose bark had been peeled away for the purpose. At last we drove into the station of Stambul, where the life of the Oriental metropolis roared about us.

Concerning the journey to Constantinople one O. Erter had made a discreet preliminary announcement in *Die Welt* for October 28. He wrote that it was to be not warlike conquerors but peaceful settlers, who had been assured just protection, who would rebuild the land from which the world had received the most precious elements of its culture and civilization: "A Ger-

many of the Middle East, restored to new prosperity by the people of ancient Palestine." Something of the brightness of emerging creation shone during those splendid days upon our hope and our longing. According to Landau, O. Erter was the pseudonym of the author Dr. Goldbaum. Still another utterance had pointed to the days that were coming. At a mass meeting on October 6, 1898, in the East End of London, Herzl had said: "I won't draw you a picture of the homecoming. For it will soon begin: I can assure you of that. We are no longer far from the time. I know well what I say. I have never before spoken so definitely. Today I declare to you that I believe the time is no longer remote when the Jewish people will set themselves in motion." Loud acclamation greeted this promise. But even louder were the blame and criticism which came when he was not in the position to fulfill his promise.

About the journey and its progress I reported fully in *Die Welt* in the years 1898 and 1899. It is therefore superfluous to repeat this description here. My main stress will be on what could not be said at the time owing to political considerations.

In Constantinople the first task with which Herzl entrusted me was that of calling upon the German Ambassador, since we believed that the latter had been informed about Herzl's having been given an invitation to an audience with the German Kaiser. The ambassadorial palace on the Pera heights, in its genuine magnificence, made a great impression upon me. Officials in motley clothes and festive garb enhanced the scene. The Ambassador received me in a friendly manner, but showed reserve. When I submitted my request I received an icy shock. "Who is Doctor Herzl?" inquired the Ambassador. He knew nothing about the Grand Duke's negotiations with Herzl. Nor had he received any instructions from the Kaiser. He was just on the point of driving to the Prinkipo Islands for the reception. He would make inquiries about the matter and inform us immediately of the result.

My report of all this was a great disappointment for Herzl. Either the Grand Duke had been wrongly informed or there was an intrigue going on. Relations between Count Eulenburg, the Ambassador in Vienna, and Marschall von Bieberstein were known to be strained. Herzl was of the opinion that possibly the information had been conveyed through Eulenburg without the Ambassadors being told. It was painful for Herzl that he should now appear in our eyes in an unfavorable light.

We asked ourselves whether it was worth our while to wait for the reply of the Ambassador, but finally we grew impatient. We had begun to be distrustful. If nothing more was heard from the Kaiser, then the continuation of our journey would be useless. On the other hand, it was not without hesitation that we addressed ourselves direct to the Kaiser. We were a little afraid that this might be regarded as too aggressive. But Herzl decided upon sending a letter in which he referred to the invitation of a Zionist deputation to Jerusalem and the discussion with the Grand Duke of Baden. Wolffsohn was to take this letter to Yildiz Kiosk. When he came back he gave an amusing description of his wanderings. He arrived at the gardens of the Imperial harem, where the women (whose charms, however, left him cold) gazed in astonishment and curiosity at him and his silk hat. With the help of the chief eunuch he fortunately reached the Kaiser's Chief Marshal, Count von Eulenburg. The latter received Wolffsohn with marked amiability and promised to hand the letter to the Kaiser immediately after the gala dinner. He then conducted him to von Bülow, who remained cold and reserved and apparently saw no reason for any particular hurry over Herzl's letter. So now we knew how the wind blew. But after a couple of hours an Imperial officer appeared, who brought Herzl an invitation to the audience.

When the imposing figure of Herzl strode through the lobby

of the hotel everybody showed the utmost respect and formed a lane for him to pass through. We spent the next few hours in tense expectation, as it was possible that the fate of the Jewish people depended on the conversation between the Kaiser and Herzl. Two romantic figures now faced each other. But while for Wilhelm II the romantic idea of a protectorate over the Jewish State was perhaps merely fun and games, for Herzl it was a political act. The romance consisted in the fact that the wonderfully glamorous past of our people in his spirit had become a reality.

Wolffsohn accompanied Herzl to the Palace. The rest of us went for a stroll through the ornate splendor of the city, but anxiety soon drove us back into the hotel.

Meanwhile there was a display of fireworks over the Bosporus, the most magnificent spectacle of this kind the world had ever seen. We were told that the Sultan had given two million francs out of his private purse for it, but that the Pashas had put the greater part into their own pockets. None of us saw anything of the fireworks; in our hearts another kind of fire was ablaze.

After many hours of waiting Herzl returned. He was feverish with excitement; his eyes shone. He was in a state of ecstasy. The Kaiser, with charming amiability, had himself seated him at the table. Their conversation had lasted an hour and a half. Herzl had begun by developing a picture of Zionism and its intentions but the Kaiser had interrupted him to say that he was informed about Herzl's book and the Congresses. Von Bülow had made all sorts of objections, which the Kaiser had interrupted by reminding him that if he took the matter under his protection then it assumed a different aspect. He promised to submit the proposal of a charter to the Sultan the very next day.

Of the Kaiser himself Herzl gave an extravagant description. It was as though he had met the fabulous creature of the Böcklin forest, which said: "Behold, I am the unicorn." His

radiant blue eyes, his temperament, the nobility of his mind enchanted Herzl. He also considered himself honored by the confidence that the Kaiser showed when he spoke to him about the Dreyfus Affair and mentioned to him in the strictest confidence the name of the guilty person, Colonel Esterhazy. It was a pity that the German Government was not in a position to intervene.

It was late in the night before I had finished writing down Herzl's report. It was during that night that the first signs of his heart ailment became evident, and Dr. Schnirer was called to attend him. But we looked upon his intermittent heartbeats as a passing nervous phenomenon, and it did not particularly disturb us. In cheerful mood we boarded a Russian steamer, the *Nicholas II,* which was on its way from Odessa to Alexandria. The reception in Jerusalem was assured, and Herzl was full of hope.

Shall I describe once again that wonderful voyage through the Dardanelles to Smyrna, Athens, and Crete? Everything that could be said about it I have already reported elsewhere. While we sailed past the fabulous shores washed by the purple-colored sea, and while schools of dolphins followed in our wake, we strolled about on the deck engaged in conversation on everything from Greek antiquity to the future Judaea. Herzl had asked me to draft a brief memorandum on the charter. I was not exactly modest in my demands. Our fancy had been given wings by our extraordinary experience, and knew no bounds. Thus I called, according to the word of God as set forth in the Bible, for the opening of all lands from the Nile to the Euphrates as territory for Jewish colonization. For the interim period a division of the land into districts was envisaged, which was to come under Jewish administration as soon as a considerable population had been reached.

During the voyage I had sufficient leisure to work out the plan in detail. In Constantinople I had already prepared a

draft of Herzl's address. I was astonished to find it, forty years later, among Herzl's literary remains. With regard to my plan Herzl thought the time for such far-reaching proposals was not yet ripe, even should the Kaiser be prepared to undertake the protectorate. He reverted to my previous idea, that of creating for the present a germ-cell, out of which the State could develop organically. As such he had in mind a land company, to which sovereign rights and prerogatives within a certain compass should be granted. We hoped that once the Kaiser had assured the protectorate, these rights would have sufficient value that a chartered company like that of Rhodesia might be built up.

There would also be the question of concessions for harbors, railways, mines, irrigation installations, and the possibility of ceding desert regions and public lands to the land company. After our return a general meeting of the Jewish Colonial Trust was to be convened for the founding of the company. But our lack of money was a blight on such soaring hopes.

In Crete a surprise awaited us. This island, on account of the fighting between the rebels and the Turkish troops, had been occupied by the European Great Powers, whose fleets were in port. This was the move known as the Concert of Europe. It was therefore no wonder that our captain made for the harbor. It was a mark of special attention that we were invited by the commander of the Russian fleet, Rear Admiral Serydlow, to view the city. Some officers showed us its sights of interest, and the Admiral himself conducted us to the citadel. He pointed out with satisfaction that the cannon of his ships were directed not against the city but against the fort, whose defenses were, moreover, in very bad condition. At this remark of the Admiral's the Turkish governor, Suliman Bey, made a wry face. The officers entertained us in the house of a Greek merchant, and there was no sparing of champagne. During the tour of the city I came to one of the gates. But as shots

were being fired outside I preferred to return to my companions, from whom I had become separated. This led to some wandering through the city's maze of intersecting streets, but finally one of the officers located me and went with me to the harbor. On the ship the Admiral was entertained by the captain at dinner, and afterward speeches were made. Herzl asked me to say a few words on the harmony of the Concert of Europe and to point out that a peaceful mission had brought us to the Middle East. My speech was received with applause from the guests, and Herzl too was pleased with it. As to the purpose of our journey there were all sorts of rumors in circulation, so that we were regarded with a certain interest.

Thus far our deputation had kept strictly secret the purpose of its journey. But in Alexandria we met by chance our fellow Zionist Wilhelm Gross of Jaffa, from whom we received a solemn promise to keep our secret, but who could not wait, it seemed, to spread news of our journey in Jaffa. Consequently the wildest reports about us were soon abroad in Palestine. In Jaffa we put up in Hotel Kaminitz, where the officers of a guards' regiment were also quartered. The city was in a festive mood and decorated with flags. When we paid our official visit to the head of the Jewish community we found ourselves joined by a sixth man, who was a stranger to us. We soon learned, however, that this was Mendel Kramer, who was in the service of the Turkish Secret Police and had been assigned to keep an eye on us. As he was troublesome but at the same time showed himself very willing to render service, Wolffsohn made use of him by entrusting him with all sorts of missions so that he finally disappeared from our vicinity.

It soon appeared to us that the birthplace of Fama, with her hundred tongues, described by Virgil in the *Aeneid,* must have been situated in Palestine. So quickly did news of every kind spread there, without the least check or pause to ask whether the report were true or false. Thus a great fear seized us when

we heard that the French fleet in Toulon was ready to sail. If that was the case our task would be made difficult. It was clear that in Paris the events in Palestine were being regarded with undisguised suspicion. Some indiscreet remark or other of the Kaiser about the protectorate over the Jewish State could be the provocation for dangerous developments in Europe. The French fleet had only to sail for the coast of Syria and the misfortune would have occurred. But woe to the Jews if the Zionists became the cause of war!

From Haifa the Kaiser was making his way to Jaffa, with his whole retinue, on horseback. He would therefore pass the Agricultural School of the *Alliance* (Mikveh Israel), to which we accordingly went to see the Imperial couple go by. As luck would have it the Kaiser recognized the tall figure of Herzl among the crowd in front of the gate to the school. He immediately stopped, rode up to Herzl, extended his hand, and addressed a few friendly words to him. In particular he complained about the great October heat. This incident aroused general astonishment, and was soon the main subject of that day's talk among the Jews. All sorts of fantastic meanings were read into this encounter, which had no political significance whatever.

Before going to Jerusalem we visited the Jewish settlements to the south of Jaffa.

This ride was a holiday for us. The boys of Rechovoth rode toward us. The youth seemed to us proud, keen, and full of hope for the future. Tears came into our eyes as, surrounded by these horsemen, we stepped out of the carriage. The Hebrew songs of the school children only added to our emotion. In the communal center of Rishon le-Zion Herzl made a speech in which he exhorted the colonists to continue their work with courage. This speech, as well as the few words which I addressed to the assembly, aroused great enthusiasm. In Rishon le-Zion I was the guest of the physician Dr. Mazié, and in

Rechovoth we were received in the house of Lewin-Epstein. His family was, with the exception of that of Ben-Yehudah, the only one in which the Hebrew language was used as the language of intercourse. We knew the weaknesses of the Rothschild administration, but nevertheless the impression of villages in which Jewish life was developing, new and powerful, was for us a revelation and for Herzl a clear lesson in the political value of infiltration.

At the approach of the Sabbath we reached Jerusalem. The walls, gray with age, were brightly illumined by the setting sun; the roads through which we entered were adorned with triumphal arches and flags. The Jews received us with the greetings, *Scholem Aleichem* and *Gut Schabbos*. The remarkable garb of the Ashkenazi Jews—colored silken garments, with huge fur hats, and bright red, yellow, or blue mantles—impressed us particularly.

We stayed in the house of a pious Jew from Swabia in the Mamillia Road before the Jaffe Gate. But our patience was now subjected to a severe test. The arrival of the Imperial couple had already taken place amid the jubilation of tens of thousands of people. Dozens of deputations of greater or less importance had been received in the Imperial encampment. But although our good Hechler employed all his encampment. But although our good Hechler employed all his arts in order to fix a date for our reception, he received only evasive replies. Von Bülow said that the Kaiser had already spoken with Herzl, whereupon Hechler replied that the invitation had referred to a Zionist deputation and not to Herzl alone. Apparently a strong contrary wind was blowing, and the Foreign Office was looking for a way out. What could one tell the Zionists without arousing suspicion in other countries? But the world did not need fret. Von Bülow had the threads of German policy firmly in hand again, and knew ways and means of meeting the danger that threatened him from the

caprice of the Kaiser. The spontaneous welcome to the Kaiser in Mikveh Israel had put into his hand a weapon which inclined the Kaiser to the greatest reserve.

Finally Herzl was invited to the German Consulate, where Legation Counselor Klemeth informed him that the Kaiser would receive us on the next day, November 2, at half-past twelve. He asked for a draft of Herzl's address, which he promised we should receive back again by evening. For this purpose I went to the tent encampment, where I wandered about in the dark until an orderly brought me to Klemeth. I awaited him in a tent richly furnished with carpets, which was full of more or less tasteful gifts to the Kaiser. In Herzl's proposed address Von Bülow had made a few alterations. Klemeth received me with the words: "Your representative, Dr. Herzl, has handed me his address." As is clear from Herzl's diary, he was annoyed by this. But Klemeth did not mean to refer to Herzl as my representative, but as the representative of the Zionists. On returning the manuscript Klemeth imposed upon us the obligation of secrecy until official publication by the Wolff Telegraph Bureau had taken place. Apparently it was feared that the Kaiser might be carried away to the extent of making a remark about the protectorate, which had meanwhile been barred by the Foreign Office.

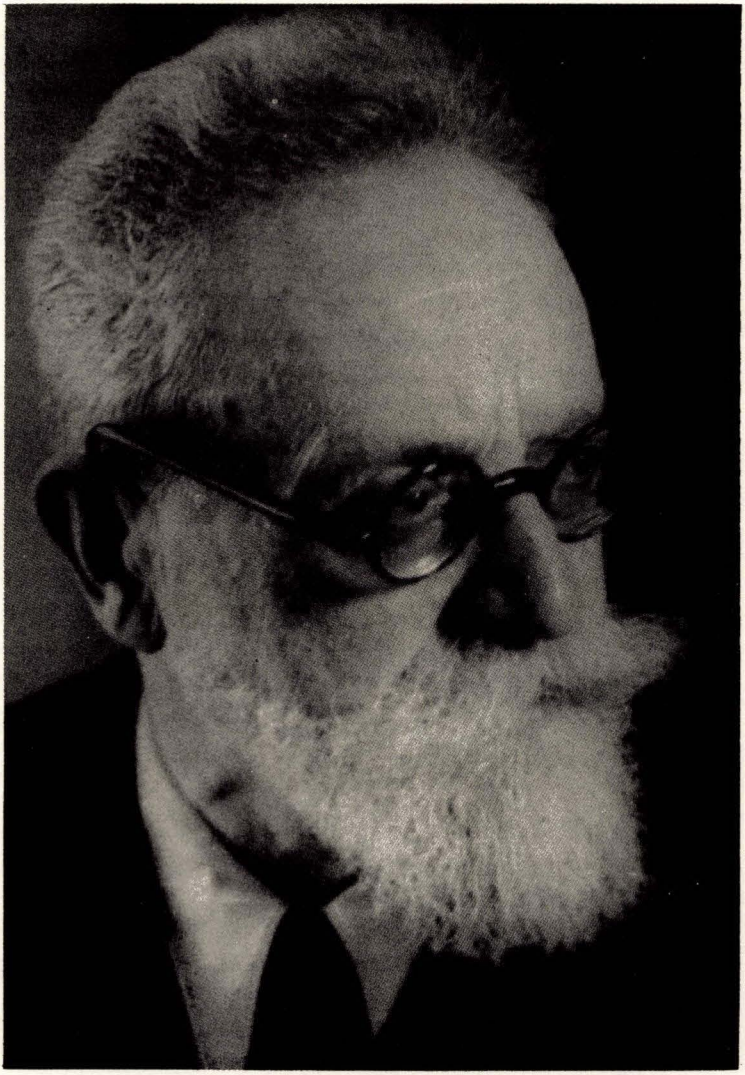
We used the time before our audience to view the city. But we did not tread on the Temple site, in order not to offend the strictly orthodox Jews of Palestine. On our walk we were accompanied by a young man named Horwitz, who would have gone through fire for Herzl. Thirty years later I met him again as a hotel proprietor in Tel Aviv. When we got ready for the audience, Herzl was displeased with my silk hat, which had been acquired during my stay in Paris twelve years before and which had meanwhile become unfashionable. But in all Jerusalem a silk hat was not to be found. I then remarked by the way that I also had an opera hat which made Herzl say:

"That will be much better. Why didn't you say so in the first place? Simply take it under your arm."

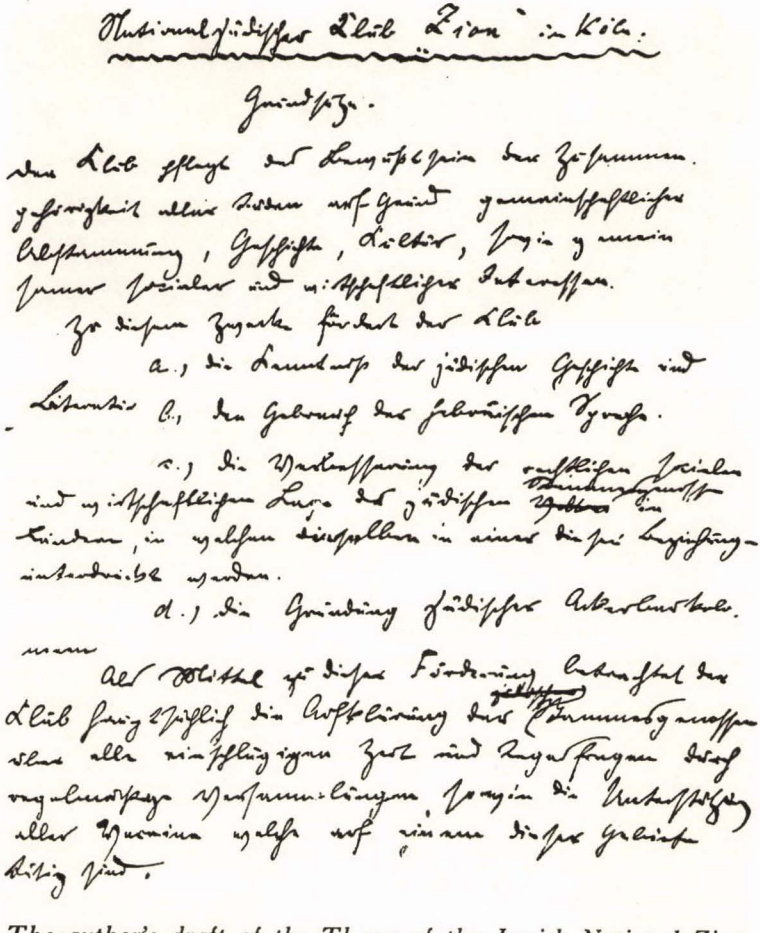
One of our most faithful companions was the colonist David Schub, who also accompanied our carriages to the camp. There we were received by the Marshal, Count Eulenburg, and conducted to a large tent which was hung with carpets and open at the front. The Kaiser was awaiting us, serious and ceremonial in his khaki uniform. At his left stood the State Secretary, von Bülow, in a simple lounge suit. Herzl's address and the Kaiser's reply are given in Herzl's diary, and therefore I need not mention them here except briefly. Herzl closed with the words: "We plan the establishment of a Jewish land company in Syria and Palestine. We consider this a thing so good and so worth the most magnanimous support that we crave the exalted help of your Majesty for its accomplishment. The rights and feelings of no one else are threatened by our idea."

When Herzl mentioned the help of the German Kaiser it seemed to us that his gesture implied assent. Unfortunately, however, the Kaiser's reply was evasive, and did not by any means correspond to our high-flown expectations. He began by saying that he had read Herzl's book with interest, but that the matter still required mature consideration. The land needed shade and water, and the native population had made a good impression upon him. We should go on working further; the land had room for all. The Kaiser did not speak fluently, but in fact almost stuttered in the Berlin dialect. Of his highly famed eloquence I had noticed little. Perhaps this was due to the fact that the words had been written out for him. After the exchange of speeches the Kaiser conversed in a most congenial manner with the members of the deputation. In reference to a statement of the Kaiser, von Bülow remarked with a courtly bow: "As your Majesty has just said, the land lacks water and shade," whereupon the Kaiser replied: "For that much money is necessary, but that is what your 'compatriots'

A plaque of Dr. Bodenheimer



Dr. Bodenheimer



Deutsch-Israelitisches Familienblatt
herausgegeben von M. Deutschländer.

No. 28. **Hamburg, 4. September.** **1891.**

Die Menorah erscheint wöchentlich 1 mal und zwar jeden Freitagmorgen — Abonnementspreis: Durch Post (Nummer der Zeitungspreisliste 1975 a), Buchhandel oder Expedition bezogen pro Quartal Mk 1.50 — Der Insertionspreis beträgt per Petitzeile 25 Pfg — Inserate werden in der Expedition und Druckerei dieses Blattes, Wexstraße 8, und in der Buchhandlung von A. Goldschmidt Rothenbaum 35 sowie bei allen Annoncen-Expeditionen angenommen. — Bei größeren Aufträgen gewähren wir entsprechenden Rabatt.

Extra-Abonnements auf das Litteraturblatt der Menorah, redigirt von Dr. Isidor Hirsch, nimmt die Expedition der Menorah zum Preise von 1 Mark für's Jahr entgegen.

Inhalt des Hauptblattes:

Zionisten aller Länder vereinigt Euch!
Jüdische Frauen (Italien) von S. Werner
Mittheilungen.
Der Herr Hofprediger hat gesagt . . . von C. Berg
Inserate.

Hierzu 2 Beilagen und Spenden-Verzeichnisse
vom Districtsrabbiner Dr. Salvendi, Dürckheim.

Zionisten aller Länder vereinigt Euch!

Von Neuem hat die Bewegung nach dem heiligen Lande und Syrien einen gewaltigen Aufschwung genommen. Die Bodenheimer'sche Broschüre „Wohin mit den russischen Juden?“ (Verlag der Menorah.) hat eine ungeahnte Verbreitung und allgemeinen Beifall gefunden. Von allen Seiten bringt man den Absichten der Zionsvereine Verständniß entgegen. Allein noch immer fehlt die mächtige Hand, alle diese Bestrebungen zu einem großen Ganzen zusammenzuschließen, noch immer fehlt der Impuls zu einem einigen, zielbewußten, praktischen Vorgehen. Da werden Pläne entworfen, dort Vereine gebildet, und immer größer wird unterdessen im heiligen Lande die Not derer, welche im Vertrauen auf die Zionsvereine nach Palästina ausgewandert sind, und nun in ihren Hoffnungen sich bitter getäuscht sehen, da sie auch nicht die geringste Kenntniß der einschlägigen Verhältnisse mitgebracht haben und von keiner Seite gefördert werden.

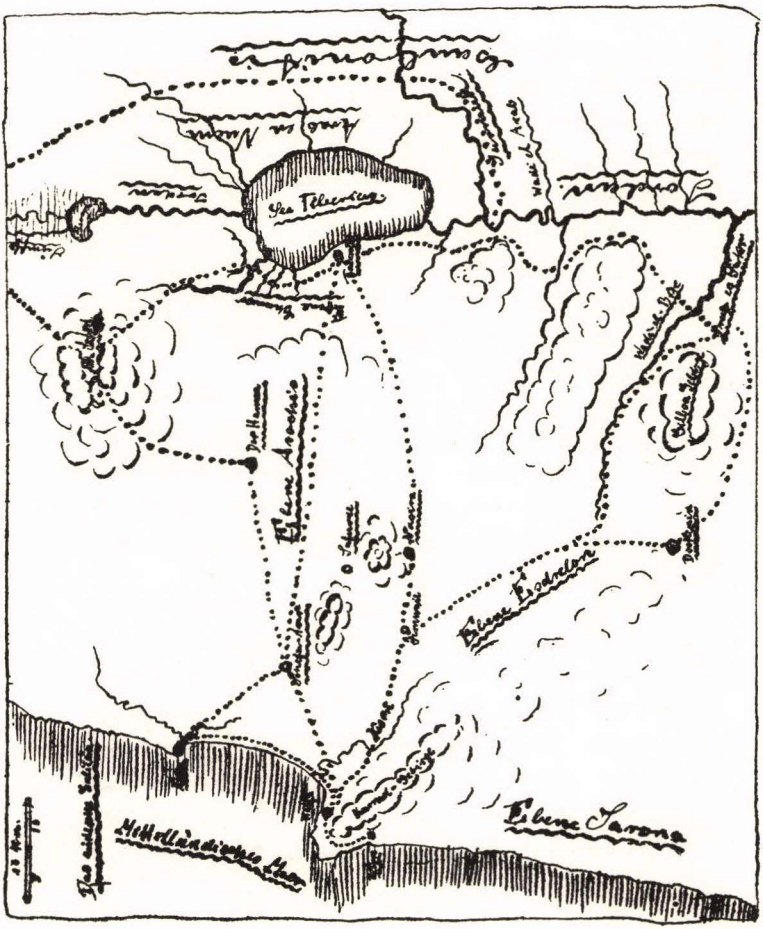
Die russischen Zionsvereine und das Exekutivkomitee in Jaffa können beim besten Willen keine Organisation in großem Maaßstabe bewirken; hierzu fehlen nicht allein die Mittel, sondern noch die Personen, welche ohne Abhaltung durch ihre Berufspflichten, ihre Arbeitskraft ungeschwächt dem einen Ziel widmen können; hierzu fehlt vor allem dem Odessaer Centralkomitee der Zionisten die Bewegungsfreiheit, die es in Rußland nie wird erlangen können.

So erfahren wir in jeder Woche von neuen Mißhelligkeiten, welche die Folge jener mangelhaften Organisation sind. Und demnach zögern die Gesellschaften, welche die Kolonisation Syriens und Palästinas auf ihre Fahne geschrieben haben noch immer, durch Vereinigung unter ein Normalstatut eine mächtige Gesammtheit zu schaffen, welche sofort über die nötigen Mittel verfügen würde, um zweckmäßige Einrichtungen für die ei[n]kommenden Kolonisten in Syrien und Palästina treffen zu können. Die vorerwähnte Schrift hat ja auch in weiten Kreisen [A]ufmerksamkeit nunmehr die Aufmerksamkeit auf jene Frage gelenkt und [e]s ist in Folge des gleichzeitigen Vorgehens begeisterter Zionsfreunde [u]nd Mitwirkung der bedeutendsten Finanzmächte bei der Kolonisation Syriens in Aussicht.

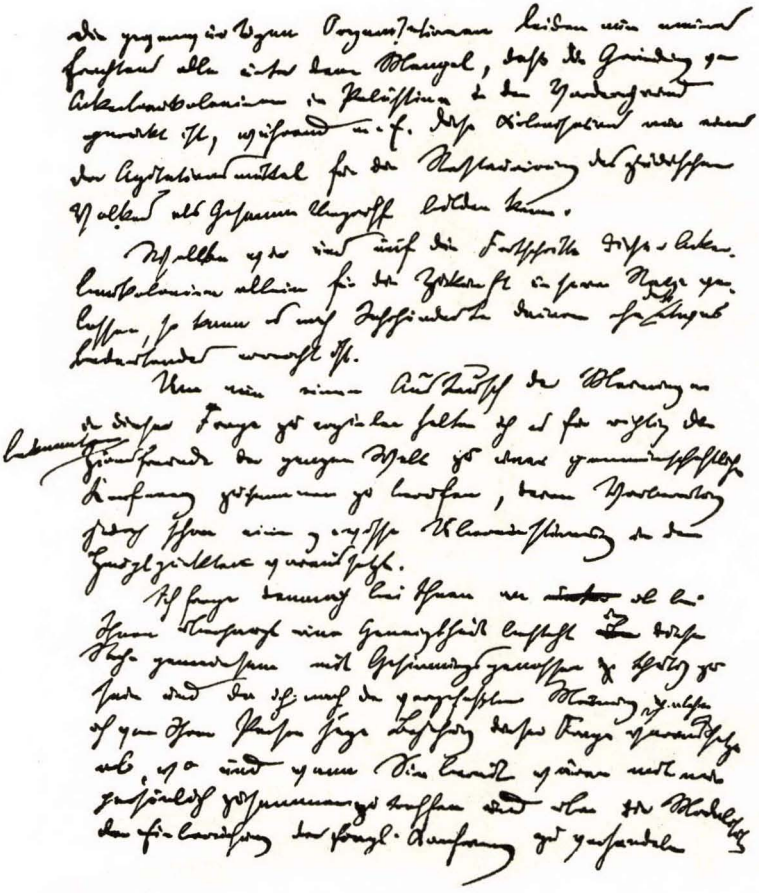
Allein die große Masse, deren Mitwirkung zur Erreichung eines wirklichen Erfolges unumgänglich ist, hat noch immer keine Gelegenheit gefunden, ihren guten Willen in dieser Sache ernstlich bethätigen zu können.

Da giebt es ja auch außerhalb Rußlands eine große Anzahl von Vereinen mit zionistischen Tendenzen. Um nur die bedeutendsten

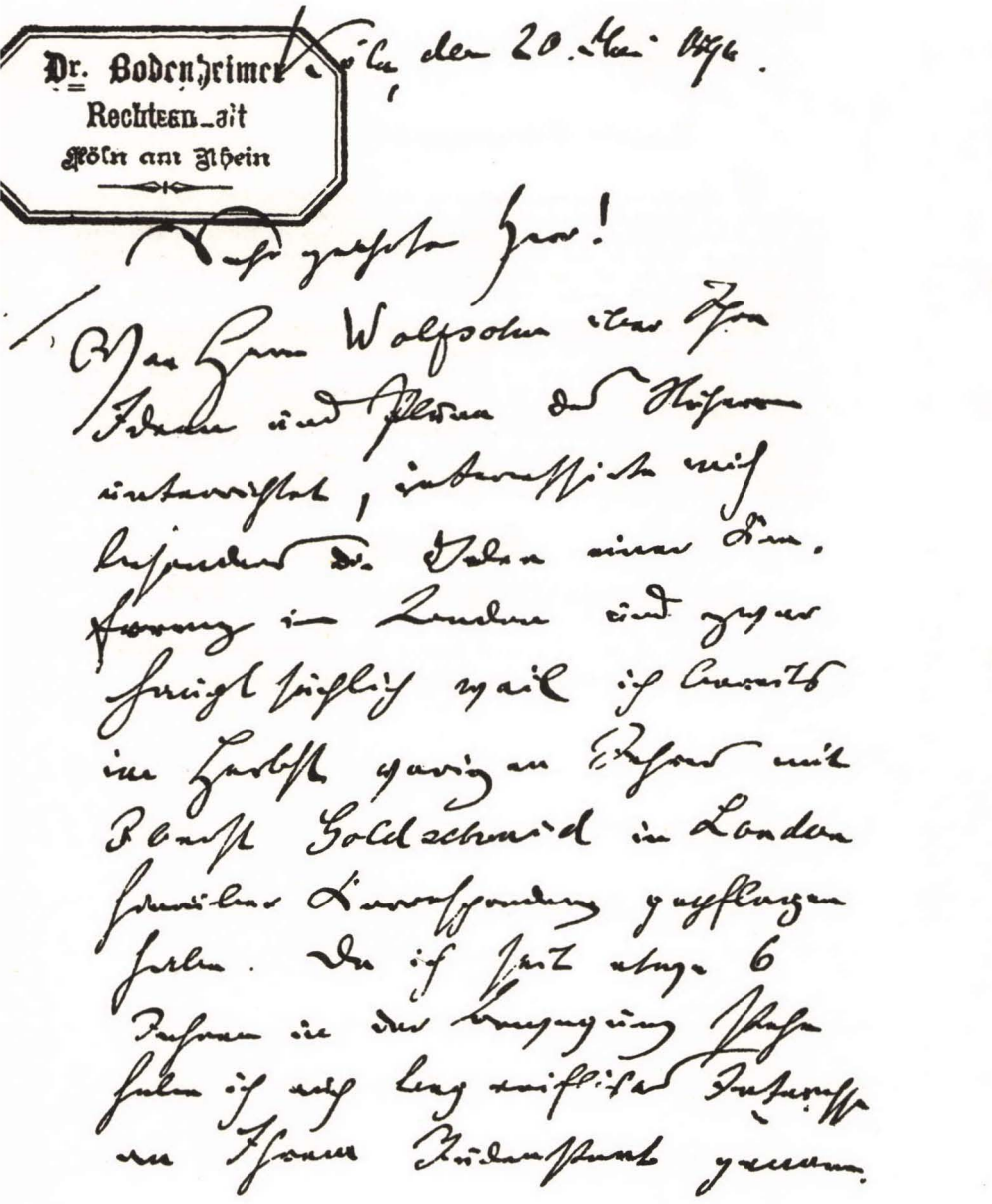
The first page of the Menorah Journal *of September 4, 1891, with Dr. Bodenheimer's lead article "Zionists of All Countries Unite"*



A sketch of a plan for a colony in southern Galilee, from Baron de Hirsch's records in Paris



A page from a letter of Dr. Bodenheimer's to Colonel Goldsmid in London, in late 1895



The author's first letter to Herzl, dated May 20, 1896

National-jüdiſche Vereinigung

Köln, Datum des Poſtſtempels.

Verehrter Geſinnungsgenoſſe!

Der Zionsgedanke gewann in den letzten Jahren auch in Deutſchland an Kraft. Die jüdiſche Volksſeele erwachte, und begeiſterte die beſten Stammesgenoſſen für die Sache der jüdiſchen Zukunft. Immer größer wird die Zahl der Einſichtigen, die zu der Ueberzeugung gelangen, daß **es nur ein Mittel zur Löſung der Judenfrage,** zur Befreiung der Juden von geiſtiger und ſozialer Not gibt: **die Gründung eines eigenen Gemeinweſens auf dem hiſtoriſch geweihten Boden unſerer Väter.** Ganz impulſiv erwachte bei Manchem das national-jüdiſche Bewußtſein und die Erkenntnis von der Notwendigkeit der Regeneration Iſraels auf nationaler Grundlage.

Allein noch ſtehen die Zioniſten in Deutſchland vereinſamt und entbehren einer umfaſſenden Organiſation. Ohne einheitliches Vorgehen aber iſt jede größere Aktion zur Verbreitung unſerer Ideen unmöglich. Wir haben uns daher entſchloſſen, den Verſuch zu machen, die Zioniſten in Deutſchland zu ſammeln, und ſie durch das Band der gemeinſamen Geſinnung zu vereinigen. Wir wiſſen wohl, daß unter den Zioniſten in einzelnen Punkten noch verſchiedene Meinungen herrſchen, das darf aber Niemand abhalten, ſich der einheitlichen Organiſation anzuſchließen. Es gilt vor allem, Führer der zioniſtiſchen Bewegung auszubilden und unter unſeren Stammesgenoſſen den jüdiſchnationalen Geiſt zu wecken und zu pflegen. Das kann aber ohne rationelle Organiſation nicht erreicht werden. Die Organiſation denken wir uns als eine möglichſt loſe, daß nur die Grundideen des Zionismus das Einigungsband für alle Zioniſten Deutſchlands bilden. Als Grundideen betrachten wir folgende:

Theſen

der national-jüdiſchen Vereinigung Köln.

The first page of the National Jewish Confederation's pamphlet of 1896 in which the "Theses" were published

National Jüdische Vereinigung
Bureau Hohenzollernring 18.

Köln, den 3. Juni 1897.

Lieber verehrter Freund!

Ich wende mich an Dich Wolfsohn
anliegenden Brief, welcher Deinen
Ansichten gegen einen Besuch hier nicht
günstig – im Gegentheil. Wir wenden
uns nämlich direkt nicht an Herrn
Lehmann und vielleicht kann es
Dir noch gelingen Deinen Einfluß
müssen ob Ihre der Absicht hiesiger
Assimilationsleute gegen den Kongreß
nur Vorwand Ich sage darum mit
Bedauern daß Deine Absicht,
daß der Kongreß überflüssig sei.
Leider ist innerlich jüdisches Leben
desselben nicht, eine die gewaltige
wachende Kraft der ein jeder Recht kann.
jeder Jude zu kommen.

The author's letter to Herzl dated June 3, 1897, concerning the opposition of the German assimilationists to the program of the Munich Congress

Correspondenz
der National-Jüdischen Vereinigung in Köln.

Streng vertraulich.

Sehr geehrter Gesinnungsgenosse!

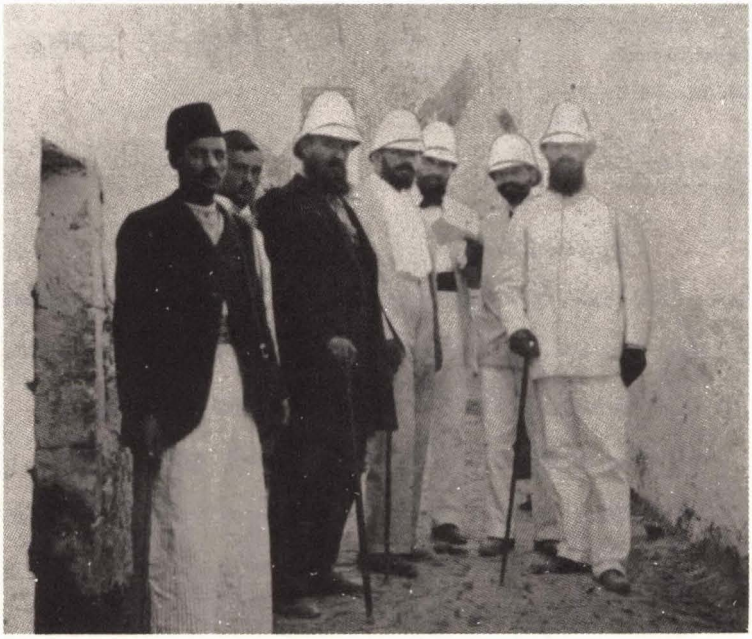
Die folgenden Mittheilungen haben den Zweck, die Beziehungen der deutschen Zionisten zu der provisorischen Centrale in Köln zum Zwecke der Organisation zu festigen

Die Mittheilungen der N. J. V. werden zwar in der Regel durch die in Wien erscheinende Wochenschrift „Die Welt" erfolgen, da diese Wochenschrift als solche hierfür geeigneter ist, wie die „monatlich" erscheinende Zeitschrift „Zion"

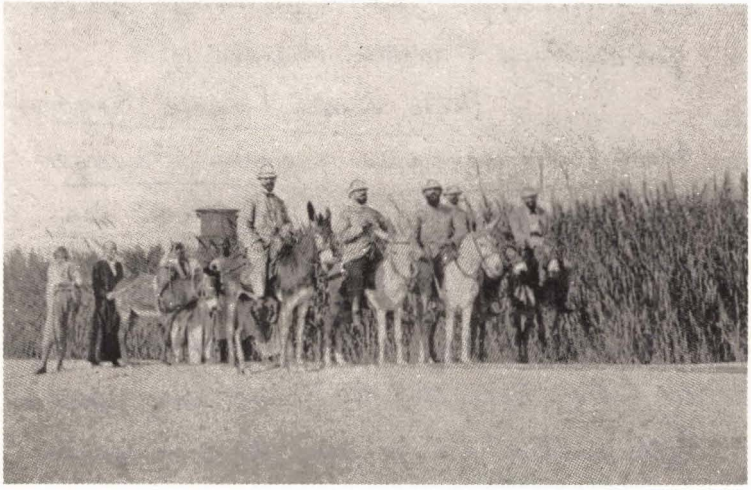
Da wir jedoch nicht ohne Weiteres voraussetzen können, dass die sämmtlichen deutschen Zionisten regelmässige Leser der „Welt" sind; auch manche Angelegenheiten besser vertraulich, also nicht öffentlich besprochen werden, so werden wir Ihnen, falls Sie sich bereit erklären, für die zionistische Idee als Vertrauensmann zu wirken, regelmässig die von Zeit zu Zeit erscheinende Correspondenz unserer Vereinigung zusenden

The National Jewish Confederation's pamphlet of 1897 that prepared the way for the German Zionist Conference in Bingen, Germany

The five members of the delegation under Herzl's leadership on the deck of the ship to Palestine in 1898



The members of the delegation in a Jerusalem street



The members of the delegation on the way to Palestine in 1898 making a trip on muleback along the Suez Canal

Dr. Bodenheimer
Rechtsanwalt.

Sprechstunden. 8—9 Uhr Vorm.
4—7 „ Nachm.

Fernsprecher 2192.

Köln, den 8. Dez. 1896.
Hohenzollernring 18

Bemerkungen

1.) Bei der Festsetzung der Gegenstände, welche die Bank unternehmen soll muss unbedingt entsprechend der Resolution des Congresses an den betr. Stellen der Zusatz gemacht werden – „insbesondere in Syrien & Palästina".

2.) Zu §. 18 des Memorandum finden sich Schenkungen vorgesehen. Das Bankinstitut als solches darf unter keinen Umständen Schenkungen oder Geldanlagen zu unproductiven Zwecken machen.

Diese beiden Punkte können nicht Vertrauenssache zwischen Manager und Directors sein, weil sie durch den Congress bereits absolut festgelegt sind.

Seite 6. Provided Always . . es genügt nicht, dass die Art der Fähigkeit der Bank dem jüdischen Volk nützlich ist, sondern der zionistischen

Sache! Jede Concession auf diesem Gebiet wäre Selbstmord.

Bankkomité. Nach dem Statutenvorschlag im-f. 118 fg. wäre dasselbe lediglich ein Funktionär des Directoriums und hat als solches absolut keinen Zweck.

Soll dieses Comité irgend einen Sinn haben, so muss es aus dem Council hervorgehen als ständige Aufsichtsbehörde des Actionskomités und Congresses zum Zwecke einer ständigen Überwachung vom Gesichtspunct der zionistischen Interessen.

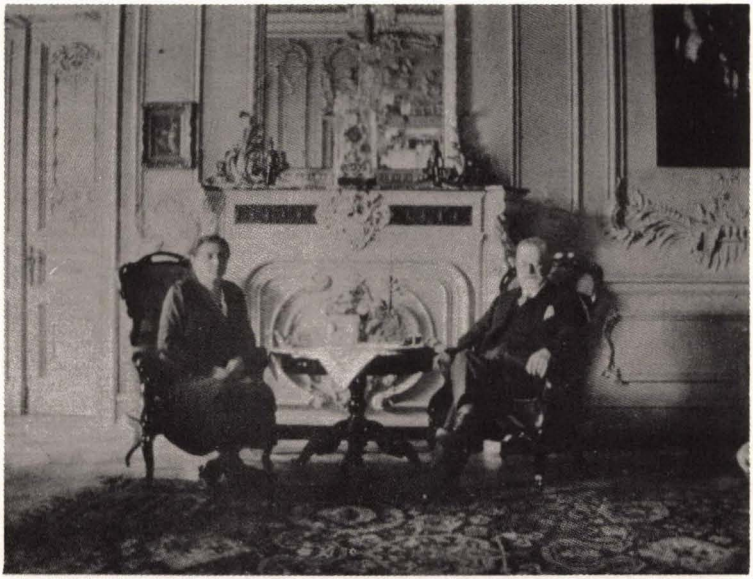
Founder-shares. Die Inhaber der Founders shares müssen vom Congress und Actions Komité gewählt werden.

Provisorisch können diese Shares bis zum nächsten Congress von der Bankkommission verwaltet werden, bezw. verteilt werden.

Dr. Bodenheimer's notes of December 8, 1898, concerning the statutes of the Jewish Bank

The author planting a pepper tree at Ben Schemen in 1912

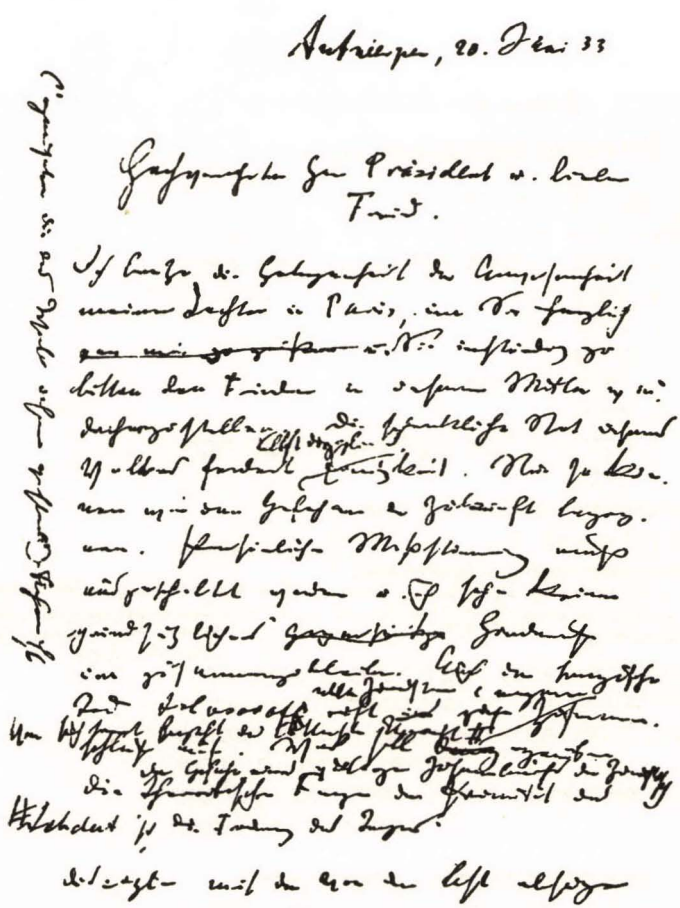
The author and Dr. J. Tschlenow at Rechoboth in 1912



The author and his wife in their home in Cologne

The author with his son, daughters, and wife

The author planting a tree in memory of Johann Kremenetzky in the garden in front of the Jewish National Fund in Jerusalem in 1936



The draft of a letter of Dr. Bodenheimer's to Ze'ev Jabotinsky after the murder of Arlosoroff in the summer of 1933

Zeichen für Selblaute

Die neuen ~~Buchstaben~~ sind:

A Â Ê Ê Ê I Ô U

Die Regeln für ihre Anwendung sind folgende:

A · a · - - חֲטַף פַּתַח - · חֲטַף פַּתַח und חֲטַף קָמַץ
Â · â ô · קָמַץ
Ê · ê · שְׁוָא
Ê · ê · צֵירֶה
Ê · e · סֶגֹל חֲטַף סֶגֹל
I · i · חִירֶק
Ô · o · חוֹלָם - חֲטַף קָמַץ קָטָן und חֲטַף קָמַץ
U · u · קִבּוּץ

- Trennungszeichen am Ende der Linie

י · i und j i-o und i-u } bleiben wie bisher

~~ʾ Spiritus asper und ʿ Spiritus lenis~~

א und ע sind stumme Selblaute, ebenso א und ע vor einem der neuen Selbl
א und ע gelten als drei ~~gleiche Laute~~ verschiedene Selblaute. Beispiele: א und א, ~~diesen Vokalzeichen folgen~~ wegen einen Laute der neuen Zeichen folgt

וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי מוֹת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד יְהוָה וַיֹּאמֶר
יְהוָה אֶל יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בִּן נוּן מְשָׁרֵת מֹשֶׁה
לֵאמֹר מֹשֶׁה עַבְדִּי מֵת וְעַתָּה קוּם עֲבֹר
אֶת הַיַּרְדֵּן הַזֶּה:
שְׁלֹתֶן תַּרְנְגֹל אֶחָד עָלָה אֲתָה חֲדָר,
הַכּוֹסֵא, הַמַּחְבֶּרֶת.

הַיַּלְדָּ וְהַדְּבוֹרָה.

יַּלְדָּ אֶחָד שָׁשַׂב אֶצֶל כְּוֹרַת דְּבַו -
רִים וְהוֹבִית אֶל תּוֹכָה. בְּאֲשֶׁר דְּבוֹרָה
אֲחָת וְעַקְצָה אֶת הַיַּלְדָּ הַיַּלְדָּ כַּ -
עַס וַאֲמַר הוֹי דְּבוֹרָה! לָמָּה עָ -
קְצַת אוֹתִי? אֲנִי נִסְכִּי עָבַדְתִּי כָּל הַיּוֹם -
עֲנָתָה הַדְּבוֹרָה - וְעַכְשָׁו נוֹשֵׁאת אֲנִי
דְּבַשׁ לְכַוֹּרָתִי וְאֲתָה עָצַל אֵינְ -
חַ עוֹבֵד בְּעַצְמָתָ וּמַפְרִיעַ גַּם אוֹתִי בַּ -
עֲבוֹדָתִי.

Copyright 1925. Verein für Phonetik der Hebräischen Schrift.

An example, following the author's proposal, of Hebrew letters including vowels

have. It is necessary only to install dams." He then turned to Seidener, who had been introduced to him as our expert in the field of engineering, with the question as to whether this would not be possible, to which Seidener answered in the affirmative. The Jordan, he said, could also be used for power purposes. With Dr. Schnirer the Kaiser conversed about the cause of the Egyptian eye disease. When we withdrew and came to the gate of the encampment we could not get out because of being unable to make ourselves understood by the Turkish soldiers on guard. Then from the crowd standing opposite there emerged a man who in a few words gave the soldiers the necessary instructions, whereupon the gates were quickly opened for us. The man was Mendel Kramer. Now the Kaiser's chief marshal appeared with some adjutants to take leave of us.[1]

We had built up for ourselves a castle in the air, which the realists had cruelly destroyed. Like a glistening soap-bubble the dream of a protectorate exercised by the Kaiser over a Jewish State in Palestine had dissolved into nothing. We had been the recipients of no more than a mild platonic benevolence. We were chagrined at this outcome. But Herzl did not allow his courage to sink. However, because of his mistrust toward the Sultan's secret police, he insisted upon our immediate departure. We others saw no reason for such haste. We regarded Herzl's fear of arrest as exaggerated, and would have liked to see something more of the country. Nevertheless, we yielded to the situation. In Jaffa we experienced the first winter rain, and, as there was no other ship to be had, we went on an orange steamer which was at anchor in the harbor and which was making ready to sail. The *Dundee* was altogether a miserable

[1] *Translator's Note*—In his memoirs, published in 1930, von Bülow denied that the Kaiser received Herzl and a deputation "in Zion." This was by no means the only instance of gross misrepresentation in his book.

ship, of which it was to be feared that it could not weather a real storm. The crew had been collected from all over the Orient. Cabins and dining rooms were extremely primitive. Behind the bench which surrounded the dining table there were plain boards which were covered with mattresses to serve as beds. We made a virtue of necessity, carried the mattresses onto the deck, and amused ourselves over the adventure. But we were heartily glad when at Alexandria, we were able to transfer to the Italian steamer *Regina Margherita,* which brought us to Naples. On the way, however, we experienced a storm which compelled us to hurry to the cabin. To console us Herzl visited us and assured us all he was just as seasick as we were, which, however, was not the case. That was just one of Herzl's ways, of which many could be cited. A few I shall mention here.

Herzl was very sensitive to certain noises. If one of us at dessert cut an apple with a knife, he hurriedly made off with an expression of extreme irritation. Herzl himself related no jokes or anecdotes, but he would laugh heartily at our puns. One evening at the end of the winter Congress in the year 1901 has remained particularly clear in my memory. Who were the people gathered in the hall of the Hotel Zu den Drei Königen? Herzl was there, and so were Nordau, Mandelstamm, Zangwill, Wolffsohn, the Marmorek brothers, Tschlenow, and I. I had proposed to hold the next Congress in America. Marmorek thought the voyage could be made cheaper if a ship were chartered for the delegation. This met with approval, and somebody remarked then the whole Congress would be at sea. Zangwill interjected that if the ship sank, that would be the end of Zionism. But Nordau did not let it go at that. This enormous disaster, he said, would arouse such a sensation that new leaders and thousands of followers would rally around the Zionist flag. I believe it was Alex Marmorek who remarked there was still another means for our opponents to give Zionism its death

blow. Somebody had only to cut off Herzl's handsome beard. "That would be of no use," exclaimed Wolffsohn. "In half a year the beard would have grown again, and Zionism would once more be alive." Herzl laughed heartily, and we laughed with him. That is how we spent New Year's eve up until the midnight hour.

In the corner of our living room in Cologne there was a chair of peculiar shape. This attracted the attention of Herzl. He asked: "What is that?" I said to him: "Just sit on it for a moment." It was a music stool, which played several tunes. When Herzl sat upon it and the stool began to play, he was as happy as a child. He did not leave his seat until all the melodies had been played, and I had to turn the instrument on several times, as he could not get enough of it, although the mechanism produced only the most primitive music.

Herzl took a special pleasure in surprise jokes. Adolf Friedemann had once called on him in Vienna on his way to Palestine. It was just the time of the El-Arisch Expedition. As he was to stop in Egypt, he inquired, out of a sense of duty, if he could do anything for him there. Herzl seemed to find the offer very welcome. He inquired closely into the route and the ship's sailing schedule. He then gave him all sorts of messages for Colonel Goldsmid, the leader of the expedition, for Greenberg, and for Cromer, the British proconsul. Friedemann was highly pleased at the confidence of Herzl and traveled with a sense of the importance of his mission. In Venice he was on the quay, awaiting the arrival of the ship for Trieste. As it neared the shore he noticed, with surprise, which soon changed into sheer bewilderment, a tall man with a black beard, who stood stock still at the mast and gazed at him with great seriousness. There was no doubt that this was the figure of Herzl. Friedemann, who was acquainted with occult phenomena, thought immediately that what he saw was an apparition from the fourth dimension. And it was just this that Herzl had intended.

Friedemann's uneasiness was not dispelled until Herzl, with a friendly smile, came up to him and greeted him with the words: "My dear Friedemann, I have decided, after all, to go to Cairo myself."

Our travel funds had been too scanty, and on the way they were totally exhausted. As Herzl had hitherto spent a great deal of money for his Zionist journeys, he had had to promise his father not to travel any more at his own expense. I was the only one beside him who had enough money, and so I had to finance the return journey. It was two years before the Executive were in a position to repay the few thousand marks I had advanced. Such was the poverty of the movement in those days.

Despite the lack of success in Jerusalem Herzl did not wish to let the idea of a German protectorate drop. He discussed with us what he ought to write to the Grand Duke. We were convinced that the Jews of Jerusalem had not made a good impression on the Kaiser. He intended to write the Grand Duke that the Kaiser should not judge the Jews by them, and that our movement was in a position to ameliorate the Jews both intellectually and physically. Von Bülow had argued that difficulties would arise from the diversity of citizenship among the immigrating Jews. Herzl was of the opinion that these difficulties could be overcome if they lived under German protection. At that time Herzl already took the view that for us the only question was whether we were to be under a German or an English protectorate. Through the Kaiser's inclination to favor our cause the movement would be oriented towards Germany; but the question pressed for decision in the near future.

From Naples I traveled with Herzl and Wolffsohn to Rome. There our paths separated, as Herzl remained in Rome, where he had an appointment with the Secretary of State, Cardinal Rampolla. The audience with the Pope did not take place

until many years later. This conversation with the Pope was not a political success.

Landau, on page 193 of his previously mentioned book, gives what is on many points a distorted picture of Herzl's relation to the German Kaiser. He refers to von Bülow in this connection, although it must have been clear to him that he was not a reliable source. All the utterances of this cunning and intriguing diplomat about the negotiations and receptions of Herzl and the Zionist deputation during the Kaiser's journey are contradictory, serving only to justify his own unfavorable attitude toward the Kaiser's intentions. Landau takes this opportunity to voice concerning Herzl the suspicion that he was hand in glove with the publisher of the *Information,* Josef Graf, who had made public a correspondence, alleged to have obtained its inspiration from Constantinople, which dealt with Zionism in a malevolent manner. It may be that Herzl had wronged Landau in this instance. If so, his action is to be ascribed to Herzl's distrust of persons whose honest conviction he doubted. But it does not by any means justify Landau in distorting Herzl's negotiations with the German Kaiser and their previous history.

The errors in Herzl's diaries, as cited in the writings of Landau, partly call for an explanation, and are partly to be attributed to Herzl's ecstatic state of mind, which had seized him when he wrote his *Judenstaat* and may have misled him into an exaggerated conception of the impression which the reading of his draft had made on Rabbi Dr. Guedemann.

A final remark, however, must be made concerning the book by Landau. If it was the author's intention to serve the truth, then his was a stern and lofty charge. His noble descent from the Rabbi Saul Rafael Landau, of which he is justly proud, should have caused him to fulfill that charge. But if, thirty years after the death of Herzl, he directs attacks against him, one cannot but ask oneself why the author was silent in Herzl's

lifetime. The suspicion therefore seems justified that hatred and anger directed his pen. Thus his book is only a polemic, not a historical document.

As I did every year, after our return from Palestine I went to visit my home. I then felt clearly with what strong ties we are bound to the place of our childhood. The heart is linked forever with the place where one first endeavored to master life and its secrets. Despite the powerful effect which the visit to the holy places and the beautiful land of our fathers had made upon me, my relation to it, as compared with my German home, seemed to me dreamlike and unreal. The times when our forefathers inhabited Palestine are, for us, immeasurably far away. The stories of the Bible sound like fairy-tales in the ears of children. Such memories can fill us with pride and stimulate our imaginations, but they can never replace the prime nature of our earliest impressions. After the visit to Palestine it was clear to me how difficult it must be for the Jews of western Europe to avow themselves as Zionists. The love of one's country is closely linked to the culture of the host people in whose midst one has grown up. We speak its language, we sing its songs. Many will be unable to understand that this does not prevent us from cultivating a feeling of belonging to the Jewish people, in which a thousand-year-old past and a common fate unite us. Scientific concepts and political currents have nothing to do with it. It is immaterial whether the nation developed out of language, descent, religion, history, home, culture, or rule. What is decisive for it is the feeling of union or a common destiny. This holds good for the host people as well as for a minority belonging to another race or another religion. The urge to act for the establishment of a common state arises only if the need for such a state dictates it.

Proof of this was afforded by the First World War, in which the Jewish youth of all countries voluntarily rallied to the flag

to defend the fatherland. No difference of religion or race held them back from shedding their blood for the State whose citizens they were, even though it was evident that they were also standing against their own brethren in the field. The love of one's native country will always remain. But it can be transformed into hatred against those who violently rob us of this home or of our rights as citizens.

The complex of feelings I here describe has been denied by leading Zionists in Berlin. It led to discussions in the societies, where I was obliged to defend my position with some decisiveness. In my eyes it was superfluous to test the adherents in regard to their national loyalty. Whoever recognized the common fate of the Jewish people and wished to cooperate on the basis of the Basel platform in procuring for them a country of their own and a place, with equal rights, among civilized peoples was for me a Zionist. That divided emotions should arise in us as a result of our acceptance of the Basel platform is, for the present generation, inevitable. To spare our children and grandchildren, this internal conflict should be the burden of Zionism.

In Germany we developed a lively propaganda campaign concerning the Kaiser's journey. About this and the people who took part in it I wish to say a word here, especially since there were comrades among them who were not generally known. One of them was a man named Werther, who carried on a business in Roman antiquities, in which he showed much experience and astuteness. He worked in the movement with great selflessness. Zionists who showed signs of wishing to derive personal advantages out of the movement, were an abomination to him. He called them business Zionists. At any rate the utmost dedication was then for us an unwritten law. Our work was done in an honorary capacity. It is understandable that this can no longer be the case, as the

Organization has grown to such an extent that it needs a staff of officials.

Some of my experiences will show how difficult our campaign was. The expenditure for the new idea in mind, energy, and money often had no relation to its success. Our work was to be compared with that of an estate owner who wants to plant a forest. Here, too, his efforts can be of benefit only to later generations. Such reflections encourage us to persevere.

On one of his business journeys Werther made the acquaintance of the president of the Coblenz community, whom he won for our cause. The latter invited us to Coblenz to establish a society there. Those who took part in the journey were Herr and Frau Wolffsohn, Klee, and several more fellow Zionists including myself. In a dark street in the old part of the city, with some difficulty we found the meeting hall, where, in one corner, some men were standing together. One of them asked me if I was the speaker. He then introduced himself as the president of the community. He excused the small attendance on the ground that a Jewish wedding was just taking place. One by one there arrived a total attendance of ten people, but this did not frighten us away. I began my address, and was listened to attentively. But when I began distributing some copies of our calendar, the guests began to hurry away. One after the other got his overcoat and hat. At first I did not understand; then I understood that they were afraid they had to buy the calendar. When I explained the truth of the situation, it came as an enlightenment to them. Benefactors who gave away calendars were people the like of whom they had never known before. They hung up their hats and coats again and returned to their seats. Then they began to warm to the idea and decided to establish a Zionist society. After the meeting was over there came another bitter pill. We were to pay for the hall and the advertisements. The president of the community declared himself willing to pay his annual subscription of three

marks in advance. It was now late, and we should have to spend the night in Coblenz. So we invited our new comrades to share a bottle of wine in the hotel recommended to us by the president, who presently turned out to be its owner. The building was quite new and the most important articles of use were lacking. The president had done a good business. He had filled his hotel and sold us bad wine at a high price. On our journey home we had a great deal of matter for conversation, but we said nothing about the establishment of that society.

The campaign in Dortmund and Elberfeld was handled by Gustav Wolff. He had, like all Westphalian Jews, a good patriotic disposition, but anti-Semitism and a strong sense of honor brought him into our camp. He too served the cause with great devotion. As in the case of many others, his efforts did not bring him much in the way of thanks. His home was in Dortmund, where he had secured followers. We hoped to be able to convert to our purpose some of the patriotic enthusiasm of the Westphalian Jews in connection with the reception of our deputation by the German Kaiser. But the hard heads of the Westphalian Jews are known throughout all of Germany, and we therefore had to reckon with the most violent resistance.

The hall in which the address was to be given was crowded. I spoke of assimilation. Zionism, I said, had often been called a utopia. But whoever considered the political and social position of the Jews with open eyes could not be in doubt as to who reckoned more with reality—the Zionists or the believers in assimilation. This lulled the Jews with sweet dreams of their mission, from which they must one day suddenly awake. The chief causes of hatred for the Jews today were not religious differences, but race-hatred and fear of the economic power of the Jews. Assimilation aimed at the destruction of Judaism in all its forms, its manners and customs, language, literature, ethics, religion, even its physical type. Whoever considered this desirable or possible was an assimilationist. While assimilation

aimed at the dissolution of the Jewish people, Zionism strove for their preservation and revival. It demanded for the Jewish people the right to be able to maintain their cultural and natural individuality and to develop like other nations. The Zionist movement was born of the conviction that the vital strength of the Jewish people had not yet been extinguished. That was why it aimed at the creation of a national center, a homeland founded upon the guarantees of constitutional and international law. The doctrine of the mission of the Jews of the dispersion was no more than an attack of megalomania, if one thought of what a crying contradiction it was to the experiences of the present. Whereas today the footsteps of our fellow Jews wandered from land to land, the consciousness of finding a permanent home would give the Jewish people the repose that it needed in order not to waste away. The question today was one of Zionism or assimilation—of life or death.

My speech was listened to quietly; apart from a few interruptions, I was able to keep the interest alive until the end. But during the discussion a terrible disturbance broke out, so that the chairman, a grain dealer named Lehmann, could not succeed in restoring quiet. Fighting broke out between the two parties, and went on after the meeting ended. The same thing happened at Elberfeld, where Feist, later a Judicial Councilor, had organized a group of hecklers who attempted to disturb me by singing the German national anthem. I asked my colleague whether he wished to adopt the manners of the anti-Semites in discussing our internal affairs. This brought the hecklers to their senses and I was able to finish my speech amid loud applause.

During that time I spoke at many meetings, with varying success. Here and there I succeeded in arousing an audience to enthusiasm. This was particularly the case at the end of a delegates' conference in Frankfort-on-the-Main and once at the Arnim Halls in Berlin, where I spoke on Zionism and the

Judentag. The idea of a *Judentag*, a general assembly of German Jews, had originated with Professor Martin Philippsohn, but had been adopted by the Zionists. In my speech I gave the Jews of Germany a thorough assessment. I said: "We summon you to the tribunal of history. Who is it that has bound us hand and foot? Who is it that has insulted, libeled, and slandered us? Who has ever called for a boycott in order to frighten the German Jews, who else but you yourselves? And now you have the sorry courage to maintain that we cannot proceed to practical action." I told them that the importance of German Jewry formed a considerable weight in the balance of our freedom. Woe to it if, as a consequence of its remaining aloof, the work of liberation should founder! For this purpose the *Judentag* should also serve as a demonstration which would reawaken the German Jews to confidence in their future. As citizens of the German Reich we wished to enjoy all the rights due to good citizens. The *Judentag* should help prevent our becoming second-class citizens. The movement for a *Judentag* I described as a spring message, a harbinger of the summer of Zionism.

At the very same time that our meeting, amid great enthusiasm, had agreed to the idea of a *Judentag*, the project was again sent to its grave by a small group of craven Philistine notables in Berlin, including Professor Philippsohn himself. But it later led, through the energetic and courageous Privy Judicial Councilor Eugen Fuchs, to the establishment of the *Verband deutscher Juden* (Federation of German Jews).

I also once spoke before a small circle in Bremen and laid the foundation for a local society there. Here also it was seen that over-eager Zionists had exaggerated the prospects. Most of the audience came out of curiosity, for a look at the strange creatures who wanted to found a Jewish State. Quite different was the reception that I found in Antwerp, where a large community of East European Jews had been formed through

the diamond trade. There for the first time I came into contact with the Jewish masses in their pristine enthusiasm. This once again revived my sinking courage and gave me strength to continue the propaganda work. As propaganda speakers at that time Adolf Friedemann, Alfred Klee, and Heinrich Loewe particularly distinguished themselves. Arthur Hantke was more active in the work of organization and later took over the direction of the bureau of the Zionist Federation for Germany in Berlin.

It is one of the riddles of history that a small group of Zionists should have excited the entire Jewish world into movement. But I believe that the solution of this riddle is not difficult for those who lived through that time. We were united through friendship and mutual trust. We stood together in joy and sorrow. The Zionist idea unified us, and there were no differences over its goal. We felt like soldiers in the ranks, who stand opposite a common enemy. Conflicts of opinion about methods and tactics, which afterwards reduced our ranks to disorder and compelled many of our best comrades to leave the field at that time, were soon overcome. They dissolved in the face of our united front. When we met a Jew who professed his belief in Zionism we were filled with joy. This feeling doubled our strength. We recognized no differences between Eastern and Western Jews, among radicals, practical, political, or bourgeois Zionists, or workers. In whatever way any of them wished to go to Palestine was immaterial. This common will blazed a trail for us through the forest of hatred and anxiety by which we were confronted. It would have been a great gain for us if later we had succeeded in finding our way back to the uniformity of conviction during that heroic period.

In addition to those previously mentioned, among the men who successfully supported me in the early period of Zionist propaganda in Germany I wish to name Dr. Adler of Lübeck; Elias Auerbach of Essen; Dr. Edelstein of Bonn; Dr. Frank of

Altona; Dr. Kalmus of Hamburg; Dr. Moses Kaufmann of Freiburg; Dr. Julius Moses of Mannheim; Rabbi Dr. Rülf of Bonn; Dr. Aron Sandler of Berlin; Dr. Huga Schachtel of Breslau; Dr. Simonsohn of Berlin; Dr. Fritz Sondheimer of Frankfort-on-the-Main; and Dr. Elias Strauss of Munich. Of the women I shall name only Frau Lina Wagner-Tauber of Berlin.

About this time Herzl was at work on a utopian romance, *Altneuland,* in which he depicted the ideal of a Jewish State. In this *roman à clef* he portrayed his fellow workers, under all sorts of pseudonyms, as taking part in the building up of the country. Among these persons there is one named "Wellner," whom Herzl's biographer, Dr. Bein, takes to be Professor Leon Kellner—obviously because of the similarity in the names. But possibly an anecdote about a conversation in Constantinople will provide another interpretation. There Herzl called me jestingly the *Neinsager,* maintaining that I began every sentence with *Nein.* I replied that from then on I would begin every sentence with *Ja,* whereupon Herzl laughed and said, "Well, then I shall call you *Wellner*!"

I was faced with a peculiar problem when the Cologne author, Morris de Jonge, who had composed several dramas and polemical pamphlets, applied for membership in the Zionist Federation. After a violent argument with his father, who was president of the synagogue community, he had gone over to Christianity. His anti-Semitic outbursts aroused a considerable sensation at the time. De Jonge was an unusually brilliant and gifted lawyer, but suffered from a neurotic need to assert himself. Since he disputed the messiahship of Jesus and looked for another messiah, which he probably thought himself to be, he was soon quarreling with the Evangelical clergy. I believed his admission into the Federation to be improper, but asked Herzl, who was of the same opinion, namely that adherence to Judaism was a prerequisite of membership. De

Jonge deduced therefrom the conclusion that he must return to Judaism. He was the first to demand, in a polemical pamphlet, the establishment of a Hebrew University in Jerusalem. In the last years of his life, up until his tragic death, he was an adherent of the strictest orthodoxy and of a radical nationalism. He was friendly to me despite the difference in our points of view. His pamphlet, *Mombasa or Jerusalem,* published in 1903, contained a very interesting prophecy. He said there, among other things: "Now I shall set forth the Jewish State of the future as I picture it . . . Ten years, nay, twelve or fifteen perhaps, the people of Israel must wait, and then the war will break out which has been for so long expected. The breakup of the Ottoman Empire draws nearer and nearer. The Eternal brings victory to the standard of the friends of Israel . . . The Holy Land will then be free and the time is approaching for the peoples to begin their return from the wasteland. England will then give us our land free as part of the British Empire, but our State will be as fully sovereign as the federated States of Imperial Germany. Therefore let us hail the day on which we find ourselves citizens of the British Empire."

Just after our return from Palestine I wrote Herzl that the receiving of the Zionist deputation by the Kaiser had had little attention from the Jews because of the watered-down form in which the semi-official dispatches had been presented. I therefore suggested that the Kaiser should be prevailed upon to aid our cause by speaking some words on its behalf on some solemn occasion. To this Herzl replied if I intended to rely on a speech from the throne to stir up agitation, agitation must no longer be necessary. This brusque rejection of my proposal caused me astonishment, and I concluded that Herzl himself now placed no great confidence in the German Kaiser. In accordance with his advice, on the occasion of our delegates' conference in Frankfort-on-the-Main, I began the propaganda

campaign, without waiting for the speech from the throne. On the occasion of a trip to Berlin I got in touch with the Foreign Office. I considered this move in order as the Kaiser had said he intended to examine our proposals.

The Undersecretary of State von Richthofen, who had been instructed about the matter, received me in a very friendly fashion, but expressed doubts as to whether Jews were suited to agriculture. In reply I told him about our colonies and the pioneer workers. I declared that the Jewish masses of the East were prepared to make every sacrifice for Palestine, and that there would be a certain political advantage for the German Reich in assuming an obligation for the Jews of the East. The opening of the Middle East for the Jews was also, I added, a means of diverting the emigration of an element of the people with a command of the German language from Russia and Poland to that region. As my point of view seemed to interest Richthofen, I inquired whether the Foreign Office might exert some influence over the press in our behalf. Von Richthofen replied that the Reich really did not have a semi-official press. Only the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* occasionally asked the Foreign Office whether an article was agreeable or not. He recommended that I get into touch with that paper. But I preferred to approach the *Kölnische Zeitung* for this purpose, since the editor-in-chief, Dr. August Schmidt, had shown great interest in Zionism. It had been at my suggestion, also, that it appointed Dr. Simchowitz in Cologne to act as correspondent for the Congress.

I then called on the Turkish Ambassador, whom I had met during our journey. When, after a little preliminary conversation, I mentioned the subject of Zionism, he said that he had no influence at all in this matter. The decision on it rested entirely upon Constantinople, where Herzl had the best entrée. Herzl, he said, had never demanded such an autonomy as I was suggesting. Such a thing Turkey could not grant, no

matter what its financial distress might be. Against scattered settlements of Jews in Turkey there was not, on the other hand, the least objection. I then pointed out that we entertained the idea of forming a land company after the manner of a chartered corporation, which whould render possible, in place of unorganized immigration, a settlement upon an economic basis. In reply to a remark of the Ambassador that he was afraid the Jews might imitate the example of the Bulgarians, I said that there was no reason for the Jews to act that way: they were a peaceful people. On the other hand, the Ambassador interposed smiling, if the Jews were given arms they would shoot in exactly the same way as the others. This caused me to point to the great difference that existed between the Jews and the Balkan peoples. These nations had the backing of the Christian States of Europe, whereas the Jewish people had only themselves to depend on. This was proved in the case of Rumania, which in the Jewish question had repeatedly violated the Berlin Treaty, without one of the Treaty Powers' having taken the side of the Jews. For the Jews to wish to solve their problem by the use of arms, I said, would be madness. This made a visible impression upon the Ambassador.

The chief purpose of my stay in Berlin was to form a small committee of notables, which did indeed come into existence, and which included, among others, the Privy Councilor Dr. Landau, the banker Paul Arons, and Professor Warburg, who acted as chairman. It was the first time that the Professor had accepted leadership in a Zionist matter. But this committee, like so many others, never accomplished anything.

In the spring of 1899, Dr. Holtzmann of Berlin, as an emissary of Dr. Hildesheimer, visited me and reported the intention of his friends to win over the Kaiser to the cause of colonization in Palestine, since he had rejected political Zionism. I regarded this as a trial balloon in an effort to resume contact with Herzl. But Herzl was indignant over what he

regarded as illicit competition. He asked me to keep an eye on the matter, but it turned out to be a bluff without any consequence.

In the meantime Herzl had reached a final opinion on the question of the colonists, presumably as a result of our observations in Palestine. This is clearly seen from two letters which I received on October 30 and November 6, 1900. Herzl wrote that the Action Committee had obtained various technical reports on geological and mineralogical conditions in Palestine, and there were cost estimates from leading firms on the use of the water power as the basis of modern industry. The Action Committee proposed inviting support for the development of particular industries which it regarded as promising. Those particularly emphasized were textiles, clothing and linen factories, chemicals, canning and cement factories, as well as brickworks.

When we look at our present efforts in this field, we must say with Rabbi Akiba: "All this was here before us." The Jordan works which exist today, the great industries which have been established, exist only as the continuation of the work of Herzl.

Towards the end of 1899 Herzl turned to me with a request that I work out the draft of a charter, which he intended to submit to the Sultan. As I learned later, he had also asked both Nordau and Professor Richard Gottheil of New York to draw up similar memoranda. At that time Gottheil had pointed to the well-known difficulty in the way of a transfer of sovereign rights in the case of Moslem laws. As models for the draft Herzl mentioned the chartered company of Cecil Rhodes and the German-African and New Guinea Companies. With Herzl's permission I also had the cooperation of Dr. Klee, who then still lived in Bonn. As Herzl believed a conversation with the Sultan to be impending, he urged that the draft be completed as soon as possible. On October 18, 1899, accordingly,

I sent my draft charter to Herzl. I was afraid it would not meet with his approval, as a good deal of it was still very indefinite. But I hoped that it could serve as a basis for later work. My draft had, by the way, the same framework as my previous proposals made during the Kaiser's journey.

The audience with the Sultan did not, however, take place until May 1901. Herzl often spoke of this visit with particular pleasure, and liked to relate how he had won the confidence of the Sultan. He told the Sultan the story of the slave Androcles, who had extracted a thorn from the paw of a sick lion and had thus gained the devotion of the great beast. The Jewish people, he declared, were the slave Androcles, and like him persecuted in many lands and threatened with death. "But you, sir," he said, "are the lion. The thorn in the foot is your financial distress. This thorn can be pulled out by the Jewish people. That is how we can help each other both at once." The Sultan was delighted with this anecdote, and called Herzl his friend.

During Herzl's audience Wolffsohn sat with the generals and the chief marshal at dinner. He could not talk enough about the luxury and the multitude of dishes that were on the table. The pashas vied with one another in placing the choicest morsels on his plate. They would have been still more pleased to put it all into his mouth with their fingers. There were the choicest wines, and rivers of champagne.

Following the audience the Sultan demanded a written formulation of the wishes of the Zionists. This was prepared that same night with the help of one of the Kaiser's officials. The official farewells were exceedingly gracious. Herzl received the Osmanje order first class, a distinction otherwise awarded only to those of princely rank. In addition, the Sultan sent him a purse with a hundred gold pieces to cover hotel expenses, since he regarded Herzl as his guest. This amount Herzl immediately

placed at the disposal of the poor in Constantinople. It was evidently not used for this purpose, however, for years later, after the fall of the Sultan, an inquiry was addressed by the Finance Minister to Wolffsohn, as to what should be done with the £100 in gold which had been put at the disposal of Herzl.

Unfortunately this move, undertaken with such great hopes, had no further success. Thus Herzl immediately began exploring other connections, and in January 1902 he requested that I hand the Foreign Office a memorandum giving information on the position of our movement. In it I pointed out, among other things, the economic advantages which could accrue to the German Reich from Zionist settlements; and that the kinship of a common language among the Jews of eastern Europe facilitated the establishment of commercial and cultural relations. Besides, the moral influence on Jewry and the importance of the Jews in the financial world was not to be underrated. Herzl generously described my memorandum as a masterpiece. "If the man to whom you address it has a clear understanding," he wrote, "he must realize the statesmanlike acuteness of these observations." Herzl asked me to add that he continued to enjoy the favor of the Grand Duke of Baden, with whom he personally discussed every important step. But this memorandum likewise had no political consequences of any kind.

It was clear later that the Kaiser had been informed of the memorandum, for when, after the death of Herzl, Dr. Friedemann and I visited the head of the Kaiser's cabinet, von Lucanus, he recalled it and said emphatically that the Kaiser had continued to look upon the Zionist movement with great favor.

At the fifth Congress a conflict arose between Herzl and me over the statutes of the Jewish National Fund, because I found

fault with the draft submitted by the Action Committee. But when, after Herzl had carried his way, I stepped to the rostrum and handed over, as the first donation for the J.N.F., the capital which Schapira over the course of many years had collected among the Heidelberg students, loud applause resounded in recognition of my having bowed to the resolution of the Congress—a submission which for me was a matter of course.

An annoying incident interfered with Herzl's report on the Organization. He had prepared this with particular care and handed the manuscript to me as chairman of the commission. When I was suddenly called into the hall where the plenary session was taking place, some contemptible person, who wanted to play Herzl a trick, used that moment to remove the dispatch case. Thus Herzl was obliged to submit his report without notes. The incident was particularly painful to me because in his report Herzl, contrary to my views on the necessity of belonging to a Zionist society, wanted the organization to develop only from the *schekel* [i.e., annual dues]. He regarded the *schekel*-paying members as the nucleus for its upbuilding. Unfortunately the consequences of this error on Herzl's part are still being felt.

But the kindness of Herzl showed itself on this occasion in a splendid light. Anyone else would have been disposed to consider me responsible for the incident, but Herzl did not bear me a grudge for a single moment and simply shrugged off the disappearance of the dispatch case with a smile. Perhaps he suspected who the guilty person was.

Herzl regarded the sixtieth anniversary of the reign of the Grand Duke of Baden as a suitable occasion for conveying the congratulations of the Zionists to this noble and distinguished ruler. Since the Zionist delegates' conference took place in Mannheim at about the same time, Herzl asked me by telegram to introduce a deputation of the conference to the Grand

Duke. Therefore, after the end of the proceedings, I went with Dr. Julius Moses of Mannheim, Dr. Moses Kaufmann of Freiburg, Friedemann, Schauer, and Klee to the castle at Karlsruhe, where we were received by the Grand Duke in the most cordial manner. After one look into the friendly eyes of this prince all uneasiness disappeared. Herzl had decided that I should be the spokesman of the deputation. In my address to the Grand Duke I said, among other things, that the Zionists of the whole world looked up to him with veneration and gratitude, as his good will toward our endeavors was well known. He had recognized the necessity of once again creating for the scattered Jewish people a home on the land of their fathers, and had strengthened their old hopes through his support of our leader. For this reason, I said, I tendered to him the thanks of the German Zionists.

The Grand Duke was greatly moved by my address, and replied that the privilege of supporting Herzl had been for him a solemn one. He was glad to hear that sympathy with our movement was increasing. With regard to the efforts of the Kaiser to plead our cause with the Sultan during his visit in Constantinople, he told us that some time before the Turkish Ambassador had sat next to him at the Kaiser's table, and had affirmed that he had twice attempted to explain to the Sultan what the Zionists' intentions were. But the Sultan had apparently not understood what the question was about, since at that time the Zionist movement had been quite unknown. The Kaiser had regarded this as a refusal and had not referred to the matter again. The Grand Duke then mentioned Herzl's efforts to win the Russian Government for Zionism. There was however a difficulty also in making clear to the German Jews that not all Jews were to go to Palestine. Nobody could be compelled to go. For eastern Europe the solution of the Jewish question was a necessity, and indeed it

would be a gain. "You surely don't have German Jews in mind?" he asked, turning to me, and I replied: "By all means, Royal Highness, we wish to provide the pioneers and officers." The Grand Duke said he found this very fine. Dr. Tschlenow later expressed to me his disapproval of this remark, although as head of a delegation of German Zionists I was certainly justified in presenting the task of the German Jews in the work of restoration before the Grand Duke in the strongest light.

At any rate, a protectorate under the German Kaiser was no longer in question. Herzl had seen that the idea of a Jewish State in Palestine could be promoted only by Russia or Britain. One of these powers, or still better both, should be played against Turkey. He now regarded the policy of friendly negotiations with Turkey as a failure.

In the summer of 1903 I took part in the meeting of the Action Committee in Vienna and used this opportunity to visit Herzl at Alt-Aussee, where he was spending his vacation. The days I spent on this Styrian Lake were memorable. From the terrace at the Seewirt one looked out upon the deep blue mountain lake around which the rocky peaks rose high into the air. On the slopes above the shore region nestled the neat houses of peasants, which served well-to-do Viennese as accommodations for the summer. The geraniums one saw everywhere on the window ledges and balconies blossomed before the house occupied by Herzl, and there were blue flowers climbing on the trellises beside the windows as well. I went up a narrow staircase leading into a room whose walls were covered with primitive paintings by a village artist. Herzl beamed with pleasure when he saw me. He led me to the veranda, where he bade me admire the view and exulted over having discovered this place. In his Styrian garb he looked very fit. He then reported to me about the El-Arisch Expedi-

tion, about which I had already heard some details in Vienna, and the reasons for the failure of the project.

As nothing has so far been published on the results of the expedition, a few words about it may be of interest. The region of El-Arisch, with the Serbonian Lake and the plain of Pelusiun, appeared suitable for a Jewish colony. The Wadi of El-Arisch could be made useful for irrigation if a dam were installed. A fine grove of palms pointed to the existence of wells. The sparse native population had grown vegetables and carried on cattle-grazing from time immemorial. According to the report of the expedition, this district of about 1,600 English square miles was capable of supporting more than 10,000 families. Besides the cultivation of tobacco and cotton, all kinds of industries could be introduced. The Serbonian lake could be made useful for fishing, and the region opened up by irrigation for intensive agriculture. For the other district a plan on a large scale was contemplated. Water from the Nile was to be conveyed from the Ismailia Canal to El-Kantara and from there, by means of steel pipes under the Suez Canal, to the Pelusian plain. Herzl, who was very much satisfied with the report of the expedition, immediately began negotiations with the British Government. He was particularly enthusiastic over the plan drawn up by Oskar Marmorek for building a harbor. He was resolved, as soon as Britain gave its approval, to go there himself and to conduct the work of colonization.

Naturally he looked upon El-Arisch as only a key to Palestine. He was all the more dismayed when Cromer turned out to be opposed to the plan. The latter based his position on the objections of the Egyptian Government, namely that it could not spare water from the Nile, since it was necessary for Egyptian irrigation of the Pelusian plain. This was, however, only a pretext, since the Nile waters were to be taken from the outlet of the Ismailia Canal, where it flowed unused into the

sea. Furthermore, the irrigation of Pelusium was only a subordinate project, and the opening up of El-Arisch could be carried out independently of it. It was clear that for the British Government military and political considerations were the deciding factor. A settlement located between Palestine and the Suez Canal, which could serve as a base for a land attack upon the Canal, was not regarded as desirable. Politically it was significant that the assent of the Sultan would be required, since Egypt was under Turkish domination. That is why all Herzl's proposals to the British Government were unsuccessful. We were thus convinced that Britain would not expose herself to any international complications for the sake of the Jews.

While we strolled through the gardens and fields of the place, we talked also of the splinter groups which had been forming here, and which threatened to break up the system of *Landsmannschaften* [i.e., groups representing particular countries]. There were already three such splinter groups, the Orthodox members of the *Mizrachi,* the Socialists of the *Poale-Zion,* and the "fraction" which concerned itself with the Jewish cultural problem. "Let these things alone," said Herzl, "and they will work themselves out. Every obstacle that is put in the way I consider harmful. I am of the opinion that there is a sound core in it. The *Landsmannschaften* have for us no internal justification. They are formed for external reasons arising out of a common language and the laws of the country. Logically we ought to wish that the splinter groups were the only parties representing the Congress, as they alone render possible an organization based on purely matter-of-fact considerations."

I answered that Herzl had rightly mentioned the laws of the country since aside from the *Landsmannschaften* we represented an international political association, which most countries forbade. But as long as the national organizations

existed the splinter groups that were useful at the Congress were a hindrance in the building up of our Organization. Herzl agreed with me, but thought this could be overcome through the formation of societies and federations of societies. I at once seized upon this to remind him of my proposal of building the Organization upon the Zionist societies. Herzl then became excited and replied: "That would be a mistake, do not interfere with the *schekel*-payers." But I could not agree with Herzl's standpoint, because I regarded the *schekel*-payer who had no connection with any society as an unstable basis for the Organization.

Concerning the German Kaiser he also expressed himself with an almost brutal frankness. Herzl, who was equally impulsive in love and hate, was quite outspoken in condemning the Kaiser's conduct. His yielding to von Bülow he called a breach of faith. He made fun of his declaration to the Congress that a Kaiser's word was not to be turned or twisted about. He was also displeased with Wolffsohn, who had not, Herzl thought, worked for the Bank with the necessary energy. With the material he had obtained he could have achieved more.

I then reverted to the plan of El-Arisch, and proposed the securing of a firm footing at some other point on the Mediterranean. I mentioned Tangiers, which was then the subject of negotiation among the European powers, and whose Jewish quarter, the *Mellah* might perhaps be expanded into a free city. Herzl objected, arguing that the first repercussion to such a plan would be that 60,000 Moroccan Jews would be massacred. But he let the matter go through his mind and, as I later learned, wrote to Zangwill about it.

Herzl did not speak to me freely concerning Uganda, although these negotiations were already far advanced. When I heard of this later I was not at all surprised. I understood very well that Herzl, after the many disappointments he had

had as a result of confiding in friends, had become distrustful. That was why he informed them only of things that were necessary for the fulfillment of the tasks assigned to them. And that was how he kept the reins of his policy firmly in hand. This guardedness showed itself particularly in regard to Greenberg, from whom he withdrew his confidence for a time, out of a mistaken belief that he had pursued ambitious plans on his own in the El-Arisch affair.

Nor did the members of the Executive remain unscathed by Herzl's tactics. Of these the architect Oskar Marmorek was the ablest. He had a quick temper, and was subject to uncontrolled outbursts of rage. It was only Herzl's understanding of human weaknesses that made it possible for the two of them to work together for eight years. The lawyer Oskar Kokesch was a quiet man of perseverance and cleverness, but pedantic and conceited. He was particularly lacking in a sense of order, which would certainly have been desirable in his activities as secretary of the committee. When, after his death, the archives of the bureau came to Cologne, Wolffsohn complained of the incredible disorder in which he found them. Many letters had not even been opened. Dr. Leopold Kahn, also a lawyer, had a very narrow outlook, but was valuable for his obsession with the revival of the Hebrew language. A man of energy and intellect was Johann Kremenetzky, who had displayed his organizing gifts in making the chemical industry in Vienna into a world-wide enterprise. His activity for the J.N.F. will be dealt with in another place. He was one of the most active promoters of the industrial development of Palestine, in which he also took part financially. Every one of these members towered above the average in intellect, and was full of the idea of Zionism. But none even remotely approached the greatness of Herzl.

On my departure from Alt-Aussee Herzl's children brought

me a bouquet of wild flowers. When I warmly expressed my thanks, his daughter Pauline said, "Our father's friends are our friends too." I did not dream that the fate of these lovely children was to take the evil turn it did. The figure of Herzl as he was at the time of my visit in Aussee remained particularly vivid in my memory, perhaps because the powerful personality of those days, radiant with health, precluded any thought of the inexorable fate that was to call him away so soon after.

There was some talk among his friends about freeing Herzl from his dependence on the *Neue Freie Presse* so that he could devote himself exclusively to the Organization. Had we foreseen that the ailing heart of this great man would break down under the burden of work, some way would have been found of realizing this intention. To understand his state of mind one must know that he deeply despised the owner of the *Neue Freie Presse,* an assimilated Jew. The editorial management of the paper allowed him, it is true, a great deal of freedom. But Herzl well knew that this happened not out of love but from sheer calculation. He considered himself a slave, who had lent his pen to the paper for the "wretched" yearly salary of 10,000 *gulden*. Because of his antipathy to his chief Herzl made attempts to found a paper of his own. He refused the assistance offered by the Government because he did not wish to fall into further dependence. His friends Cowen and Kremenetzky had offered him a splendid yearly salary out of their own pockets. But Herzl indignantly rejected this suggestion. They argued that nobody would hear about it, whereupon Herzl replied: "I myself would know, and so would you." The strength of Herzl's character in regard to this offer is to be admired all the more when one realizes the serious concern about his family which oppressed him. Herzl's letter to Wolffsohn, which was given to him after Herzl's death, affords moving testimony of this.[1]

[1] See *Theodor Herzl;* by Israel Cohen, p. 364.

I have wondered now and then whether Herzl would not have done well to accept the offer of his friends, in order to preserve his strength for the movement. But I am now convinced that he had acted rightly.

There may be many a Maecenas who esteems a politician so highly as to make it possible for him to occupy a post as leader of a movement not yet in a position to make any remuneration of its own. But such a move entails great dangers. It undermines the authority of and esteem for the leader, and it is only human on the part of the giver of money to expect policies to be according to his own way of thinking. Here perhaps the saying applies: "Whose bread I eat, his song I sing." This is also the case if the remuneration of a high official in a movement is made not by a private person but by a party. Here also the leader loses his political independence; the natural consequence is that he is inclined to place the party above the whole. This tendency shows itself especially where in the first place adherents of the party are given leading positions, even though more suitable candidates are to be found in other parties. Because of this Zionists who for one reason or another refuse to join a party, have little prospect of gaining influence.

The matter is quite otherwise if the organization is in the position to pay its leaders and high officials. This enables the organization to place the ablest men at its head without regard to their economic situation.

It cannot be my task to describe here the progress of the Congresses. Whoever is interested in this can read the Protocols. But a few words about the sixth Congress are perhaps in order. Seldom did an event stir Jewry with such violence as the proposal of the British Government to cede the Zionists a territory in Uganda[1] for the formation of a State of their own.

[1] *Translator's Note.*—The territory was actually in the Guas Ngishu Plateau.

Our mood was characterized by Tschlenow at a confidential preliminary discussion in the Hotel Zu den Drei Königen with the words: "There fills us all an inexpressible joy that a great European power, for the first time since the destruction of the Temple, has recognized with this offer the national demands of the Jewish people. But therewith is linked the great sorrow that we must refuse this offer, because our needs can only be satisfied by Palestine." Of the members of the Action Committee present, only Greenberg and Zangwill had been previously informed. All except Zangwill rejected the British offer on principle. Zangwill considered the settlement of Uganda as a political step toward Palestine. Greenberg had in mind simply to manifest our good will by dispatching an expedition. The sharpest opponent of the Uganda project was Alexander Marmorek. It is a bitter wrong to maintain the opposite. Politically he considered acceptance of the proposal to be a mistake, as it would be a deviation from our goal; and from the practical point of view he believed the projected Jewish State would prove abortive. On the coast, he said, our settlers would die like flies. It was so hot there that eggs could be hard-boiled in the sand, and fever was prevalent in the marshes. Whatever remained of the Jews by the time they reached the mountains would be devoured by lions.

During this discussion Herzl appeared. He was of the opinion that an expedition must be sent to the territory concerned in order to investigate the possibility of a settlement. This was opposed by the greater part of those present. I myself said that the proposal was in contradiction to our platform, and that this question should be examined by a political commission. Should the commission come to a positive decision, then the Executive should be empowered to send an investigative expedition. This proposal was not openly opposed

by Herzl, but at the same time he did not express any agreement.

A meeting of the Action Committee was called for that evening, at which the English offer was submitted. It was marked by stormy scenes. But when Herzl reported on his visit to Russia and the letter of Minister Plehve about the Zionist question, the submission of this letter was demanded. This turned out to be an important political document, since in it the Minister declared himself ready to support the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine on condition that Jewish national propaganda in Russia should cease. Herzl wanted to submit Plehve's letter to the Congress only after the Uganda affair was settled. But the Action Committee demanded its simultaneous publication in the first Congress number of *Die Welt*. I have seldom seen Herzl so annoyed as on this evening when he was voted down. He nearly lost the distinguished composure that was typical of him. He declared that the number of *Die Welt* was already printed and could no longer be altered. Finally he gave way to the majority, and the alteration was carried out, with great difficulty, that same night. Herzl's intention was clear. Through Plehve's letter a new hope was awakened. He wanted, however, to give as the reason for the Uganda plan the fact that in Constantinople we were confronted by an iron door. On the next evening Friedemann and I had a conversation with Nordau, who had just arrived. With great emphasis, Nordau declared himself against the plan. He considered the selection of a political commission a fortunate way out, but made his final attitude dependent on an exchange of views with Herzl. He then declared himself prepared, for reasons of discipline, to speak to the Congress in favor of an investigation expedition. The attitude of the *Landsmannschaften* toward the political commission was doubtful. The German *Landsmannschaft* had a great majority

in favor of this proposal. There was no talk about the expedition. The decision of the German *Landsmannschaft* with its sixty-eight delegates could prove decisive.

After hearing the general speakers in the Congress, the Action Committee deliberated in a room which was behind the Congress hall, and separated from it by a wooden partition. The Russians—with the exception of Professor Mandelstamm and Jasinowski—declared themselves against a commission. They believed the offer should be refused, with the express recognition of the humanitarian intentions of the British Government. But the majority decided on the election of a political commission. As the negotiations were prolonged, the Congress became uneasy. The sounds made by the seven hundred delegates could be clearly heard through the thin wooden partition as they waited for the Action Committee and the beginning of the roll-call vote. Marmorek and I were entrusted with the editing of the resolution. When we had finished, Herzl, who had withdrawn for a short time, came and declared: "I have thought over the matter again, and I cannot agree to a commission that would simply bury the English proposal, which deserves to be treated honestly, without reserve of any sort. We must decide immediately in favor of an expedition. The commission is only a detour or a masking of our intention to overthrow the plan. If you want that, it is better to say so straight out." He then took a red pencil and everywhere altered the words "commission" to "expedition." Lively objections against this procedure arose from various sides. Then Dr. Schalit—the chairman of the stewardship committee—reported that it was to be feared that the Congress would storm the platform if the Action Committee did not appear. Thereupon Herzl rose with the words: "There is no time now for further discussion. Let us proceed to the voting." Thus it came about that the *Landsmannschaften* could not be

informed of the altered situation. It is quite possible that the voting would have yielded another result if the events in the Action Committee had been known to the delegates.

The circumstances in connection with the departure of the *Neinsager* after the voting were as follows. The members of the Action Committee had undertaken to abstain from voting, which was by roll-call, in order not to exercise any influence upon the delegates. Tschlenow suffered from this to such an extent that after the result was made known he became unwell. He stepped down from the platform in order to leave the hall. This was regarded by his friends as a sign of protest, and they joined him. Their number grew, and finally all those who were opposed left the Congress, which was then interrupted amid great excitement among the delegates. On that memorable night Herzl made every conceivable effort to bridge the gap that had opened. He spoke for hours to the Russian *Landsmannschaft,* using all his own peculiar emotional appeals, but without overcoming their resistance. At last an agreement was effected. Herzl promised to begin the practical work in Palestine immediately and to continue his efforts to obtain a charter. This declaration was no compromise on the part of Herzl, as he had long abandoned his stubborn opposition to infiltration as a political means to achieve our goal. However little in common the British offer had with the letter of Plehve, he still attached the same importance to them both. It was the first tangible success of Herzl's policy. The doors to London and St. Petersburg were now open, and Herzl did not hesitate to take up negotiations with the Cabinets of these countries. The efforts in Constantinople likewise continued uninterrupted.

As we went down the stairs of the casino after the end of the Congress Tschlenow asked Herzl in a challenging tone: "When will you begin your work for Palestine?" Whereupon

Herzl curtly answered: "It was begun today." He had already written to Plehve from Basel and begged him to accord the requisite instructions to the Ambassador Zinoviev in Constantinople.

Herzl also continued negotiations with England. He was deeply shaken by the dissension that had taken place. Above all he regarded it as a lack of trust that the masses did not follow him. He was of the belief that every person of insight must clearly see his real intention. He did not by any means think seriously of a mass settlement of Jews in Uganda. The British proposal was for him only a political move toward Palestine. I received proof of this soon after the Congress ended. A friend sent me a number of the *Petit Bleu* from Brussels. This paper printed a short article on the British proposal and a telegram from Uganda, in which violent protest was made by the English colonists against the immigration of Jews. The land was unsuitable, they argued, and clearly only a few hundred people could be accommodated. The Jewish question could not be solved by such a settlement. When I showed Herzl this notice he embraced me with delight. "That is splendid!" he exclaimed. "So the report of the expedition will prove negative, and we shall have what we want. You will see," were his prophetic words. "The time is coming when England will do everything in her power to have Palestine ceded to us for the Jewish State."

Nordau had coined the expression "Muscular Judaism" at the Congress. I also believed it necessary to achieve physical fitness for our youth. In various places of Germany and Austria Jewish gymnastic societies had been formed, and there was one in Cologne. These societies had to be organized into a league if they were to continue to act in the future. I negotiated about this with the leader of the Cologne society, Leopold Abraham, who at once took up the idea and entered

into communication with the Berlin Jewish gymnastic society. We of Cologne wanted to provide a sum of 1000 marks (£50) in order to promote the establishment of a league by means of a gymnastic display at the Congress. I wrote about this to Herzl as well, saying that we must try to enroll the Association of Jewish Gymnastic Societies, which was in the course of formation, under our banner. This would at the same time be the clearest answer to the intention of excluding Jews which had been made known during the fifteenth gymnastic tournament in Nuremberg. We won valuable followers and sympathy at one stroke. Thus it was that the Jewish Gymnastic Association came into existence at the sixth Congress in Basel. Wolffsohn and I had a silver memorial coin struck for this occasion, and I distributed copies to those who took part in the gymnastic display in the *Burgvogtei* in Klein-Basel, in the presence of the Zionist leaders. I delivered a short speech on this occasion. The Zionists, I said, had rightly understood Nordau's phrase, "Muscular Judaism." They had formed gymnastic societies in order to implant a national consciousness in our youth while providing them at the same time with physical exercise. To such an aim, representatives of the Jewish Gymnastic Association from Germany and Austria-Hungary had borne witness on this day. The saying about a healthy mind in a healthy body had come to have, for us, a special meaning. The spirit had been cultivated at the expense of the body. Such one-sidedness had produced bad results, from which our people still suffered. We would not neglect the spirit, but a time could come when we should need, instead of scholars and philosophers, thousands of strong, healthy, and courageous men, who knew the value of discipline. To train such men for such an object was the task of the new league.

As is well known, the idea of the Jewish Gymnastic Association was widely circulated, and the performances of our

gymnasts in all countries of the world have shown the excellence of which the Jewish athlete is capable. Wherever they took part they won honor for the Jewish name.

Before I close the epoch that united me with Herzl I should like briefly to go back to our correspondence, which covered various fields of Zionist activity.

The *schekel* organization seemed to me inadequate. I aimed at a closer union of the *schekel*-payer with the movement. To have the *schekel* as the only document on which to base Congress elections was dangerous. This was why I wrote to Herzl, on May 27, 1899, that our Organization was futile if the elections to the Congress took place outside it. But Herzl adhered with tenacity to this system. It was not until October 1903 that he adopted my idea of introducing a *Minyan* system in Russia, which constituted a move toward breaking up the *Schekel* organization.

Shortly beforehand I had had a visit from the representative of the *Viedomosti* journal, Sukenikow, who maintained that the Russian Minister, Lambsdorff, had informed Russian representatives abroad of the friendly attitude of the Russian Government towards the Zionists' plans. On the other hand, he said, the attitude of London and Berlin was one of aloofness. So far as Germany was concerned this seemed to me believable; but the statement of this correspondent with regard to England doubtless referred to the El-Arisch plan. Herzl apparently did not attach any very great importance to Sukenikow's statements. But when the press later reported anti-Zionist measures in Russia, and I proposed getting into contact with the Bund, Herzl energetically rejected this, and added that he alone knew what was happening in Russia.

In the autumn of 1903 I wrote Herzl that a favorable attitude toward Zionism was developing in Germany. It had transpired from a conversation with the editor-in-chief of the

Kölnische Zeitung that the circles with which it was in touch opposed only the internal political moves of Jewish nationalists, but were quite ready to support the endeavours of Zionism directed toward Palestine. At the same time I reported to Herzl on two other matters. The African traveler Dr. Max Schöller had called on me and placed himself at our disposal for the East African project. I attached some weight to this offer because Schöller maintained good relations with the Kaiser and the Crown Prince, both of whom were often visitors at his estate. I then reported a suggestion of Dr. Edelstein, who had interested Dr. Korum, the Bishop of Trier, in Zionism and had been invited by him to a discussion at Trier. As Korum was *persona gratissima* at the Vatican, Herzl asked me to pursue this matter further as it might perhaps be useful when he went to Rome.

In February 1904 I handed Herzl a memorandum on Zionist policy as preparation for a discussion on the subject. Some of its leading ideas I shall give here. I began by saying that we had perhaps not yet emerged beyond the period of fumbling about in the dark, but that nevertheless I considered it possible to get in touch with various governments, especially the United States, to see what position they would take in regard to a Zionist charter in Turkey. I then pointed to the influence of the press in reference to the Balkan troubles and the Russo-Japanese war. I was skeptical concerning negotiations with Turkey and, for this reason, would propose first to secure a firm footing in a harbor district outside Turkey, somewhere on the Mediterranean coast. It would be best to secure such a base in Palestine itself. Agricultural colonization would have to be preceded by a military occupation. A police force would not be enough. In a district that had not yet been opened to civilization, where the majority of the population was hostile to the new development, an army

was necessary, one that had at its disposal all the weapons of war, in order to maintain peace in the occupied area. Naturally an occupation of Palestine could not be achieved at one blow. It would have to be carried out in stages. Haifa and the Carmel district were of primary importance, and next came the settlement of the plain of Sharon and the Valley of Jezreel. For this purpose I suggested a secret treaty with the Sultan. It was necessary to point out more clearly the consequence of our action, to limit the responsibility in all directions. A statement by Herzl on this document was not made, but that he had read it carefully was apparent from some notes on the original. But his death put an end, for the time being, to the plan of the political commission.

Concerning this memorandum a few remarks must be added. Changing circumstances bring about changes in political views over the course of time. The alternative would be petrification. It is another matter when a politician, out of ambition or selfishness, changes his course with the direction of the wind. It will therefore be understood that I no longer stand entirely by that memorandum. But while I then advocated the creation of a key position in Palestine, it no longer applies to the partition question as it has arisen today. My proposal of a charter for Haifa and the Carmel district was to have been only a first stage. But the Jewish State of the Peel Commission means a final renunciation.

Today, also, I should not have advocated a secret agreement with the Sultan. To keep the matter secret would in the long run prove impracticable, and a representative of the Jewish people would not dare diverge from an honest, straightforward policy. Any exaggeration of the ultimate political goal here as well or in my draft charter is attributable to the fact that the Sultan possessed absolute power to dispose as he wishes of anyone in his lands, so long as it did not amount to a

surrender. Besides he was not as Caliph bound unconditionally to the laws of the Koran. Moreover, there was then no question at all of Arab nationalism to offer a hindrance to our intentions.

PART TWO

MY ZIONIST WORK AFTER HERZL'S DEATH

FOR the Zionists the death of Herzl came like a bolt from the blue. Even among his friends, at the meeting of the Action Committee in May 1904, nobody had any suspicion of the seriousness of his heart ailment. He was able by his extraordinary strength of will, to appear the picture of health. But the strain of the Congress and the struggle with the Kharkov opposition had worn him down. His last heartbeats were devoted to an effort to restore peace among the Zionists. The dispute between the political and the practical Zionists was ended. The circular letter from the Executive informing us of Herzl's illness reached me on the Riviera, where I had gone with my wife for a holiday. From it I saw immediately the seriousness of the situation. When I received news of his death on July 4, 1904, it seemed to me incomprehensible. Since on the same day the press reported the death of Theodor Hertzka, I indulged for a moment in the delusive hope that there might be some confusion. But unfortunately a telegram that arrived shortly after left no doubt.

Herzl's death shook the Zionist Organization to its foundations. It was Herzl who had built it up and determined its policy. Not only had he created the forum of the Congress, but

by his forceful personality he had united the various currents of the movement. Now we were without the strong hand of the leader who had also been the mind and heart of the Organization. The diplomatic negotiations he had initiated were hidden in a veil of mystery. The members of the Executive in Vienna were only imperfectly informed. It is true that Herzl had recorded in his diary the salient results of his diplomatic activity. But this turned out to contain great gaps in the later years. His lively imagination and temperament also had the effect of showing many things in a false light. Furthermore, the diary was not at the disposal of the movement. As one of the executors Wolffsohn gave it to Herzl's mother for safekeeping, and she took anxious care to protect it from the eyes of others. This was a hindrance to the continuation of his policies, for the entries in the diary contained an account of his connections, his conversations, and his correspondence which threw light upon the progress of his work. Only when Wolffsohn took over the leadership was the diary handed over to him. The members of the Action Committee in Vienna thus found themselves in an awkward and difficult situation.

The death of Herzl left a scattered and at best loosely knit group of followers scattered throughout the world. The constitution of the Organization had been adequate for the first beginnings of the movement, but now needed to be thoroughly redrafted. The first attempt at a fundamental reorganization had been made by Herzl at the fifth Congress. But its solution to the problems which had arisen was inadequate. The question of the relation of the *Landsmannschaften* to the splinter groups with particular outlooks was unsolved. Furthermore, the Uganda question which so troubled our minds was not yet settled. True, the sixth Congress had agreed to the motion of sending an expedition to East Africa. But after the return of Ussishkin from Palestine the minority found in him a strong and energetic leader, who immediately summoned a

conference at Kharkov and there declared war against the policy of Herzl. He stopped sending funds to Vienna and threatened to split the Organization. Although before his death, in May 1904, Herzl had succeeded in finding a compromise, the rift was only covered over, Herzl having made it a condition that the expedition to Uganda was to be carried out, as the British Government had already been informed to that effect. And thus the danger of a split in the Organization still remained.

In the events after the death of Herzl ambition also played a part. Great and small minds considered themselves qualified for the leadership. The Organization constituted a certain power. It was made up of more than half a million members and as financial institutions the Jewish Colonial Trust and the National Fund. Its dissemination into all countries of the world guaranteed it an international importance. Oskar Marmorek was ready to take over the leadership, but neither Kokesch nor Kahn would grant him precedence. They would have preferred the addition of a fifth colleague to their number, believing that the work could best be continued in this way. It is remarkable how far these most intimate of his fellow workers were from recognizing the greatness of Herzl. The fact is significant that his illness and death were not even mentioned in the minute-books of the Vienna office. The first meeting after his death was devoted to discussing a subsidy of twenty *gulden* for a minor matter.

Herzl's funeral was conducted, according to his wish, in the simplest manner, and with the participation of fellow Zionists from all over he world. His death evoked great sympathy in non-Jewish circles as well. I myself was prevented by illness from taking part in the burial or the meeting of the Action Committee that followed. It was proposed to elect a *collegium* of three men as successors to Herzl, in place of the Executive of five. Nordau, Warburg, and Wolffsohn were named. But

this proposal failed when Nordau for personal reasons declined to join in the leadership. I considered this idea of a triumvirate a happy one. Politics would have been in the hands of Nordau, Warburg would have taken over the direction of the work in Palestine, and Wolffsohn the man best qualified to administer the finances of the movement, its organization and propaganda. After the triumvirate had failed as a result of Nordau's refusal, a search was made for candidates for the post of leader. This was hopeless from the outset. One does not seek a leader. Rather, one day he is simply there. Out of the darkness there suddenly emerges a man who takes up the reins and leads the way. He is followed by the multitude, who often do not know or even wish to know whether it is the right way. They follow the leader because they believe in him. Herzl had been such a leader. The others were merely candidates for the president's chair. As such Professor Richard Gottheil of New York, and Moses Gaster, the *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese community in London, were named.

I spoke to Professor Gottheil about this when he visited us in Cologne. The President of the United State had previously had him in mind, because of his knowledge of the Near East, for the post of Ambassador at Constantinople. He had confided this to Herzl, who was favorably disposed toward the idea. Unfortunately the necessary funds could not be provided, and as a consequence Gottheil had to give up the plan. He was a man of tact and suavity, who had connections with the diplomatic world. His wife, a fashionable woman with a fine education, who in New York devoted herself to important social causes, complemented him most happily. But when I spoke of his being a successor to Herzl, he definitely declined. He was not of a combative nature and shied away from the internal political manipulations connected with the leadership. Nor was he ready to decide in favor of moving to Berlin or Vienna, which would then have come into question.

The situation in regard to Gaster was different. His great learning and his researches in the field of Assyrian and Babylonian cuneiform texts had made him world-famous. As *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese community in London he was highly esteemed. His relations with British statesmen and members of Parliament were excellent. But bitter hostility existed between him and Greenberg and Cowen, the confidential representatives of Herzl. His successful cooperation with these men was unthinkable. Gaster had previously told me that Cecil Rhodes had proposed that he lead a settlement of Jews in Rhodesia. Gaster then seemed not disinclined to consider this idea. I was therefore surprised when he opposed the Uganda plan with great vehemence. I leave the question open as to whether his distrust towards Greenberg played a part in this, since the latter conducted the Uganda negotiations. These personal difficulties, resulted, at any rate, in the political Zionists' rejection of his candidacy. I regretted this then, for his extraordinary oratorial gift aroused the listeners to enthusiasm, as I had myself observed at a mass meeting in the great assembly hall in Whitechapel. Also as a man Gaster had outstanding qualities. It was a scene reminiscent of the Bible when the family, including a troop of children, gathered about the table at which Mrs. Gaster presided as housewife and mother. The conversation with the learned host was, moreover, always a delight.

Professor Otto Warburg was the candidate of the opposition led by the Russians. He too was a noted scholar, and much experienced in questions of colonization. Through his family he was connected with the most highly esteemed Jews in Germany. He was a newcomer to Zionism. In politics he had no interest whatever. As a result he was allied with the *Chovevei-Zion,* and had to reckon with the resolute opposition of the political Zionists.

At a meeting of the central committee of German Zionists,

which took place at my house in Cologne, the candidacy of Wolffsohn was officially decided upon. Wolffsohn was very reticent and declared he could accept the post only if all parties gave him their undivided support. He had the feeling that he was considered only as a stop gap until another leader had been found. Wolffsohn's suspicion was well founded, since there was great distrust toward him among the practical Zionists because of his intimate association with Herzl and because he was in favor of the Uganda plan. The question of the leader was therefore very much in dispute.

I had serious doubts about the candidacy of Wolffsohn, which, however, were on different grounds from those of his political opponents. Wolffsohn was then little known among the German Zionists. He was self-taught. His Lithuanian origin was an obstacle to his influence upon the leading circles of Western Jewry. I was also of the opinion that he lacked the knowledge of the historical and constitutional associations and the necessary contacts with statesmen and the influential press for carrying on Herzl's policy aimed at the founding of a State. But apart from the fact that among all candidates I knew none with higher qualifications for leadership, my personal friendship forbade me to oppose him. I was not to regret this, for in the course of time Wolffsohn developed remarkable qualities of leadership. His keen intelligence and his great energy helped him over many difficulties. His popular eloquence, which was manifested with particular brilliance in arguments with his opponents, made him a beloved and effective Congress speaker. I was not always in agreement with his views on political questions, but our arguments, in which I often expressed my opinion quite energetically, were overshadowed feelings of friendship. I never fought him in public.

The Vienna Executive meanwhile continued as well as they could the technical tasks of the leadership. At the meeting of the larger Action Committee in Vienna in August 1904, a

committee of nine persons, of whom I was one, were appointed to work with him. This group was to decide on important political questions. It soon became clear that the committee was unworkable, as its members were scattered throughout the world. Thus differences arose, which caused me to resign. The committee in fact achieved nothing. The Viennese themselves had an unfortunate effect. The diplomatic ties with Constantinople and St. Petersburg were torn asunder. No way was found to dispose of the Uganda affair. The most favorable opportunities were missed. The dispatch of an expedition was hindered by financial problems. On these grounds it would have been easy to get out of the difficulty.

But finally, thanks to the intercession of Greenberg, a Christian friend[1] of the movement provided the requisite means for the expedition. From the report of the expedition it became clear that the settlement of the region by Jews would be hopeless. There was not an adequate water supply. The preparation of the land for settlement would have meant enormous costs. Besides, in view of the fact that only a thinly populated settlement was possible, the territory under consideration could accommodate at best only a small number of immigrants. In addition to all this the British proposal offered no political proposal of developing a Jewish commonwealth.

Accordingly, the Actions Committee would have been justified in dropping the entire plan without bringing it before the Congress. Instead of this, however, they adhered to the letter of the resolution, according to which a special Congress was to decide on the Uganda question. The intention was to prevent the Actions Committee from accepting the proposal of the British Government without asking consent from the Congress. A special Congress was therefore necessary only if this question was to be decided beforehand. Nevertheless Warburg submitted

[1] Translator's note: The Hon. Mrs. E. A. Gordon. (See *The Journal of a Jewish Traveller,* by Israel Cohen, pp. 151–54.)

the proposal to convene a special Congress, which was to meet at the same time as the regular Congress in Basel. My objection at the decisive meeting of the Actions Committee evoked no response, and thus this intrinsically dangerous proposal, which was senseless from an organizational point of view, was backed by the *Neinsager* of the Action Committee and consequently a majority. From the organizational point of view this was superfluous, because the delegates were chosen at the same election and were identical at both Congresses. The decision was dangerous because by it the opposition between the parties was unnecessarily accentuated. If the Uganda question had formed an item of the agenda of the seventh Congress, it would have been possible to move over it to the order of the day and to avoid a definite decision. But it was exactly this which influenced the *Neinsager* to insist on a special Congress. The whole world was to learn through a detailed discussion of the facts why this project was incompatible with the Zionists platform.

The position of the opponents was formulated at a conference of the *Neinsager* at Freiburg in Breisgau, which organized itself as a splinter group, *Zione-Zion,* and whose leadership was undertaken by Ussishkin. As this group included a majority of the delegates to the Congress, the fate of the Uganda plan was decided thereby. This action led, in turn, to the splitting of the Zionist Organization and to the founding, under Zangwill, of the Territorial movement, which supported the idea of a State but regarded its realization in Palestine as hopeless. Zangwill later became convinced that this was an error. Nevertheless there are still adherents of Territorialism, who are determined to go on seeking for land elsewhere.

At this Congress the *Poale-Zion* party also appeared for the first time as a united body. It had already arranged street processions, with red flags and Zionist emblems. which had led to encounters with the police. As a consequence the Chief

Constable of Basel warned the Congress committee that he would forbid the Congress if there were disturbances. During the Congress itself the presiding officers did not display the requisite force to quiet the growing excitement of the parties. Instead of devoting itself to the important question of an integrated policy in regard to Palestine and to the election of the new Executive, the Congress was occupied with endless debates about the Uganda plan, which the report had already disposed of and in which hardly any serious Zionist leader except Zangwill had an interest.

I had undertaken to report on the policy of the movement and considered it important, with Herzl dead, to lay down the principles of political Zionism. I was afraid that, under the pressure of the *Zione-Zion,* Herzl's great idea of solving the Jewish question through the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine would be reduced to a mere bagatelle (Cf. Protocol, pp. 143 ff.).

I believed the policy of the *Chovevei-Zion* to be headed in the wrong direction. I coined the warning phrase that mistakes of policy could only be rectified by bloodshed. As outsiders we could shift our negotiations from one power to another, but once we had committed ourselves to the extent of investing men, labor, and capital within its boundaries, we had placed ourselves in the power of the government of that country. This was why it was necessary first of all to secure a minimum guarantee in regard to living conditions for the immigrants. If there were prudent restraint upon mass colonization, the pioneer settlements, for the creation of which the funds of the Bank and the Jewish National Fund were intended, would not be hindered. I regarded a homeland in Palestine secured by public law as the unshakable foundation of our movement. That was why I rejected Territorialism. Even if there were a prospect of securing another land for the Jewish people, because of their history and tradition they would still not give up their hope for

Palestine. But whoever regarded this goal as unattainable must first prove that all our efforts toward the creation of a Jewish State in Palestine had been expended in vain. The Uganda plan had been a delusion. Every attempt to substitute another territory for Palestine would be a new Uganda.

In regard to its control over the leadership of the World Organization, I continued, the opinion of the individual must by no means be suppressed. But no propaganda among non-Zionists contrary to decisions taken by the Congress could be tolerated. On the other hand, entire freedom of propaganda among Zionists ought to be allowed. This was the right of any Zionist party with its own particular point of view, so long as it did not confuse its task with that of the movement as a whole. Zionism, I said, was an affair of an entire people, whose aim could be attained only through the unifying of a common will. Out of the union of all parties would grow the strength to carry the blue-and-white banner through the storms of the time. I would have used even sharper words if I could then have foreseen that this question was one day to lead to a split in the Organization.

It was very regrettable that Herzl had left no instructions concerning a successor. Presumably he had no doubt that Nordau would take over the leadership after his death. He certainly had not had in mind any of the candidates who now appeared on the scene. Neither had he thought of Wolffsohn, whom he esteemed as an unshakably devoted friend and of whose business ability he had a high opinion. This was why he appointed him one of the guardians of his children. If he had thought of him as his successor, he would have mentioned it in the letter which entrusted to him the fate of his family.

After the Uganda plan had received an honorable burial, the Congress was united amid painful quarrels over the leadership. What transpired was the election of a seven-member board, so lacking in uniformity that it must inevitably be torn

by internal conflicts. Marmorek, Greenberg, and Jakobus Kann were adherents of Herzl's policy. Ussishkin, Bernstein-Cohen, and Warburg regarded the Palestine project as the first and most important task of the movement and a primary consideration in undertaking any political action. Wolffsohn wavered between the two camps. By having the election of the President left up to the Committee, he secured his own election. He must have feared that the Congress would decide in favor of Warburg if it had come to a vote there. He was thus freed from the necessity of disclosing his political intentions to the Congress, and he had it in his power to lead the movement in either a political or a practical direction.

The election of Wolffsohn resulted in the transfer of the headquarters of the Organization to Cologue. Wolffsohn immediately decided in favor of continuing the policy according to Herzl, and he was influenced less by feelings of loyalty than by the logical conviction that the political goal was to be achieved only by political means. At heart he always remained the old Chovevei-Zionist, as was clearly shown in his undertaking the Palestine work and in the difficulties that later occurred in Turkey. Thus the vessel of leadership rolled to and fro, and the fights among the parties gradually became more a conflict over Wolffsohn himself than over the cause.

It required courage to assume the legacy of Herzl in the movement. The Vienna office was a shambles, the books and financial records were in the greatest disorder, some of the staff were unreliable and indiscreet, and the cash-box was empty. The only thing it had was debts, the extent of which could not be determined. Herzl himself had sacrificed the greater part of his fortune to the cause. In his will he touchingly appealed to Wolffsohn to raise for his family, by public subscription, a part of what he had spent for the movement. To this last wish of his friend Wolffsohn devoted himself with zeal and success. A fund amounting to more than a quarter of a

million gold marks [about £12,500][1] was raised, and this, according to the best human calculation, relieved Herzl's widow and children of all material worries.

It was Wolffsohn's indisputable service that he succeeded in maintaining an organization that had been weakened through the secession of the Territorialists and the internal quarrel. He put the finances in order and undertook the work of colonization in Palestine. The economist Dr. Arthur Ruppin was secured, through the efforts of Professor Warburg, to head the Palestine office—a fortunate choice, although at that time Ruppin was far from holding the Zionist idea. This clever, cautious, and methodical man soon mastered the difficult conditions of the initial building up of the country, as he understood above all how to put himself on a good footing with the workers.

In other respects, owing to the distrust of the *Zione-Zion,* Wolffsohn met with great difficulties. All his efforts to win them over failed, because it was erroneously assumed that he had supported the Uganda plan.

After the Congress Cowen, on behalf of a group of political Zionists, approached me about the possibility of my heading the general secretariat of the movement. I declined, not because I underrated the importance of this post or would have been too proud to work under Wolffsohn, who had hitherto stood faithfully at my side in the leadership of the German Zionists, but simply because I did not wish to give up my Zionist independence. It also soon became evident that this suggestion was not acceptable to Wolffsohn, for our political views diverged widely as a result of our differences in temperament and character. Wolffsohn was always influenced by the deliberation of the cautious business man, while I was inclined to follow my own impulses and to adhere unshakably to a con-

[1] *Translator's Note*—This amount would probably be the equivalent of £50,000 ($140,000) at present.

viction once arrived at. Wolffsohn therefore knew quite well that I would be no accommodating instrument in his hand. Cowen's offer was based upon a distrust of Wolffsohn because he was self-taught. At that time there had been no examples of men without formal education, untried in the slippery ways of diplomacy, who, placed in the position of directing state affairs, had done so with success. At any rate, for the office staff Wolffsohn had other plans. He wanted to drive out the devil through Beelzebub, and thus handed over its direction to his political opponents. This was why he chose as secretary general the spokesman for a literary-humanistic tendency, Nahum Sokolow, who solely through the power of Herzl's personality had been won over for political Zionism at the first Congress; and as editor of *Die Welt,* and director of the *Jüdischer Verlag* at Cologne, the leader of the Jewish cultural movement and adherent of Achad Ha'am, Dr. Berthold Feiwel. This led in the long run to a strong antagonism. There was a lack of real confidence between Wolffsohn and his colleagues. He allowed his economic individualism and his contempt for the "intellectuals" to be felt only too clearly. Both Sokolow and Feiwel, who visited our house as friends, complained about this with great bitterness. The lack of mutual understanding resulted in Wolffsohn's not finding in them the requisite support when attacks both from the Russian friends of Palestine and from the adherents of Achad Ha'am became year by year more violent.

From the beginning of his stay in Cologne I had the opportunity to observe Sokolow's public activity. I esteemed his ability as a journalist and essayist. I also admired his oratorical skill and linguistic virtuosity. During the London Congress in 1900 Sir Francis Montefiore gave a garden party in Regent's Park in honor of the delegates, at which this distinguished Englishman greeted all his guests, who numbered in the thousands, with a friendly handshake. When the party was at its

height the guests crowded about Sokolow to demand one of his polyglot speeches; and I listened with astonishment as he addressed the audience one after the other in Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, Russian, French, and English. Otherwise his speech showed no great originality, but it was full of anecdotes and witty observations which were applauded by the crowd. As a political leader he was bound to fail. He had the ability to adapt himself to difficult situations, but he had neither the resolution to take decisive steps nor the confidence in the Jewish people necessary for attaining the Zionist goal as envisioned by Herzl. To me personally Sokolow was friendly, and I knew that he kept faith with his friends.

Wolffsohn anxiously avoided discussing his political plans and actions with me, because he wished to avoid any suspicion that he was under my influence. For this very reason my activity as secretary general under Wolffsohn would not have lasted long.

During the eighth Congress at The Hague Wolffsohn was at the height of his power. He directed the Palestine project skilfully, but without surrendering the principle of political Zionism. The general speakers, Motzkin and Alex Marmorek, aided him by declaring themselves in favor of the introduction of colonization methods directed toward the ultimate purpose of setting up a Jewish State. The demands of the opponents went much further. If they had been followed, every attempt at a political approach through world powers would have had to be given up, leaving no alternative but to traverse the wrong road of infiltration. It was a hateful denigration of Herzl for them to describe his efforts with statesmen and rulers as *Shtadlonus* politics, as though he had been concerned only with obtaining expressions of good will, while in fact his intention was always to obtain their active support for the Zionist cause. Weizmann, who until now had been active only in representing the group concerned with cultural endeavors, held

the attention of the Congress for the first time by his brilliant political dialectics in proposing a synthesis of the Palestine work with political Zionism. But it was already clear then that what he had in mind was a synthesis not with the policy of Herzl but with that of Achad Ha'am. In this debate I had an opportunity to act in support of Wolffsohn, inasmuch as I secured the defeat of a motion by Syrkin, who wished to establish the priority of politics over the Palestine project. This move, whose passage must have seemed certain since the opponents of the political approach were in the majority, would have made it impossible for Wolffsohn to remain at the head of the movement (see Protocol, p.324). Wolffsohn's greatest success was in securing, in place of a five-member board including Ussishkin and Tschlenow, the election of a three-man council which consisted of himself, Warburg, and Kann, and by means of which the maintenance of the charter policy was assured simultaneously with the undertaking of the Palestine project, the latter being Warburg's department.

At the eighth Congress I was obliged to take part in the Bank debate for the purpose of carrying out an alteration of the statutes (Cf. Protocol, pp. 203 seq.). According to my draft, which had been accepted by the second Congress, only colonization in Palestine and Syria was admissible, while the Statute drafted by Bentwich allowed it anywhere in the world. The third Congress had decided to restore my version. But this was not done because Bentwich declared this alteration of the statutes inadmissible according to English law. After Herzl's death Zangwill raised his objection to the restriction of the territory of colonization, and an expensive lawsuit thus ensued. Meanwhile Bentwich had changed his views and was now in favor of alterating the statute. As I considered him responsible for the delay I bitterly reproached him. But since I did not believe it would serve any purpose to leave the decision about going ahead with the lawsuit to an assembly of three hundred

delegates, I proposed the selection of a juridical commission, which should be empowered to take a definite decision on this question. The carrying of my motion disposed of this subject of dispute. It could have been avoided altogether if Wolffsohn had followed the example of Herzl in his letter of May 9, 1898, which invited me to join Bentwich in formulating the Bank statute. I was certainly not acquainted with the details of English corporation law, over which even a lawyer as experienced as Bentwich could stumble, but I was better instructed than he about the meaning of resolutions made by the Congress, since he had not helped draft them. An interesting task grew out of the necessity for a new organization of the movement, which resulted from its growth and the formation of parties representing special views. On the basis of my report at the ninth Congress (see Protocol Appendix), on the instruction of the annual conference in the summer of 1910, I undertook this task and invited the Berlin lawyer, Dr. Walter Munk, who thereupon moved to Cologne for several months, to be my assistant. In the draft statute we added for the first time a detailed explanation and the materials requisite to create an unobjectionable legal foundation for organizational improvements. It was published as a printed document of the Action Committee, and at the tenth Congress in Basel was adopted in its essential points as a resolution.

In political affairs Wolffsohn had no success. The cause lay partly in external obstacles, partly in an inner insecurity. He lacked the parliamentary and diplomatic schooling of the Palais-Bourbon which Herzl possessed to a high degree, nor did he have Nordau's personal contacts with the statesmen of Europe. Above all, he lacked his linguistic capacity. Wolffsohn had at his command the power of popular eloquence, which, however, did not greatly benefit him in his diplomatic negotiations, and his business ability was of no avail against the officially controlled, traditional policy of the great powers.

Besides, he lacked Herzl's persuasive power and sweeping vision of the necessities of the day. The disappointments that he suffered in Russia and Turkey robbed him of self-confidence and the decisive strength to strike out in another direction.

Nothing could have been more obvious, on the basis of the negative report of the Uganda expedition and the resolution of the Congress concerning the British proposal, than the wisdom of resuming negotiations with Britain regarding El-Arisch. Why this was not done is not clear from the public statements of Wolffsohn. With regard to Russia, Plehve had promised that nation's support under certain conditions, of the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine. It had become known, it is true, that the Ambassador, Zinoviev, had advised against the furthering of Zionist aspirations. Nevertheless, the Foreign Minister, Count Lambsdorff, had informed Russia's diplomatic representatives of the benevolent attitude of his Government toward the Zionists.

This fact could have been carefully exploited. Instead, Wolffsohn let precious time pass. In the meantime the reactionary current in Russia had got the upper hand and led to the harassment of the Zionists. When Wolffsohn, at the urging of our Russian friends, went to St. Petersburg, the mixing up of this matter, which concerned the Ministry of Interior, with our political demands proved damaging. Stolypin, with whom Wolffsohn negotiated, made some tentative promises, which, however, he did not keep. Wolffsohn's visit to St. Petersburg was very well prepared for by Naidilsch and Katzemelsohn, whose efforts, however, did not prevent a political failure.

Nor was there a resumption of relations with the German government, although I had informed Wolffsohn that according to information from the head of the Cabinet, von Lucanus, the Kaiser continued to be sympathetic toward Zionist aspirations. It would therefore have been in order at least to keep the Imperial Government informed, on the basis of previous

memoranda, concerning the further development of the Zionist movement and its inauguration of work toward a settlement in Palestine. Unfortunately my suggestions in this direction did not receive due attention. In Constantinople nothing budged whatever. There were no longer any conversations with the Sultan. The pashas were only on the lookout for backsheesh. Wolffsohn was informed that if the Zionists could only achieve the conversion of the Turkish debt, a settlement of Jews in Turkey would be favored, but not one in Palestine. Then came the revolution of the Young Turks, and when they took over the government the situation became still more difficult. Wolffsohn, upon the advice of Nordau, made no effort to enter into negotiations with the Young Turks as long as they were weak and dependent upon outside help. But this movement had been greatly underrated, and Wolffsohn was afraid of spoiling relations with the Sultan if the latter were to learn from his secret police of any negotiations with the Young Turks. I myself was of a different opinion and at the seventh Congress had already pointed out the necessity of supporting the Turks if the Sultan should prove to be inaccessible to us. When they had taken over the government and had, naturally, directed their plans toward strengthening the Ottoman Empire, it was vain to seek their favor, and they proved the sharpest opponents of a Jewish concentration in Palestine. The efforts of Dr. Jakobsohn, a very astute agent of great diplomatic skill whom Wolffsohn had sent to Constantinople as his representative, likewise brought no result. The Anglo-Levantine Banking Company was the official tag which but thinly concealed Jakobsohn's true purpose as the agent of the Zionists. The brilliant pen of Jabotinsky, whom Wolffsohn had called to act as his press chief and who through the *Jeune Turc,* a French daily, and the weekly *Aurore* endeavored to obtain a friendlier attitude among the Young Turks, was without success. The influential Jews who had gone through the school of the *Alliance,* turned

out to be sorry assimilationists, who were not even deterred from denouncing the Zionists as enemies of the State. It was likewise to no avail that Jakobsohn guarded himself from any allusion to the Jewish State, and it soon became clear that with the small means that Jakobsohn and Wolffsohn employed in diplomacy, nothing was to be achieved.

It is thus understandable, though by no means justifiable, that Wolffsohn at the ninth Congress in Hamburg should have sought, by a more or less veiled repudiation of the idea of a Jewish State, to dispel the Young Turks' fear of a separation of Palestine from the Ottoman Empire. The eulogies which he paid the free and democratic spirit of the Young Turks were so exaggerated that they were bound to arouse the suspicions of hypocrisy, especially as Wolffsohn expressly declared that he wished to keep to the Basel platform. The speech by Nordau which followed is to be accounted for by Wolffsohn's desire to make use of the oratorical gifts of the master for his political purpose. But this speech was in every respect a failure. It gave the Basel platform an interpretation which contradicted both its meaning and the facts of history, and was not calculated to dispel the suspicion of the Young Turks, who recognized its sophistry as mere pretense. It is by no means correct that in the platform commission Nordau expressed himself as opposed to a homeland guaranteed by international law. It was, on the contrary, Professor Schapira who did so, and only in order to obtain a unanimous vote had there been an agreement in the commission on the broadest possible phrasing in regard to legal assurance, which thus included the possibility of regulation by international law. The latter formulation accorded with the view of the overwhelming majority of the Congress, and only to spare the susceptibility of the Sultan and to achieve a unanimous vote did Herzl's proposal of a homeland guaranteed by public law find acceptance.

If Nordau intended to be understood to mean, when he spoke of the necessity of assent by the governments, that of the Turkish Government, he was merely dabbling in words since everyone must know that a systematic Jewish immigration into Palestine could not take place without the consent of the great powers. Thus when Weizmann in his criticism declared that Nordau had given up diplomatic activity along with the charter, he stated a false conclusion. It was evident that the watered-down interpretation of the Basel platform was expressly intended to bolster up diplomatic activity in Constantinople. But at that time Weizmann had himself refuted that policy by adopting the charter plan in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate Treaty, while the settlement work in Palestine was still in its infancy. The speeches of Wolffsohn and Nordau were the sign of political weakness. It is to be presumed that Wolffsohn here yielded to the influence of Jakobsohn and Sokolow. The born statesman never alters the direction of his policy: he only holds back certain plans until the moment for carrying them through seems opportune. Then he seizes the opportunity. An alteration in tactics is not an alteration of policy. So it was with Herzl. Even when he proposed Uganda he meant Zion. Whether Wolffsohn, Nordau, and Weizmann were acting in the same way in 1909, I leave undecided.

Of the members of the Executive I have yet to mention Alex Marmorek, an ardent partisan of Herzl, to whom I was bound by close friendship. He often delighted us with his rare anecdotes and witty conversation. His tuberculosis research at the Pasteur Institute had aroused great hopes, which, however, were not fulfilled and only cost his friend Herzl much money. Nevertheless in Paris he enjoyed high esteem as a scholar, and Baron Edmond de Rothschild lent him his ear. He had political understanding, a lively temperament, a kind heart, and a

strong Jewish feeling. He was also a favorite speaker at public meetings and conducted many a session of Congress with humor and dexterity. He was one of the most faithful guardians of the Herzl tradition. Unfortunately, like Nordau, in Paris he occupied an isolated Zionist spot, while politics were made from Cologne.

There was no lack of men who could have stood at Wolffsohn's side with their experience and counsel. Above all there was Dr. Moses Gaster, who was quite devoted to our cause and had good relations with British statesmen and members of Parliament. It would also have been possible to come to an understanding with Zangwill on the occasion of the Bank lawsuit, as Marmorek recommended. Wolffsohn's fear that he would thus lose the Radical wing of the Russian Zionists, I regarded, despite Weizmann's speech at the Congress, as exaggerated. Wolffsohn's inviting of Jacob Moser to cooperate was of financial and philanthropic importance only. In paving the way for relations with the British Government it was of no value. Friedemann, whose diplomatic skill had already been recognized by Herzl and which subsequently became even more evident, had formed connections in Berlin which provided us with reliable information about the preparations of the Balkan states and Italy for war against Turkey. During the summer of 1911 Friedemann, in several letters, urged that his relations to the relevant diplomatic personalities be made use of. He also asked me to support his proposals. Unfortunately Wolffsohn did not respond. Presumably he was then not in a position, as a result of internal difficulties, to undertake any diplomatic action. Perhaps he had also obtained the advice of Jakobsohn, who found the proposals of Friedemann too indefinite or adventurous and preferred to keep the risks of Turkish politics in his own hand.

The cooperation of Wolffsohn and Warburg, who happily

complemented one another, was of great value for the establishment of the Palestine Office, the Palestine Development Company, and the Anglo-Palestine Bank. With regard to the difficulties in connection with the setting up of the model farms, the colonial experience of Warburg and the business acumen of Wolffsohn were both helpful. I myself, as President of the Jewish National Fund, had a part in making decisions. As we could not oversee matters in Palestine from Cologne, we agreed to give Dr. Arthur Ruppin and the Director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, Levontin as well as to Dr. Thon as Director of the Palestine Development Company, a free hand in carrying out their plans.

After the headquarters of the Organization moved to Cologne, the Jewish National Fund followed suit, since in the meantime the chairmanship of its Board of Directors had passed from the worthy promoter of the Fund, Johann Kremenetzky, to me. I had already recognized the great importance of the J.N.F. for the political aims of the movement during the lifetime of Professor Schapira, and this was decisive in my undertaking an office that involved much work and great responsibility. In the development of the organization of the Fund I went my own way, although this was not by any means in accordance with the views of Wolffsohn. But when he was convinced that my methods served a good purpose he supported me most energetically. I was thus able to count upon his advice until his death.

In the course of time the position of Wolffsohn as President of the movement became still weaker. The opposition had organized at a conference in Kattowitz. Sokolow, who had been sent there by Wolffsohn to represent him, was the less able to bring about a change since his own views were those of the opposition, to which he soon went over formally. The choice of a new President became a burning question at the

ninth Congress in Hamburg. The *Zione-Zion* group were against the re-election of the three-man council headed by Wolffsohn, and demanded the election of Professor Warburg as President. The voting yielded a doubtful result. The party leaders withdrew for a joint discussion and the session of the Congress was interrupted. The interval lasted fully two hours. As even then no result had been reported to me, I went into the conference room, where a strange scene met my eyes. On one side sat Wolffsohn and his friends, on the other Ussishkin, Tschlenow, Shmarya Levin, and others. Nobody was saying a word. After I had stood looking at them for a while I declared, "This cannot go on any longer. If no agreement is reached in the next quarter of an hour, I shall begin the session of the Congress and have a vote taken." It was by then three o'clock in the morning. When I re-opened the session the party leaders approved and declared themselves agreed to the re-election of the old board consisting of Wolffsohn, Jakobus Kann, and Warburg, with Wolffsohn as President. But this was only a short reprieve. It remained for the next Congress to bring about a resolution.

What the political Zionists lacked, after the withdrawal of the Territorialists, was a combination of parties after the model of the *Zione-Zion*. This would have been possible at the tenth Congress in Basel, when the party of Ussishkin was on the point of taking over the leadership of the Action Committee. The loyal followers of the Herzl policy had combined and decided to place Nordau at their head. The latter was prepared to undertake the leadership of the new party, and we had already drafted an appeal to the Congress delegates, as well as a platform. My friends, Marmorek, Friedemann, and Jean Fischer above all, wished for nothing more ardently than a trial of strength. This was prevented by Wolffsohn at the last moment by Wolffsohn's suggestion of a compromise. He

declared himself willing to give a majority in the Action Committee to the opponents and only wanted to retain the control over the Council of the Bank. Our group was against this arrangement because it offered no positive solution to the conflict, but only a personal one which could not be of any duration. But Wolffsohn insisted emphatically upon its adoption, because he was afraid of a defeat in the Congress and because he was oppressed by concern for the future of the Bank. As president of the Bank, upheld by a submissive majority, he could prevent the leadership from using the funds of the Bank in important organizational matters which were in contradiction to the purpose of the Bank, of which he regarded himself as the watchdog. In his capacity as president of the Bank he also exercised a strong influence upon the leadership. Thus the formation of the new party was given up, with the result that Nordau was excluded from any influence upon the policy of the Organization.

The lack of any systematic organization on a party basis soon showed itself when the political situation underwent a great change as a result of the defeat of Turkey by Italy and later by the united Balkan powers. Since a discussion of leading political Zionists about the position of our friends regarding the new problems was desired in various quarters, in the summer of 1913 at the Hotel Meurice in Paris there took place, at the instance of Wolffsohn, a gathering under the chairmanship of Nordau. The discussion, in which, besides Nordau and myself, Wolffsohn, Marmorek, and Fischer took part, was very interesting and afforded many new points of view, but failed in its purpose for lack of any organization.

At the time of the Vienna Congress we occupied ourselves with questions quite other than those of Zionist policy. It is important to note that Nordau then decisively advised in favor of accepting support from England. I myself, on the other

hand, pointed out that the interests of Germany were always directed more towards the Near East, that we should therefore not ignore the policy of the Wilhelmstrasse. On the other hand Nordau was of the opinion that England would never allow Germany to secure a firm footing in Asiatic Turkey, as this threatened the route to India. Nordau heaped bitter contempt upon Zangwill, who wished to settle the dispute between Bulgaria and Greece over Salonika by declaring that city a Jewish free state, for the reason that a majority of its population consisted of Sephardic Jews. This idea would not have been at all bad, and would have meant a key position for Palestine if the great powers had so desired and had exercised the methods of the Peace of Versailles for the capricious creation of enclaves and dwarf republics. The meeting in Paris had only a platonic significance.

The description of Wolffsohn, with whom I had been united for twenty years in the fight for the common ideal, would not have been complete if I did not add some personal traits. To the very last he was full of great vital energy. Although he knew the opinion of the doctors who gave him only a short span of life, the possibility of death was unthinkable and hardly affected his happy disposition and pleasure in work. It was on a bright, fresh May day when I last visited him at Dr. Pariser's sanatorium in Homburg. Everywhere in nature new life manifested itself as we strolled through the wonderful promenades of the place. But Wolffsohn's strength was broken. I said to him jokingly that he was now as slim as when I had known him in his youth. But no joke could help me to bear the thought that I was seeing him for the last time. And so the farewell was bitter. The animation of those hours together so exhausted Wolffsohn that he collapsed under a violent heart attack.

The most important epoch of my life was the fifteen years

during which he stood at my side when I was chairman of the Zionist Federation of Germany. I held in high esteem the clarity of his judgment in questions of organization and propaganda. When he took over the leadership of the World Organization, he did so out of a high sense of responsibility. When Herzl rose like a meteor it was Wolffsohn's destiny to become his best friend and most faithful counselor. This may have been partly the reason why he found himself prepared to take over as Herzl's successor. There was manifest therein also a great selflessness, for whoever was a follower of Herzl was bound to appear small in comparison with his model.

A few anecdotes that have remained in my memory may afford testimony to Wolffsohn's delightful humor.

Herzl and Wolffsohn once made an excursion from Edlach to a rural inn with a famous view. On the way the sky became cloudy and a storm threatened. "Had we better not go back?" asked Herzl.

"One doesn't stop in the middle of the way," was Wolffsohn's reply. They went on and reached their destination without a drop of rain. The storm had passed over.

On another occasion Wolffsohn visited the cemetery at Worms with Schauer and Friedemann. As they were leaving Wolffsohn began to laugh heartily. Schauer asked: "Why are you laughing? This place certainly suggests serious thoughts" "Exactly," replied Wolffsohn, continuing to laugh. "Just think, we can get out of here, but the great Zadikin and Rabomim, who rest there, have to stay."

The Zionist career of Wolffsohn was not without tragedy. He was repelled by those to whom he was inwardly nearest, namely the Russians. He was conscious of the limitations of his abilities and of the fact that despite his splendid gifts he was a dilettante in politics. If he had wished to continue the work of Herzl, he would have had to move the headquarters of

the leadership to Berlin, Paris, or London, where the lines of international communication converged and where he could have found politically experienced men at his side. But then he would have had to give up his business in Cologne, which allowed him a certain assurance in appearance and representation, and he could not decide in favor of such a step.

The Russian leader, Dr. Mandelstamm, whom I highly esteemed, withdrew, along with Zangwill, from Zionist work. I wrote to him in November 1909 in the hope of persuading him to return to our ranks. From his reply I quote the following sentences: "You too, my dear friend, are a Zionist and national Jew, and indeed a better one than we, because you were not born in the Ghetto and live in a comparatively free country. Slaves cannot have a broad outlook. They cling to petty purposes with petty means. For the present the whole of my strength and all my ability are directed toward the liberation of the Ghetto Jews. If not we, then a future, free generation will continue to the end the work that has begun." I heard nothing more from Mandelstamm, and he did not live to greet the Balfour Declaration.

About Nordau, with whom I was united in friendship from the first Congress onward, I should also like to report something. When he came to Cologne he was our guest. Then friends and comrades gathered, nay, even opponents appeared, to spar with him, but withdrew quietly and modestly. I have sketched his life in a small book which appeared in Tel Aviv, published in Hebrew by the firm of Omanuth, and which does away with the necessity of saying anything more about him here. His phenomenal eloquence, his wit, knowledge, and experience raised our movement to a higher plane. One could not deny esteem to a cause with which the great name of Nordau was associated as a fighter. He was throughout his life a mentor of all our leaders. That his advice was not always

followed was not his fault. His subordination under the leadership of Herzl was a testimony to his great modesty. In political experience and farsightedness, and especially in his knowledge of Judaism, he was superior to Herzl. What induced him to leave the precedence to Herzl were not only personal connections but the fact that to Herzl was due the primacy of the idea for which he had been won during the Dreyfus Affair. Nordau overflowed with spirit. In his speeches he won his listeners not only by the charm of his style but also by the wealth of his ideas. His playful remarks also cheered the circle of his friends. Some of them may find their place here.

At a mass meeting in Cologne Nordau spoke amid great applause. As opponent there rose a well-known Cologne lawyer, who with a deep tone of conviction and great animation emphasized his Germanism, and would concede only the religious solidarity of Jews. This was all the more remarkable as he belonged to the Council of the League of the Freethinkers. After he had finished Nordau got up and began his reply with the words: "The previous speaker is a genuine German and denies the existence of the Jewish people. However, in all his courtly gestures I recognize my brother." That Nordau had the laughter on his side need hardly be mentioned.

A delegate from Tchita in Siberia, who had traveled for twenty-one days by train in order to take part in the Congress and to speak to Nordau, urged him to come to Siberia and carry on propaganda there. Thereupon Nordau made only the succinct reply: "My dear friend, if I ever come to Russia I shall certainly come to Siberia." To this *bon mot* the delegate from Tchita did not know what to answer.

At the Hamburg Congress Nordau was involved in a tragicomic situation. He was engaged in an argument with Syrkin, the labor leader from New York, and I was informed that the

latter had boxed Nordau's ear in the corridor. I at once suspended the sitting of the Congress, as I feared there would be a scandal if Syrkin entered the hall. I found Nordau in a state of great excitement, in the conference room, where Alex Marmorek and Jakobus Kann were trying in vain to calm him. He insisted upon fighting a duel with Syrkin, by which he would only have made himself ridiculous in the latter's eyes. I inquired into the origin of the dispute, whereupon Nordau exclaimed with indignation that there could be no question his having been boxed on the ear. He had warded off the blow with his left hand. "Then you have no ground for a challenge," I said. But Nordau would not have this. Wolffsohn then appeared, and we told him of Nordau's intention. Wolffsohn smiled and said: "A duel is no longer necessary." "How so?" we asked. Wolffsohn said he had begged Syrkin to leave immediately, because the Congress was indignant at his conduct. Syrkin replied that he did not have the money. On being reproached that he must certainly have known that he would have to return to New York, he replied that he had reckoned upon a stroke of luck. This stroke of luck had now happened, said Wolffsohn. He had paid for a passage to New York, and Syrkin was already on his way to the pier. Thus the incident was settled. But Nordau was unhappy that he was deprived of the opportunity to avenge his insulted honor.

An exceptional fee enabled me and my wife to spend a week in Paris unburdened by professional or other duties. We dined with the Marmoreks on the Champs Elysées, visited the theater, dined with Fräulein Schach in the Café Madrid in the Bois de Boulogne, and invited all our friends to a happy gathering at a round table in the Hotel Continental, where we stayed. The following day we were at the Nordaus'. The conversation then turned to Nordau's phenomenal memory. "That also has its reverse side," he said. "If anything unpleasant

happens, then all the details connected with it remain in my memory." At this moment the fish was served. The dish fell on the floor with a crash and broke in a thousand fragments. On the way back to the hotel my wife remarked: "Now Nordau will always be thinking of the broken plate when he thinks of us." With quick decision we bought in a shop an antique porcelain bowl, had it filled with roses, and sent it with some doggerel verse to his home. Immediately came Nordau's whimsical reply:

Because the fish
Slid from the dish
Did our mood therefore turn sour?
On the contrary,
It continues merry
Recalling that happy hour.
Of what delights the heart
No faïence master's art
Can enhance the recollection;
If you must give, then, give us your true affection.

As president of the Congress Nordau, with his patriarchal head, was an impressive figure, who conducted the proceedings with skill and humor. Often enough presiding over the Congress fell to me as first vice-president, when Nordau was prevented from attending during its entire duration. This task was not always easy, especially if a subject aroused excitement, producing noisy demonstrations.

At the 1913 Congress in Vienna the standing committee proposed that I should have a seat on the new executive—an office which would have involved my removal to Berlin. For various reasons I decided to decline. I saw no possibility of exercising influence upon the policy of the movement without the support of a party. The political Zionists, after the party formation had failed, were dispersed, their leaders scattered in various countries. I was also not independent enough to be

able to give up my law practice in Cologne, and I did not wish to be economically dependent upon the Organization, which then had very scanty resources at its disposal. Finally, I found satisfaction in the work for the National Fund, which I was able to continue in Cologne, as the Berlin Executive allowed me complete freedom of action.

Shortly before the First World War, in the Spring of 1914, together with Dr. Hans Gideon Heymann, I was entrusted with an investigation of the Colonial Trust. Unfortunately we had to put on record that the constitution of the Bank afforded no possibility of contributing toward its development. An alteration such as I had previously recommended would have been necessary in order to make it financially useful to the movement. But this was not done owing to the outbreak of the war.

Dr. Heymann for several years lived in Cologne as director of a large bank, and there I learned to appreciate his energy and intelligence. He considered me, he often said, as a fatherly friend. The occasion of our being in London, together with our wives, naturally led to our using the weekend for a delightful motor tour from Brighton through the south of England in the direction of the New Forest. On this tour we were able to admire the beauty of the country, the cleanliness and order in village and town, and the well-being of the population. This led to an appreciation of the fact that for three centuries no enemy had set foot on the soil of England, and the country in all that time had enjoyed the blessings of peace.

THE JEWISH NATIONAL FUND

I. Organization and Propaganda

THE idea of a renaissance of the Jewish people is closely connected with the striving for a return to agriculture. A people who wish to lead a normal life must be rooted in the soil. They must have a feeling for the soil, a love for it. All national existence, as well as the existence of every trade, has roots in the soil. The instability, the homelessness, the uncertainity of their rights as bourgeois which typify the Jews of the Diaspora, are to be attributed to a great extent to their having been barred from the land, from the cultivation of the soil. If the Jewish people wished to become secure they must again be united with the soil. Tradition pointed to Palestine. But the condition of the country also spoke in favor of such a move. Under Turkish rule it had been neglected and in great part laid waste. Cultivation was carried on in primitive fashion, and the land—infested with malaria owing to a lack of drainage—badly sustained a sparse peasant population. Hence large areas of land could be acquired with slender means. The task of collecting a fund for these purposes had something fascinating about it. Collections of money for the relief of distress among the Jewish were traditional. Until quite recent times they were regarded as the only means of relief, and helped support persecuted Jews

during their journeys to other countries. All these funds had something in common. They formed a sort of war chest. In times of distress they were used up without the Jewish people's having found a permanent refuge. New persecutions demanded new collections of money. Ahasverus traveled to other countries, and with him traveled hatred for the Jews—an unfruitful beginning. It was quite different when Jews were successfully settled upon the soil of the ancient homeland.

Before Pinsker in his *Auto-Emancipation* and Herzl in *Der Judenstaat* had illumined as with a searchlight the political conditions of the Jewish people, there had been many who brought forward the idea of their liberation. Only timorously, however, did it advance into public notice. For the first time, out of the union of all these endeavors, there emerged the strength that enabled Herzl to win the Jewish people for Zionism. To these forerunners of the movement belonged the Heidelberg professor, Hermann Schapira, who first propagated the idea of the creation of a fund for the acquisition of land in Palestine—what he called the Territorial fund, for which he collected for years. His plan was splendid but unrealistic. The Fund was to remain intact until it amounted to £10,000,000 sterling. With this Palestine was to be purchased from the Sultan. It was a muddle of private property and state sovereignty, for which the professor of mathematics, obsessed by his idea, is certainly to be forgiven. The fundamental idea was right. Only if the Jewish people acquired the area at a single blow could an increase in its value be prevented, such as would inevitably occur along with its gradual acquisition.

The way to realize this hope was opened by political Zionism. Its leaders soon recognized that this Land Fund was one of the most important prerequisites for the attainment of our political goal. Schapira linked his plan to the Mosaic law. The soil should be not the private possession of an individual but should belong to the Jewish people as permanent property.

This idea aroused great enthusiasm among the Jewish people. Schapira advocated his plan at the first Congress, and in my organization report I seconded him by proposing the setting up of this Fund as one of the means for achieving our political goal.

Along with Schapira, Johann Kremenetzky of Vienna deserves a place of honor in the history of the Jewish National Fund. As one of Herzl's most loyal colleagues on the Executive he devoted himself to the task, in contrast to Schapira's visionary idea of how to place the Fund upon a sound basis. He composed a pamphlet in which he laid down some important principles, which were to prove valuable for many years. However, his proposal to hand over its administration to the Action Committee was just as unpractical as the administration by the large communities of the world proposed by Schapira. He laid down in his pamphlet the principle that the Fund should be used only for the purchase of lands in Palestine and Syria.

Kremenetzky also created the foundation for the various means of canvassing for the Jewish National Fund. He promoted the National Fund Stamp—an artistically designed Star of David in blue on a white background—which assured at the same time the dissemination of the Zionist idea among the masses. He also created the "Golden Book" to honor those who had done anything deserving for Zionism or Judaism, including all persons subscribing a donation of at least £10 sterling. Kremenetzky did not content himself with the pamphlet, but took the propaganda campaign for the Fund energetically in hand. It is easy to see that without the legal foundation of a statute, this was bound to entail many difficulties; about these I shall speak later on. But it quickly became evident that the basic idea of the Fund was having a wide general response. What was still lacking, above all, was formal recognition by the Congress. Thus the proposal was made by the Action Committee at the fourth Congress in London, in 1900, to authorize

establishing the Fund in accordance with the outline in Kremenetzky's pamphlet. Although I fully esteemed the great merit of the work of Kremenetzky, I considered it a mistake to build up the Fund on the basis of the ideas in this pamphlet, since it did not make a definite suggestion concerning its legal form. The Congress therefore instructed the Executive to submit to the next Congress a draft statute for the Jewish National Fund —a request which unfortunately was ignored, so that contrary to all expectations Kremenetzky's proposal was submitted to the fifth Congress. The result was a great deal of disturbance and contradiction, for although agreement upon the Fund itself was general, there was displeasure that this important matter had been dealt with so lightly. Making myself the spokesman of the Congress, I pointed out that Kremenetzky's proposal of tying the Fund to the Action Committee was an error for the reason that the Action Committee itself was not a juridical person and thus the Fund would hover in the air like a sort of appendage. The Fund would be as homeless and unconfined as a bird, so to speak, since nobody would be justified in representing it. Nor was it clear from the proposal in what country the Fund was to be established or according to what legal principles it was to be governed. I therefore proposed the setting up of a statute commission, and this was approved by a large majority.

On this occasion the persuasive influence of Herzl upon the Congress became evident. Because of an error in procedure the voting had to be repeated. Herzl seized this opportunity, with great energy and the exercise of all his oratorical power, to plead for the motion of the Executive, and forced it through by a small majority. But as he saw that my objections were justified, he had Kokesch submit a new motion for the setting up of a statute commission, and thus a commission was elected for the purpose of basing Kremenetzky's plan upon a usable

statute. On this commission, besides myself, were Dr. David Farbstein of Zurich and Herbert Bentwich of London.

Whether it was a matter of chance or of predilection for one's own country I leave an open question, but it was certainly remarkable that Farbstein proposed a Swiss society, Bentwich an English trust company, and I a German foundation as the legal form of the J.N.F. Political consideration naturally played a part in this. Dr. Farbstein, as chairman of the commission, published these proposals along with the plan originally offered by Professor Schapira. At the sixth Congress the objects of the Fund were laid down in some fundamental regulations. It was to be given the power to buy and to sell, to settle and to cultivate, in Palestine and neighboring countries, building lands, agricultural lands, and lands for market gardening, and above all estates of every kind, and also to lease them to Jews. However, upon a motion of Dr. Tschlenow, the right to sell the land was deleted.

The regulation that the land should be leased only to Jews was later interpreted to mean that it could be cultivated only by Jews. This was considered as an act unfriendly to the Arab population and regarded as a sort of boycott of Arab labor. There was absolutely no such intention on the part of those responsible for setting up the Fund. Two factors were decisive in the regulation. First of all, the Jewish people were to be led back to the archetypal form of labor, the basis of any state, from which it had been estranged for two thousand years—namely, to agriculture. Thus it was necessary to make provision for having the land brought under cultivation only by Jews, as either farmers or laborers. In the second place, political emancipation demanded the creation of a Jewish majority in Palestine. This object would be endangered if the Jewish farmers left the cultivation of the soil to the Arabs. Experience later bore out the wisdom of this foresight, for Arab day labor spread over Jewish private estates to such an extent that in that

part of the *Yishuv* the national aim had been almost entirely lost sight of. The fact that this regulation found acceptance in the statute shows best that it was recognized as useful by the English legal advisers. An important resolution of the sixth Congress stipulated that the Fund should begin its activity only after it had reached an amount of £200,000 sterling. Then three-quarters of the Fund was to be devoted to land purchase, and a quarter to hold in reserve. Kokesch and I were then instructed to carry through the legalization of the Fund on this basis. After careful consideration of all circumstances, we decided to transfer the location of the Fund to England—a decision which best corresponded with the intentions of our great leader, who meanwhile had died.

Whoever knows English law will understand what difficulties there were in the way of creating anything useful along the lines laid down for us. Foresight was especially necessary in drafting a company memorandum, as this is inalterable. It lives and dies with the company. Legal actions or undertakings which are not expressly mentioned in it are inadmissible. Every word had therefore to be weighed in the balance by English experts. The restriction of the purchase of land to Palestine and adjacent regions, in particular, caused us many a headache. It had to be set forth clearly what was to be understood by the neighboring regions. Thus we finally came to the conclusion that they were to mean Syria, Asiatic Turkey (which then still included Iraq), and the Sinai Peninsula. The stipulation of a reserve fund and of the prohibition of beginning the purchase of land before the lapse of a certain time were both, according to our advisers, inadmissible. Our obligation towards the decision of the Congress was not thereby affected. But we had to limit ourselves in the statute by a general formulation, which is laid down in the last paragraph of Article 3 of the Memorandum. According to this only a general assembly had the right to decide on beginning the purchase of land. This

limitation was to continue in force until it was proved that through efficacious public measures sufficient political security for maintaining the landed estate of the J.N.F. had been created. Thereby the establishment of a national home in Palestine was thought of as leading to an international understanding. With regard to the matter of political security a special resolution of a general assembly of the J.N.F. was to be decisive, according to which the Board of Directors was justified in undertaking the purchase of land without first calling a general assembly. It may be suggested that this political security has been achieved by the assumption of the Palestine Mandate by England. But the aforementioned resolution which authorized the directors to purchase land has not been carried out to this day—an omission that should be rectified as soon as possible.

The decision of the Congress absolutely forbidding the sale of land by the Fund was one which the English lawyers simply could not get through their heads. Why should we bind our own hands against doing something which it was in our free will to do or not to do? Furthermore, moneys had already been collected for the Fund before this restriction had been decided upon. Finally we succeeded in proving that this intention had existed at the time the Fund was established and had found expression in the determination that the land was to be a permanent possession of the Jewish people.

The form of the company also required thorough consideration. The form of a German foundation could not be realized under English law. Against the trusteeship which most nearly corresponded to it there were lively objections. After long hesitation, and on the part of our English advisers also, we decided upon the form of a cooperative. As Bentwich was opposed and argued for the trust idea with great decision, the English lawyers had to be heard again on this question. But both Armstead, on whose opinion Bentwich based his own, as well

as Messrs. Parker and Womington, whose views we accepted as senior experts, finally decided in favor of the cooperative. At the annual conference in August 1906, Bentwich, in a very skilful memorandum, made an attempt to put through his trustee plan. But his observations rested upon erroneous theses. As Kokesch had died in the meantime, the task of proving this, and of defending our draft statute, fell to me. Since possibly this conflict of opinion may one day be of importance, I give here the essential arguments.

In a trust the Fund's freedom of movement would be restricted as much as possible. Also, the thought was far-fetched that it should be linked to the Jewish Colonial Trust. It would then have been dependent upon it and bound up with its fate. This was dangerous, and the Congress had expressly rejected it. Bentwich's view that a trust afforded the possibility of exempting the Fund from income taxes was an error. Our experts considered this out of the question, because the Fund was a social institution and had no philanthropic character. But the main reason why we had to decide against a trust was that the Fund would be restricted entirely to the purchase and leasing of land. Every kind of economic activity, the preparation of the soil, irrigation installations, management of the landed estates, the investment and administration of trust property, would have been carried out through other companies. Besides, there was the danger that the lands of the J.N.F. would have to remain uncultivated as long as they were not leased. According to Turkish law they would then fall back into the possession of the State. Bentwich had further maintained that the establishment of a trust would be justified if the purpose of the Fund had not been conceived so narrowly, but that the Congress resolution relating thereto was invalid.

He based this contention upon the fact that because of opposition at the Congress the National Fund commission had withdrawn its proposals for defining the purpose of the J.N.F.

This fact I had, as president, communicated to the Congress. In consequence he believed that for the present no resolution would be adopted. But in the night session which followed the Congress, in spite of this announcement, demanded a vote on the objectives of the Fund, which then took place. Bentwich was of the opinion, since along with other delegates he stayed away from the night session because of my announcement, that he had had no opportunity to give his own divergent views on the objectives of the Fund. It is obvious that this was no reason for overthrowing the decision of the Congress. Besides the question still remained open as to whether, in the event of a change of objectives, a trust would be a suitable legal form.

At the annual conference I declared with emphasis that it was high time to make an end of legal disputations and to complete all arrangements for the Fund, if it were not to suffer harm. The opinions of English authorities were a guarantee of the adequacy of the proposed statute, which furthermore had proved altogether satisfactory during its existence of more than thirty years.

A word about the membership of the Fund and about the rights of members. In order to avoid a superfluous organization the holders of founders' shares in the Jewish Colonial Trust were appointed as sole members of the J.N.F. The management and the disposition of the Fund were placed entirely in its hands. As holders of founders' shares, according to the present practice, at the same time form the council of the Jewish Colonial Trust, there is a personal union between it and the general assembly of the J.N.F.

A further circumstance is noteworthy. The first Bank council was appointed in the deed of foundation. This occurred in accordance with a decision of the Action Committee of the Zionist Organization. But this fact is not evident from the statute of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and is otherwise of no legal significance. The council of the Jewish Colonial Trust and

the general assembly of the J.N.F. are therefore quite free and independent, both of the Action Committee and of the Zionist Congress. Their resolutions alone are valid. The Bank council and the general assembly of the J.N.F. were indeed brought into existence by a declaration of the Action Committee, but from that time on were juridical persons. They are also exclusively permitted to add to their own number by co-option. Their one connection with the Action Committee, and a certain restriction of business activity by the Fund, are provided by the appointment of a controlling committee, which was to be identical with the Action Committee of the Zionist Organization. It has a right of veto against the decisions of the Directorate. But this veto can be set aside at any time by a general assembly of the Fund.

The independence of the Fund has so far led to no sharp conflict, because the general assembly of the J.N.F., out of a feeling of piety and in accordance with Zionist tradition, has always respected the decisions of the Action Committee and of the Congress. A conflict would be particularly possible, and of importance for the movement, if the administration of the Fund ever found itself in opposition to the Zionist leadership. This was hardly to be feared at the beginning. But should such a conflict arise, neither the Action Committee nor the Zionist Congress has the ability to impose its will upon the general assembly of the J.N.F.

Following the resolution adopted concerning the J.N.F., I was elected chairman by the directors and its headquarters were transferred to Cologne. Information about the activity in the J.N.F. is given in the printed annual reports, as well as the addresses which I gave at the eighth through the eleventh Congress (see Protocol of the eighth Congress, pp. 146 ff.; of the ninth Congress, pp. 161 ff.; of the tenth Congress, pp. 112 ff. and pp. 152 ff.; and of the eleventh Congress, pp. 180 ff.). Particular interest attaches to a debate with the *Mizrachi*

fraction which took place at the tenth Congress. The *Mizrachi* had reproached the J.N.F. with tolerating the violation of the Sabbath law by the workers at a meeting at En-Ganim. I declared that we had nothing to do with En-Ganim, as this was not a J.N.F. settlement. I remarked jokingly that I could not have prevented the workers from riding to En-Ganim even if I had been informed by telegram of their intention. I observed that we were not at all in a position to carry on religious policing in Palestine. Not even the *Mizrachi* could do this if they had been in our position, since we did not have any of the necessary powers at our disposal.

I was also accused of disrespect for the proposals of Rabbi Kuk with regard to the *Schmitta* law. But, on the basis of an exchange of letters and telegrams with Rabbi Kuk and Dr. Ruppin, I was able to expose the untruth of the statements of my opponents. Amid the stormy applause of the whole Congress I declared that if the *Mizrachi,* on the grounds of religion and traditional Judaism, wished to conduct a fight against the National Fund, they should not conduct it by means of capricious and frivolous statements. I added that I believed this was also a principle of the Jewish religion, and that in fact I acted in accordance with the wishes of Rabbi Kuk. How this was possible for me without violating the statute of the National Fund is a secret, which, besides myself, only the good Lord knows. But this was the only time I came into conflict with the *Mizrachi.* They were thoroughly convinced that I was animated by the best will, despite the difference in our views about satisfying the requirements of religious Judaism.

I was now faced by the onerous task of organizing the office of the J.N.F., for which only a typewriter and a chair were at my disposal. My first assistant was Hugo Kaufmann of Stuttgart, whose first task was to take steps for controlling the box collections. In view of the rapid growth of the work it seemed to me useful to secure a Zionist experienced in the movement

to manage the office. I therefore invited Nathan Gross, who had rendered great services to the Zionist labor movement, to come from Vienna to Cologne. He proved to be an able, reliable, and modest worker of exemplary loyalty to duty. I worked with him fifteen years in the fullest harmony and carried through the difficult adjustment of the Fund to the Organization. In Boehm's book on the Zionist movement the activity of Nathan Gross is exaggerated, since he attributes to him the reform of the organization of the National Fund, which was carried out largely with my direction. But it is correct that in Nathan Gross I had an official who carried out my intentions with wise insight, devotion, and love.

The previously mentioned book by Saul Rafael Landau contains an atrocious attack against Gross, asserting that he had left the workers' society directed by Landau for selfish reasons to take over a position as an official of the movement. This insult upon my veteran employee and friend must be decisively refuted. Nathan Gross was active in the labor movement, in an honorary capacity, for many years after leaving Landau's organization, of whose tendencies he disapproved; and it was not until 1906 that he took over, at my wish, the position of general secretary of the J.N.F. In view of Boehm's political outlook, and perhaps also because of a deficient acquaintance with the events of that time, it is explicable that in the aforementioned basic work the colleagues of Herzl appear far in the background as compared with the Zionist leaders of today. So far as I myself am concerned, no justice has been done either to my part in the rise and spread of Zionism in Germany or to my influence in the preliminary planning of the Basel Congress and the creation of a World Zionist Organization. Of my scheme for the Bank statute at the second Congress there is absolutely no mention, and there are only a few unimportant sentences in connection with the

Committee for East European Jewry and its preparatory work on the minority rights of Jews.

In the National Fund my aim was the union of a central authority with the individual collecting agencies, which were to be independent of the federations and the local organizations. This caused much difficulty at first. Many *Landsmannschaften* did not wish to give up control over the collections, because in this way they obtained funds for their own propaganda. As a result there was much dissension. The smallest local groups claimed the right to organize collections. Newspapers received donations and acknowledged them. But there was a lack of any accounting or control. These obvious matters caused much trouble and led to many arguments. But the more order was established, the more the popularity of the J.N.F. likewise increased.

While we were engaged in this we also made the first attempts at colonization in Palestine. Again, the procedure was not simple. We had the right to purchase land only when the Fund reached the sum of £200,000 stipulated by the Congress. How would we colonize without land? A start was made possible by the Olive Tree Fund, which was not subject to the strict regulations governing the National Fund. Thus we could make ready tracts of land and men for future large settlements. The experimental farms of Hulda and Ben-Shemen came into existence. It was here that the Herzl Forest was to be planted. The first workers' cooperatives were then set up on these farms. This was the best way of training a farming element for the J.N.F.

We had next to deal with another legacy of Herzl, the Oppenheimer cooperative settlement. For this a special company was formed, which undertook a settlement at Merchavia. The realization of the Oppenheimer plan was thwarted by the outbreak of the [First] World War. Later we were obliged to take the farms of Kinereth and Dagania under our own man-

agement as well, since the Palestine Land Development Company was not in a position to carry on the colonization. This company had been founded because it soon became clear that a central land institute was also requisite for the purchase and management of private property. It rendered the J.N.F. appreciable services, since it was obliged to dispose of its estates at the original price plus a modest addition. The J.N.F. was able to exercise control over the maintenance of this obligation, as it was the owner of a majority of the founders' shares in the company.

A special task was presented to the J.N.F. by the establishment of Tel Aviv. To a small group of people, the crowding and filth of the old city of Jaffa were intolerable, so they combined to create a suburban settlement at a distance of some kilometers from it. They needed a credit of 250,000 French francs, which the Anglo-Palestine Company at that time did not yet have the means of granting. The settlers addressed themselves to the J.N.F., which made the loan under a guarantee to the Bank against the issue of debentures. There was strong opposition to this grant on the part of the Russians under the leadership of Ussishkin and Tschlenow. They regarded the granting of such a loan as a violation of the objective of the J.N.F., which was to be used only for the acquisition of land. It was, however, overlooked that this was not yet possible at the time, if we wished to proceed according to the decisions at the Congress. As long as this condition continued the Fund was allowed, nay, even obliged to lend its money at interest. The investment in the debentures of Tel Aviv, which were repayable in the course of a few years, contributed at the same time to the development of the Jewish settlement in the country. I therefore regarded it as a great success that I put through the grant despite this resistance. The mighty development of the city was at any rate then unforeseeable. But it seems that the possibility of living in a purely Jewish city exercises great

attraction for Jews. Thus it was that this suburb became a center of traffic and with its 150,000 inhabitants has far surpassed Jaffa itself. It has become the market for the surrounding Jewish colonies and is on its way to developing into a port. Tel Aviv was also the only city which remained almost untouched by the disorders of the year 1936, and in which the inhabitants could carry on their occupations without fear of an attack by hostile Arabs.

In the fight for the establishment of Tel Aviv there was another source of opposition which at that time, at any rate, did not find expression as a principle. Under the influence of the *Chovevei-Zion* and during the first efforts at colonization, the main idea was the creation of rural settlements. It was supposed that the towns would not need the assistance of public funds. But I had other views from the beginning. I too regarded putting down Jewish roots in the soil as the most important task of the Fund. But had one not also to reckon with the fact that the Jews, through the compulsion of the *Galuth,* had developed into a town-dwelling people with an inclination toward the free civilization of the city and its various callings? If, therefore, a mass settlement was to be established, the cities were not to be overlooked. Above all it seemed to me a welcome task of the Fund to acquire land for suburban settlements and not to leave this to the competition of the free market. I was always sorry that we were not able to realize this idea for Tel Aviv as well. But the backwardness of the Turkish land law stood in our way. One hindrance upon such an urban land policy consisted in the higher price of the tracts of land in question. On the other hand there was likewise an increasing ground rent, which could have been used for the acquisition of further urban property. Although in the meantime many urban settlements have been established on land acquired by the J.N.F., it seems to me necessary to pursue this plan with even greater energy.

Even before the attempt of the Oppenheimer cooperative settlement we had assisted in the formation of agricultural cooperatives. We did not want to solve the social problem in this way. We did not consider ourselves qualified to do so. But there were then no farmers for the National Fund land. Thus the most opportune solution was to lease it to a group of workers, who combined as a cooperative for the common settlement of the land.

In consequence of the increasing tasks of the Fund and the spread of propaganda, the headquarters were also expanded. Another colleague was secured in Kaplansky, who enjoyed esteem in the Socialist labor movement. For propaganda work in various countries Hugo Kaufmann, Dr. Klatzkin, and Dr. Epstein were employed. Finally the present general manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, Hoofien, assumed the management of the office, and he, through his prudent and far-seeing policy, rendered us important services.

II. J.N.F.

The various journeys which I undertook on behalf of the Prelude to Israel—Sixty-two
J.N.F., and which were of service to the Organization as well as the management of our work in Palestine, deserve a brief retrospect. As a method of promotion I had initiated the quiet canvassing of one man after the other, going from house to house. I had become convinced that the splendid speeches of Herzl, Nordau, and other leaders, despite all the enthusiasm generated at the meetings, had little permanent effect. But I expected more enduring success as a result of the activity of our local commissioners and their assistants. The committees were provided with the necessary propaganda material, including the National Fund boxes which I had introduced, and numerous leaflets in every language spoken by Jews. A special

card index was used for the control of the box collections and their income. Experience proved that my method was effective. It was adopted by the Zionist headquarters in Cologne, and later the *Keren Hayesod* was also developed according to this model.

In the year 1907 I visited Lemberg, where as a result of a conflict with the Vienna headquarters the Organization had fallen into confusion. The energetic and spirited director of the National Fund Commission in Vienna, Dr. Egon Zweig, wanted to concentrate the collections for all Austria in Vienna. But the Lemberg people, headed by Dr. Zipper, insisted upon the autonomy of Galicia. I became convinced on the spot that they were right. Regard for the peculiar character of the Galician Jews demanded a different kind of propaganda and other means of canvassing them in Austria. I need hardly say that I was received with great honor by the enthusiastic student youth in Lemberg, and also had the opportunity to become acquainted with this charming capital of East Galicia. People in western Europe tend to form a quite mistaken idea of the cities of this region. Where the cramped conditions of the Ghetto do not exist, such as developed through the hardening of medieval restrictions into a tradition, there are streets with tree-lined avenues, public gardens, and parks which offer beauty and recreation. At an evening gathering I was able to address encouraging words to the youth, and I have pleasant recollections of the lawyer Dr. Waschitz, who now lives in Jerusalem, and who greeted me in the name of the students and solemnly declared that the student youth were ready to answer my call on behalf of Zionism and the National Fund.

A peculiar experience befell me during a speech in a lecture hall filled to the last row. The people literally lined the walls. In the first row sat an elderly man who at once attracted my attention. "How does my uncle David come to be in Lem-

berg?" I thought, and almost lost my place in the speech. The illusion was complete when the gentleman, whose long white beard, dreamy blue eyes, and peculiarly shaped nose were all so uncannily familiar, gave me a friendly wink. After I had ended my address he came up to me and introduced himself. He was the physician, Dr. Ruben Bierer, who had moved to Lemberg from Sofia, from whence I knew him by name.

In Paris a dispute also arose over the proper management of the collections. The authority of the director of the collecting center, a spirited young man named Braunstein, was questioned. As at that time a conference under the chairmanship of Max Nordau was taking place at the Hotel Meurice, I asked Braunstein to call on me there.

During an earnest political debate with Nordau, the porter informed me that there were a number of people in the lobby who wished to speak to me. The strange manner in which I was informed rather puzzled me. I at once went to the lobby, where fifty or sixty young people awaited me, Braunstein being among them. I was surprised at the enormous crowd, but soon learned that all were members of the society, and that resolutions could be adopted only by all of them collectively. Finally I succeeded in getting a small committee elected, with whom, not without difficulty, I succeeded in getting the matter in order. But the interest, or perhaps also the distrust, of the comrades was so great that they remained assembled in the back of the lobby until Braunstein informed them of the result.

Naturally there was also something of a popular demonstration in the Jewish quarter. Nordau, Marmorek, and I were to speak. I expected a reception similar to the one I had experienced at the Arnim Hall in Berlin, where I spoke about the *Judentag,* and thousands of listeners listened to my words in a house that re-echoed with a storm of applause. I was therefore surprised when I was conducted into an old house,

where the six flights of stairs up which we laboriously climbed were so rickety that they seemed about to collapse. A modest room with ordinary wooden chairs—that was Paris, that was Zionism in Paris. The participants came in a few at a time. We had to wait more than an hour for the room to be occupied by fifty people. But they listened devoutly to the noble words of Nordau, to the stormy pathos of Alexander Marmorek, and to my carefully prepared speech. What an expenditure of energy and enthusiasm! And how feeble the response! Outside Paris lived in a delirium of shifting forms and colors. In this modern Babel lived 250,000 Jews, aloof and unsympathetic to the fate of their people. With their wealth, their will to live, their intelligence otherwise so famed, their understanding and their ethos, they could have transformed Palestine within a few years into a Jewish land. What enormous strength we should have had if they had listened to our call. But as it was, their ears remained closed. Only a few impoverished students and workers followed our words with dumb enthusiasm. What surprised me most was that Nordau and Marmorek found all this quite natural. The prophet is of no account in his own country. It was not the first time they had climbed six flights to the little room to work for the holy idea. The greatness of character and the strength of conviction which they thus manifested are beyond my power to express.

In the spring of 1912 I decided upon a journey to Palestine to inspect our undertakings there, and I was accompanied by Hoofien, our general secretary. I sailed on March 7 from Marseilles, on the North German Lloyd steamer *Prinzregent Luitpold* for Alexandria. As chance would have it, on the ship I made the acquaintance of two highly placed aides to German princes, who were traveling to Egypt to inspect some banana plantations. Life on board such a ship involved a good deal of intimacy among the passengers, especially as the first

class was only scantily occupied. We conversed on various subjects, and thus I learned in some detail about the cultivation of bananas. They learned that I was going to Palestine as president of the Jewish National Fund for an inspection of our young settlements, and when I asked them about the prospects for such banana plantations there they said they believed this culture would be very suitable for Palestine. It would be possible in the coastal plain and certainly in the Jordan Valley, because the temperature there was never below freezing. They instructed me about the use of these plantations, which bore fruit regularly after only two years. Not only were bananas food for men, but the cuttings were also suitable as cattle fodder. When I reached Tel Aviv, the first thing I did was to report this to Dr. Ruppin. He thereupon began an experiment in Dagania, which, I have been informed, proved quite successful. In Jaffa I met Hoofien, who had come ahead of me. Disembarking was still accompanied by much shouting, disagreeable competition, and disorder among the Arab porters, exactly as it had been fourteen years earlier, when with Herzl I trod the soil of Palestine for the first time.

From Jaffa we went to Tel Aviv, which gave the impression of a friendly country town, and whose center was the Hebrew *Gymnasium,* erected by Jacob Moser of Bradford on the J.N.F. land.

In the house of Dr. Ruppin we enjoyed very pleasant hospitality. During a visit to the German colonies of Jaffa and Sarona I saw proof of what the industry, endurance, love of order, and agricultural experience of my Swabian countrymen could achieve. Delightful indeed was the garden of the Park Hotel, where I met Dr. Aronsohn, the discoverer of the wild ancestor of wheat, who was to provide me with a report on the olive plantations. On the following evening I was the guest of Mayor Dizengoff and his amiable wife, in whose house the

town council and many guests had assembled. There was an enormous buffet with wine and fruits of the country. In response to the Mayor's speech of welcome I said that one of the main services rendered by the founding of this town was that it enabled Jews to free themselves from the squalor of the Arab surroundings, and that it evoked a communal civic spirit and thus created the pattern for a Jewish municipal administration.

An excursion to Ben-Shemen and Hulda brought Dr. Ruppin and me into the sphere of activity of our agronomist, Wilkansky. We were conveyed in an American six-seated carriage. There were still no motor cars. The generous food basket which Frau Dr. Ruppin had thoughtfully provided did us good service. Wilkansky showed us the experimental fields, where the cultivation of the soil and the various sorts of fertilizer were tested scientifically. In Wilhelma I also met Swabian colonists, who were very much astonished to meet a Jew from their home. They at first showed a deep distrust, but when I told them some Swabian jokes they unbent, and at my departure from Ramleh well over a hundred countrymen were at the station to see me off.

The landscape was everywhere delightfully beautiful, whether one looked toward the sea or away from it into the hills. The remote loneliness of the mountain farms evoked a lyrical mood. One could imagine without difficulty the life of the pastoral and peasant folk of ancient times. A festive event gave particular cause for this. The shepherd of the cooperative settlement was being married to a girl worker. Full of pride, he showed me his well-tended flock. There were sheep whose thick fat tails almost dragged along the ground. Then, radiant with joy, he introduced me to his bride. They were both dressed in country fashion with colored ribbons, and a communal dinner as well as the *hora* dance of the comrades lifted

our spirits. The modest wedding gift which I handed the young couple was received gratefully. I then planted a tree in front of the farm building, with the joyful help of the strong-armed workers.

The next day we visited Hulda. Of the Herzl Forest there, little was yet to be seen. The young wild-olive trees had recently been cut back and engrafted with scions from cultivated varieties. The Herzl house served as a dwelling for the workers. We had had in mind another purpose for this, namely a sort of Herzl museum. The drilling of a well with American machines had attracted curious Arabs from the neighborhood round about. They sat patiently for hours around the scaffolding. Perhaps they thought we were digging for treasure. In any case they doubted that we could charm water out of the earth.

A round trip from Jaffa brought us through the Galilean settlements. In Chedera we wondered at the large groves of eucalyptus, whose growth and spreading roots contributed to making this region almost free from fever. We also met there Dr. Brünn and Gabi Strauss, who called our attention to flocks of birds of the size of small doves, of which they shot down some. They told us these were birds of prey. If so, they certainly made themselves useful through the destruction of field mice, which were a plague to agriculture.

The settlement suffered then from the lack of colonists, since for the most part the owners still lived in Russia. There were then only thirty-five families in the place; whereas today there are well over 6,000 souls. In Athlit there were more experimental fields to be seen. Dr. Aronsohn explained to us the method of dry farming, which by regular and frequent loosening of the upper stratum of the soil, makes possible the retaining of moisture even in the summer. I rejoiced at the fresh character of this researcher, who manifested dash, energy, consciousness of purpose, and not a trace of academic

sterility. He accompanied us on foot to Zichron Jacob, where we ate at noon in a simple but clean inn. I always particularly deplored the tragic death of this exceptional man during the peace conference of 1919.

The administration building and the park showed the Baron's exceptional interest in this colony. Houses and streets had a character reminiscent of the South of France. Late in the evening we came to a refreshing valley by the sea at Haifa. We passed the German colony with its flourishing gardens and stayed in the Hotel Herzlia; whether it still exists I do not know. The guest chambers were arranged in Arab fashion around a spacious courtyard, which served for the recreation of the guests and as a dining room. At breakfast we enjoyed the magnificent view of the harbor, the sea, and the distant mountains. The evening was devoted to a meeting which had a large attendance. Haifa at that time had a population of 3,000 Jews, but there was no organized Jewish life. Only the workers had banded together and arranged the evening's reception. In my address I praised the merit of these idealists in action and encouraged them, since only an uninterrupted continuation of our work could assure political success.

Another day we went by train to Merchavia. On the way a *Chalutz* dressed partly in Arab garb reported to us the frightening news that Arabs had attacked the settlement and killed a Jew. We were very anxious about our people. All the more did we rejoice when we heard from the agronomist, Dyk, who met us at the station, that no more than a scuffle between Jews and Arabs had taken place. The "murdered" man soon presented himself to us with bandaged head but a cheerful grin. The comrades lived in barracks or, as the Arabs did, in mud houses on a dung-heap, where Arab villages were frequently found. Manya, a public-spirited Russian Jewess, showed us the house of a *fellah,* which entirely by her own

efforts she had cleaned thoroughly, whitewashed, and converted into a hospital. We also witnessed the equestrian skill of a Jewish farmer, who rode against an Arab sheikh on a bet. The sheikh was annoyed when the Jew won the race, because he had hoped to get rid of his horse at a good price. After dinner we went by carriage via Nazareth to Sedjera, where we were received in the most friendly manner by the administrator, Kraus, and his wife. The only thing at all unpleasant was a hole through the large window of the living room, made by the bullet of an Arab fanatic. That had already been there, the manager said; now nothing of that sort occurred. I rejoiced at this optimism, but was chagrined when on my departure I saw in the yard an Arab, armed from head to foot, who was hired by the village close by to keep a watch on the comings and goings of strangers. Today a hole in a window pane is unfortunately not the only proof of the supposedly peaceful attitude of the Arabs.

In Sedjera there was also a community of proselytes, Russians converted to Judaism, who adhered to Jewish law more strictly than the rest of the colonists. Then we went over hill and dale to Mescha and Jemma at the foot of Mount Tabor, on whose summit we saw a monastery in a splendid location, from which there must have been a fine view of the mountains and the Lake of Tiberias. The monks have found here, as anywhere in that country, a most propitious spot for their life of meditation. The agricultural school of the Kadoori Foundation was at that time not even dreamed of. I was told that the villages of this well-watered district were inhabited by fanatical Druses.

Then we went up to Poriah, which had been established as a cooperative by a group of American Jews. There they were busy with the eradication of weeds, which the Arabs call "Inschill," and which cannot be uprooted by any ordinary

plow. Far below lay the blue sea, and in the distance glistened magically the snow-covered summit of Mount Hermon. Then came a mad drive of many kilometers to the Kinereth farm. There we met Yemenites, who had just arrived from their southern home. Their rabbi looked at me with great astonishment when the manager, Golde, told him I was a colleague of his from Germany. My casual attire seemed to surprise him. But his official costume was also not quite orthodox, as he wore no more than a shirt. Nevertheless, he was obviously a great scholar, and had brought a bag filled with Hebrew books from home.

At Kinereth there was also a girls' farm, the creation of the Federation of Jewish Women for Cultural Work in Palestine, which had been founded by my wife and Frau Professor Warburg at the time of the Congress at the Hague. Frau Betty Leszinsky, who now lives in Jerusalem with her husband and who has done excellent work for the Wolffsohn Foundation, took part for many years in the direction of this Federation, which long before the WIZO had contributed much to the agricultural training of Palestinian girls.

Evening on the lake was indescribably beautiful. Before retiring we put our dusty shoes in front of the door according to European custom, and were astonished to find them in the same condition next morning. Ruppin believed that as this was entirely a girls' farm the blacking of boots was contrary to womanly dignity. At any rate, we could see for ourselves that the girls discharged their heavy work in the garden plots with great zeal.

A short ride brought us over the Kerak Peninsula to Dagania, our newest settlement. The comrades lived in a great barracks. How difficult it was for townsfolk to adapt themselves to country life, I was able to observe when I saw a young girl in city clothes and high-heeled shoes trying to drive

a calf into the barn. But some twenty-seven years later the overseer of the cooperative farm was to tell me, full of pride that this girl had become a hard-working farm woman, his wife, and the mother of five children.

The evening passed in conversation, in which the comrades intelligently explained the ideals of their community. It was their wish that the practice of such ideals should by no means be confined to a primitive form. While this stage of things has not yet ended, the cooperatives have nevertheless contributed greatly to the adjustment of the young people to farm life.

The next day we traveled to Semach on the only motorboat in service on the lake. The boat was an old tub that had belonged to a Jew at Tiberias, and smelled of petroleum. In Semach I met with a mishap, for which the delicious fish from the Lake of Tiberias which I had eaten at the home of Frau Kraus were to blame.

On the Arabic-French menu I saw Tiberias fish listed, and naturally ordered it, remembering the excellent meal served by Frau Kraus. But this proved to be salt fish of unknown origin, which affected me so adversely that I shivered with fever all way to Jenin. There we spent the night at an Arab inn, in the courtyard of which there was a glowing coal fire. The landlord did his very best to satisfy all our wishes.

Then we went on to Samaria. I did not allow myself to be prevented from climbing the hill on which the remains of the colonnaded avenue built by Herod and the vast ruins of the palace of King Ahab were to be seen.

Arab youths swarmed about us thick as flies and tried to foist upon us their excavated relics, which had probably been manufactured in Pforzheim. In Nablus we put up at an hotel run by a countryman of mine, and I stayed there until, with the help of an Arab doctor, I was well enough to continue the journey. I owe the landlord of the Hesselschwert many thanks

for the diligence with which he looked after me and also kept visitors away. Nevertheless I did agree to receive some American tourists, among whom was the founder of the American Physicians' Society for the promotion of the University.

On the way to Jerusalem I saw for the first time, on the mountain slopes, numerous olive orchards which I was sure were neither native nor the work of our organizations. In the evening we arrived at the Hotel Kaminitz, which was completely filled owing to the approach of Passover. The porter who received us wore a jacket on which traces of the menu of a month ago were visible. When I complained the landlord said defensively that a clean uniform was also available. I was able to take part in the *Seder,* which was celebrated according to the ancient tradition in a spacious dining room. This moving celebration, with its strange ceremonies, produces a solemn effect when the *Haggadah* is chanted in monotone.

It should be noted that the *Haggadah,* which serves as the basis of the Festival, developed over the course of many centuries and continued to undergo alterations and additions until the late Middle Ages. There should therefore be no objection whatever if it were to be adapted to suit the tastes and ideas of beauty of the present day. Unfortunately up until now no author has been found to undertake a successful adaption.

In the intervening days of the festival we rode to Rechovoth, where we watched the riding show. A joyous stir met us there. In festively adorned tents refreshments were being served. Jews had come swarming from the neighboring settlements and from Jaffa. The encampment enclosed a great square where gymnasts and riders showed their skill. The village band, displaying more endurance than musicianship, played various marches—also the *Hatikvah* at the tempo of a funeral march—but the youths were gay and danced as well. From thence

we rumbled along in an ancient chariot to Rishon-le-Zion, where we met Dr. Tschlenow and his wife, who were celebrating their silver wedding anniversary in the country.

In Jaffa I felt so weakened by my feverish illness that I decided to enter the Shaare Zedek Hospital at Jerusalem. There, thanks to the medical skill of Dr. Wallach, and the careful attendance of a Dutch nurse, I was completely cured in eight days. I was so comfortable in this house that I was almost sorry when Dr. Wallach declared me well again.

About the journey via Jericho and the Dead Sea, which I then undertook with Ruppin, there is not much to say that has not been said before. It was a hot Chamsin day, and even the lightest clothing became an intolerable burden. Numerous pilgrims, mostly Russians, made this laborious tour on foot. In the Dead Sea I tried to use my khaki helmet in place of a rowboat, as it was said that no one could drown in this lake. The result was catastrophic, as I lost my balance. I was certainly not drowned, but my helmet was ruined for ever, as the traces of the salt water could not be eradicated.

At an inn in Jericho, run by a Greek who boasted of his French cuisine, I had an evening meal, which according to the menu would vie with Paris, but which greatly disappointed my expectations. I was glad the next day to breathe the fresh mountain air again.

Owing to my illness my intended visit to the German Consul General, to whom I had been recommended by Baron von Mirbach, chief court marshal to the Empress, was postponed. I had a talk with him also about the restoration of better relations of the German colonists to the Jews, which were then rather strained. He gave me the impression that he would do his best about this. Perhaps he also had instructions from the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, von Kiderlen Wächter, the Swabian favorite at the Eulenburg round table,

whom I had visited before my departure. When I had reported to him about our work in Palestine, he had asked: "Who is your representative there?" I named Dr. Ruppin, whereupon he smilingly said: "He is, so to speak, the Zionist ambassador?" "That is the way I think of him," I had jokingly replied. When I said, in reply to his question about the time of my departure, that I was leaving immediately, he had said good-humoredly, "I must write to him at once."

Just before leaving we made another stay at Haifa the occasion for a ride on Mount Carmel. To my chagrin I found that the horse that I had hired was blind in one eye. Besides it kicked terribly. This gave a great fright to Shmarya Levin, whom we met by chance in the street, so that we were obliged to break off our conversation with him abruptly. When we reproached the Arab he told us that the horse's being blind in the right eye was of no consequence. He knew from his own experience. He was blind himself in one eye.

Our Palestine journey came to an end at Beirut, where we, on an enchanting spring evening, boarded a steamer for Trieste. The beauty of the view from Beirut, with the Lebanon range in the background, is well known. In the harbor lay a Turkish gunboat which the Italians had shot to pieces. They had also left traces of gunfire on several buildings facing the harbor—a reminder that Turkey was at war with Italy. Otherwise we saw hardly any sign of the conflict.

In Beirut we again enjoyed, for the first time, the amenities of a European hotel. The ride to Baalbeck over the high pass of the Lebanon was a happy conclusion to a journey so rich in varied scenery. On the height of the pass we did not fail to tramp about in the deep snow lying near the railway line or to throw snowballs at each other—a rare delight in such country. The magnificent ruins of late Roman art in the temple dedicated to the sun god are justly famous. They show clearly the

high level of culture at that time. Such structures also indicate a high living standard for a numerous population—arousing hopes for our own future.

In Naples I was awaited by my wife and her friend Else. We came home after a stay of eight days in Italy, pleased by all the new and beautiful things we had seen.

This journey was of importance for the J.N.F. in many respects. I had convinced myself on the spot that the olive plantation which had been launched with such fanfare was a failure. The olive was of value only in mixed farming, for which we had first to prepare the ground. We should have had to make a relatively large outlay for this, compared with which the profit from the olive groves was negligible. Besides, there could be no talk of forest plantations in the European sense. After discussion with Dr. Ruppin I decided upon a change in principle. I had eucalyptus trees planted, as well as pines and cypresses, which would help in beautifying the country and improving the climate. Such plantations represent a long-term but promising capital investment, such as can be undertaken only by a public body. I therefore regarded this as an important task of the J.N.F. Also concerning the development of the farms, workers' homes, the establishment of settlements for the Yemenites, and general management, this journey afforded many a suggestion. In a detailed report I laid my proposals for these things before the Action Committee and the members of the J.N.F. Our work from that time became more purposeful. The Fund had reached the prescribed amount, which allowed it to acquire land. The annual income amounted to over a million German marks. A systematic land policy could therefore now begin. But unfortunately, to all our splendid plans the First World War brought a sudden end.

THE FIRST WORLD WAR

WAR is predatory, rude, violent, barbarous. It is also the primitive means of establishing law between states, a duel between peoples. However little it may guarantee a just outcome, this is the function of war. It is the stupid relic of the old idea of trial by combat. It is invoked by peoples when they come into conflict. War has been called the father of all things, because many wars have become the starting-point for cultural exchange. With greater justice one might say this of peaceful trade. But it corresponds to the looting instinct of many peoples to turn up one's nose in contempt at the expansion of culture and art through commerce. The veneration of the brave warrior led to the glorification of war, and thus an ecstasy akin to madness seizes hold of a people when it breaks out. I experienced this in the summer of 1914 when the danger of war hung like a dark and threatening cloud over Europe. Of the passionately whipped-up excitement of the masses one can hardly form any conception in normal times.

There was an eerie suspense in the air. It was the time of the *Werkbund* exhibition in Cologne. When my wife and I were returning home from a visit there we passed the offices of the *Kölnische Zeitung,* where a large crowd had gathered. People

were reading the report of the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand and his wife at Sarajevo. Many were inclined to regard the fear of war as unrealistic, a product of the imagination. I myself—perhaps because of my tendency to be guided more by feeling than logic—judged the political situation in Europe more correctly. I will not decide whether this was a sort of clairvoyance or the recognition of the inevitable sequence of historic events. In any case I saw immediately with full clarity that things were now leading irresistibly to war. I said to my wife that we should be involved in a world war by autumn. But the developments were more rapid than I had anticipated.

When Russia mobilized, people in Germany trembled at the thought of being crushed by the steam roller of the Russian army before they could be armed for defense. The German mobilization order came as a release from a terrible pressure. I do not know whether this feeling is at all common to human nature, but the fact is that I was possessed by what was almost a feeling of happiness. This was especially strange as I had always been a protagonist of peace and cooperation among peoples. It was a sort of euphoria, such as seizes the soldiery, who, after devastating casualties in the trenches, receive the order to attack; or, perhaps, a dying man in anticipation of his release. It is as though one felt over one the presence of a higher fate.

Three problems now occupied me unrelentingly. One was concern over the National Fund with which I was entrusted; the second was the safety of my family, which appeared to be endangered by the threat of a siege of Cologne; and the third was the position of Russian Jewry, whose deliverance from the Tsarist yoke I expected as a result of the war.

First of all I looked for a way of protecting the National Fund against possible collapse. The Head Office had communications all over the world. Neither relations with the

branches nor the collection of money could be continued in a country which was involved in the war. Above all it would have been impossible in Germany. The sole hope of rescue seemed to be the removal of the office to a neutral foreign country. From there the work for the Fund could be continued relatively undisturbed. After I had recognized the necessity for this I decided to act quickly.

The thing was not quite simple. The office had grown. There was a staff of more than thirty, some of whom were Russian citizens. The work was divided among various departments, and a reorganization in order to move caused many technical difficulties. In the first place I thought only of our connections abroad. The transfer of the German department could wait. Because of my contacts with the Foreign Office in Berlin I believed it safe from any disturbance. Hence, eight days before the outbreak of war I sent Wolffsohn's private secretary, Dr. Robinsohn, to The Hague to find out whether an office could be established there. Robinsohn was to look up Jakobus Kann, whom I wanted to superintend its installation. Kann was away at the time, happily enjoying a summer holiday in the country with his family. He ridiculed Dr. Robinsohn when the latter told him of my fears. It was madness to think of war, he said. All the cabinets of Europe were working to avert this danger. But he declared himself willing, if necessary, to undertake the task proposed for him. I then made all preparations for moving and was able, one hour before closing of the frontier on the day of mobilization, to bring all the threatened office materials into Holland in two railway cars.

Likewise Kaplansky, who was peacefully enjoying a holiday on the Baltic, did not believe there would be war, and came back only at the last moment in response to urgent telegrams. Later I also transferred the German and Austrian departments to Holland, in order to reestablish unity in the office. The Fund was thus able to continue its work during the war. It was a

great satisfaction to me that because of these measures I was able to save the Russian officials of the J.N.F. from internment.

For the management of the office at The Hague there was set up, in agreement with the Berlin Executive of the World Organization, a committee in which Jakobus Kann, Jean Fischer, and Julius Simon (who during the war moved to to Scheveningen) as well as Nehemia de Lieme, took part. Regular meetings of the Board of Directors could not take place during the war. Hoofien had already gone to Palestine to take over a post as director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank. At the beginning of the war I sent Kaplansky and Dr. Epstein to America, in order to continue there the war time propaganda for the Fund. I myself went to The Hague from time to time in order to check on the continuation of the work. I believed that I had thus made sufficient provision for the affairs of the Fund.

But now I had my family to think of. I did not believe it possible that Germany could commit the folly and injustice of violating the neutrality of Belgium. I reckoned with the danger of a siege of Cologne, which formed the main defenses of the West. There was serious talk of evacuating the civilian population. I was therefore already on the point of sending my two daughters to stay with friends in Belgium, when our army marched in. As a result Cologne was soon full of refugees from Belgium, who had been driven out by the fury of the excited crowds. Our friends in Antwerp were themselves obliged to seek refuge in England. With the conquest of Liége the immediate danger to Cologne ended, and so I remained with my family in Cologne throughout the war.

The third problem seemed to me of the greatest importance. One of the war aims of Germany was the destruction of Russia. That is why I thought of utilizing the impending overthrow in the East for a new political orientation of Russo-Polish Jewry. In 1898 I had already pointed out in a memorandum to

the Foreign Office the importance that Yiddish, which was nothing other than a German folk dialect, could have for the German Empire. The Foreign Office had evidently not recognized this, presumably because of a great contempt for the Jewish population. This contempt was such that although the General Staff were occupied with the study of all the languages of Russia, the language of the Jews alone had not been given a thought.

My memorandum became the basis of a comprehensive plan which I submitted to the Foreign Office. In the event of a German victory a League of East European States should be created, which would run approximately along the edge of the Pale Jewish of settlement. In this League the Poles would be the strongest nation, but Ukrainians, White Russians, Lithuanians, Estonians, and Letts would maintain a balance. The Jews together with the Germans would turn the scales. For the constitution of this new State I set up the principle of the national autonomy of the alien peoples within the Russian Empire. From the Jewish angle propaganda for it should be undertaken among the Polish-Russian Jews. If the invading German troops could be regarded by the Jews as deliverers from the Russian knout, this propaganda would have a certain prospect of success. For the German Empire the creation of this state would be of the greatest interest since it would be freed thereby from the constant threat of a Russian attack. So far as the Jews of Russia were concerned I expected a mighty national upsurge, which could also facilitate the establishment of a Jewish State in Palestine.

This memorandum aroused great interest at the Foreign Office, and soon afterward I received, late in the evening, a telegram inviting me to take part in a discussion with the General Staff's political expert, Count Hutton-Czapski. My attempt to get a military car for the journey to Berlin was unsuccessful. The governor of Cologne warned me against making the

journey in a motorcar, as at that time there had begun a hunt for motorcars suspected of transporting French gold to Russia. So, along with Nathan Gross, I took the Wednesday night express which arrived in Berlin at about ten o'clock on Friday morning. The crush in the train was terrible. We were glad to find places in a fourth-class compartment full of the baskets and suitcases of draftees. Every few hours the train was changed, and we could not find out where we were, since it was under military command.

In Berlin I found excellent accommodations at the Eden Hotel, where I established my quarters for the next few weeks and was shown every conceivable courtesy for my new activity.

Count Hutton-Czapski was a *grand seigneur* of the old Prussian school. Because of family connections with the Polish nobility, and an extensive estate in Poland, he was the ideal intermediary for negotiations with the Poles. He was a man of cultivated intellect, lively temperament, and political acumen. To me he apparently considered his obligation fulfilled once he had introduced me to the Polish expert at the Foreign Office. This was Herr Diego von Bergen, the Reich's Minister to the Vatican, who was exceedingly amiable, but also exceedingly reserved. He apparently welcomed my willingness to help, as he was instructed to draft an appeal to be made by the commander of the allied German and Austrian armies to the Polish Jews. But for me this appeal was a subordinate matter.

The first person whom I informed about my negotiations with the Foreign Office was Franz Oppenheimer. He at once placed himself enthusiastically at my disposal. His ideas of social reform had long been known to me. As President of the National Fund, I had adopted the idea of a cooperative settlement and thus came into closer contact with him. A more intimate friendship, however, was formed during the war, when we worked together daily for a long time. His energy, his candor, his forcefulness, his fabulous memory, his sparkling

wit and eloquence, all aroused my admiration. He was not, I thought, without a certain professorial vanity. Of the many anecdotes told by and about Oppenheimer the following are typical:

Among his students there circulated a rather nice story. Oppenheimer died at the age of a hundred and appeared before the good Lord, his book about the State and all his other books tucked under his arm. The good Lord greeted him and asked: "Dear Franz, what is that pack of books you have?" "These are my works," Oppenheimer answered with pride. "What do you say to them?" Instead of any reply the good Lord rose, and with a deep bow, invited him to take his seat on the heavenly throne. Whether Oppenheimer accepted the invitation is not reported.

A well-known anecdote about Lenin originated with Oppenheimer. He told it to us one day. Lenin had died and hoped to get into heaven, but Peter would not admit him. "You are a criminal. You allowed yourself to be smuggled into Russia by the Germans," said Peter, and closed the gate. Thereupon Lenin turned to hell, but the devil cursed him: "You scoundrels have overthrown the Tsar, who was my assistant. I cannot make any use of you here." Then Lenin sat down in Lenigrad and wept. Along came an old-clothes Jew and asked: "Why are you crying, great Lenin?" "Ah," replied Lenin, "I am not at all great, I am very small. They don't want me in either heaven or hell. What shall I do?" Said the Jew: "I can help you. Just crawl into my sack." Lenin did so, and the Jew knocked at the gate of heaven. Peter half opened the gate. The Jew asked: "Is Herr Marx here?" "Which Marx?" asked Peter in return. "The Marx from Trier, Karl Marx. Can I speak to him for a moment?" "Certainly," was the polite reply. Marx appeared. The Jew asked: "Are you the Marx from Trier, who wrote *Das Kapital*?" "I am," replied Marx. "Then

here you have the interest!" exclaimed the Jew, and tossed the sack through the heavenly gate.

Oppenheimer was staying with us as a guest. My wife went with him to attend to some matter in town. At the *Neumarkt* my wife suggested taking a carriage home, whereupon Oppenheimer proposed going on foot. My wife said: "It's an hour's journey back to the *Stadtwaldgürtel.*" But Oppenheimer said the weather was so splendid. So they walked on agreeably to Lindental, and Oppenheimer related anecdotes and stories uninterruptedly. When they reached the garden gate before our house, Oppenheimer asked in astonishment: "Are we here already?" "Certainly," replied my wife, whereupon: "With you, *gnädige Frau,* one can carry on a conversation splendidly." In fact my wife had not spoken a single word the whole way. Naughty rumors maintain, however, that this never happened on any other occasion.

I consulted with Oppenheimer about my visit to the Foreign Office, we invited Friedemann and Motzkin to join us, and decided to inform the Zionist Executive about the negotiations. It then transpired that the Berlin leaders were already in communication with the committee headed by the wholesale industrialist Mannesmann, which had been entrusted with the draft of the appeal to the Jews in Poland. On my advice these relations were broken off. Our appeal, which Motzkin translated into Hebrew, went too far to suit Herr von Bergen. Finally various drafts from the General Staff were collated. In the main the appeal was the work of an Austrian journalist, supplemented by the proposals of an East European rabbi living in Berlin. With the continual cooperation of Berlin Zionist leaders a group came into existence which bore the name of "Committee for the Liberation of the Russian Jews." Franz Oppenheimer was chairman, and I was his deputy with the task of continuing negotiations with the Foreign Office. Friedemann, Klee, and Struck also joined the Committee,

which was to remain independent of the Zionist Executive. Only Hantke was co-opted as liaison officer. Thanks to the courtesy of a Berlin wholesale merchant a commodious office in the Behrendstrasse, with suitable reception rooms, was placed at our disposal. Relations with the Foreign Office afforded the Zionists many an advantage. I succeeded, for example, in providing some officials of the Zionist headquarters with passports for Copenhagen, to which city it had meanwhile been transferred. I also enabled the Director of the Hebrew *Gymnasium* in Tel Aviv, Dr. Mossinsohn, to return to Palestine.

In the meantime I had called Dr. Robinsohn to Berlin to manage the office. This noble, highly educated man fulfilled his task with extraordinary loyalty. He also undertook the editorship of our illustrated war journal, *Kol Mevasser*. The title picture of the first number, a drawing by Struck, showed a host of fleeing Jews who had been forced to leave Russia. The leading article, *Der Schwarze Sof* ("The Black End") was by Sokolow. Other notable Zionists provided contributions. Only two issues of the journal were printed, however, and these were never circulated. The entire edition, except for a few copies, was destroyed when the political situation was completely changed by the retreat of the German Army from Poland. We also tried to obtain the cooperation of Dr. Paul Nathan and the well-known philanthropist, James Simon, in order to achieve a unified policy in the Jewish question. However, they declined to consider the question of the East European Jews from any other than the humanitarian point of view.

While we were still occupied with the organization of the office Friedemann told me that the Imperial Admiralty planned, at the suggestion of Meyrowitz, an agent of the North German Lloyd, to send a confidential man to America, in order to influence the Jews there in favor of the Central Powers. As this was in harmony with our intentions we at once got into communication with Dr. Jaeckh of the Imperial Admiralty and

agreed with him to send two representatives to North America. The expenses of this delegation were undertaken by the Imperial Admiralty. At first Friedemann was chosen for this mission, along with Meyrowitz, who was indeed a good Zionist, though very high-strung. But Friedemann withdrew, as he preferred to work with the Berlin Committee. We then succeeded in obtaining in his place Dr. Isaac Straus, who, as the matter was urgent, decided to undertake the journey in a matter of hours. Relations with Meyrowitz were soon broken off by Dr. Straus, as the former disappointed our expectations and went his own way. Dr. Straus was a man of decision, circumspection, and intelligence in regard to the political situation. Through his connection with the German Ambassador, Count von Bernstorff, he rendered valuable service to the Jews of eastern Europe and Palestine.

Before the departure of the delegation there was another difficulty. The negotiations had dragged on until late in the evening and the departure was to take place the following morning. The delgation had to be provided with an adequate budget, and the Imperial Admiralty had promised 20,000 gold marks. But the treasury of the Admiralty was already closed. It now seemed almost impossible to raise the amount in gold late in the evening. Thereupon Dr. Hans Gideon Heymann appeared as the redeeming angel, advancing the money through the medium of the *Diskontogesellschaft,* so that the departure of our delegation could proceed. We came to an agreement with the Berlin Zionist Executive to exclude Palestine questions from our activity, and instructed Dr. Straus to get in touch with the Zionist Executive in regard to this matter. His activity in this direction was particularly valuable when the evacuation from Jaffa began. He succeeded, through the intervention of the German and the American Ambassador, in Constantinople in mitigating the orders of Djemal Pasha and providing the population with foodstuffs.

Before I established the Committee, I sent information concerning our plans to Wolffsohn, who was seriously ill in Homburg. He likewise considered a German victory desirable in order to break the might of Tsarism. He supported me in my view of the compatibility of German and Jewish interests in the conduct of the war, and declared himself in complete agreement with the establishment of our Committee. To my sorrow Gross, who had visited Wolffsohn in Homburg, reported to me that Wolffsohn's heart ailment had grown very much worse, and that his death in a short time was to be feared. The news of Wolffsohn's death reached me by telephone in Berlin on September 15. His funeral took place, in accordance with the times and his own wish, without any ostentation. At my suggestion a deathmask was taken and the coffin was covered with a Zionist flag. There were no speeches at the grave. Dr. Leszinsky repeated Herzl's oath from the end of the sixth Congress, and then the boys' choir of the synagogue community sang the *Hatikvah*.

As can be imagined, I was deeply affected by the death of this leader and friend. But the tasks that now fell to me did not permit of a prolongation of mourning. Following the funeral there was a conference of leading Zionists at Wolffsohn's house. It was considered necessary that during the disorders of war the Zionist Organization should preserve strict neutrality, and on this ground there was some objection to the Committee which I had formed. Jean Fischer considered our work useless because he believed Germany could not win the war. He was of the opinion that we had backed the wrong horse. But none of those present asked that the Committee be dissolved.

Of greater moment, however, was the attitude of the Greater Action Committee at its meeting in Copenhagen, in which, despite urgent invitation, I did not take part, in order to avoid the appearance of a connection of the Action Committee with

our organization. I outlined my views in regard to our Committee in a detailed memorandum to Dr. Tschlenow in Copenhagen. The Action Committee declared itself opposed to its work and demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Zionists. In consequence Hantke at once resigned, while Klee and Gronemann remained with it for some time; it was meanwhile enlarged through the co-option of influential non-Zionists. Among others there were the president of the Grand Lodge of the B'nai B'rith of Germany, Privy Councilor Dr. Timendorfer, and also the chairman of the Federation of German Jews, Privy Councilor Eugen Fuchs, Judicial Councilor Magnus of the Executive of the Berlin community, and the Orientalist, Professor Sobernheim. The Committee also worked in connection with the Jewish Socialists, who delegated Dr. Oskar Cohn, a member of the Reichstag and later Minister, to be their representative. But this association was terminated soon afterwards, as the aims of the Socialists were directed only at the fall of the Tsarist régime and the introduction of a national autonomy. With the complete withdrawal of the Zionists the Committee would at once have fallen apart. Neither Oppenheimer, Friedemann nor I wished to take the responsibility for this. A meeting of the leaders among the German Zionists then took place, at which they arrived at a position in regard to the demands of the Action Committee. After they had convinced themselves that the dissolution of the Committee at that time was futile, they demanded by way of ultimatum the Committee change its name. It was to refrain from all work for Palestine, and I was to give up my post as chairman of the Board of Directors of the J.N.F. They had no objection to the manifesto *Kol Mevasser,* and even urged that it appear immediately. These demands we could easily accept. The challenging name of the Committee was unnecessary. A confusion of Zionist policy with our activity must be avoided, out of regard for the neutrality of the Zionist Execu-

tive. This was why I declared I was prepared to give up my position as chairman of the Board of Directors of the J.N.F. I did not comply with the request that I withdraw from the Committee because I had meanwhile received an invitation from General Ludendorff to proceed to the *Ober-Ost* headquarters. We were of opinion that we must await the result of this journey before we allowed the Committee to dissolve. A further reason weighed with me. I had sent a report on the plan and the activity of the Committee to Max Nordau, who was then living in Spain, and I had not yet received any reply. But it seemed to me important not to break the back of the Committee before I had received the advice of our most experienced politician.

Although the invitation to the *Ober-Ost* headquarters had come to me personally, I took Franz Oppenheimer with me on the trip to the headquarters, as he had meanwhile been elected chairman of the Committee. We equipped ourselves as though for a journey to the North Pole, since we believed we were going to a country of Siberian cold. As a matter of fact it was at this time unusually wintry, and snow lay everywhere. Oppenheimer wore a mountain climber's costume, while I wore sports clothes, with a fur coat, and the hat to go with it. We must have appeared as strange as Tartarin of Tarascon on his famous journey to hunt lions in Africa.

Oppenheimer was enthusiastic about visiting the headquarters. The names of Hindenburg and Ludendorff were on every tongue, their deeds were almost legendary. The repulse of the Russian invasion of German territory had aroused enormous enthusiasm. People believed that Hindenburg had saved the capital and the Empire. Ludendorff's telegram had not indicated the location of the headquarters. I therefore went to the Red House, on the Königsplatz, in the hope of receiving some information. But there the proper authority, General Zimmermann, an affable and amiable gentleman,

knew just as little as I did about where the headquarters were. He was of the opinion that the latest news came from Kattowitz, but the telegram was dated from Kielce. He thus advised me to address myself to General Krieger in Gleiwitz, who was well informed and could place a car at our disposal. The authorization from the Foreign Office and the telegram from headquarters sufficed for our introduction.

We drove to Breslau and from there to Gleiwitz. But there was nothing to be accomplished. Krieger was distrustful and surly. He maintained that he himself did not know where the headquarters were. They had already been moved from Kielce to the front. He had no car at his disposal. We had better try our luck in Kattowitz. But the mail train to Kielce could not be recommended. The track was unsafe. We heard later that this train had been stopped on the way.

As we drove to Kattowitz there was splendid sunshine and frosty weather. Everywhere there was military activity. Oppenheimer saw every German soldier with whom he chatted as a hero. The East European Jews who were now appearing in large numbers, wearing cap and kaftan, interested him less. In my case it was just the reverse. At Gleiwitz our fellow Zionist Wiener had converted our travel money into gold. It was the last German gold I was ever to see. In Kattowitz we did not know what to do. An old lieutenant from the Reserves, who had taken part in the campaign of 1870, was in charge of the telegraph office. He sent dispatches to various places in an effort to get us a motorcar. There was no direct railway communication with headquarters. We then heard from him that they had been moved to Radom the day before. Automobiles could not be spared. We must wait.

Gradually it dawned upon us that we had ventured upon a risky adventure. If we somehow got to Kielce the headquarters might once again be at Kattowitz. And we were heading straight into the hands of the Russians, who would have hanged

us with the greatest pleasure. What else could we be, in our adventurers' civilian dress, except spies? The Foreign Office's authorization to the Chairman of the Committee for the Liberation of the Russian Jews would only have hastened our journey into the hereafter. Fortunately, things turned out differently.

At the hotel we met the publisher of the *Acht-Uhr-Abendblatt,* a man named Hahn, whom Oppenheimer knew. He wore a rather elaborate costume with the badge of a delegate of the Red Cross and had on his breast the insignia of a Bulgarian order of nobility. The crowd that had gathered in front of the hotel took him to be Prince Joachim of Prussia. He was on the way with the retired General Count Schlippenbach to bring gifts to headquarters. We could join this procession. We drove the same evening to Cracow, from whence the gifts were to go on to Kielce by motor carriage. But from there on we had to help ourselves. We arrived late in the evening at the frontier station, where lively military action was in progress. Some Austrian officers immediately recognized us. They were fellow Zionists who were waiting to be transported to the Russian front. They had complete sympathy for the efforts of our Committee, of which we gave a brief account. In the middle of the night we arrived at Cracow. We found rooms in a disagreeable hotel without any conveniences. Early in the morning we met the other members of the traveling company. The weather had changed : rain and snow gave the city a grim look. Again we had to wait, and we soon observed that waiting was an art which one learns most quickly in the army. We had time to inspect the city and the market, which was very interesting. The peasants wore a colorful and picturesque costume which contrasted with the black coats of the Jews. We are in the habit of looking upon native dress as a sign of backwardness, because it appears mostly among primitive peoples and in rural districts. Among the Jews of eastern Europe this mode

of dress was the common habit of the people and a sign of their peculiarity. It is this which makes them a source of annoyance in the eye of the assimilated Jews. It shows that the Jews are still a separate people.

In the hotel I also met the Physician-General, Dr. Tilmann, who was from Cologne, and who was very much astonished to see me on the way to staff headquarters. When a young officer greeted him casually by lowering his riding whip, he was very angry and wanted to call him down at once and take him to task. But when he heard that this was Prince Joachim, who was on his way to headquarters, he stopped short in embarrassment. We had to wait more than five hours before the cars were at our disposal. On the way there was once again a halt. The motor trucks with the gifts had not yet arrived. The road was in terrible condition. But it became better when we passed the Russian frontier. The local inhabitants called it the Tsar's road, because it led straight through Warsaw to St. Petersburg.

The first Russo-Polish hamlet was an experience for us. In the middle of a large rectangular square, surrounded by ill-kept and squalid hovels, was a magnificent Russian church with golden cupolas. On the square the inhabitants stood looking curious about—on one side the peasants in hats and fur coats of lambskin, on the other the Jews in cloth caps and black clothes. They looked like two hostile camps, and eyed one another distrustfully. Here and there we also saw the effects of the war, houses destroyed, and trees cut down. The trip went slowly and continued until late in the evening. On the way we spoke with some Jews. They wanted to know whether they could see the appeal to the Polish Jews. Rumors about it had already reached them. They felt a certain pride at being addressed in their language in order to establish friendly relations.

I had never known anything about Kielce, and was

astonished to find a considerable city, the seat of an ancient bishopric. We put up at the Hotel Bristol, into whose dining room were crowded over a hundred officers from many branches of the army. The rooms that were shown us in the hotel across the street were miserable. There were no curtains. But the porter was very industrious in brushing our shoes and clothes, and called down curses on the Russians. On the following morning over coffee at the Bristol, we were discussing the problem of getting to the headquarters, when a young lieutenant broke in on our conversation and placed his car at our disposal. He himself was returning to Radom by airplane. We gladly accepted the offer and were eager to start as soon as possible. While we were standing beside the car, Prince Joachim, in shirtsleeves, came onto the balcony and asked whether we were the people who wanted to go to headquarters. When we replied that we were, he said laughing he would be there before us. This was indeed the case, as he went on the airplane to Radom. It was his car which had been lent us for our drive.

During the journey we had ample opportunity to observe the effects of the war. Grenades and bombs had made numerous holes in the road, around which the car had to be driven carefully. Dead horses lay to right and left. Dogs with bloody muzzles, as well as ravens, were occupied with them. Columns loaded with provisions moved in the direction of the headquarters, and numerous trucks carrying the wounded came toward us. We also passed soldiers bandaging their wounds by the roadside, and whole troops of wounded were on foot. As we approached Radom the number of trains carrying Russian prisoners increased, and contrary to our expectations we saw they were well dressed. We saw Mongolian types in astonishing numbers, and also a few Jews. The Cossacks, so we were informed, had torn off their red braid because they had been told that Cossacks would be given no reprieve. On

the way we were impressed by a house in relatively good condition, before which we halted. It belonged to a German Lutheran, who had many complaints about the Polish peasants of his neighborhood. He was glad to be able to talk to us in German.

After a drive of about three hours we reached Radom, where the picture that presented itself to our view was one altogether new to us. On the long street which traversed the city a stream of men was meandering about—all in dark kaftans and caps. Among them, at first, we saw few women and girls, but later the picture was colorfully enlivened by the latter. It seemed as if in this city there were only Jews. We drove at once to the headquarters, where we were received by Captain von Lüders, who arranged for a meeting with Ludendorff in the evening. The billeting commission was rather surprised at our wish to have rooms in the home of a Jew. We were satisfied with our quarters with the president of the Jewish community, Kirschbaum, all the more since otherwise they suited our purpose excellently. The host, however, was not much pleased by our intrusion. But his anxiety in the circumstances was well founded, and I am very happy that our staying with him entailed no ill consequences. In his house we were able to discuss matters with our Zionist friends without arousing any notice.

The anxiety of the Jewish population of Radom had particular causes. Only a short time before, after the retreat of the Austrian Reserve, three respected Talmudic scholars had been hanged without trial in a nearby wood, amid the wails of a frightened crowd, on the pretext that there had been shooting the Jews to exercise the greatest caution. It would have been from the house in which they studied. This incident had led foolhardy to induce the Jewish population to engage in any undertaking before we had the assurance that a retreat of German troops was not to be feared.

Ludendorff received us with great affability, but we did not trust him. His disposition betrayed calculation and a cold heart. The sharply sculptured forehead, the penetrating look, the thin lips, gave an impression of energy, shrewdness, and drive. It was clear from the first moment that we were for him only insignificant pawns on the chess board of the war. He showed the liveliest interest in our discussions. The intention of enlightening the Jewish population about the political situation and the prospect of an improvement of their position in the case of a victory of the Central Powers, were welcome to him. We proposed bringing our representatives into the occupied area in order to facilitate understanding between the military and the Jews. Later, when the Jews were to suffer abuses under the German Army, we realized the good this might have done. It was because of the deeply rooted hatred for the Jews that they were treated with such great distrust. Furthermore the Polish population, who had previously denounced the Jews to the Russians, began to attribute to the Jews treacherous actions against the Army of Occupation. Strangely enough, the language of the Jews also gave ground for friction and suspicion. The Polish masses remained strange and remote because they did not understand their language. On the other hand, apart from the mass of the people, communication of a sort through the Yiddish jargon was facilitated by Jewish procurers and prostitutes in contact with the army. Hence there arose among the authorities the prejudiced notion that procuring and prostitution in Poland were the particular domain of the Jews.

Ludendorff also discussed with Oppenheimer the question of how long Britain's supply of food and war material would last if its shipping traffic were halted by submarine warfare. I myself put the question, which was of far more importance for us, as to whether there was a risk that the occupied territory would again be surrendered, as had previously happened in the case of the Austrians. The General replied that the

Austrian Reserve had only had the task of clearing the ground. For tactical reasons, he said, small tracts of country might again be surrendered. The German army was in a very strong position. There was no need to fear a strategic retreat or the loss of South Poland. The conversation closed with the assurances of the General that he would recommend our intentions to Field Marshal von Hindenburg. The conversation, at which Herr von Lüders was present, had lasted over an hour and a half.

The Zionists of the city and our representative, Fränkel, were willing to take up the work for the National Fund and the Zionist Organization, and were glad to hear that the military authorities would not place any obstacle in the way. They also showed an immediate appreciation of the fact that we wished to wait with the dissemination of war news until the situation was clearer.

When we returned to our quarters from a stroll through the city, we found an invitation from the Field Marshal to supper at the Hotel Rome, where the whole staff was already gathered when we arrived. Von Lüders had been instructed to fetch us. But for this occasion we had at least to provide ourselves with clean collars, despite our otherwise bizarre costumes. The procuring of these articles took rather a longer time than we had expected. When we reached the hotel, Hindenburg received us at the entrance to the dining room, where his imposing figure seemed to us even grander. His features showed self-confidence, calm assurance, and kindness. The friendliness of our reception and our position at the table showed that we were regarded as honored guests and that a certain importance was attached to our visit to headquarters. The Marshal introduced us to some of the generals and also to Prince Joachim, who apparently did not quite know how he was to behave toward these strange civilians. His diffidence vanished only when we thanked him for letting us have his motorcar. The Marshal then asked

me about my impressions of the country. I replied that the frontier posts divided the countries though not the peoples and their customs, but that nevertheless the influence of the State was unmistakable. I said that I had had the opportunity, a few years before, to make the acquaintance of the population of Galicia on a journey to Lemberg, where I had found the inhabitants and their dwellings in the villages in a very neglected condition, but that here in Russian Poland the streets, the buildings, and the people made a considerably better impression. I hoped that with the German army a higher standard of culture would also enter the country. The Field Marshal observed that if he had anything to do with it I should be right. Among the guests present were Count Schlippenbach and Herr Hahn, who glittered in the fantastic splendor of his uniform with all its decorations. The Marshal then arranged the seating at the table. Oppenheimer sat on his left, and I was between Ludendorff and General Hoffmann, who afterwards played a decisive part in the peace of Brest-Litovsk. Opposite me sat the Duke of Meiningen and Herr von Kämmerer. Then the Marshal, in a jolly mood, called across the table: "Prince Joachim surely prefers to sit among the younger men?" The table was simple, and likewise the menu. At the end there was a glass of champagne. During the meal von Lüders and Count Hutton-Czapsky vied in showing amiability toward us. Czapsky appeared proud of having established relations with me in Berlin. This caused me quiet amusement, because after introducing me to Herr von Bergen the Count had not troubled about me at all.

At eleven o'clock the Field Marshal and Ludendorff retired. We remained for a while in pleasant conversation with Adjutant General von Kämmerer, General Hoffmann, and the Duke of Meiningen. After several bottles of Rhine wine and champagne I took the liberty of questioning Herr von Kämmerer about the war situation. But what he reported to us

sounded quite different from the reassuring statements of Ludendorff. The present situation was critical, he thought. The Russians were continually strengthening their forecs, and were drawing their troops from the Austrian to the German front. Thus far their superiority in weight was not alarming. But if they succeeded in increasing their strength to double that of the German-Austrian forces, then this front could no longer be held, and the German Army would then be forced to retreat. I drank only a modest amount of the champagne, so that I was still sufficiently sober to appreciate what he said. Oppenheimer afterward praised me for my Rhinelander's head for wine, which had done me good service on this occasion.

In the end it became clear how correct the judgment of Herr von Kämmerer had been. Four weeks later South Poland was evacuated and the headquarters were moved back to Thorn.

Before we left, Hindenburg gave us the following letter :

I gladly testify to Herr Justizrat Dr. Bodenheimer and Privatdozent Dr. Oppenheimer, authorized representatives of the Committee for the Liberation of the Russian Jews, that I have a benevolent interest in the endeavors of their Committee and am prepared to further its aims.

S.H.O.

The Commander-in-Chief of the

Radom, October 15, 1914. Eastern Army von Hindenburg.

The importance of this statement was in many respects underrated, since it lost its political value with the end of the war and the establishment of the Polish national State. But it had a similar character to the statements of McMahon, the British Commander-in-Chief in Egypt, to the Sheriff of Mecca. In the case of the establishment of a West Russian Federation, then the *Ober-Ost* Army Command would have been morally obligated, in accordance with the proposals of the Committee, to stand for Jewish national autonomy with representation in

Parliament and the use of their own language in schools and courts. It is clear that this would have been of the greatest importance for the position of the Jews in the *Galuth* and for the building up of Palestine.

An indirect consequence of our activity was the enlightenment of the highest Imperial authorities about Zionist aspirations. When later the representatives of the Zionist Executive in Berlin received from the Foreign Office a promise of support for their aims, the way had been paved to a great extent by the Committee for Eastern Europe.

Another day we made an arrangement with Captain von Lüders in the event of a resumption of our work in Russia. Communications with headquarters was to take place through the army chaplain, Dr. Arthur Levi. Captain de la Croix of the cavalry brought us back to Kielce, where we were to get a car to Cracow. The driver went roaring like the wind. As we bounced and jolted over the grenade holes in the road I whispered to the Captain that it was a good thing we were not made of porcelain, whereupon the driver continued somewhat more cautiously. Apparently the district had not been completely cleared of the enemy. We were fired at from a wood near by, and the windshield of the car was shattered. But no one was to be seen.

In Kielce we were unable to procure a car, despite the promise of an Austrian officer, who had requested permission from de la Croix to do the driving. His boast that the Austrian motorized column was under his authority turned out to be a bold-faced lie. He was quite unknown there. When we met him later and took him to task, he tried to excuse himself, but admitted that he himself could get no car for Cracow. At the headquarters of the German motorized column we were given a friendly reception by a captain who knew Oppenheimer, but could not get a car, as cars were all kept back by express order for the General Staff. Although this was very annoying to us

at the time, we soon became convinced of the necessity for this regulation. So we sat for several hours at the Hotel Bristol, where the lobby was full of the military, and waited. At last Captain de la Croix appeared with a car, which brought us late in the evening to Cracow. On the way there were wonderful fir woods to right and left. Uninterrupted columns of trucks were bringing food supplies and ammunition to the front. The weather was as warm as in September, and induced us to have a picnic in the forest. The driver, a volunteer from the Imperial Automobile Club, provided himself on this occasion with some young geese, which a herdsman sold him cheaply. From Cracow we went on by motorcar to Gleiwitz and then to Beuthen, where we spent the night.

The following day we came to Breslau. There we met Dr. Klee, in frock coat and silk hat, in which solemn attire he had just presented himself to the head of the Civil Administration, Count Metternich, by whom he was to be employed as an assistant. However, the Count, who received us at once, was quite unhappy about the appointment of Klee. He said that he himself did not yet know what he was to administer. He had neither an office nor a budget nor any instructions from the minister about Klee. He then complained particularly about the mistaken idea of the officers, that they were permitted to engage in hunting in occupied area. Metternich was the typical conscientious Prussian official, who as district administrator in the Münsterschen indeed acted with great severity against poachers. He was shortly afterward recalled, and this the employment of Klee in the service of the *Ober-Ost* civil administration became unnecessary.

After our visit to the headquarters we wanted to show our appreciation for the friendliness of the General Staff. I therefore sent my wife a telegram asking her to organize a collection of gifts for the *Ober-Ost* staff through the National Women's League. When I returned to Cologne a whole car load of

woollens, underwear, wines, and delicacies had already been collected. Those who took part in the donation included not only the *Burgergesellschaft,* the *Erholung* and *Lese* societies and the Jewish Lodge, but also many private individuals. The shipment to the headquarters, which were now at Thorn, was made through the lawyers Dr. Gideon and Dr. Katzenstein. Herr von Kämmerer acknowledged the gift in a letter full of delightful humor. It had unfortunately been impossible for him, owing to drastic changes in the army command, to give my young friends such a pleasant evening as we had experienced in Radom. But my emissaries had been very fortunate, as they had almost been arrested while they wandered about the railway platforms. Hindenburg and Ludendorff sent their special thanks. If it should again go badly with them, he would turn to me full of confidence. This clever and intelligent officer was, unhappily, to die of an inflammation of the lungs not long afterward, while he was on leave.

After our return from the visit to headquarters, around the end of October 1914, Oppenheimer and I had a talk with Prince von Bülow at the Hotel Adlon, to which I had moved in the meantime. The Prince was scantily informed about military events. He therefore wished to know all sorts of things about *Ober-Ost.* He made no secret of his dissatisfaction with the Empire's political maneuvers. He expressed in particular his unconcealed bitterness over the lack of diplomatic war in Italy. Things had gone so much awry that as Ambassador at Rome he could hardly salvage anything. In the course of the conversation he also expressed his views on Zionism and the character of Herzl, who had made a considerable impression upon him. He had nevertheless to refrain from any active support of Zionist aspirations, because the information that he had received from Jewish quarters had represented the movement as unworthy of notice. This was confirmed by the legal adviser to the Prince, Justizrat Silberstein in Berlin. The

latter, together with Professor Ludwig Stein, had been instructed, he informed us, to obtain information about the importance of the Zionist movement. I was surprised that in this connection Professor Stein was also mentioned, as I had been assured that he was on friendly terms with Herzl. But presumably he also considered himself obliged to gather the views of the Berlin circles close to him. From an objective point of view von Bülow's position was therefore thoroughly justified. It would have been the policy of an adventurer for Germany in the year 1898 to have tried to realize the idea of a Jewish State in Palestine.

When I returned to Cologne the head governing-official, Herr Steinmeister, invited me to give a report before the entire governmental staff about my journey to the *Ober-Ost* headquarters for in the Rhine province there was extraordinary interest in events to the east. Herr Steinmeister also supported the Committee through recommendations and allowed me to issue a stamp, the sale of which was to benefit the Jews of the East who were suffering as a result of the war, through the agency of the Red Cross.

The retreat of the German troops from South Poland, which began at the end of October 1914, caused a complete change of our program. The forward-looking political plan for establishing a national federation from the Baltic to the Black Sea had to be postponed. The publication of the *Kol Mevasser* was stopped, and instead negotiations began with the Polish leaders about the integration of the Jews into the Polish State planned by the Reich.

Thus we now occupied ourselves with the question of a national cultural autonomy for the Jews. The direction of this department was handed over to Dr. Vladimir Kaplan-Kogan, a young scholar who in 1913 had published a notable book on the migration movements of the Jews. He then wrote on behalf of the Committee a study of the community of lang-

uage and culture among the Jews in Poland. The Committee then published, by way of preparation for our negotiations with the Reich authorities and the Poles, an essay by Hermann Struck, *Zur Einfuhrung in die jüdische Sprache (Introduction to the Jewish Language)* and a detailed memorandum by Professor Heinrich Loewe on the same subject. Both publications proved of great interest to the Reich authorities.

A special task of the Committee, which had now changed its name from "Committee for the Liberation of the Russian Jews" to the less provocative one of "Committee for Eastern Europe," was the moral support of the Jews of Poland as against the ignorance, the prejudices, and the caprice shown by the German and the Austrian occupation authorities.

Nordau's reply to my letter, which I received in January 1915, also contributed to a change in tactics by the Committee and to the limitation of its aims. Nordau wrote me that my letter had been a long while in reaching him. A vague account of what we were undertaking had already reached him. If he found himself obliged to express a divergent opinion it could be only in the spirit of friendship and fraternity, not only because of his old affection and respect for me from our brotherhood in arms, but also because he knew that all my words and deeds had been prompted by the purest and noblest intentions, which also excused errors of judgment. Such he considered my undertaking to be. He regarded it as inadmissible that the fate of millions of men should depend upon a single doubtful card. And even in the event of success he foresaw concealed scorn and contempt on the part of the "new master." It had been right for me to deal with this matter as a German patriot without a mandate. This manner of our procedure must be preserved. As Jews we had at present only to do our duty towards our fatherland, and that too with the utmost sacrifice. As Zionists we had to keep ourselves quiet and loyal in the warring countries until the storm was over. In

the neutral countries alone we could, by moving cautiously, prepare thoughts and deeds for the moment when the fate of Palestine would be under discussion by the decisive powers at the time.

It was striking how greatly inclined the Polish leaders were to establish relations with our Committee. Only later did I recognize the cause. It was clear to me from the beginning that my plan must be disagreeable to them because it called for the inclusion of a majority of other nationalities, among whom were more than six and a half million Jews. I was therefore of the opinion that they considered us only as trail blazers for the Polish State. As a result of the great exaggeration of our influence, they considered it prudent to remain in contact with us. I therefore had no scruples about our sitting down at the same conference table with the leaders of the upper nobility and the intelligentsia of Galicia and "Congress" Poland.

There were, as well, assimilated Polish authors who opposed us because they suspected Zionism behind the Committee. One of them, by the name of Benjamin Segel, even brought out the tale that we had caused the death of innocent Jews through our activity. That this was a malicious invention was proved by sworn testimony concerning Russian war atrocities before a German Inquiry Commission to which Hermann Struck belonged.

Our office also had a visit from the hereditary member of the Prussian Upper House, Reichsgraf von Oppersdorff, who regarded himself as our mentor and opened many a door for us, as he knew his way about in all ministries and offices. The Court and representatives of high finance were also accessible to him, and he enjoyed full confidence among the Austrian-Polish leaders. This distinguished and clever man spared himself no trouble when it came to assisting with advice and action. Never did his patience and his courtesy desert him, so that we had the impression that it was not he who was doing us a

favor but the other way round. He introduced us to Hofrat Rosner of Vienna, the Poles' representative, to Korfanty, a member of Parliament, and to General Sikorsky of the Polish Legion, with all of whom we carried on negotiations about the cultural autonomy of the Jews. Korfanty declared himself in principle prepared to recognize them. He refused, however, to recognize the equality of the Jewish and Polish languages. He seemed to find absurd my idea of allowing Yiddish as the official language in cities with a Jewish population majority. That these Prussian Poles were carrying on an equivocal policy later became evident. After the war ended, Hutton-Czapski and von Oppersdorff were the first to turn their backs on Prussia and to retreat to their Polish estates.

In February 1915 we received an invitation from Bilinsky, the president of the Polish Club, to come to Vienna for negotiations. Oppenheimer, Sobernheim, Friedemann, and I made the journey. At first we formed a small branch of the Committee in Vienna with Professor Ehrmann at the head. We also took Oberbaurat [literally, Head Building Councilor] Stricker into our confidence. We then negotiated with Hofrat Rosner and the Executive of the Polish Club, to whom we explained our conception of the establishment of autonomy for individual nationalities within the framework of the future State.

There became manifest a steadily increasing distrust on the part of Sobernheim concerning my Zionist influence, which he feared might be harmful to the cause. Sobernheim had a certain reputation as an Orientalist. He attached great value to his relations with the moneyed aristocracy, which he made useful to the Committee, but he tended to exaggerate the extent of his diplomatic abilities, which utterly failed in dealing with the high authorities of the Reich and with the Polish leaders. Of his awkward procedure at the audiences with the Grand Duke of Baden and Archduke Karl of Austria, Friedemann often gave very funny descriptions. As he was under the

influence of the German assimilationists, he had humanitarian rather than political aims chiefly in view. This determined his attitude towards me in the Committee. Finally there developed a violent argument between us on account of a conversation I had had with Hofrat Rosner. A difficulty had arisen because claims to national autonomy had come from both Lithuanian and Ruthenian circles, and their leaders both sought support from us. A conflict of interest could thus arise in regard to the Poles. I therefore suggested to Rosner that negotiations with the Poles be concluded without regard to the other nationalities, but with the announcement of this agreement to take place only after a general understanding had been arrived at with the Lithuanians and the Ruthenians as well. Since Rosner had declared himself agreed in prinicple to this procedure I reported it to Friedemann and Oppenheimer, who reproached me with high-handedness in the matter. There was not the least ground for the accusation because the conversation with Rosner had not involved any commitments.

With regard to the attitude of the Polish Club toward us, the following may be added. We could not conceal from ourselves that their negotiations with us were going on concurrently with other plans. The Poles had several irons in the fire. They reckoned at once on the event of a victory for the Allies and for Central Powers. They tried to exercise pressure upon the latter for the formation of a Polish State which would include not only "Congress" Poland but Galicia as well. The Austrian Empire seemed to them unstable enough to venture this demand. Of the annexation of Prussian territories there could naturally be no question at that time, but only following a victory for the Allies. Their negotiations with the Reich were conducted partly through Count Hutton-Czapski, who had meanwhile been appointed commanding officer at Posen. The intention of the Reich Chancellor and of the Imperial Headquarters was the establishment of a Polish National State,

which was to be limited to "Congress" Poland. In this way a dispute with Austria was to be avoided and the founding of the State would not be impeded by the problem of national minorities or the Jewish question. On this matter the Polish leaders were much better instructed than we, as our relations were confined to the *Ober-Ost* Army Command and the Foreign Office. The Committee was unable to get to the Imperial Chancellor, and the ring around the Kaiser was likewise closed. It was therefore understandable that the Poles should pursue a dilatory tactic. This was why our procedure had to be aimed at securing a decision, but in this Soberheim's caution proved a hindrance. This, and not my Zionism, was the reason the Vienna discussions produced no result.

Some observations must be made about the strands that were interwoven with my plan and the Polish State. History develops according to a law of which we are unconscious. It is only later that the motives of the actors appear above the threshold of their consciousness. This was the case with me after the conversation with Rosner.

It was Ludendorff who best grasped the significance of my plan. He had at once recognized that a national autonomy of the alien peoples of Russia such as I proposed must make the new State permanently dependent upon the German Reich, whereas a Polish national State would be a danger. This is why he was inclined, just as he had made use of the Jew Rathenau in his economic and industrial preparations for war, to harness the Jew Bodenheimer to his political cart. After the creation of the Polish State he had no further interest in the Committee.

Our relations with the *Ober-Ost* headquarters did not remain a secret from the Poles. They therefore reckoned with our being able to find support from that quarter for our federation of nationalities. But as the Poles aimed at a sovereign State the idea of being merely the strongest nation in a federation would have been a great disappointment for them. In a

Great Poland with Galicia and Vilna there would indeed also be other minorities, and they had therefore likewise to reckon with a Jewish minority. Thus they believed that if they were to agree to our idea of an autonomy, we would perhaps drop the plan for the federation. So, at any rate I explained to myself their willingness to negotiate with us about methods of achieving this autonomy. As is clear, there could then have been no question of a national but only of a cultural autonomy for education and religion.

Upon this question was based the difference in principle between me and the remaining members of the Committee, for I continued to insist upon the formation of national entities. From the experiences of other minorities I considered a purely cultural autonomy to be inadequate. Today I can see that even national autonomy is of permanent value only for a majority people.

Since in the prevailing circumstances I realized the futility of my further presence in Vienna, and since the constant friction with Sobernheim was so unpleasant around the middle of March 1915, I decided to leave, so that I could spend my fiftieth birthday in the circle of my family.

It may also be mentioned that our negotiations with the Polish Club naturally took place in full agreement with the Foreign Office. The reports about this also went to State Secretary of the Reich Chancellery von Wahnschaffe and to the *Ober-Ost* Army Command. We were encouraged by all Imperial Ministries to continue our political activities.

To the Foreign Office our ambitious plans for a federation of nationalities were useful because we could be used as a bugbear, in order to warn the Poles not to extend their demands too far. After the proclamation of the Polish State by the Reich the question of cultural autonomy for the Jews would no longer serve any purpose.

We succeeded in interesting Herr von Hentig, the chairman

of the Society for Germanism Abroad, in the idea of a cultural autonomy for East European Jewry. He was, naturally, steeped in German national tradition. As millions of Germans lived in Russia our idea was also of importance in this matter. I introduced him to Privy Councilor Fuchs, who was full of enthusiasm for the Committee. Hentig made plans for addresses on the oppressed peoples of Russia to be given before the Upper House, among which the question of the Russian Jews should also be dealt with. It was intended that Klee should be the speaker on this subject. But the large number of nationalities who wanted to be heard took up a great deal of time, and we were unable to achieve anything since after the formation of the Polish State, there was no further interest in including the Jews in a new national combination.

We also had relations with Herr Cleinow, who had undertaken the organization of the press in Poland. We supplied Rohrbach, the cultural historian, with material about the Jews for his book on the nationalities of the Russian Empire. We negotiated with the Ministry of the Interior about a Jewish department in the civil adminstration for Poland. The result of this, after the capture of Warsaw, was that Ludwig Haas, a member of the Reichstag, was appointed inspector for Jewish schools in Poland.

After the change in our program it was likewise impossible to persuade James Simon, Dr. Nathan, or the Hamburg banker, Max Warburg, to cooperate with us. Their fear that the Committee was under the influence of the Zionists was too great. Besides, these men were annoyed by a misunderstanding that had occurred. In America a Committee for Eastern Europe had likewise been formed, which collected donations for the *Hilfsverein*. Dr. Straus had indeed reported to us about these collections, but did not inform us that this was an American Committee of the *Hilfsverein*. We were therefore under the impression that these funds were intended for our Com-

mittee and demanded they should be handed over, whereupon the misunderstanding was cleared up. Despite our apologies there remained a discord, which we regretted the more because we had the greatest esteem for Max Warburg, who had initiated this action in America and whose services to the German economy during the war were well known to us. Moreover, an Orthodox group, under Rosenheim of Frankfort-on-the-Main and Meier Hildesheimer of Berlin, had been formed for the work in Russian Poland.

The difficulties that arose through this split were very dismaying. The Jewish position, which we had established with difficulty, thus became thoroughly undermined. The miserable spectacle of a crass Ghetto spirit showed itself in a total lack of solidarity. We had won the confidence of the authorities because we were looked upon as representatives of German Jewry. This aroused the resentment of circles with other views. They had rejected our offer to make common cause. On the other hand, they considered it necessary to dispute our right to approach the authorities with whom we were in contact. It is therefore not a matter of surprise that the authorities soon treated us with a certain contempt and in the new political situation ceased to pay any regard to the Jews.

First of all Lewald, of the Imperial Cabinet, called attention to our internal conflicts. He remarked with a smile of contempt: "Every day some other representatives of the German Jews present themselves to me. One day it is James Simon and Dr. Nathan, then it is Herr Rosenheim of Frankfort and Rabbi Munk; and they maintain unanimously that the Zionists are without any influence in eastern Europe. Whom shall I believe?" Likewise the military governor of Lodz, General Sauberzweig, who later sent Edith Cavell to her death, pointed to our internal weakness when I tried to make clear to him the importance for German policy of the East European Jews: "With whom are we to negotiate about the future of the Jews

in Poland? They have no authorized representation. Is it the *Hilfsverein* or is it the Zionists? I believe that the Jews are not a people at all, they are only the offscouring of a people (*Volksstaub*)." Whereupon I replied, "This is not surprising, Your Excellency, as we have been scattered about through the whole world. That is just what we Zionists want to change." To this he observed ironically: "I wish you good luck, though for the present it does not look as if you could unite yourselves."

When we started out on our journey to Lodz in May 1915, we had not yet been informed about the change in German policy. Struck, who traveled with Friedemann and me, was immediately assigned by Cleinow to the press. He afterwards rendered the Army Command valuable services through his excellent relations with Orthodoxy and the skill be displayed in smoothing out differences between the military and the Jewish population. After Friedemann and Struck had gone I remained for a few weeks in Lodz at the wish of the police chief, von Oppen, in order to make out a report on the Jewish school system of the city. I then drafted a memorandum on the journey, which was printed and published by the Committee.

In the course of our journey we had stopped a few days in Posen, where we met with leading Zionists. At a meeting of the most respected Jews there we reported about the Committee, whose aims met with much sympathy. The Jews of Posen then exercised a strong influence in the city. They turned the scales between Germans and Poles. We used our stay for the purpose of admiring the splendid monumental buildings of the city, the palace, and the magnificent city park.

In Posen I also underwent my sixth inoculation—against cholera, as I remember. I was now protected against all diseases. Nevertheless we had a disquieting feeling when we went on our excursions from Lodz into cities where typhus fever raged.

In Kalisch we also spoke to the head of the civil administration, Herr von Griess. It appeared that our activity in occupied territory was not very agreeable to him. The barbarity with which the German troops had destroyed the finest parts of the city was shocking. It was said that the population had welcomed the Germans, in view of the appeal of the army command, in perfect confidence. The women even greeted the troops with flowers. Then suddenly there was a rumor that the troops had been fired on from Jewish houses, which was naturally quite untrue. Besides, why should the Jews have indulged in such foolish conduct? The notoriously drunken commander at once issued a command to clear that street, and in a few hours it had been reduced to a shambles by gun fire. A number of Jews were arrested as hostages, and as a result one of them suffered a stroke.

Herr Cleinow was so kind as to take me with him on a number of motor trips through Poland. Thus I went to Lenzicsa and later to Petrikau and Czenstochowa. By some means I could not understand, the Jews already knew of my presence and crowded round the car with all sorts of questions. Many wanted to hear about their relatives in Palestine, over whose fate they were anxious. Cleinow was astonished by my popularity among the East European Jews, which was due to my activity as president of the National Fund. In Lenzicza the Jews showed me postcards with a hideous picture of a "ritual murder," which were being circulated by the Poles in the country, a proof that anti-Semitic agitation did not cease even during wartime.

As a precaution for the journey to Poland the deputation of our Committee was admitted by Prince Hatzfeld into the League of the Red Cross and provided with its emblem to protect us from the dangers that threatened us as civilians. This emblem was of use to us more than once. While I strolled through the streets of Czestochowa with some of our fellow

Zionists, a higher officer came to me and very seriously warned me against the Jews with whom I spoke, saying that all these people were spies. Everywhere in Poland, except in Lodz and Warsaw, there were only small Zionist groups. The great mass held aloof from the Organization. As I could not return before the evening I inspected the city in the meantime. The new parts made a pleasant impression: they were traversed by broad streets lined with trees. But above all the splendid church of the black Madonna dominated the city scene. The houses of the Jewish quarter were small and dilapidated.

The drive in the car was no pleasure trip. For hours it went over roads made of rough logs, which took the place of paving. On our journey to Lenzicza we had eight blowouts, a proof of how careless people were then about materials.

My task of reporting on Jewish schools brought me into contact with influential Jews at Lodz. Most of the big industrialists, it is true, had fled with the Russians. One of those who had remained behind told me of the sufferings to which the Jews had been exposed. Hundreds had been executed by the Russians without any judicial proceedings. He would not enter the garden of my hotel because of the many Jews who had been hanged on the trees there.

The schools I inspected were held in inadequate rooms, and the *Chedarim* were in an incredibly dirty condition. I also visited a "Wonder Rabbi," who had fled to Lodz and whom I found in the midst of a great number of his followers, deep in prayer. I had to pass a considerable number of his servants and pupils before I could reach him. It would have been a princely ceremonial if only his surroundings had not shown signs of the greatest poverty. Some of these "Wonder Rabbis" are said to receive a considerable income from the gifts of those who believe in them. Of the Rabbi of Gura-Kalvaria, whom I visited in Warsaw, it is related that he often fed hundreds of guests. In the hotel I encountered authors and journalists who

were employed on the daily press of the Army Command. Among them was young Otto Braun, who enlivened the conversation with his wit and vivacity. I knew that he had Napoleonic blood in his veins. When I spoke of the "Wonder Rabbi" and remarked that I had been deeply touched by his devout fervor, he would not leave me in peace but bombarded me with requests to be introduced to him. But this was not to be. Shortly afterwards he became a victim of the war.

The Executive of the community invited me to a meeting, at which I was solemnly welcomed. They were very eager to know something about the intentions of the Imperial Government. I could not divulge anything on the subject, since unfortunately I knew nothing about it myself. The Jews had many complaints against the Polish burgomaster appointed by the military authorities. Above all they complained that Jews were being dismissed from the militia on the day on which pay was regularly issued. There was no other reason, for the Poles themselves praised the attitude of the volunteer Jewish militia. This did not augur well for the future. But the Poles themselves were not yet firmly in the saddle. This was clearly evident when one day the burgomaster of Lodz, a Polish engineer, came to see us, in the greatest agitation to complain of bad treatment by the German authorities. He begged us to use our influence with the governor toward showing greater regard for the city administration.

From Lodz we made a trip to Lowicz and Skierniewice. In Lowicz the railway station had been destroyed by an air raid the day before. A troop transport that had just come in was loaded with victims. The coffins of the dead lay in the hall, and we were witnesses of a short ceremony in honor of those who had fallen. In Skierniewice we found ourselves near the front. We saw the air raids and heard loud gunfire from all sides. In the midst of the noise of battle a religious service took place on the field, conducted by the chaplain, Rabbi Dr. Levi, who

was frequently disturbed by unruly Jewish youths. The German rite used for this service was apparently disagreeable to them. The son of Privy Councilor Fuchs, who was killed soon afterwards, was brought at our wish from the trenches and we were able to convey to him the greetings entrusted to us by his parents.

We also made the acquaintance of a remarkable man. He was a Polish rabbi, who maintained that he had won the Battle of Tannenberg. According to him it was he who won it. The report that it was Hindenburg was a historical error. The man immediately attracted our attention by his eccentric behavior, his animated gestures, his flashing dark eyes, and his pale face with the unmistakable expression of a fanatic. He told us that his father had predicted on his death bed that a people would come from the west who would overthrow the Tsar's régime and liberate the Jews. He had therefore immediately placed himself at the disposal of General Staff as *Ober-Ost* and set up an information center in Poland. He had thus been in a position to inform the Army Command in good time that the Russian armies had drawn up at Tannenberg. Thanks to this information the battle had been won. The reason for his looking us up was that a number of Jews from his information center had fallen into the hands of the Russians and had been hanged. Their families were thus now without a breadwinner, and he wanted us to see that the families of the murdered Jews were provided for.

The existence of his information bureau and the voluntary activity of the rabbi for it were confirmed to us by the military command at Skierniewice, but his views on the victory at Tannenberg were noted with a smile. It is interesting, nevertheless, that German General Staff had intelligence about the movements of the Russian Army in the direction of Tannenberg, which had long remained inexplicable to the German Army Command. The confirming reports, however, left no

doubt of the fact and made it possible for Hindenburg to meet the Russians at Tannenberg in good time and to overpower them. From what source the German Intelligence Service derived its information, the General Staff naturally gave no hint. Perhaps it was indeed the Rabbi of Opoczno. We succeeded, at any rate, in getting the consent of the proper military authorities for sending relief to the families he had named.

After the return from Lodz I concluded my memorandum on the League of East European States, which appeared in the collection of war writings issued by Jaeckh under the pseudonym Max Bodmer. Unfortunately it could no longer exercise any influence on the course of the political events. On the other hand, the idea of a cultural autonomy of the Jews soon found wide recognition. The question of national cultural autonomy had already been discussed theoretically many times before the war, by the Austrian Social Democrats as well as by Jews. The State Councilor Renner and the Socialist leader Bauer had made the idea very popular. But for the Jews this discussion had no political importance, because the Social Democrats refused to recognize the Jews as a national unit. At the Congress of Helsinki also the Zionists made a similar demand. They were supported by the Russian *Poale-Zion,* but could not secure such recognition even from the democratic "Cadets." It was therefore of great importance for the future activity of the Committee that it should have adopted this idea so that it might be recognized among the new States which had likewise to reckon with national minorities. It was remarkable that the assimilationist opponents of the Zionists were well disposed toward this plan, apparently because they saw in it a counterbalance to the aspirations for a Jewish State in Palestine. The Zionist Executive also included this idea in its Copenhagen manifesto, and likewise it had the support of the International Labor Party. It was to the credit of our repre-

sentative in America, Dr. Isaac Straus, that shortly afterwards the American Jewish Congress declared itself in favor of the national rights of the Jews where these were granted to other nationalities. The Hague office of the Socialist party, *Poale-Zion,* with those representative, Chasanowitz, I had several conversations, proposed the formula that the autonomy of nations was to be realized on the basis of a democratic constitution which took account of its cultural needs. The press representative of the Political Commission of the Labor Party, P. I. Troelstra, explained this as follows: "I think in the first place of the national minorities in various districts, also of those which will perhaps now receive their political independence." The Committee for Eastern Europe has thus above all worked in advance for the creation of national minority rights which later played an important part at the peace conferences and in the League of Nations.

To lay down the principles of the minority rights of the Jews it seemed to us necessary to get in touch with the authoritative Jewish circles in Warsaw. The Committee attached value to my joining the delegation, because of my known good relations with the local Zionists. I also considered it advisable to discuss the plan of creating national electoral assemblies with my friends in Warsaw. All sorts of foolish rumors had arisen about the activity of the Committee, and we had to clear those up. Besides, the German Orthodox party had sent Rabbi Kahn of Fulda and Carlebach from Cologne to Warsaw as their representatives with the task of organising the Orthodox, out of fear that we would win over adherents to our objectives. This interfered with our activity and reduced our influence among the Poles, as the Orthodox demands on behalf of the Jews were limited to the religious sphere. They had little understanding of the political, social, and economic dangers that threatened. It was really a wonder that in the Polish capital, that romantic city which still radiated some of the splendor of the period

of the rococo, we nevertheless did achieve some results. Unfortunately these were not lasting, but were superseded by the later events of the war. Representatives of the Zionists, of the Jewish *Volkspartei,* of the Jewish Labor Party, and of the assimilationists took part in a meeting at the home of the noted physician Dr. Goldflamm. The main question with which we dealt was freedom of language for the Jewish schools.

These matters of dispute also had a detrimental influence upon Jewish politics in Poland. The workers and the Orthodox demanded Yiddish as the language for the schools, while the Zionists favored Hebrew and the assimilationists favored Polish. Had an agreement on this matter been achieved there might have been some hope of persuading the Poles to make a concession. But as it was, the Polish leaders took the position that they could not possibly allow the Jews two different languages in the schools. Another meeting with the Polish leaders took place at the house of Baron von Wertheim, a baptized Jew. The mansion of this remarkable man, who took a lively interest in the fate of his fellow Jews, was the gathering-place of a select company. The burgomaster of Warsaw, Prince Lubomirsky, acted as chairman. Besides, there were several university professors, big industrialists, and representatives of the upper nobility. From the discussion, in which Friedemann, Sobernheim, and I also took part, it transpired that for the Poles the most important problem was how they could get rid of their Jews in a respectable way. That was also the reason why they were favorably disposed toward Zionism and showed less interest in the electoral assemblies. They believed that if an emigration of the Jews to Palestine could take place, the positions of merchants and tradespeople opened thereby could be occupied by Poles, and the Jews reduced to a small percentage, which could then be assimilated by the Poles. I vehemently opposed this deluded notion. They would have to answer the question, I said, of whether they would rather have

the Jews remain an impoverished, neglected, uneducated group of second-class citizens or allow them to progress socially and economically. The road to the latter was opened by our proposal of cultural autonomy and national minority rights. The Jews were by no means enemies of Poland, and it would be a wise political solution if the Poles were to lend a hand to the Jews for their advancement. The Zionist movement, which the Poles expected to result in an emigration of the Jewish population, could not yet be taken for granted. The necessary conditions for a mass settlement of Jews in Palestine were very far from being realized.

In Warsaw I also became acquainted with the Yiddish press and the Yiddish theater. The *Tageblatt,* under the editorship of Kahan, had been transferred from Lodz to Warsaw. It is understandable that this paper, which had a large circulation, was entirely under the influence of the German Army Command. In addition the *Haint* and the *Moment,* and the organ of the Jewish Bund, had a rather large number of readers. The leading writers for these papers were in favor of our ideas, because we advocated Yiddish as the school language for Polish Jews. It was true that the Hebrew schools were excellently organized and yielded good results. Nevertheless we believed that as a language for teaching Yiddish, as the mother tongue of the Jewish masses, was the natural one. The difference between Palestine and eastern Europe is obvious. There, Hebrew is the one medium for giving the children of different origin a uniform education. But I considered it impossible to make Hebrew the language of intercourse of the East European Jews by means of the schools. This was admitted by the Zionists, who nevertheless adhered exclusively and firmly to the idea of a Hebrew school system. The consequence was, as we foresaw, that neither Hebrew nor Yiddish was recognized as the school language.

As in Lodz, in Warsaw, there were two Yiddish theaters in

which excellent actors appeared. Farce and burlesque were especially popular. The drama aimed at cheap effects, but despite the poor quality of the pieces the plays aroused great interest.

My stay in Warsaw was prolonged because we were awaiting an invitation from Hindenburg to Kovno. However, I received it only after my arrival in Cologne, and then made no use of it, since a trip to staff headquarters by then offered no further prospects. Shortly after my return from Poland the proclamation of the Polish State took place. At the Imperial headquarters there were those who had higher cards to play than we. The commander at Posen, Count Hutton-Czapski, had succeeded in breaking through the ring around the Kaiser. The Polish National State had been created in return for the promise of raising a volunteer army. In consequence of the opposition of the Polish nobility and the Church, however, the Polish Legion did not materialize. Only a few hundred men reported. Nevertheless the Polish State was proclaimed.

I now broke off my activity in the Committee for Eastern Europe and concerned myself with the writing of a pamphlet discussing the relation of the Zionists to other national currents among the Jews of eastern Europe. But this pamphlet was not published, since owing to subsequent developments, it lost its importance. What the Committee had been able to do for the political organization of East European Jewry had been done. The idea that by virtue of language and culture they constituted a nationality of their own, which had a right to preserve its specific character, had penetrated into all circles concerned. Foreign countries had also become aware of it. This was important because the possession of cultural autonomy had become a slogan for all the nationalities which looked forward to minority rights in one or another of the newly founded States. Our work therefore formed an essential support for the current aspirations of the Jewish Labor Party and the Zionist

Organization. Jewish minority rights, as is generally known, afterward found a nucleus at Geneva in the *Comité des Délégations Juives,* and in Motzkin an able and vigorous representative.

However, the work for the Committee led to great disappointment in another direction. When the war broke out we had put ourselves wholeheartedly at the disposal of the Reich. While we were also influenced by the belief that the interests of the Jews of eastern Europe were in agreement with those of the Central Powers. The chief motivation behind the enthusiasm with which we put our time and energy at its disposal was the wish to be of service to the Reich. All the more disappointing to us was the increasing coolness of the Reich authorities toward our Committee, as well as the fact that the attitude of the Occupation authorities toward the Jews became even more oppressive. It also seemed to us that our complaints to them about the treatment of the Jews had become embarrassing.

The several journeys I made to The Hague in the interests of the J.N.F. gave me the valued opportunity to have talks not only with Jakobus Kann but also with Nehemia de Lieme and Julius Simon, who had taken over the management of the office of the J.N.F. with great devotion. Julius Simon, who was shortly afterwards called by Weizmann to London, was still later, along with Nehemia de Lieme, to become a member of the Reorganization Commission in Palestine. In the house of Julius Simon we had a sharp discussion one evening on the value of the war for culture. Frau Joanna Simon, a very sensitive and clever woman, who was at other times the personification of calm and self-possession, became enormously excited at a remark made by Friedemann, to the effect that war in a certain sense had always contributed to the spread of culture. "Every war," she exclaimed, "is barbarity and can only spread the opposite of culture!"

At The Hague I also visited the local German Minister, Dr. Rosen, a son of the former Consul General at Jerusalem. He made no secret of the fact that he was skeptical toward Zionism. I asked him whether this was the official view of the German Government, whereupon he replied that it was his personal opinion. The country was poor and unsuitable for colonization, he said, and the population was relatively large, so that a great immigration of Jews was hardly conceivable. The next day he invited me to dinner, and one of the dinner guests made the remark that the Balfour Declaration was an excellent move in English policy, but that it was very doubtful whether England would keep her word if national difficulties arose.

In January 1917 I went to Stockholm for the purpose of exchanging views with Dr. Tschlenow on the political situation. On the way I stayed in Copenhagen, where in the Zionist office I met a fellow Zionist, Dr. Rosenbaum, who later became Lithuanian Minister. He displayed the most lively interest in our scheme for a national cultural autonomy, which would have been of benefit to the Jewish as well as the Lithuanian population. Unfortunately Tschlenow was prevented from coming to Stockholm, and I thus never again saw this shrewd upright Zionist, for he died in London a year later, in January 1918. After intensive submarine warfare had begun, and the risk of America entering the war became acute, I considered the cause of Germany as lost and with it buried my dream of a national autonomy of the Russian Jews in a West Russian Empire.

At the beginning of my account of the war I referred to the anxiety that the fate of my family caused me during this difficult period. This needs to be completed. Immediately after the outbreak of war my son Fritz passed his emergency examination as *Abiturient* (sixth-form candidate for graduation). He could not wait for the moment when he could join the army as

a volunteer. Early one morning at the beginning of August we went with him to the railway station, for he wished to report at Coblenz to join a cavalry regiment. On the journey we had our first acquaintance with the dangers of war, for the motor-car was stopped before the railway crossing and thoroughly examined by the military, while a sentry stood at attention. They probably suspected the old rattletrap of being one of the automobiles carrying French money. Fritz returned the next evening without having accomplished anything. He was to report elsewhere. But in Düsseldorf he was rejected by the Ulans because of his youth. When we went in the district adjutant asked whether it was I who wished to join the army. So my son decided to go to the University at Bonn in order to wait there for a possible vacancy among the local Hussars.

Meanwhile the marching of troops through Cologne continued uninterrupted, and there was an extraordinary distribution of gifts by the population. My wife took an active part in this as a member of the executive of the National Women's League. Hers was an arduous job, which went on day and night in railway stations, in offices, and in military kitchens. The cross of merit for war service, which she was awarded was thoroughly deserved. A different kind of cross, which we had to bear jointly, was worse: hunger. It led us to make expeditions at night, in fog, wind, and all sorts of weather, in order to buy some eggs, a few pounds of butter, or a loaf of bread in a remote village of the Eifel, and at exorbitant prices. The peasants were also willing to accept clothing or linen in exchange. All this was naturally forbidden. But the smuggling of food was carried on even in the highest circles of State and Court, for need recognizes no law. It was only surprising to me as a lawyer to realize that those poor devils who were caught as smugglers were being sent to prison by the same judges who tacitly sanctioned smuggling by their wives.

In the lonely districts of the Eifel we heard with a shudder

the incessant thunder of the cannon of Verdun. In Cologne we were terrified by air raids and the dropping of bombs near our house. Our daughter Ruth, who contracted a severe dysentery as a result of malnutrition, enjoyed for a few months the hospitality of Jean Fischer, who had fled with his family to Scheveningen, and I am forever indebted to Mrs. Sophie Fischer for the tender care with which she looked after my daughter and brought her back to health. My son, who had joined the mounted cavalry at Trier, was transferred from the East to the West, where he served as a junior military surgeon. His experiences are beyond the scope of this book, but I must tell about a fright that he caused me shortly after the armistice.

When the troops were fleeing along the Aachen route and we were looking for the Pasewalker Cuirassiers, to which my son belonged, we heard that on the day before a military train had been burnt on the Dürener Strasse, involving many deaths. While my wife was occupied on the cold November day with the distribution of parcels to the famished soldiers, an orderly reported to me the news that we could fetch our son's belongings at the Fire Brigade Depot. He knew no details. At the Fire Brigade Depot there was likewise nothing to be learned. My state of shock can be imagined. I was already tormented by the thought of having to convey the news to my wife. But then, to my unspeakable joy, I found Fritz hale and hearty at home. In the precipitated retreat he had only lost his new officer's cloak. He had sent his things on in advance without knowing that they had reached the Fire Brigade Depot.

The terrible final collapse and the revolution took me by surprise despite all the gloomy forebodings. I had considered the German military caste and the Monarchy to be far stronger than they proved to be in this critical period. It was a terrible spectacle when the shattered regiments returned home. It was a good while before I could settle once again into the

peaceful sphere of my professional work after the stormy war years and their disruption of the daily round.

About the end of the Committee there is the following to be said. Since after the spring of 1916 it had engaged only in philanthropic activity, it was dissolved after the war. In recognition of its activity Oppenheimer became a university Professor in Frankfort-on-the-Main, a position that had long been due him in recognition of his scientific achievements. Sobernheim was appointed a Legation Councilor at the Foreign Office, and Friedemann became attaché at the General Consulate in Amsterdam. I had retired from the Committee some time before, after recognizing that its political aims were no longer to be attained.

For me it was a great satisfaction to have established the Committee, which had done so much good, and to see that the activity of my friends, whom I had introduced to the Imperial authorities, had received their recognition.

FROM WORLD WAR TO RECONSTRUCTION

THE First World War had reduced half of Europe to ruins. One of the few heartening events was the Balfour Declaration, the promise of the British Government to establish a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine. By that declaration the road to Herzl's Jewish State seemed assured, and Jewry rejoiced. Demonstrations on a large scale in the victorious countries were a testimony to this jubilation. Shortly afterward the army of Lord Allenby conquered Palestine. In this campaign the Jewish Legion created by Jabotinsky's propaganda took part with a strength of four battalions, whereas the assistance of the Palestinian Arabs hardly counted for anything. By this military success the preliminary conditions for the severing of Palestine from Turkey were brought about. But it was still a long and dangerous way to the recognition of the Balfour Declaration, first by the Allied Powers at the Peace of San Remo, and later by the League of Nations. The Mandate Treaty confirmed by the latter was eventually to be regarded as the international legal basis for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, as envisioned by the Basel platform.

It is not my task to write the history of this epoch, in which I was prevented from taking part by the force of circum-

stances. It is the deathless achievement of Weizmann to have laid the political foundations for the establishment of the Jewish National Home by his statesmanlike skill. The cooperation of Louis Brandeis toward this triumph is likewise not to be forgotten. But without the diplomatic dexterity of Weizmann the goal would hardly have been reached. It was a further enhancement of the importance of his mission that his services contributed to the British war effort. This fact was confirmed by Lloyd George on June 19, 1936, during the Palestine debate in the British House of Commons, with the following words: "I do not know whether the House realizes how much we owe to Dr. Weizmann with his marvelous scientific brain. He absolutely saved the British Army at a critical moment, when a particular ingredient which was essential we should have for our great guns was completely exhausted. His great chemical genius enabled us to solve that problem."

Thus the once keen opponent of Herzl's policy had been transformed into the protagonist of his ideal. The utopia of the Jewish State had been thrust into the light of activity. Practical and political Zionists seemed to form a united front.

But after the war it was rather a long time before the broken strands of the World Organization could again be knit together. Not until the spring of 1920 was there a plenary session of the Action Committee, in which I took part. The draft of the Mandate Treaty was submitted to it at that time, and this Nordau from the very beginning attacked most violently. In his opinion the historic declaration of November 2, 1917 had been robbed of its most essential component. The right to emigrate to Palestine, to buy land there and to set up a university, meant *Chovevei* Zionism, the acceptance of the program of Achad Ha'am, and was in direct contradiction to the ideas of Herzl. Nordau deeply regretted that Weizmann had yielded on points of vital importance. The draft of the

Mandate Treaty of 1919, which Nordau was criticizing, was in any case more satisfactory than in its later version. It provided, for example, for a Jewish Council which would have the right of advising the Government in the establishment of the Jewish National Home, thus allowing its active participation in the administration. For this was substituted a Jewish Agency, whose share in deliberations on administrative measures relating to the establishment of the Homeland was at the pleasure of the Government. Nevertheless, in general those in the camp of the political Zionists did not pass judgment on the draft as severely as did Nordau. They expected a favorable interpretation of the Mandate Treaty by the British Government. Whether the objections raised by Nordau were justified required the fundamental test of history. In any case it is certain that Weizmann himself was by no means in agreement with the draft Mandate and set up more far-reaching proposals. This is shown by a memorandum of the Executive, which demanded an extension of the frontiers to include the Hauran and the lands as far north as the Litani, as well as the cooperation of the Jewish Council in all land questions. It was principally Lord Curzon who opposed such an extension of the Mandate, out of regard for the existing Arab majority of the population.

The inclusion of the Balfour Declaration in the Mandate Treaty and the recognition of the historic bond of the Jewish people with Palestine sufficed, in the view of my friends, to determine the character of the National Home of the Jewish people as an emergent state. That this was an error, at any rate, was later shown by the measures taken by the Palestine Government. Lloyd George had grandly proclaimed that England had set the Jewish people into the saddle, and that now they must show that they could ride. We did not yet know that it was no more than a wooden horse on a merry-go-round operated by the Colonial Office.

One of the misgivings of the Action Committee concerned the vagueness of the frontiers of the Mandate territory. Weizmann regarded this fear as unwarranted. He declared that only the northern frontier involved difficulties, as negotiations would have to be conducted with France, but that on the other hand the eastern frontier would be fixed by England, which was inclined to meet our wishes. By this he meant the extension of the East Jordan country beyond the Mecca railway.

The session of the Action Committee naturally served primarily in the elucidation of the political questions. The necessary reorganization was to be left to the annual conference which was shortly to take place. But the calling together of the Congress seemed somewhat premature. We had first of all to resume touch with one another. The war had changed many things. Younger people had come forward and made their influence felt. The orientation of our movement toward England had to be taken into account. For this reorganization a smaller deliberative body seemed expedient, which could set up the apparatus of the Congress. For the present Weizmann and Sokolow were entrusted with the continuation of its affairs.

I took advantage of my stay in London to look up Nordau, who had come there at the request of Weizmann. I found him in a small room on the ground floor, which had been recently assigned to him in place of a more comfortable one on the floor above. He regarded this as a *capitis diminutio,* a mark of disregard, which he attributed to an intrigue of the *camarilla.*[1] He was completely fed up. He didn't know, he said, why he had been called, since he found himself excluded from all negotiations with the Government, with influential English Jews, and with Brandeis. Weizmann, he thought,

[1] *Translator's Note*—The reason for the change of rooms was that the one occupied by Nordau was given to Sokolow, the only member of the Executive in London, upon his return from Paris, whereas Nordau held no official position.

relied too much on ambitious but politically incompetent colleagues. Soon afterwards he withdrew from the meeting of the Action Committee, which he found unsatisfactory because divergent views were not allowed to count. He spoke of the political failures of the Executive with a look of sadness in his large blue eyes. Although I could not then justify Nordau's reproaches, because I did not know how things stood, I put to Weizmann, during a session of the Action Committee, the question of why the Zionist leaders from the time of Herzl who were now in London—such men as Nordau, Gaster, and Greenberg—had been barred from cooperation. Weizmann replied that all his efforts to meet with these men had failed. But this, in light of Nordau's complaints and Gaster's declarations, did not seem to me to answer the question. I was not able to see Greenberg at all. I assume that Weizmann regarded the views of these men as an obstacle to his opportunist tactics.

I also had a talk with Nordau about Zionist developments in Germany, and there was complete agreement in our views even though we had not seen each other for many years. From the year 1894, first a chairman of the Cologne Zionist group, and after the conference at Bingen in June 1897, as president of the Zionist Federation of Germany, I had always based my propaganda activities on the necessity of the establishment of a Jewish State. I had regarded the Jewish national idea as a foregone conclusion and saw special propaganda for it as superfluous and harmful. After it had proved expedient to transfer the office of the Federation to Berlin, in the year 1910, at the Delegates' Conference in Frankfort-on-the-Main, I resigned the presidency of the Zionist Federation of Germany since I did not wish to bear the responsibility of leadership any longer. I would have carried out this decision even earlier if there had not arisen, to my great surprise, a keen competition for the presidency, with the result that it was a long time

before the agreement upon Hantke as my successor could be reached.

The Berlin office of the Zionist Federation preached a nationalism that to me sounded hollow. It spoke of the necessity of the intensification of Judaism and of a Hebraization of the youth, for which in Germany none of the necessary conditions were present, and for which mere slogans were no substitute. At the Posen conference in the year 1912, the first in which I did not take part, the completely irrational resolution was taken, that plans for removal to Palestine must be incorporated into the life of every German Zionist. This also was a splendid thought, but its realization, in view of the mentality of the German Zionists and the economic and political situation then prevailing in Palestine, was quite impossible. It set up even more of a utopia than was already contained in the Jewish State which this group proscribed. Things were reduced to a matter of mere words, and a miserable attempt to set up the Siamese twins of *Chovevei* Zionism and Achad Ha'am as the ideal of the student generation.

In order to combat this dishonest emotional appeal, a group was formed by the Berlin University professors Karl Lewin and Gotthold Weil, along with Max Kollenscher, Leszinsky, and others, under the name of *Binyan Haaretz*. They rejected an empty nationalism, and considered the Basel platform to be adequate for the furtherance of the reconstruction of Palestine and of more importance than Jewish nationalist propaganda in Germany. Fearing that this movement could gain adherents among the German Zionists, the Berlin Executive launched a war-cry against it and organized itself as a Jewish national bloc. But the *Binyan Haaretz* found little support in the provinces, and thus it was an easy matter for the Berlin office and the district secretaries to represent its Zionism as a deviation from the national idea of Zionism and thus to impede its dissemination. I myself kept out of this tempest in a

teapot, because of my own opposition to new party slogans within the Zionist movement. Besides, this conflict of opinion was limited to Germany, since in other countries Jewish nationalist propaganda was either superfluous or futile. It was in question only as a propaganda device connected with local politics in some countries of eastern Europe. Although for these reasons I had declined to join the *Binyan Haaretz,* I could not dispel the distrust of the Berlin Executive toward me. Out of this, friction finally arose within the secretariat of the Rhine district, which depended upon Berlin, so that I saw myself prompted also to resign as chairman of the committee for the Rhineland.

The misunderstood teaching of the Odessa philosopher, Achad Ha'am, exercised great influence upon the youth, who were prone to overlook the fact that the first and prerequisite condition for a spiritual center was a living body of people, which could develop only in the State. In the propaganda of the Berlin office I thus saw only an attempt to offer a superficial political thesis as fundamental wisdom, the consequence of which, instead of a deepening of Judaism, was an alienation of Zionism. Instead of raising the movement to a higher plane, it caused a paralysis of the activity and enthusiasm of a former period.

The annual conference held in London in July 1920 was of outstanding importance for the Zionist movement and the future of the Jewish National Home. There had been no Congress since the year 1913. The world had been changed by the war. For Zionism, new and distant prospects had been opened up by the Balfour Declaration and the Peace of San Remo. It was expected that at the annual conference the leaders of the Zionist movement would take a position regarding these events, confer about the constitution of the Jewish National Home, and prepare for mass immigration and Jewish

colonization in Palestine. It was in this highly optimistic mood that we assembled in London.

The immediate task was the setting up of the conference by the *Seniorenkonvent,* as the standing committee was called. This body consisted of representatives of all federations and *Landsmannschaften* [territorial groups]. Its task was the submission of proposals made by the Commission, with its vote, to the Congress along with the proposals for the personnel of the commissions, the Action Committee, and the Executive. This arrangement at the Congress was also to hold good for the annual conference. But the significance of the *Seniorenkonvent* was weakened from the very beginning by the fact that at the first session of the conference Nordau raised a protest against the right of the *Seniorenkonvent* to examine the Commission's proposals in advance. This protest had no immediate consequence, but nevertheless hampered the freedom of action by the *Seniorenkonvent.* In view of the great importance of this body the London Executive took an understandable interest in its composition. This also had an effect upon the Berlin Central Committee, which was subject to the influence of the London Executive. Accordingly when Friedemann, in the German delegation, proposed me as a candidate for the *Seniorenkonvent,* he met on that side with strong opposition. As Friedemann informed me later, my rather weak attitude towards the Jewish national bloc was censured. Moreover, it was maintained that my Zionist views did not meet with the approval of the majority of the German Zionists, and former services to the movement should not be an obstacle to bringing new people into the Executive. Nevertheless, I was elected to the *Seniorenkonvent* with the support of Friedemann, Warburg, Klee, Trietsch, and Steinitz. It sounds rather like an irony of history that my opponents in Berlin should accuse me, the consistent protagonist of the idea of the Jewish State and the founder of political Zionism in Germany, of a lack

of nationalist conviction! This proceeding in the German delegation would not have been very important, since the *Seniorenkonvent* consisted of more than twenty members, were it not for the unexpected sequel that in the election of a chairman of the *Seniorenkonvent,* I was chosen by a vote of 13 to 8, the latter being cast for Motzkin. Obviously he had been the candidate of the London Executive, and therefore my election was a disappointment for them. They were afraid of a strengthening of the opposition, and assumed that there was an intention to put Nordau at the head of the Organization. But he did not think for a moment of claiming the role of pretender. He was indignant over the means by which he was opposed. In his immoderate fury referred to Weizmann's circle, as intriguing little upstarts, who in their arrogance, jealousy, and vulgarity had sabotaged an occasion out of which great things might otherwise have resulted. He saw through the transparent maneuver of these people, which was to make use first of the French and then of the English against him by making it appear that he was unpopular with these Governments. On the other hand, he was naïve enough to consider it a mark of esteem that he was offered the honorary presidency of the conference, while the only purpose was to ensure his silence. This move did not succeed, however, though his opposition as a result to his personal grievance was so sharp, aggressive, obstinate, and clumsy that while he achieved a strong rhetorical effect, this was without any practical result.

When I took over the chairmanship in the *Seniorenkonvent* I had no suspicion of the internal maneuvers behind the scenes. I was therefore not surprised when the co-option of some additional members whose participation, because of their special knowledge, was said to be useful, was advocated. Had I suspected that this was only a move toward strengthening the London bureaucracy, I would not have been prepared to support this co-option.

In any political movement the intrigue of petty creatures plays its part. That Zionism was likewise not to be spared is thus understandable enough. There was active intrigue on all sides at the Congresses. The intriguer has been described clearly enough in literature, so that it is unnecessary to emphasize here in particular his character and his danger. In the eyes of the intriguer good will and fidelity are a sign of intellectual narrowness. Moreover, he is foolish enough to overlook the fact that the same means which he uses to secure position and influence, must bring about his fall. So it comes about that he is filled with constant distrust towards others and derives no inner satisfaction from his successes. Every leader should beware of him. The intriguer will be the first to abandon him once his fall is certain.

The antithesis of political parasitism is loyal adherence. It links faith in an ideal with faith in the leader. The greater, the purer, and the more unselfish the leader in the eyes of his followers, the stronger their obedience and devotion. In Zionism we have numerous examples of this kind of fidelity. One is Nordau, whose self-restraint was such that he supported Herzl's political plans even against his own conviction. Of Wolffsohn it is known that he shielded Herzl with his own body when in Jerusalem an Arab threatened him with a knife. I should also like to mention here a rare enthusiast, the writer Markus Baruch, who followed Herzl like a shadow because he believed that his life was in danger from the Turkish secret police. He once visited me in Antwerp, where I had gone to give a lecture, in order to inform me that the center of anti-Zionist espionage for the Sultan was in this city—a wild notion that I could not drive from his head.

But let us return to the subject of the annual conference. At the second session there was an unusual incident, which is only to be explained by Weizmann's fear that the British Government might suppose that the conference was dominated by

German influence. Weizmann proposed that, without affecting my activity as chairman of the *Seniorenkonvent,* Motzkin should be entrusted with the presentation of its decisions at the annual conference, because my German would perhaps not be understood. Naturally the question of language was only a pretext, since Motzkin also spoke German, but he was a Russian and therefore not under suspicion. By the unanimous vote of the *Seniorenkonvent* I retained my position as chairman and Motzkin was appointed as its spokesman at the conference.

That this act of Weizmann's was not directed against me personally, I was later to realize when at the Carlsbad Congress of 1921 the fear of German influence again hovered like a dark shadow over its sessions. Professor Warburg was nominated by the standing committee as president of the Congress. Weizmann raised political objections against this selection as well, although Warburg was one of his intimate associates. Consequently Sokolow was elected president, a move which was justified from the point of view of parliamentary procedure, since as a member of the Executive he was subject to criticism by the Congress.

This interference of Weizmann in the *Seniorenkonvent,* however, proved unfortunate. As Motzkin, in the capacity of the trusted representative of the Executive, was conducting the negotiations with the Americans, he was able to take part in the sittings of the *Seniorenkonvent* only now and then, and thus could not fairly represent its decisions to the conference. It now became clear what a mistake it had been to co-opt party men and secretaries of the Executive into the *Seniorenkonvent,* for in the absence of Motzkin the representation at the conference had to be left to these bureaucratic officials, who followed the instructions of the London Executive and deprived the *Seniorenkonvent* of its own initiative. In this situation I was helpless, because my political friends were occupied with

the various commissions, and I had the majority, who were under the influence of the Executive, against me. One consequence of this unhappy state of affairs was that it was impossible for me to reorganize the Action Committee into a workable body. It had increased since the first Congress to over seventy members. The intention was therefore to reduce its membership once again to the original number of twenty-three. But this proved impracticable, as the majority of the *Seniorenkonvent* co-opted numerous new members for personal and party reasons, while there was no longer room on the Committee for men like Alexander Marmorek, Friedemann, and other distinguished figures of the Herzl tradition.

The enlargement of the Action Committee was an organizational error for another reason, which has not since been rectified. The large membership is an obstacle to the exercise of influence upon policy, as it is difficult to call together a large group scattered over the whole world, or to keep them informed about political events. The Executive is therefore obliged, if quick decisions are necessary, to circumvent the Action Committee. This naturally cripples the functioning of the Action Committee, which has to bear the responsibility for acts in which it cannot take part. To avoid this disadvantage I had previously proposed, in addition to the smaller Action Committee composed of twenty-three members, the formation of a senate made up of the most respected and experienced representatives of the Organization, which in important and urgent cases would meet independently of the Congress, and have the prerogative over decisions of the Action Committee. Unfortunately this proposal has met with no support to this day.

At the conference the lack of advance preparation was noticeable. The Memorial Hall was as unsuitable a place for the meetings as could be imagined. In the offices there was great disorder. There was no tangible plan for the Jewish mass

immigration or the appointment of administrative authorities in Palestine. Brandeis's criticism of the lack of system in the financial management seemed to me justified. How little importance the Executive attached to these questions was evident from the fact that Ussishkin had to deliver his excellent report outside the conference. He discussed the economic prospects and the plans of the Palestine Commission without resorting to fantasies concerning the future, but within the limits of the next year's requirements. He made a sharp distinction between private and public, productive and unproductive, economic and cultural, undertakings. He spoke of the necessity for Jews to take their part as officials, and about the organization of our own administration. The amount to be found for the first year he estimated at the enormous sum of £4,000,000, which he expected to be raised by the Americans, who were represented at the conference by about forty delegates. The objectives of the Mandate Treaty were not discussed at the conference itself, but were buried in the sessions of the political commission. There Lichtheim, the representative of the Executive, who during the general debate delivered a remarkably objective speech, suffered a defeat—a blow aimed indirectly at the Executive itself. He avenged himself at the following session by declaring that Nordau's speech in the Albert Hall had been a piece of arrogance. Since with the Peace of San Remo the question of the Mandate was declared to be cleared up, it did not figure in any of the decisions on policy made by the Executive.

The foolishness of the rumors circulated behind the scenes can be seen from the fact that I was said to have joined the parliamentary union, which had been formed under the leadership of Nordau, and had thus violated my impartiality as chairman of the *Seniorenkonvent,* and ought to resign my position. The truth was that for my own information I had attended the sittings of various splinter groups—among which

was that of the newly formed political opposition—but had taken no part in the debates. Lord Rothschild, in the conference, energetically protested by designating it the right of any chairman of the *Seniorenkonvent* to take part in the sittings of all commissions and splinter groups.

Of the greatest importance at the conference were two other questions. One concerned the Executive, the other the raising of money. A useful solution of the Executive question failed to come about because of the breach between Brandeis and Weizmann. According to the account given by Jacob de Haas in his book on Brandeis, it was the latter who had originally proposed to Weizmann the forming, in addition to the Executive, of a committee of distinguished English Jews who would exercise control over the economic reconstruction of Palestine and provide the money requisite for it. He proposed Lord Reading, Sir Alfred Mond, and Mr. James Rothschild, who were prepared to join such an unpolitical body. Weizmann, moved by this proposal, thanked Brandeis in the most extravagant manner. Sokolow, Naiditsch, and Julius Simon would have given their assent to the plan. Brandeis complained bitterly that at the decisive session the *Seniorenkonvent,* where he submitted his plan, he had been left in the lurch by Weizmann.

But this outcome was the result of two circumstances. The reorganization plan submitted by Brandeis at this session differed materially from his previous proposal. He now advocated the election of a body of three, to consist of Weizmann, Sokolow, and the American Flexner, and possessing dictatorial powers. This body was to have the right to co-opt four members on the basis of their general abilities, without regard to their adherence to the Zionist Organization. From the policy adopted later by Weizmann on the question of the Jewish Agency, it is to be assumed that in principle he would also have agreed to this altered proposal by Brandeis, but its unanimous

rejection by the *Seniorenkonvent* was bound to prevent him from doing so. The grounds for this refusal, at any rate, were that the co-option of non-Zionists to the Executive would have been a hindrance to the realization of a determined Zionist policy. Besides, any suggestion of dictatorship ran counter to the democratic views of the annual conference.

The plan offered by Brandeis clearly indicated a belittling of Zionist policy, which he regarded as fulfilled by the Peace of San Remo and the Balfour Declaration. He was of the opinion that there was now only a question of the economic reconstruction of Palestine and the raising of funds for a mass colonization of Jews, for which he made many proposals. This view was short-sighted, since even at that time, owing to the attitude of Lord Curzon and of the Colonial Office, as well as the hostility of the House of Lords, there was danger that the Mandate Treaty would be interpreted to the disadvantage of the Jews.

A further reproach concerned Weizmann's exchange of views with Sir Alfred Mond and Mr. James Rothschild, in which I also took part. It occurred to me at once that Brandeis had not been present when Weizmann had approached these respected English Jews, who were known to be interested in the rebuilding of Palestine, but who did not formally belong to the Zionist Organization, about their joining the Executive. It is clear that this would have been a way of reaching a compromise with Brandeis. There was no need for the Zionists present to take a position in regard to this plan, since both men had rejected Weizmann's proposal, which would have resulted in their assuming responsibility for Zionist policy. This train of thought was in accordance with the decision formed by the *Seniorenkonvent;* but Brandeis considered the conversation, because it had taken place behind his back. as a breach of confidence, and withdrew from any further negotiation with Weizmann in London. He refused the offer of the position as

president of the Zionist Organization, presumably because he was not inclined to give up his post with the Supreme Court in Washington. Thus the cooperation of the Americans in the creation of an Executive was thwarted. However, at the urging of the Rumanian delegates Brandeis declared himself willing to take over the honorary presidency of the Organization.

The *Seniorenkonvent* had elected a small subcommittee for the purpose of negotiation with the various commissions, of which Motzkin, Farbstein, Stricker, Rosoff, and I were members. When the split with Brandeis became apparent, this subcommittee called upon him to urge him to resume relations with Weizmann. At this interview Brandeis reproached Weizmann particularly for having let him suppose for some weeks that he was prepared to support his plans, and had not informed him of his changed views before Brandeis submitted the proposal to the *Seniorenkonvent*. De Haas remarks on this in his book: "The latter [Brandeis] at a request of a delegation of the *Seniorenkonvent* formally placed on record the story of his betrayal by Dr. Weizmann." The fact that Brandeis called Weizmann's attitude a betrayal shows how embittered he was by these events.

The dispute with Brandeis led to the withdrawal from the Organization of a great number of noted and generous American Zionists, and compelled the Executive to undertake intensified efforts to bring the American Zionists back into the World Organization. An opportunity later on to set this matter right was not seized by Weizmann. There is no doubt that these disputes with Weizmann did a great deal of harm to the rebuilding of Jewish Palestine.

After the failure of the Brandeis plan, only Weizmann was to be considered to head the Executive. As candidates Sokolow, Ussischkin, and Hantke were the subject of much dispute. Particular opposition was shown by the Americans to the election of Hantke to the Executive, with the result that

he put to me the question of what had caused me to oppose his candidacy. But I was able honestly to assure him that I had no part whatever in the opposition to it. I could do this with a good conscience, as I would have considered Hantke suited to head the Organization.

Nor was there a happy solution to the second important question, that of raising funds for reconstruction. There was to have been created a £25,000,000 reconstruction fund to be used over a period of five years, to which every Jew would make an initial contribution totaling ten per cent of his capital, and an annual one amounting to ten per cent of his income. But it was left in doubt whether this fund was to have an economic character or to be a donation fund on the basis of self-taxation. It appeared to be an economic undertaking, as subscription forms were to be given out, which entitled one to receive interest. But there was absolutely no provision for the payment of interest. An economic undertaking upon such an insecure basis, lacking any kind of plan for the use of the money, would have meant certain bankruptcy. But if the intention was to build up the fund on the basis of taxation, the requisite power to collect such a tax was lacking. If Herzl's Jewish State had been a utopia, as its opponents maintained, it at least had a sound nucleus for a new development by the Jewish people. But the five-year plan proposed by Weizmann was unrealistic and, in that it aroused unrealizable hopes, dangerous. It is therefore hardly understandable that Weizmann's confidence should have so captivated the minds of the delegates that they were carried away in an ecstasy of enthusiasm. That delegates possessing nothing more than good will and idealism should have agreed to this idea was understandable, but that Zionists with property and income considered it possible to attribute to the Jewish people such unheard-of sacrifices, can only be explained as a sort of intoxication.

Otherwise it would have been clearly seen that Russian Jewry, as a result of political developments, had been excluded in advance from taking part in this people's fund, and that the Jews of Central Europe, owing to the collapse in money values would not be able to contribute appreciable amounts. I have no doubt that the Executive were serious in their proposal, but the sober mind cannot grasp this today, especially as no plan was submitted to the conference about the use of the fund. If Weizmann had the intention of showing the British Government the sacrifices of which the Jewish people were capable in order to secure a homeland, he could have done so only if the plan did not simply remain on paper—as was bound to be its ultimate fate. I opposed the fund in the *Seniorenkonvent* because I regarded the hopes aroused by the subscription forms as unrealizable, and proposed to found it simply as a donation fund for the economic reconstruction of Palestine, which could serve as a useful supplement to the J.N.F. It had seemed to me that my observations were likely to make an impression, but in the decisive session of the *Seniorenkonvent* Weizmann submitted the plan with such confidence and enthusiasm that there was a change of attitude. Weizmann used this circumstance in a particularly astute manner by asking at the very first whether the *Seniorenkonvent* was ready to vote on his plan without discussion. In this way the opponents were no longer able to speak, and the plan as a whole was adopted by acclamation.

In this case, as at the conference in general, was shown the increasing regard for Weizmann, who was regarded as the creator of the Balfour Declaration. It had been altogether forgotten that an endless chain of causes had brought about this result. Without the *Judenstaat* of Herzl, without his predecessors, without Moses Hess and Pinsker, without the dedicated work of the student societies and Zionist groups in Vienna,

Berlin, Cologne, and above all without the activity of the *Chovevei-Zion* in Russia, the forum of the Congress and the Zionist World Organization would never have been created. The final link in the chain of events leading to the Balfour Declaration had been the First World War and the willingness of English statesmen to bind up the fate of the Jews with that of the victorious powers. That Weizmann had the luck and the skill to lay the keystone of this policy—no less but also no more than this—is, so far as world history is concerned, sufficient. But this did not by any means justify one's faith in the infallibility of the leader.

Weizmann's success in having his five-year plan adopted was a Pyrrhic victory. The donations were small. Despite all the enthusiasm only £10,000 was raised, so that it was necessary to return once again to the plane of reality. Thus the *Keren Hayesod* arose as a donation fund, in accordance with my original proposal, and now forms the instrument of the colonization used by the Jewish Agency.

The annual conference ought to have been the prelude to an enormous output of energy by the Jewish people. But, as things turned out, it ended up a bluff. It became apparent here also that no lasting work can be accomplished by the enthusiasm of a gathering, which fades more quickly than dissolving vapor. Every plan for reconstruction requires a solid basis of preparation.

At the conclusion of the conference a mass meeting took place in the Albert Hall, at which well over 10,000 people were present. The speeches of the English statesmen—Balfour, Lord Cecil, Colonel Wedgwood—and of the Zionist leaders —Weizmann, Sokolow, Ussischkin, Lord Rothschild and Max Nordau—aroused an enormous storm of applause. On this occasion, once again, the German Zionists were excluded, otherwise it would have been in keeping to allow Professor

Warburg as the President of the World Zionist Organization to speak.

Nordau in his speech emphasized the political and military importance of the Jewish State for the safety of the Suez Canal. There were Zionists who considered his candor dangerous. But they were quite wrong. A leader who conceals his political aim deserves no confidence, and it is foolish to maintain silence about this aim, when it is a secret of the *Polichinell* sort and when the sparrows chirp it from every roof. But otherwise his speech was not happy. The comparison of Balfour with Alexander the Great was a Byzantine exaggeration and showed a lack of taste. Nonetheless, this mass meeting was an impressive demonstration, which accorded with the importance of the annual conference.

It was a painful experience for me, after the death of my wife, to find among her papers a number of rather detailed letters, in which I reported on the course of the annual conference. These records of impressions at the time confirmed the view expressed here of the expectations, the disappointments and the intrigues of the conference. I shall therefore quote some sentences from the last two letters of July 22, 1920.

For some of my report I had used a collection of postcards from the British Museum which represented the Egyptian myth of the dead. The following sentences were a reference to this:

Thus the last little leaf from a Book of the Dead flutters to you as a sign of life. A little of the judgment which is pronounced, according to the sayings of the ancient Egyptians about the dead, we experience here among the living. The sentence is not always right, but very often the sure instinct of the people proves correct. But all the same, however the world judges, the only authoritative court is our inner con-

viction that we do what is right, and the feeling of calm and security which this affords us.

The conclusion of my letter is as follows:

If the feeling of duty did not hold me firmly here, I should have run away long ago. Perhaps they will get me out of the Action Committee. I should really be glad if they did, but do not consider it right to reject a candidature because my closer friends wish me to stay in the Action Committee, and it could give the impression that I declined only to allow myself to be pressed to accept. But there are so many competitors here, that this is a hazardous game.

Nothing suggests more clearly my annoyance over the failure of the conference and the happenings behind the scenes than the final criticism contained in these sentences. It it therefore understandable that after the conference, which confirmed my election to the Action Committee, the agitation against me did not cease. The fact that I had opposed Weizmann's five-year plan was now the basis of the rumor that I was an opponent of the K.H., nothing being said of the fact that as a member of the Cologne Committee of the K.H. I was zealously active in promoting it.

During the war it had become apparent to me that conditions were ripe for the removal of the headquarters of the National Fund to Palestine. In our first attempts to introduce agricultural colonization into Palestine, it became evident that handling it from Europe involved the greatest difficulties. Misunderstandings and friction with the Palestine office were inevitable. The needs of the farms and of the workers could be attended to only on the spot. An example of this difficulty was the Oppenheimer Settlement Cooperative. For its establishment a workers' cooperative was sent to Merchavia, whose settlement was in need of funds. But in the correspondence from the Palestine office mention was made only of the cooperative in Merchavia, for which money was requested, so

that the head office was led to believe that we were concerned here with the Oppenheimer Settlement Cooperative. Hence it came about that the capital for this cooperative society was already partly used before we had at all begun to organize it. The outbreak of war prevented progress in any case. A special difficulty consisted further in the fact that between the time the budget was set up and a decision was made about the grant of money there were often changes which nullified our advance proposals. New needs became evident, which, for lack of provision of means, could not be satisfied. All this was a clear proof that the work in Palestine could not be handled from Europe as a matter of course. I would therefore have been in favor of the removal of the headquarters to Palestine, even if the war had not brought a change of political conditions in Turkey.

When Palestine became a territorial mandate, the idea of removing the Jewish National Fund to Palestine met with wide approval in Zionist circles. Accordingly, on July 5, 1920, at a meeting of the directors of the J.N.F. during the annual conference, I suggested the transfer of the head office of the J.N.F. to Palestine. Hantke, on the other hand, proposed removing the office to London in order to combine it with the Zionist central office. But a decision on this matter was not taken. The annual conference itself then decided on the removal to Palestine. This necessitated organizational changes in the head office, which were at once taken in hand. Nathan Gross was to go to Palestine in order to carry out the necessary preparations. In the meantime Hantke, who since leaving the London Executive once again lived in Berlin, addressed a memorandum to the Executive in London, submitting various proposals for the removal to Palestine. He referred in it to negotiations with members of the Executive and with Kaplansky as chairman of the Financial and Economic Council.

He proposed the establishment of three central collecting offices in Europe. However, the most important thing seemed to him a radical change in the composition of the Board of Directors. On the other hand, I regarded the existing collecting offices as sufficient and believed that, owing to the removal of the office to Palestine, a reorganization was unjustified. I believed that in setting up the Board of Directors the greatest caution was necessary, as most of the present members of the Board had been initiated into the business through their constant cooperation and had experiences that were particularly valuable for the transfer of the office to Palestine. I expressed my views on Hantke's proposals in a detailed memorandum to the Executive, and recommended the co-option of Ussischkin to the Board as its chairman—a post which had not been occupied since the death of Wolffsohn. Boris Goldberg already lived in Palestine, and Ussischkin was on the point of moving there. There would then have been two directors having their permanent residence in Palestine, which, according to my views, sufficed for the management of the office at that time.

But before this question came to a decision a conflict arose between the Board of Directors and the Financial and Economic Council, which led the Executive to make radical proposals for a newly constituted Board. In November 1921 Kaplansky, in the name of the Financial and Economic Council, asked the directors of the J.N.F. to remit a sum of £25,000 as its share in the agricultural budget approved by the Congress. As the J.N.F. was not at all obliged to contribute to the budget of the Executive and this item could not be examined by the directors, the majority of the directors refused the request by a written vote. I upheld this position, pointing out the fact that the J.N.F., as a result of the purchase of the Patriarchal lands in Jerusalem, was already burdened beyond its resources. To my extreme astonishment, in reply to this the

directors of the J.N.F. were requested by the Executive on December 9, 1921, to grant a loan of £25,000, and to instruct the head office by telegram to pay this amount. It was clear that the Executive found itself in serious need of money, and that after the refusal of a contribution to the agricultural budget, it was seeking another way to satisfy that need. But, while fully understanding the position of the Executive, the Board of Directors did not consider themselves obliged to make this payment, and thus Kremenetzky, Kessler, Boris Goldberg, and I declined to do so. This dispute had an extraordinary outcome at the meeting of the Action Committee in Vienna, at the end of December 1921. Kremenetzky and I had offered to discuss the suggested proposals of interested persons at a session of the directors during this meeting. The offer was rejected, ostensibly because the members of the Board were not all present. But the real reason was to avoid bringing about a vote by the directors on the proposed alterations. To the great astonishment of Kremenetzky and myself the Financial and Economic Council, who were not at all concerned with this matter, proposed in the Action Committee, apparently in agreement with the Executive, that Kremenetzky, Kessler, Goldberg, and I be retired from the Executive, and that Boehm, Shocken, Hermann Struck, and Wilkansky be appointed in our place. The reason they gave for this was that the composition of the Board of Directors should be based on representation by political party. In itself there would have been no objection to the election of a representative of the Labor Party and of the *Mizrachi,* but I regarded the principle of basing the composition of the Board of Directors on party representation as a mistake, since this was not a political but a purely administrative body. For its composition, therefore, only objective qualifications should be decisive, not political affiliation or the philosophic world view. But the development

of the opposition, its distrust towards the administration, and its increased striving for power, had long made it clear, that it attached value to being represented in all bodies of the Zionist Organization. I therefore realized that this tendency could not be avoided. It was necessary only to increase the Board of Directors to its maximum number of nine members, in order for the co-option of Ussischkin, besides that of the two party representatives, to be secured. Thus I had no doubt that the proposal of the Financial and Economic Council was based on other reasons. There was no reason, if a change on principle was intended, why only Hantke and Professor Warburg, who had not taken part in refusing the loan, should be spared by it.

The Zionist merits of the candidates for the Board of Directors were beyond question. Dr. Boehm, editor of the periodical *Palästina;* S. Shocken, a prominent financier; Struck, one of the most esteemed leaders of the *Mizrachi;* and Wilkansky, an agricultural expert, were valuable additions to the Board, who could be co-opted if two directors retired. But we did not consider ourselves warranted to propose this solution to the Action Committee, as there was no reason to force any of the members of the Board of Directors to resign.

Now, however, there occurred an incident which had apparently not been taken into account. A decision about the composition of the Board of Directors is not a matter for the Action Committee but only for the general meeting of the J.N.F., which had long ceased to be identical with the Action Committee. The men who were to present the decisions of the Action Committee to the J.N.F. were therefore very much surprised when it transpired that on the basis of the authority assigned to us, Kremenetzky and I had control over the majority. It therefore lay entirely in our hands to decide whether or not we would submit to the decision of the Action Committee. But we did not wish to make use of that privilege

in a matter affecting us personally, while hoping at the same time to avoid the responsibility for any conflict with the Executive and with the Action Committee which might be of unforeseen consequences for the movement. Today these events belong to history and these scruples fall by the wayside. At any rate, we quietly resigned from the Board.

For me, however, another circumstance entered into my decision to give up my seat on the Board of Directors of the J.N.F. If I had remained in office, my removal to Palestine would have become necessary, as I had already foreseen. But the inflation, with its consequences, had put an end, for me, to this plan. My obligation toward my family compelled me to undertake more intensive professional activity, and required my presence in Cologne.

The satisfaction afforded by our work for the Fund was for us its own reward. We had never expected thanks. But it should not be forgotten that it was Kremenetzky who first carried the idea of the J.N.F. into action; or that I was privileged to be the creator of its organization, that the first model farms arose on my initiative and with my cooperation, and that I had carried through the establishment of the city of Tel Aviv by financing it in the face of strong opposition.

If I have devoted the best part of my time and energy to this matter, I have not regretted it for a moment. It was the foremost task of my life to be able to participate in this manner in the reconstruction of Palestine. I was able to hand over to Ussischkin, my successor in office, a well-coordinated, world-wide organization.

As I had foreseen, my political opponents in Berlin did not rest until they brought about my retirement from the Action Committee at the Carlsbad Congress. Since the first Congress I had been entrusted with the function of a Congress attorney; now I was elected to preside over the Congress Court. For

various reasons, however, I had to decline this office. The Court, according to a decision of the Congress, was to function as a body for examining elections. I looked upon this as a labor of Sisyphus as long as the *Schekel* organization was not fundamentally altered, and rules adopted to put an end to the election swindle that flourished in many countries. Unfortunately my proposal for a reorganization of the Court, which I considered necessary because its members lived in various cities, met with no favor from the Executive.

To conclude the account of my activity in the Zionist Organization there is still a word to be said about the offices I have held. It is certainly notable that at one and the same time I combined very many of these offices in my person. I was chairman of the Cologne Zionist Society, of the Zionist Federation of Germany, and of the Rhineland District Committee; a member of the Action Committee and of the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust; Congress attorney and president of the Jewish National Fund. How I came to hold all these honorary offices is clear from the history and the development of the Zionist movement. I became chairman of the Cologne Zionist Society and of the German Federation because I had brought them into existence. I joined the Action Committee on the basis of my Congress report and as leader of the German Zionists, while I was to regard my election as Congress attorney as a mark of confidence in my impartiality and my love of justice. And I became president of the J.N.F. as the originator of its regulations and as a result of the removal of Zionist headquarters to Cologne.

I did not canvass for any of these offices, and resigned each of them voluntarily as soon as I had become convinced that a suitable successor was available. I retained only my seat in the Council of the Jewish Colonial Trust, because I hoped to be

able to be useful at the necessary alteration of its constitution. Wherever a man was needed, I sprang into the breach.

With my retirement from the Action Committee and the resignation of the four directors from the administration of the J.N.F., the last representatives of the Herzl policy were eliminated from the leading positions of the Organization, and that was perhaps finally the real reason for the conduct of the Executive and their followers.

Weizmann's era had begun splendidly and earned him great fame, but the continuation of affairs brought many a disappointment. The inadequacy of the leadership showed itself in both its organization measures and its foreign policy. The criticism of the opposition was directed more against the latter, because its failures became more clearly apparent than the defects of the Organization, and the interest of the masses is more concerned with it. The Organization was always a stepchild of the Congress. The constitution, the drafting of which had lain in my hands, sufficed for the early years of the movement. But it was to be added to with the progressive development of the Organization. In reality it is not better as a result of numerous additions, but has only become more vague. The ideal of any organization is to combine the strongest linking up of the whole with the greatest liberty of the individual. Applied to us, this means the strongest disciplinary power of the leadership for the carrying out of the decisions of the Congress, but freedom of criticism, of speech, of the press, and of assembly for the Zionists within the Organization. In the case of a people's movement such as ours it is a mistake to cling to old institutions. In the course of development these should be changed. It is therefore necessary to have a standing committee to deal with questions of organization, as otherwise everybody believes he must discover America anew. Most of the questions that arise are those that have already been dealt with before

under more or less similar conditions. The materials relevant to the matter needed to be taken into account in all proposals for change. I made a beginning in this direction in my memorandum on the Organization for the tenth Congress, but these ideas have thus far received little consideration.

The foundation of our Organization consists of the Congress, which is composed of elected delegates and members of the Action Committee. Until now the election had been based on the *Schekel* receipts. I had always regarded this as objectionable, and even argued my views against Herzl. The arrangement was justified for the Congresses of the first period, which took place every year, so that the payment of the *schekel* could be considered as sufficient evidence of membership in the Zionist Organization. Furthermore, at that time neither the *Landsmannschaften* nor the Federations were properly organized. When the Congress period was fixed for two years and *Landsmannschaften* and societies had been formed, I regarded the entire dependence of the right to vote upon the payment of the *schekel* as objectionable.

The right to vote or to run for office without permanent association with the Organization and without adherence to a Zionist society, but simply by payment of a small amount to the Congress, conflicts with the principle of democracy. The printed Basel platform is only a piece of paper, the validity of which cannot be ascertained. Hence the result of the election does not afford an exact picture of the convictions of the voter. A further flaw in this arrangement consists in the fact that the *schekel* propaganda is effective only in Congress years, and hence the financing of the Organization rests upon an insecure basis. Unfortunately up until now party interests have been a hindrance to reform.

A lack of organizing skill showed itself in the institution of the "mixed" Jewish Agency. The acceptance into it of non-

Zionists was a dangerous return to the policy that Weizmann had proposed at the annual Conference of 1920. It was not postulated by the Mandate Treaty, which had forseen the participation only of these Jews who were willing to support the establishment of a Jewish National Home. Nothing was said about the form of this participation. But the Jewish Agency is the instrument recognized by international law. It therefore serves a political purpose. Hence the inclusion of non-Zionists, who rejected such a purpose, was inappropriate and harmful. It signifies a self-renunciation of the World Zionist Organization in favor of assimilation. The setting up of the "Fifty-Fifty" formula was one of the most unfortunate of Weizmann's ideas. If this formula had been meant seriously and had been practicable, it would have meant the complete paralysis of Zionist policy in the most important matters of reconstruction. That is why the formula was altered. Many members who were elected into the non-Zionist half had been active in leading positions as dedicated Zionists for many years. Accordingly this formula was dishonest. The participation of non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency often proved a dead weight upon the freedom of movement by the Executive. Either their entrance was the result of an error, since they looked upon the task of the Jewish Agency from the standpoint of philanthropy, in which case they did not belong to the Jewish Agency; or else they were Zionists by conviction, in which case they ought to have been required to join the Organization. The "mixed" Jewish Agency is also defective in its construction. It presents the remarkable spectacle of a body whose members had partly been elected by the Congress, and partly appointed without any overall control according to an obsolete system involving notables from the most various bodies. It is thus half oligarchic and half democratic, and therefore lacks inner harmony.

The "mixed" Jewish Agency was to provide, at a time of

financial distress, the means for the work of reconstruction. It has fulfilled this purpose only inadequately. The financing was carried out for the most part by the Jews at large. The "mixed" Agency is a product of over-organization and therefore disadvantageous. If the Executive had used half the energy that was expended on these Siamese twins to persuade the Jews at large to join the Organization, then it might have dispensed with the contributions of some millionaires, while its success would have been more lasting and would have meant an enormous strengthening of the movement. It was then to have been expected that following this trend, the Jewish millionaires would also have joined the Zionists. I fought the "mixed" Jewish Agency from the beginning in both speech and writing, including a pamphlet which I distributed at the Carlsbad Congress of 1921.

It is understandable that some high officials of the Executive should have trembled for their positions at the annual conference in London. They had moved to London with their families and had reason for fear concerning their livelihood in the event of a change in the Executive. This is a weakness of the official hierarchy which it is difficult to avoid. Thus, an arrangement whereby such officials, upon retiring from the leadership, would be transferred to a position in the Organization corresponding to their training and abilities, could only meet with approval. It is also an error, which Brandeis likewise criticized, to give positions to men who have done service to the movement, where such qualifications are lacking. We need not consider whether the difficulties of the Bank are to be attributed to this weakness. In any case it was a great piece of luck for the movement that in the manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank they had a financier to whose genius they owed the ability of the Jewish Colonial Trust to recoup the losses due to speculative influences.

I have already pointed out that the statutes of the Jewish Colonial Trust need redrafting if it is to be regarded in the banking world as a financial institution. I repeatedly submitted proposals for this to the Executive and the Board of Directors, and also to the nine-member Commission appointed by the Council. One of the chief abuses, namely the insufficient distribution of founders' shares, has meanwhile been corrected as a result of my complaints. But still more important is the alteration in the constitution of founders' shares in general. The collective possession by each owner of a founder's share in a block of a hundred such shares involves difficulty in its transfer and constitutes a great danger if one of the holders, for political or personal reasons, should refuse the transfer in accordance with the decision of the Council. I proposed to entrust the collective ownership of the still undistributed shares to a committee of three distinguished representatives of the Jewish Council, the *Keren Hayesod,* and the *Keren Kayemet* respectively, while all the remaining holders were to retain only what they already possessed. Besides, the number of directors which I had proposed at the time of the establishment of the Bank, following the pattern of the German Reichsbank, seemed to me too high in view of the limited means of the Jewish Colonial Trust and owing to the cessation of its political task. I consider it right to limit the membership of the Board of Directors to from three to five, so that the Executive Committee of three to five members could be dissolved. In that way an end could be put to the over-organization of the Jewish Colonial Trust.

Apart from these organizational defects, it remains to be considered whether the responsibility of the Jewish Colonial Trust in its present form was to be maintained. Originally the membership of the Council was identical with that of the Action Committee. But apart from the previously mentioned

compromise made by Wolffsohn at the tenth Congress, this personal identity no longer exists owing to the fact that a majority of the members of the Action Committee no longer belong to the Council. Nevertheless the tradition was maintained to carry out the decisions of the Action Committee without any objective examination on the part of the Council. This practice has no warrant in the constitution. Since the main objective of the Bank, namely to help in acquiring the charter, no longer exists, there is no longer any occasion to make the Council dependent upon Zionist policy. The twofold character of the Bank as an economic institution and an instrument of Zionist colonization is sufficiently guaranteed if the committee proposed by me is exclusively authorized to carry out the distribution of the founders' shares, with the approval of the Council. The practice followed hitherto is unconstitutional and an obstacle to the development of the Bank as a financial institution.

It is altogether wrong to ignore the inconsistency of the Constitution with the practice followed hitherto, but to hide one's head in the sand like the proverbial ostrich, for such inconsistency would do anything but strengthen confidence on the part of high finance. The alterations I have proposed, in accordance with English law, alone afford the sound commercial basis that permits the resumption of the affairs of the Bank.

Errors in policy proved to be much more dangerous than the defects of the Organization. Unfortunately I could not express my views on a decisive step of the British Government after it was an accomplished fact. This was the detachment of Transjordan from Palestine. At the London annual conference Jakobus Kann took the view that a consideration of the details of the Mandate Treaty would be superfluous if a Jewish Commissioner were appointed, who would carry out the Mandate to the letter. In this, unfortunately, he was mistaken, and the

injustice to the Jewish people, which took place under the régime of Sir Herbert Samuel, can hardly be rectified.

I had accused our Executive of great weakness in allowing this event to pass in silence. As a result I received on July 16, 1926, a letter from Weizmann, in which he denied the charges made against him, as follows:

I think that it is somewhat exaggerated to say that I am responsible for Transjordania having been severed from Palestine. You will understand that a great many forces were at work over which neither the Zionist Organization nor those who lead it have any control whatsoever.

It is clear that Weizmann felt that he was in the right, and it cannot be denied that the situation was extraordinarily difficult for the Executive. But as a neutral observer, I cannot agree with his views. I am well aware that a dangerous problem had arisen for the British Government when Emir Abdullah threatened France with military action, and Transjordania could not remain unaffected thereby. But our Executive made the solution of the dilemma by the surrender of Transjordania for the British Government too easy. The Executive should have pointed with greater energy to the danger of such a step for the future development of Palestine. They should have above all raised a formal protest to the British Government and the League of Nations, and should have enlightened public opinion. According to parliamentary usage they ought not to have remained in office after this defeat. Then they would at least have preserved their political integrity.

It was a natural consequence that this partition of the country, which was made without any compensation to the Jews, was bound to lead to an increase in Arab self-consciousness and also to the conviction that they could achieve anything against England by the use of armed force and terrorism. I was often asked why I had not protested when the Executive issued the statement that the High Commissioner had done

everything to carry out the Mandate. The answer is simple. In our movement only the officials and the party have influence today. As I did not belong to any of the parties I was not in the position to receive a mandate to speak for the Congress in whose founding I had taken part and over which I had often presided as chairman. When, at the Carlsbad Congress of 1921, at which I was still a delegate as member of the Action Committee, I asked for the floor in order to make an attack against the policy of the Executive, the President refused to allow me to speak on the technical ground that after the speakers designated by the parties had been heard, the debate was closed. The official press refused to accept articles containing sharp criticism of the Executive, and the small independent local Jewish press, which did accept them, unfortunately had only a very limited number of Zionist readers. Thus my appeal, based on long years of experience, awakened no response. I felt like a prophet in the wilderness. If I had wished to go on fighting for Herzl's idea, that of a Jewish State on the historic soil of Palestine, I had this situation to contend with. In the end I realized that in view of the existing party régime, nothing could be achieved outside the major splinter groups and therefore, after long hesitation, I joined the Revisionist Union, which corresponded to my views and was resolved to continue the policy of Herzl. The admiration I cherished for Jabotinsky as creator of the Jewish Legion also contributed to my decision. I considered the formation of a volunteer army as an act of diplomatic shrewdness, which could further our claim to Palestine. The assistance rendered by it in the conquest of the country also seemed to me indispensable to Jewish honor. I therefore attached greater importance to this undertaking than was the case in most Zionist circles, who underestimated its influence on the effectiveness of the Balfour Declaration.

In other respects as well I had great admiration for Jabotinsky. I recognized his splendid virtues as a leader, his iron

strength of will, his imagination, and his eloquence, which was able to arouse the enthusiasm of the masses. The power of suggestion which he exercised over them reminded me of Theodor Herzl. I esteemed in him his ardent love for the Jewish people and his profound sympathy for their unfortunate fate in the *Galuth*. What prevented him from becoming the head of the movement was his impulsive temperament and his strong will to power. That such a person, in a situation where the carrying out of commands can be enforced, may be a successful political leader is to be seen in the case of the dictators of the postwar period. But if a leader depends on the free decision of a fickle crowd, there is the danger that his appearance may be an ineffectual gesture. Jabotinsky's first effort ought to have been to win over the Congress. For this he lacked the patience, and thus he lost sight of that goal, with the result that ever since the party conference in Prague he had toyed with the idea of leaving the World Organization. For him the healing process leading to the renewal of the movement lasted too long. My efforts to prevent him from leaving were in vain. Nor did the pledge made by many party members at the seventeenth Congress at Basel (and to which I subscribed) not to take part in a secession, have any effect. When I saw that Jabotinsky had fallen under the spell of Wolfgang von Weisl and Achi Meir, I knew that the breach was inevitable. I then tried, by means of an urgent exchange of letters with Jabotinsky, to prevent the question of discipline from being raised, as I believe the standpoint of the Union in this question to be politically short-sighted. Adherence to an organization means that submission to its discipline is compulsory. No organization can exist without this submission. The New Zionist Organization thus had also to demand it from its members. As long as the Revisionists belonged to the World Zionist Organization, they were obliged to submit to its discipline. This would not have prevented them from publicly advocating

their views. If the views of the Revisionists in this question had been approved, the Union would not have had any sort of disciplinary power over the other parties once it had taken over the leadership. This would have meant the end of the Zionist Organization. When Jabotinsky insisted upon the primacy of the disciplinary power of the Union, this meant nothing less than war against the World Zionist Organization, so that its secession was a foregone conclusion.

Nor could I consider myself in agreement with the fight against the *Histadruth* and the contemptuous treatment of its work. Every party group has its lights and shadows. None perfectly fulfills the ideals of its adherents. There is a very solid reason for conducting political party warfare chivalrously and without rancor. It can never be proved a priori what policy is right. The decision on the matter is made by history. It is often a question of success. Bismarck made the observation that a good statesman must foresee political developments thirty years hence. This observation can be calmly disputed. Perhaps it was correct for that time, when there was a certain stability in the European balance of power. But today it is different. Stormy developments, the First World War, and totalitarian revolutions have brought about such unrest in the political situation that a definite development cannot be foreseen and a straightforward policy often fails of its mark. It is therefore foolish to suspect the political opponent of not acting in good faith. What appears today as astute and logical may prove a failure through a sudden alteration contrary to all presuppositions. That is why an embittered party fight is in every instance an evil. It is actually criminal on the part of the Jewish people, who cannot depend upon any external power to work out their future. The endless sufferings of the Jewish people which have resulted from this kind of conflict should be a warning to them. For this reason I regarded the sharpness of the dispute between Revisionism and the *Histadruth* as a

mistake. I could not blind myself to the fact that the *Histadruth,* by its internal unity and the self-dedication of its comrades, had achieved much toward the rebuilding of the country.

Consequently when the boycott against the Jewish National Fund began, I announced my retirement from the Union in June 1934, emphasizing the fact that I continued as before to adhere to the views set forth in its program. My only wish is that the Revisionists, who up until now have held Herzl's flag high, might return to the fold of the World Organization.[1]

The Zionist Executive has certainly committed many mistakes that have had irreparable consequences for the Jewish people. As a counterbalance against the errors and misapprehensions of the Executive we have created the Congress and developed it as a democratic institution. There we have the forum and the arena in which to fight against the weakness and incompetence of the Executive, and, if necessary, to appoint in their place other men who can seek out new paths of policy, when the old leaders prove a failure. A parliament that tolerates a ministry regardless of its failures shares the blame for the bankruptcy of its policy. A tactic that leads to division can only serve to weaken Jewish nationalism and postpone the attainment of our goal.

I previously attempted a comparision of Herzl and Nordau; perhaps I may do the same in the case of Weizmann and Herzl. It is difficult to draw a comparison between two men of such importance. I could be reproached with being like the sparrow, which was called upon by the hawk and the eagle to decide which flew higher, and which, after both had disappeared from his view, pronounced the judgment that they

[1] *Translator's Note*—The reunion of the "New Zionist Organization" (the Revisionists) and the Jewish State Party (who had remained within the World Zionist Organization) took place in 1946 with the dissolution of the former body.

flew equally high. But I believe I am justified in offering a candid opinion, since I was able to observe both men quite closely in their political activities. Their genius hardly needs any further pointing out. It has been recorded in the history of the Jewish people. But it is perhaps of value to note what contributed to some of the failures in the policy of each.

Their merits and deficiencies are partly due to their origin. In the case of Weizmann it is the Russian Ghetto, in that of Herzl the over-refined culture of Viennese Jewry. Weizmann was brought up in Jewish lore and remains most intimately united with the masses of eastern Europe until the present day. It was said as a joke that he had never shaken off the eggshells of Pinsk. Hence followed his boundless admiration for England, its statesmen and its well-organized democratic community, and his trust in their word. He became weak and credulous concerning the power of the Mandate. Herzl saw East European Jewry only from a distance. Only Zionism and the Congress brought him into immediate contact with it. Hence followed the abstract construction of his "Jewish State," his opposition to colonization, and finally his diplomatic action in the Uganda question.

There is another important contrast to be noted. Herzl did indeed try to obtain a charter from the Sultan. Nevertheless, he put out feelers in all directions. He sought support from the German Reich, from Russia, from England, from Italy, yes, even from the Vatican. After the Balfour Declaration Weizmann knew no source of help other than Great Britain. He was blind to the fact that this power, which had promised a homeland to the Jews, deprived the Balfour Declaration of its entire meaning, so that only the empty shell remained. He did not even have backbone enough to end relations with the Palestine régime. He lived in constant fear that we should be abandoned to the Arabs if we took a stand against this policy. That was the reason for veiling the Zionist aim without having

been forced to do so by a political emergency. Weizmann, who had established the *Fraktion,* who was the representative of the synthesis of Achad Ha'am and *Chovevei-Zion* and the protector of the Hebrew University, laid the principal emphasis of his policy, strange to say, upon the collection of capital. Herzl sought adherents for the idea; the raising of money for him was only a necessary evil. Weizmann was at times prepared to abandon the idea of the Jewish State if the dollar rolled. Herzl's imagination misled him sometimes into looking upon distant prospects as tangible reality, but he was also able to return immediately to the solid earth of facts. That is why the dream of a protectorate under the German Emperor did not lure him to stake all his cards on this one purpose. Weizmann also had great conceptions, but he clung too long to irrational plans. That is the explanation of his errors in regard to Brandeis, the £25,000,000 fund, the "mixed" Agency, and above all his unshakable belief in the good will of the British Government and its representatives toward the Jewish people. Even after it had long been following a pro-Arab policy, Weizmann could not dislodge himself from its channel. The diplomatic achievement of Weizmann was the Balfour Declaration. Whether this will hold good in the face of political developments cannot be foreseen with certainty. Herzl's achievement was the rebirth of the Jewish people and the creation of a nucleus for a great independent Jewish State in its ancestral home. This achievement is permanent and will exist when the plan of the British Government to balance Jews against Arabs has passed into history.

The Daily Round and Profession

Zionism enriched me spiritually for more than fifty years, but naturally did not occupy the whole of my time. My private life and my profession were full of work and experience of

many kinds. I cannot entirely overlook this aspect. But the purpose of this book requires conciseness in the treatment of my activity outside the Zionist world.

In the first place I must note the ease, indeed even the lightheartedness with which I approached my examinations, nevertheless passing with a success that was surprising to myself above all, as neither the moderate extent of my knowledge nor my industry justified it. The preparation for these tests did not prevent me from occupying myself with all sorts of pastimes, which were more important to me than the rules of Latin or Greek grammar or legal quibbles. Before the final examination of the *Gymnasium,* in anticipation of academic freedom I used the leisure that I had obtained through the kindness of our house doctor, to ramble through the Bopser Forest, dreamily occupied with my German classics.

When the examination for assessor came near, Zionism had so taken possession of me, that during this time, instead of engaging with my colleagues in the study of Rhenish law, I carried on Zionist propaganda, founded societies, wrote pamphlets, articles, and poems, and then sat with profound unconcern for the State examination. But now I was faced with a serious decision. Where should I settle as an attorney? In Cologne I had found a pleasant family circle and Zionist friends. Besides, the Rhinelanders' cheerfulness and the candor attracted me; but on the other hand, Berlin afforded better professional prospects and an extensive field for Zionism. Finally, the force of habit triumphed. I had lived in Cologne four years when in the winter of 1893 I settled in the Rhineland metropolis as a lawyer. In this capacity I soon won a name, and my clients increased from year to year. But then, in 1897, the boycott against the Zionists set in, and at one stroke I lost almost all my Jewish clientele. Fortunately I was in a position to make good this loss by an increase from

Christian circles, and was sufficiently independent economically to counter with scorn this act of short-sighted hate.

In the summer of 1895 I made the acquaintance of my wife, Rosa Dalberg, at Neuenahr. In the oppressive summer heat we sat on the Johannisberg. I talked of Zionism, and Fräulein Dalberg revealed herself as an advocate of women's rights. Both ideals sprang from the same feeling for justice and the urge for equal liberty. Her lively spirit, her interest in art, and her feeling for the oppressed proved a powerful attraction to me. Less than a year later I drove to Kassel, where on "Rose Monday," 1896, I became engaged. I had no reason to regret this choice. I was later informed that our betrothal took place in the midst of thunder and lightning, of which, I in my excitement, had not the least recollection. After the storm a glorious summer day shone for us. So it was in our marriage. After the stormy time in which we endeavored to reach a mutual understanding, we enjoyed the unclouded happiness of souls harmoniously united. We experienced many a joy together, shared many a sorrow, saw foreign lands and cities and derived pleasure from their artistic treasures, while in difficult times my wife always stood faithfully at my side. I put no obstacle in the way of her public life, and rejoiced at her successes. In many addresses and articles she fought for women's rights, and she was for many years chairman of the Cologne branch of the League of German Women Citizens. Her spirit was deeply rooted in the German character and in German culture, although she also understandingly recognized Zionism as the only road to the solution of the Jewish question. As she believed that women too should take part in this work, at the Hague Congress, together with Frau Professor Otto Warburg, she founded the League of Jewish Women for Cultural work in Palestine, and as its representatives, with Johanna Simon and Frau Sara Thon, she was received at Mainau by the Grand Duchess Luise of Baden. This princess also took part later in

the efforts of the League, and promoted the schools for home crafts established in Palestine.

After we had settled in Palestine, my wife at once sought contact with the Society for Women's Rights in Jerusalem. She felt bitterly the injustice of Talmudic law in regard to the wife in the sphere of divorce, guardianship, and the right of succession, and therefore fought for the subordination of these legal matters to civil legislation. She also made plans for social work in the country, and agitated for the establishment of a home for employable young girls and women without any family connections. On the basis of her international contacts, she ultimately promoted the formation of a council of representatives of all political tendencies in the country, in order to enlighten the women abroad about Zionist policy. Unfortunately this attempt has not to this day succeeded in being fulfilled, although such a society has long existed among Arab women.

This noble and gifted woman, a proud upright Jewess and affectionate mother, my life's unforgettable comrade, through inexorable fate was torn from me by her death on March 24 (21 Adar) 1938, after a short illness.

As legal adviser to large enterprises, I was one of the most successful lawyers in Cologne. In the circle of my colleagues and also of the judges I was shown great good will. I make particular acknowledgment of the Rhenish lawyers for their candor and tolerance. The latter was particularly appreciated by me, since I was no native Rhinelander, and since as a Jew I made no secret to anybody of my Zionist convictions. During the forty years of my legal practice the training of numerous young lawyers (*Referendars*) preparing for service was entrusted to me by the head of the Court. As a lawyer I had, apart from economically substantial lawsuits, frequent opportunity to gain an insight into remarkable court cases, which could offer a novelist, playwright, or psychologist rich material.

But it will be understood if I refrain from an account of such things in this book. On the other hand, I want to relate something about my occupation with unusual problems, which aroused my interest, because they exercised at times some influence upon my life.

A professional journey to the Riviera gave me the opportunity of watching the gambling at Monte Carlo. The studies by Multatuli and Dostoievski's story, "The Gambler," had made me curious as to whether there was a method of achieving a permanent win at gambling. As I was lucky in my attempts and the Riviera was a delightful resort, I spent a few weeks' holiday with my wife at Monte Carlo. I tried a system, again with some success, and thus during this time, in June 1905, we lived at the expense of the Bank of Monte Carlo. I recall with pleasure the excursions in the neighborhood, on the water and among the hills, and a wonderful evening in the Palace Park of Monaco, where thousands of glowworms gave the garden the look of fairyland. But as for the attempt to discover a system of breaking the Bank, the result was altogether negative. The chances on the black and the red or the even and uneven numbers at the roulette table are absolutely the same in every system, so that the Bank in the long run, through the zero that falls to it, is always, with mathematical certainty, at an advantage. A second factor is the psychic one. A gambler who is winning has seldom the strength of resolution to give up playing; he therefore usually continues until he is forced to leave the table with a loss, because of a lack of means to continue playing. All the systems that are at the disposal of the credulous for a small price, are based upon self-deception. Instead of any system, it is enough to fix upon one number one single time. If one is lucky this number wins; if one is unlucky one loses one's stake. A week's continued gambling does not alter this fact. This equalizing of winning and losing is simply what is called chance. But it is a law of nature,

which also governs the life of men, and in which, in the course of time, the black and the red are equal. Despite the entrancing memory we were never again in Monte Carlo.

In the year 1908 spiritualistic exercises also attracted me for a short time. There are certain phenomena that cause us astonishment without our being able to explain them to ourselves. For example, there is the law of the series, that is, of the repetition of certain otherwise seldom coinciding events. In my life it was a striking fact that both my parents and my parents-in-law had the same first names, Jacob and Henriette. It is another fact that in my family the numbers 3 and 7 played a special part. I inherited certain propensity for the occult from my grandfather on my mother's side, who had a leaning toward Chassidism.

Hence when my wife told me that during an absence for professional reasons she had been enticed by an acquaintance who used to visit our house, to attempt to enter into spiritualistic communication with the dead and reported certain predictions which strangely came to pass, I decided to go into the matter. I recorded the result faithfully in my diary in order not to be deceived by memory. The result was as follows : there were comparatively numerous communications that concerned future events, the occurrence of which seemed to me inexplicable. Questions that concerned the Zionist movement and communications from our dead leaders yielded only false results. Besides there were a lot of commonplace assertions, some of which were quite meaningless. It soon became clear to me that these psychic phenomena were by no means to be related to the souls of the dead, but must spring from some natural force otherwise unknown to us. After this result, and because the experiments proved harmful to my wife's nerves, we stopped them completely after some weeks, and only preserved the recollection of a period of exciting experiences. If a scientific examination could establish the existence of prophetic

predictions, as is asserted by many scholars—for example Schrenuk-Notzing and Dr. Kemmerich of Munich—it would be of the greatest importance, in many scientific fields and also especially for the theory of criminal law. It would show that all events take place under compulsion, and the objective freedom of the human will would thus be open to question.

So far as my time permitted I took the trouble to make myself acquainted with the Hebrew language. I realized that one of the greatest obstacles to this was the lack of vowels in writing. The Hebrew daily papers and the modern writings previously appeared without vowels, and even now the publication of printed matter with the usual vowels is rare and involves considerable cost. This led me to wonder whether it might not be possible to replace these vowels by vowel signs according to European usage. Such an arrangement would appreciably facilitate acquiring a knowledge of Hebrew. In particular the possibility would thus be created of learning the language on the basis of reading, as is now impossible since the script affords no clue to pronunciation. The Hebrew language is not alone in this deficiency. That is why, in Turkey and Japan, the most modern countries of the East, the introduction of the Latin alphabet is advocated. I do not consider this desirable, because the Latin consonants do not correspond to the Hebrew. Besides, such a project must fail owing to the conservative attitude of the Jews. In Cologne I found a small circle who were favorable to this idea, among whom, in addition leading Catholic and Evangelical priests and the manager of the *Kölnische Zeitung,* were the communal rabbis Dr. Rosenthal and Dr. Kober. I got the artist Budko to design suitable letters corresponding to the Hebrew square writing, which would illustrate my idea. Unfortunately there were no funds to bring this proposal to the knowledge of a wider public. Only the *Gutenberg Zeitschrift* in Berne, whose editor Karl Lüthi is an enthusiastic adherent of this idea, and the Vienna *Menorah*

Journal published instructive articles on the matter. I have not given up hope that this phonetic printing of Hebrew will find a fruitful soil in the *Yishuv*.

When I returned home from my Palestine trip in 1912, I hoped to be able to repeat this journey in a few years, but the war made it entirely out of the question. Meanwhile my son had moved to Palestine, where he was at work at the Research Station, and had married Rachel Ussishkin. It was not until the year 1926 that I was in a position to carry out the long-cherished plan, and with my wife to visit the country and our children. This was a pleasure trip without Zionist aims, and it was thus very favorable to impartial observation. We left at the beginning of March in glorious spring weather. After a short stay on Lake Como and on the Italian Riviera we sailed on the Woermann Liner *Tanganyika* to Port Said. This half-European, half-African seaport and commercial city naturally aroused the interest of my wife. From one of the numerous cafés we viewed the animated and picturesque street life. The skill of a juggler who by sleight of hand put a bird into my wife's pocket and then took it out again, should have been a warning to me. There are certainly no such light-fingered pickpockets anywhere in the world as there are in Egypt. So I was to learn by sad experience on the return journey through Cairo, where one of these rogues robbed me of a large part of my travel money. If there had not been telephone service to Tel Aviv and if Hoofien, the general director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, had not rendered me friendly assistance, so that within a couple of hours my purse could be replenished, we might have stayed in Cairo a long time. But even today wonders happen, as they did in the time of Moses. We do not only strike water from the rock, we speak across continents and send money through the ether waves of the air. We likewise did not need forty years to reach the Promised Land. A ferry trans-

ported us across the Suez Canal from Africa to Asia, and an overnight trip on the express brought us to Tel Aviv.

Our arrival there was a sensational event. Our son met us at the railway station. We discovered the oldest of horse-carts, which had been left behind by the Flood. But we were glad to give the old Sephardi, who sat proudly erect on the coach-box, a chance to earn something. The horse stumbled on tottering legs at a feeble pace. The carriage, laden with steamer trunks, traveling cases and boxes, among which my wife, I myself and my son sat enthroned, swayed like a loaded haycart along Allenby Street, which was unfortunately torn up for repairs. I sent ardent prayers up to heaven that we might arrive intact. Our daughter-in-law had already seen the breakneck journey from the balcony of the house. Naturally the gray-bearded driver, who had nearly driven us all to our deaths, charged a treble fare for the danger we had sustained. He said that this was the custom in Palestine. What was there to do?

From the balcony of the houses we had a glimpse of the sea and the life on the beach with its swarms of people. Of the simple hamlet I had visited fourteen years before, hardly a trace remained. On the other hand, many colonies had changed little. Streets and houses were badly cared for. The numerous wooden barracks made hardly a hospitable impression. Apparently no value was attached to having them habitable and neat. They were regarded as an emergency makeshift, and it was hoped that solid houses would soon be built. This mistake is regrettable. I have seen in other places how one can provide a more pleasant appearance and greater convenience in such wooden houses by means of bright paint, flowers, and the planting of small gardens. Perhaps I may live to see this brought about.

In Mikveh-Israel hired Arab labor had disappeared. We were also shown a small natural history museum which had been established by the pupils of the institution. Professor

Warburg, who accompanied us, drew our particular attention to some trees, which on account of the peculiar form of their fruit he called "liver-sausage trees." From the terrace of Ussishkin's house, in which Miss Landau's school was afterwards located, we had a glorious view of the old city of Jerusalem, the Temple Mount, the Scopus with the buildings of the growing University, and the Mount of Olives. Toward evening there lay over the city a strange, splendid radiance. The light upon the mountains of Moab was brick-red, and above it was a phenomenon that I have never seen elsewhere. Toward the east it appeared like a luminous halo, which changed from deep blue to reddish and then to bright yellow. A drive brought us to Gethsemane, Bethlehem, and the Pools of Solomon, where my son found a rich trove of insects. The grave of Rachel left me with nothing but a sorrowful recollection. It is regrettable that Jews so neglect their holy places, while in the vicinity of monasteries and of Christian and Moslem places of pilgrimage one finds well-kept gardens. Why does Rachel's tomb lie bare, somber and neglected in a stony desert? As there can be no lack of money about it can be assumed that the Jews, during the long exile of the Ghetto, lost all sense of beauty and of the significance of impressive monuments and the possibility of surrounding them with gardens. The poor, indeed even wretched condition in Palestine of many buildings and institutions connected with the Jewish religion permits of hardly any other conclusion. The city of the dead in the Valley of Josaphat, with the tombs of the judges, the tomb of Absalom with its conical dome, and the immeasurable stony sea of weather-beaten sarcophagi look infinitely sad, a denial of life. Not a flower, not a tree! Must it be so? Death is not only terrible. We also link with it hope. A garden or a grove, which after the death of winter undergoes the revival of spring, would be a symbol of it.

The valley of Josaphat aroused in me a strange feeling. On

the one side stood the mountains dark against the heavens. The Temple Mount on the east was brightly illuminated by the rays of the sinking sun. The clear light of the horizon was in strange contrast to the deep blue zenith, in which already showed the twinkling light of the stars. It was a scene of mighty, awe-inspiring grandeur. That evening I came to understand the prophets of the Old Testament.

At the Dead Sea there was primitive bathing. I thought that a paradise would arise if Jordan water were brought here. When I was at Kallia with my wife and friends not long ago, I was glad to see that this dream was on the point of fulfillment.

In Ruppin's newly built house we also met Weizmann. The table talk moved along ordinary channels. I did not consider it necessary to begin a political discussion although there was much I might have said.

The layout of the Temple Square is magnificent, and can compete with the finest squares in the world. It shows that the Jewish people in ancient times had a sense for the building of cities on a grand scale, which is also confirmed by the description of the city by Josephus. On the other hand, in the old city there unfolds a scene which is both picturesque and revolting, and which seems to us like the beggarly residue of former wealth. With the exception of the venerable Holy Sepulcher and some other monumental buildings which bear the patina of age, all of this rubble deserved to be pulled down. But the time has not yet come for such a move. At present the quest for gain and lack of taste are still at work in cluttering the delightful scene of the city with skyscrapers, which make the new Jerusalem extremely ugly. Perhaps the time will soon come when a suitable plan of streets and squares will be possible for this gloriously situated city, allowing as well for graceful arcades, which in the old city with its narrow streets would serve as a protection from the blazing sun. Then this part of Jerusalem could become a jewel-box which would be the envy

of the rest of the world. How much of historic value would come to light under this chaos of derelict houses if it were once cleared away! One would like to live long enough to be witness of it.

On one of the following days we drove through the only forest remaining from Turkish times on the way from Haifa to Nazareth. In Bethlehem in Galilee, which is now a Swabian colony with the name of Waldheim, we admired the small gardens and the orderly streets. The small but attractive church had been repaired by the workmen of the village. The joy of these simple men in the preservation and improvement of their property might well have served as a model for our colonists. We then visited the tomb of Simon bar Jochai at Safed and the remains of a synagogue in the Greek style, which are to be found on a small elevation above it. In Capernaum we saw the ruins of the synagogue in which Jesus is said to have taught. The Franciscans have tried to rebuild it in its original form. These ruins also lie in a well-tended garden. The Jews have missed the opportunity of rescuing this remarkable piece of architecture from oblivion. The priest who showed us round accepted a small donation toward the cost of building with warm friendliness.

In Dagania I was glad to see the fine banana plantations which had been established there at my suggestion. The colony itself was entirely changed. An avenue of palms and cypresses surrounded us. Instead of barracks there were stone dwellings, and the children's house might have belonged to the country estate of a rich landowner. Whether the problem of communal work has been solved here remains for a future generation to decide.

At Ein Harod we were particularly struck by the great care with which the children were looked after. The clean white cots and the laughing faces in the children's house made us very happy. A comical scene was presented by six children who

patiently sat side by side on their little pots and waited for things to happen. Care under trained nurses, as in these *Kibbutzim,* is enjoyed by only a few priviliged children of the *Galuth.*

We then drove to Nahalal, where we were present at the dedication of the new home of the girls' farm which is now maintained by the WIZO, and to whose early beginnings at Kinereth my wife had greatly contributed. Owing to rain we reached it only with great difficulty. But Oettinger assured us that it was raining pounds, and that we should be as happy as if we ourselves had been the Jewish farmers into whose pockets the pounds were falling. When we broke away from this festivity Professor Warburg's galoshes remained stuck in the mud. I said that the Palestinian earth was tough, it held us fast. How good it would have been if I could have proved the truth of this saying.

Then we went to the eucalyptus groves of Hederah, and past the red roofs of Benjamina back to Tel Aviv, where we rested at the home of our children from the delightful but strenuous journey. We could sit for hours on the balcony and observe the happiness of the city's youth. When we tore ourselves away from the country, it seemed to me as though Mount Carmel, Mount Tabor, everything from the Safed range to the mountains of Judaea, from the Lake of Genezareth as far as the Mediterranean, all the mountains, valleys, trees, and meadows of the country whispered in one's ear: "Stay here, stay here, come again!" Unfortunately the noise of daily affairs drowned out this still small voice.

My activity in the Executive of the Cologne synagogue community is possibly worthy of mention. Outside the city lay a piece of land that was commonly called "the dead Jew." When excavations were made it was found that it was an old Jewish cemetery, which went back to Roman times and which after the expulsion of the fifteenth century had been completely

forgotten. As chairman of the legal and constitutional commission, I was instructed to clear up the legal situation, and I succeeded, thanks to the cooperation of Rabbi Dr. Rosenthal and Dr. Kober, as well as the late Seminary Director, Dr. Carlebach, in preserving the cemetery of the community as a historic monument. Many of the dead bore every sign of having suffered a martyr's death. The cemetery was surrounded by a wall, which protected the monuments, and a simple building was erected. What will now happen to the cemetery no longer lies in our hands.

In the year 1928 I was asked to undertake the erection and organization of the special Jewish press exhibition. In a spacious pavilion, the central building of which contained rare examples of Jewish bookmaking and also a scroll of the Torah, the development and the state of the Jewish press were shown. It was found that at the present time almost a thousand Jewish papers and periodicals were being published in about seventy languages, among which every point of view among Jews was represented. The special exhibition was visited by more than 100,000 people, and we had reason to hope that we had thereby made an important contribution to fighting the prejudice against the Jews. How very much we were deceived.

A magnificent work issued by the city of Cologne concerning the exhibition contained, on page 53, an illustration of the pavilion of this special exhibition, the ISOP, and beginning on page 125, an essay of mine which aroused wide interest. Some passages from it may give an idea of its theme. "It is a tragic misfortune that this in part excellently conducted press," I wrote, "does not penetrate beyond the circle of the Jewish population, so that the contemporary world learns hardly anything of the concerns and ideals of Jewry from the lips of its qualified representatives. The life of the Jewish journalist is for the most part a struggle for the most modest existence. Such

journalists struggle for Jewish life, Jewish rights, and Jewish honor. Who knows the true soldiers of Jewry, who bleed in this fight? And from this source Jewry derives constant encouragement and reinforces its valor in the fight for the ideals of humanity, which it was, through the Bible, the first to proclaim."

The exhibiting of the scroll of the Torah in a glass case led to dispute with an Orthodox university professor, who declared that this was forbidden by religious law. Our Rabbi Rosenthal then found a happy way out. It would be permitted if the Torah were placed under a double glass container, which was regarded as the same thing as a house. For the sake of precious peace I made the necessary arrangements. But I have a strong suspicion that what remained was the same ordinary glass case! But the rabbi and the professor did not notice anything of the sort, and the dear Lord in His infinite goodness certainly looked upon the simple glass case as a house. As a permanent record of the special Jewish exhibition the committee published a memorial volume with numerous illustrations and essays by distinguished scholars. In the introduction I gave an account of the exhibition. Here also I used the opportunity of describing the importance of the Jewish press. I said that it did not in any way abuse its power in the service of mammon and materialism, but that it endeavored to uphold the eternal moral values of Jewry. If the world recognized this fact, it would contribute to the removal of racial and religious hatred. I need hardly add that all too unfortunately there is no sign of any such recognition.

The problem of Jesus occupied me from my youth. The assertion that the crucifixion of Jesus was the work of the Jews seemed to me one of the worst lies of history. The works of David Friedrich Strauss and Ernest Renan convinced me that the Gospels are a very unreliable source of history, which

presumably arose out of the tendency to detach the new sect from Judaism and to absolve the Romans from their guilt in the crucifixion. The intention in this way to escape persecution by the Romans is something in which the Gospel writers succeeded very imperfectly. That the racial doctrine of the modern anti-Semites is refuted by the Jewish origin of Jesus and of the Apostles ought, in my opinion, to be evidence to any intelligent person.

There are, unfortunately, no incontrovertible historical documents concerning the life and death of Jesus. But one can deduce from the traditional sources that his crucifixion by Pilate took place because he was under suspicion of following the example of other Jewish heroes who appeared as messianic leaders striving for freedom from Roman rule. This is also indicated by the inscription on the cross of INRI: *Jesus Nazarenus Rex Judaeorum.*

The account in the Gospels of the arrest and condemnation of Jesus by the High Priest on the eve of Passover is altogether incredible. The Gospels also give no account of a regular sitting of the Sanhedrin, but only of a discussion in the house of Annas, who was not then the officiating High Priest. Such a court proceeding on the eve of Passover would have been entirely contrary to religious law. As the Gospels also record the condemnation by Pilate and the execution by the Roman military, the conviction still rooted in the Christian world that Jesus was crucified by the Jews, seems incredible. After reaching this conclusion, in which I was confirmed by the book by Professor Joseph Klausner on Jesus of Nazareth, I gave it literary expression in dramatic form. The booklet was listed early in 1933 in the catalog of a Leipzig publisher. The poetic value of the thing was not the main point with me. My purpose was only to give an account of the Jesus story from the Jewish standpoint in contrast to the Gospels, and to bring

home to the Jewish people the moral teaching and the parables that are put into the mouth of Jesus. The advent of Hitler, the personification of the evil one in the final vision of Jesus, prevented the publisher from putting the book on the market.

In Amsterdam I carried forward anew the plan of a liberation drama, of which Simson was the hero. In these compositions I did not have in mind any theatrical production, for which they lacked the necessary conciseness and conflict. But the author Schirokauer, with whom I struck up a friendship in Amsterdam and who was active there in the film industry, wanted to make use of it in a film. Unfortunately he died soon afterward in Vienna, whereupon I dropped the plan.

If we had believed in premonitions, my wife would not, in 1931, have built her house in the green belt around Cologne. Perhaps we would have brought out the little magic tablet from the time of our spiritualistic sessions and asked questions of it. As it was, we went blindly in the opposite way without the guidance of a friendly spirit. In order to obtain the site for the house I had to battle the chief burgomaster, who did not wish to release it for building. Then came the bank crash, which deprived me of a great part of the fortune newly acquired after the inflation, and finally the Building Society failed, so that I had to cover the cost of the building out of my own means, which had been weakened by the devaluation. Despite all these misfortunes we could still have enjoyed the evening of our life in peace, if political conditions had not taken a threatening turn. The danger from the National Socialist movement filled me with great anxiety. The hope of the Jews that Hitler was using the Jewish question only as a means to come to power, I considered foolish. Also the "Iron Front," to which I belonged, seemed to me insufficiently prepared for a fight. Through my relations with leading Social Democrats I had obtained a better insight into these things than many Jews who went on living in their usual optimism.

This is not the place to pass judgment upon the nature and character of the Nazi Revolution, its benefit or damage to the welfare of the people in general. History will sit in judgment upon this. One can only say that in this movement the unreadiness of the German people for a free constitution showed itself. Otherwise it would not be comprehensible that they should have tolerated the relapse into medieval barbarity and the destruction of every civil liberty without resisting to the death. Even much less will future generations understand how this great people, which had bestowed such rich treasures upon civilization, could have submitted to the dictatorship of a foreigner, obsessed to the point of mania, whose place should have been not at the head of a state but in the padded cell of a madhouse. There is only a little to be added about the position of the Nazis.

In barbarian countries there had always been mob assaults, looting, and murder, on religious or national minorities. But the systematic disfranchisement and the destruction of their economic existence up until now had been regarded in civilized States as out of the question. These might have been understandable if they had been a prerequisite to political success. But such was by no means the case. The human rights of the French Revolution had, in Germany, remained the ideal of a small civilized circle. Defeat in the First World War brought about among the masses a rekindling of long-suppressed feelings of hatred. This is the secret of the success of Hitler, which might have been the lot of any leader who had awakened among the German people the hope for new advancement. As long as he was able to maintain this hope, Hitler was considered the savior of the third Reich. When in January 1933, Hitler became Chancellor, this could not yet be foreseen. It was only after the Reichstag fire, which unleashed the people's rage that I believed there was a threat of a pogrom upon the Jews, which was bound to precipitate a panic-stricken exodus.

I therefore proposed in the Executive of the synagogue community a meeting of the representatives of the large communities of Germany, which should establish a liquidation bank, in order to direct the mass emigration I foresaw along proper channels. But the Executive considered my fears exaggerated. The chairman even begged me, with tears in his eyes, to spare his nerves. He now lives in Amsterdam. Some weeks later, when Goering, Goebbels, and Streicher announced the war of extermination against the German Jews, the Executive was ripe for my plans, but it was then too late. The anti-Jewish boycott had begun, and the communities were under the control of the Gestapo.

Life in a National Socialist state seemed to me intolerable. I therefore decided to emigrate. The final incentive was provided by the events in the court house in the Reichensperger Platz on Friday, March 31, 1933, which I escaped only by the lucky accident that I had an appointment at that time with my notary. I have no motive to keep silent about these rough attacks by an organized mob. Two companies of the S.S. had occupied the court house, herded together the Jewish attorneys and judges, and dragged them in front of the building. There were quite shocking scenes. Lawyers were thrown down the stairs and abused irrespective of age. In front of the building stood the carts of the municipal sanitation department, upon which judges and lawyers, some in official robes, were thrown. They were forced under threat of death to hold placards with the inscription: "Down with Jewish judges, down with Jewish lawyers!" My younger daughter, who used to represent me as lawyer in the court, was an eye witness of these scenes. Her attempt to find refuge in the police station, which was situated in the same building, was in vain. The office was closed. The police did not want to have anything to do with the matter. She owed her rescue to a court inspector, who asked her into his room under the pretext that he had some official matter to

discuss with her. He then conducted her through the basement into the street. Some of the Nazi guards looked at her with distrust, but did not molest her. The lawyers and judges were then driven through the hostile crowd three times round the square and then through the streets to the police headquarters, where they were released.

This abominable treatment of respectable officials and conscientious attorneys caused me to go abroad without delay to make arrangements for the transportation of my family. The Antwerp Zionists, headed by M. Torczyner, and the Fischer and Karlin families received me with open arms. An English client who was a friend of mine generously offered me and my family refuge in his country estate near Weston-super-Mare, of which we took advantage for a few weeks. The concern of these distinguished Christians over the fate of the German Jews did us a world of good. I then went to Amsterdam where I was able to prepare the liquidation of some companies which I directed. My stay also gave me the opportunity to act on behalf of my brother-in-law, who had been severely ill-treated under the false accusation of having favored the murder of a Nazi, and taken to a concentration camp, where he was in imminent danger of death. It was a lucky chance that I was able at the last moment to release him and to bring him to Amsterdam.

During my stay there I received a summons to appear as a witness in Berne at the trial of the Swiss Nazis on account of the distribution of the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*. That this was one of the worst falsifications of history was made absolutely clear at the trial.

In the sixties of last century a Frenchman named Joly wrote a polemic against Napoleon, which aimed, by means of a crass description of the abuses of dictatorship, at preventing the suppression of the liberties gained by the revolution. This

polemic altered in essential parts, and with the added accusation that the Jews with the help of the Freemasons were striving for world domination, was used by the Russian Secret Police to strengthen the reaction in Russia. This manuscript came into the hands of the demented priest Sergei Nilus, who shortly before had proclaimed the arrival of antichrist. According to the testimony of the witness Chayla, a friend of Nilas, the latter published the forgery in the Russian language as a propaganda pamphlet for the "Black Hundred," which formed the prelude to the anti-Jewish pogroms of the year 1905. The statement of Count du Chayla naturally created a sensation. It was confirmed by the historian Sviatikoff, the author Burtseff, and the Russian Jewish lawyer Sliosberg. In 1919 Zur Beck published the polemic in German, and made the absurd assertion that the *Protocols* were revealed in secret sessions of the first Zionist Congress at Basel. This statement formed the subject of the testimony of several delegates and of the stenographer at the Basel Congress. I could only testify, in my thorough examination, that it was either a ridiculously insane notion or else a despicable libel to connect this pamphlet in any way with Zionism.

In their judgment the Swiss courts left no doubt of the fact of forgery, but found, on the basis of the penal laws, no ground for the punishment of the disseminators of this brochure. Upon me the trial made the impression of a sensational and historically important event, but I wrote to my wife: "Whether the unmasking of this anti-Semitic forgery will be of much help to the Jews, I should very much doubt." I fear that subsequent events have proved me right. On the basis of my acquaintance with this libel, I tried to compare the most important passages about the method of attaining world domination in Hitler's book *Mein Kampf* and the program of National Socialism, and found a remarkable agreement.

In Amsterdam many people made friendly approaches, but it was unceasingly clear to me how correct my conviction had been that for us wandering Jews any other land but Palestine could be only a shelter for the night; and so we no longer delayed our removal there. The Zionists insisted upon holding a festive farewell banquet for us. When we left on a Sunday morning, a dense crowd of friends and Zionists had assembled at the station to take leave of us. I believe that the public on the platform must have thought me to be at least a minister or a champion boxer. After a glorious voyage on the *Conte de Savoya,* I arrived with my wife and younger daughter in Haifa at the end of February 1935. My elder daughter, who had been principal of a technical school in Germany, was already in Palestine. In Jerusalem I was formally welcomed at a dinner given by the Agency under the chairmanship of Menachem Ussishkin. Yitzchak Gruenbaum and Dr. Shmarya Levin also spoke. The latter emphasized the tragic irony that the title of my first Zionist publication had been "Whither the Russian Jews?", whereas today, instead, it was Whither the German Jews? But today, likewise, the slogan I offered them still holds: to Zion and Palestine. Since then I have lived in Jerusalem and have had the leisure to form an opinion on the condition of the country. I shall submit to my readers some of my reflections.

THE MANDATE POLICY

THE nature and significance of the National Home are seen from history and from the text of the Balfour Declaration. The Mandate Treaty also affords sufficient material for this purpose. The statements of notable English statesmen at the mass meeting at the Albert Hall in the summer of 1920 afforded Jews the prospect of developing, in Palestine, into a majority people able to determine their own fate. This was also the meaning of the declaration of the British Government, that it proposed as much as possible to further Zionist aspirations, which were not unknown to it. In this way an end should be made of the minority status which had exposed the Jews in barbarous lands to many persecutions. The British Government could not doubt that the Zionists could regard as a national homeland only a country in which the Jews formed the majority of the population. The attempt was made to limit the Balfour Declaration by maintaining that the National Home should indeed be established in Palestine, but not in the whole of Palestine. This was a play on words. One could not outline the change of Palestine into a Jewish community more clearly than had been done in the Balfour Declaration. If any doubt about this did exist, it would be removed by the preamble to the Mandate Treaty, where the

right of the Jewish people "to re-establish a National Home in this country" had been expressly recognized. That this National Home was to be a Jewish State, I hardly need prove to my readers, and that this was the "historic" Palestine, is shown by the fact that in the same passage the historic connection of the Jewish people with Palestine is confirmed. This also applies to Transjordania, as is shown beyond any doubt in Article 25 of the Mandate Treaty. The power, with regard to local conditions, temporarily to postpone or to hold back the application of the regulations concerning the National Home for this part of Palestine, only confirmed that this territory belonged to Palestine. Every definite regulation made concerning this without the consent of the Jewish people is therefore contrary to the Mandate. To justify the separation of Transjordania there have been adduced the McMahon letters of 1915, in which this territory is said to have been promised to the Arabs. But it has long been shown that this correspondence did not have the character of a binding treaty, and that the conditions set forth in these letters had never been accepted by Sheriff Hussein of Mecca. Any obligation in regard to these indefinite promises is excluded because they have found no recognition in the peace treaties.

The detachment of Transjordania was also a mistake from the standpoint of a far-seeing policy on the part of England. This country is incapable of existence by itself alone. It must sooner or later be united with the rest of Palestine. The only possibility for so doing, if England is not to be guilty of a breach of promise, is afforded by the absolute fulfillment of the Mandate Treaty for this territory as well. With this conception of the National Home the guarantee of an independent Arab State in Palestine, with minority rights for the Jews, such as the Arabs are striving for, is an irreconcilable contradiction. This explains why the fight of the Arabs against the establishment of the Jewish National Home has no economic basis. The

prerequisite condition for achieving the nationalist aims of the Arabs is thus the abolition of the Mandate. Hence the proposal of a legislative council which would accord them a sure majority, could not be enough for them. The Jewish Agency would have had to reject it because it ran contrary to the purpose of the Mandate. This plan should therefore logically have been withdrawn, as it was impracticable without the cooperation of the Jews. The same thing had occurred in connection with the previous proposal, which the Arabs rejected. The attempt to create the Council despite these considerations was bound to accentuate the conflict between Jews and Arabs. In view of the mentality of the Arabs it was to be expected that the rather weak attitude of the Government gave the Mufti and his radical followers courage to proceed to open revolt. This is the origin of the disturbances in Jaffa, the proclamation of the long-threatening political strike, and acts of violence. This is not the place to deal with the inactivity of the Palestine Government toward the threatening disturbances and the lack of plan in suppressing them. That was done clearly enough by the Jewish Agency in its memorandum to the Mandate Commission of the League of Nations. A terrible picture of the conditions thus created in Palestine was given in the open letter which Dizengoff, chief burgomaster of Tel Aviv, wrote from his deathbed to the High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope.

The principal reason for the Arab disturbances was the faulty Mandate policy. Unfortunately it was a Jewish High Commissioner who instigated them. The detachment of Transjordania was only the first link in the chain of measures taken by the Palestine Government contrary to the Mandate. Under the pressure of Arab terrorism, in 1921 there appeared the Churchill White Paper, the composition of which Hugo Herrmann, in his work on Palestine, attributes to Viscount Samuel. The definition of the National Home contained therein was

to be authoritative in the subsequent policy of the British Government. The Jewish National Home was henceforth not to be a Jewish community or a state with a Jewish majority, but only a center in which the Jews could take pride. This vague and ambiguous definition gave occasion to trifling with the Mandate and afforded the Arabs a pretext for substantiating national claims to Palestine. Hence also followed a new interpretation of the Mandate Treaty. In it, the British Government logically set up the principle that the reservation of the civil and religious rights of the non-Jewish communities and of Article 2 of the Mandate should have the same weight as the obligation to establish a Jewish National Home. This erroneous conception was not remedied by the Mandate Commission's agreeing to it. The meaning of this regulation in the Balfour Declaration was a constitutional guarantee of the non-Jewish communities against any religious or civil restrictions in the event of the establishment of the Jewish National Home. It was of an international character and presupposed the establishment of the National Home, which was still far away.

The situation is different with regard to the purposes in Article 2 of the Mandate. Here it was doubtless a case of a reservation to be observed in the carrying out of the measures for the establishment of the National Home. It is of a purely technical and administrative character. One could define these purposes as the obligation to establish the Jewish National Home in a positive and therefore compulsory manner. The reservation in favor of the native population is intended as a precaution of a negative character, and must therefore in no way hinder the carrying out of the first obligation. If this were not the case, Article 2 of the Mandate would be meaningless. The establishment of the National Home must then fail because of the contradiction between two obligations. Such cannot possibly have been the intention of the Balfour Declaration.

The obligation of the British Government to establish the National Home accords the Jewish people a national right. The Mandate Treaty contains nowhere an obligation to protect the national rights of the Arabs. If this had been intended it would have been clearly expressed and not have limited itself to the civil and religious rights of the native population. There was likewise no occasion for any regard for the national rights of the Arabs at the time of the drafting of the Mandate Treaty for Palestine, as they had been fully satisfied by the establishment of Arab states. It is obvious from this exposition that the two obligations of the British Government have a quite different character, and therefore no equal weight can be attributed to them. The obligation to establish the Jewish National Home is of a primary nature, the protection of the native population of a secondary nature.

The false interpretation of the Mandate Treaty has led to the invalidation of the special purposes of the Mandate for bringing about the establishment of the Jewish National Home.

This became clear in the first place in the disposal of public and waste lands which, contrary to the Mandate Treaty, went to the Arabs in Beison instead of to the Jews. This development is to be attributed to Viscount Herbert Samuel, who certainly did not suppose that the Jewish people would hunger for the territories assured them by the Mandate Treaty as for daily bread.

It is of secondary importance that the special law for the naturalization of the immigrant Jews was never issued; but it was crucial that the law outlined in the Mandate providing for exclusively Jewish settlements was never put into effect. It also added to the vexation of the Jewish people that the Mandate's exposition of the dual obligation toward the Jews and Arabs served as an instrument of purely mechanical equality. If, for example, the administration prohibited Arab newspapers, the the measure was also frequently used against a Jewish paper,

without any apparent reason. Of the bequest by Kadoori for the establishment of an agricultural school, which the benefactor undoubtedly intended for the Jewish *Yishuv,* half was devoted to the Arabs. The subsidies for schools and hospitals went in overwhelming measure to benefit the Arabs. Unnecessary restrictions were imposed upon the development of industry which would have been in the interest of the Jews. The Government also failed to pass laws to counteract the increase in the price of land which was a result of the immigration, and which interfered greatly with the healthy development of the *Yishuv.* From this attitude on the part of the administration it follows that administrative measures provided in the Mandate for the establishment of the Jewish National Home were subordinated to a misguided egalitarian policy.

The immigration restrictions form a special chapter. As previously established, the Mandate was to bring about a Jewish majority in the population of Palestine. This was the aim of Article 6 of the Mandate, which provided for the facilitation of Jewish immigration. Since at the time of the Mandate Treaty there was no restriction upon immigration into Palestine, this regulation could only mean that arrangements were to be made which would render possible a rapid immigration of large numbers of Jews into Palestine. For this immigration centers, barrack camps providing temporary accommodation, workshops for professional training, and advisory bureaus for immigrants, provided by the State, would have been helpful. All this was left to voluntary social agencies set up by the Jews. If it wished to proceed on the principle of increasing the economic capacity of the country in order to absorb a larger immigration—a matter not provided for by the Mandate Treaty—then the Government would have been obliged to obtain the advice of the Jewish Agency as to measures by means of which that capacity might be increased. This

was likewise not done, but rather just the opposite. The Jewish immigration was even kept under the economic capacity of the region, as is shown by the fact that a considerable number of illegal immigrants made a living there. The steps that have now been taken, contrary to the Mandate, to put a political restriction upon immigration, are nothing but the legalization of a policy already long in existence. On the other hand, Arab immigration from Syria and Transjordania was allowed on a large scale without any control. Thus the intention of the Mandate with regard to Jewish immigration was reduced to absurdity.

That intention was also violated by the manner in which officials were appointed to an administration which was supposed to pass gradually into predominantly Jewish hands. More than seventy per cent of the officials are Arabs hostile to the Mandate, with at the most ten per cent Jews. The English officials showed little interest in the establishment of the Jewish National Home and during the disturbances even sympathized with the Arabs. That such a state of affairs could not serve the purpose of the Mandate is obvious. The Arab officials played a doubtful role during the disturbances. This is best shown by the petition of 137 high Arab officials, who put pressure upon the British Government to stop the immigration of Jews into Palestine—a move which, strange to say, was regarded as loyal by the Colonial Secretary. Even worse was the unreliability of Arab officials, who used their advance knowledge of police or military measures to warn the rebel bands, thus sabotaging the mopping-up action of the Government.

When the question is raised of what induced the British Government to adopt its policy, I must say in all frankness that I cannot believe in the incapacity of the British Government to interpret the Mandate correctly. Its motives are thus to be explained by its general policy, which was aimed at a feder-

ation of independent Arab states under a British protectorate. Perhaps concern for the pipeline to Mosul and for holding on to the route to India were involved. The British Government therefore sought in every way to avoid what might arouse the ill will of the Arabs. But since without the consent of the Council of the League of Nations it was not possible to abolish the Mandate, which was based upon the Balfour Declaration, the attempt was made to reduce its importance so as to appease the Arabs. But it presently transpired that this could be done in no way other than through the establishment of an independent Arab state. But in this way England ran the risk of losing the confidence and friendship of the Jewish people, who must regard such an attitude as a violation of the Treaty. This misguided policy had the consequence of complicating the Palestine problem. Instead of systematically building up the foundations of the Jewish National Home, the existence of which would of necessity have brought about an understanding with the Arabs, it only gave new fuel to Arab covetousness.

This policy could not but lead to acts of terrorism, which attained their object despite the energetic declaration of the British Government that it would not submit to the pressure of the terrorists. The reports of the commissions headed by Sir Walter Shaw and Sir John Hope Simpson, and the Passfield White Paper, are the clear proofs of this. It is therefore understandable that the Arabs should try, by revolt and terror, to achieve further concessions from the Government. In this expectation they were not deceived. Another commission, this time a Royal one, was sent to the country, and the conciliatory declarations of the Government to the Arabs left no doubt that its findings would lie in the direction of fulfilling the Arab demands. Had the Government followed a more honest Mandate policy, and had the Arabs seen (as I pointed out in discussing the early history of the disturbances in the *Haolam Journal*) that they were up against a stone wall when they

demanded an end to Jewish immigration and the repudiation of the Balfour Declaration, then neither the sending of the Royal Commission nor the embarrassing solution of partition would have been necessary.

But the Zionist Executive is likewise not to be considered blameless. Instead of rejecting the Arab claims and demanding adherence to the provisions of the Mandate, they allowed themselves to be pushed into a defensive position. It would have been more efficacious if they had come forward with accusations against the Palestine Government, since they could prove that the violation of their duty in regard to the Mandate had been the real cause of the Arab disturbances. This contention could have been proved by means of a few witnesses and by the fact that the Government had neglected all the arrangements necessary for the reconstruction of the National Home. Our leaders should certainly have realized the risk of thereby arousing the displeasure of the Government. Still, by their caution they had clearly not prevented the restriction of Jewish immigration on the basis of the Peel Report.

Their own plan for the solution of the Palestine problem, the proposal of political parity for Jews and Arabs in a joint parliament, was fundamentally wrong. This mathematical principle is not applicable to politics.

Their experience with the "mixed" Jewish Agency should have warned the leaders not to pursue an egalitarian policy themselves. Such a policy becomes unworkable because of the power that resides in every popular majority, or else results in a futile race to provide legislation on all questions vital to one or the other section of the population. Moreover, there was no prospect for the acceptance of this proposal on the part of the Arabs who at present form a majority of the population. It was naïve to assume that they would voluntarily surrender their majority rights. For me the political harm of this proposal lay in its weakening of the resistance of the Jews against dis-

franchisement and in its encouraging the British Government to alter the Mandate Treaty. That is why I made a decided protest against it in both speech and writing.

The report of the Royal Commission, which as a historical account is an excellent piece of work, needs no consideration here. But from the beginning I disputed the correctness of its conclusions, above all the contention that the Mandate was impracticable because it was irreconcilable with the rights of the Arabs. The Royal Commission thus put itself into opposition to the Mandate Commission. There would be an irreconcilable conflict only if Palestine was considered an Arab country, and if national rights had been accorded to the Arabs in the Mandate. The Royal Commission erroneously assumed this as a matter of course. On the contrary, Palestine had been for many hundreds of years a Turkish country. Through conquest it had passed over into the possession of the victorious powers, who disposed of it in the Mandate Treaty according to military right. But even if it had been regarded as an Arab land from the point of view of population, this would have been a mistake, since the population consists of people of various nationalities.

Moreover, the present majority of the population can be no argument for declaring the country to be an Arab one, since as the Royal Commission had itself established the Mandate, foresees an eventual Jewish majority in the population. According to the Mandate Treaty, therefore, Palestine is potentially to be regarded as a Jewish country. As only civil and religious rights, but not national ones, had been granted the Arabs in the Mandate, there could be no question of the incompatibility of the Jewish National Home with the rights of the Arabs.

Still less valid was the contention concerning the impracticability of the Mandate, which was not proved as long as the British Government failed to undertake any step in that direction. By the facilitating of Jewish immigration, as speci-

fied in the Mandate, it would have been possible to create the prerequisite conditions for the Jewish National Home. This would still be possible even now if there could be a harmonious cooperation of the Palestine Government with the Jewish Agency. The view of the Royal Commission, that Jews and Arabs could not get along in a single state, is in contradiction to its own plan for a limited Jewish state with an Arab minority. If the Arabs and the Jews could get along in such a state, it is not clear why the same possibility should be excluded from the larger Jewish state.

The reference to Wilson's Fourteen Points and the right of national self-determination was also an error in judgment. Anyone not acquainted with the fate of Wilson's idealistic intentions has only to read the book by Nicolson, a member of the British delegation at Versailles, to be convinced that Wilson's program had no chance from the very beginning of the Peace Conference. This explains how Germans and Slovaks came to be embodied in Czechoslovakia, and Croats and Slovenes in Yugoslavia, without these peoples' having been asked for their views. Hence the reference by Wilson to the right of self-determination of the Arabs of Palestine and Transjordania is neither historically justifiable nor politically valid.

An objective examination of the report of the Commission leads only to the conclusion that the carrying out of the Mandate was not compatible with Britain's imperialist plans. But if this were the case Britain would be morally and legally obliged to give it back into the hands of the League of Nations. But presumably Britain is determined, for imperialistic reasons, to maintain her influence in the regions on the coast of the Mediterranean.

The partition plan of the Royal Commission was not carried out, the Woodhead Commission, which was called upon to examine it, having come to the conclusion that this could not be accomplished in a reasonable manner. There will therefore

be nothing left for Great Britain but finally to make an attempt to carry out the Mandate. In the event that the plan, contrary to all expectation, should again be considered, I should like to stress the following points regarding it: The Jewish people have been living for two thousand years on illusions that are based upon their religious mystique and look forward to their redemption by a miracle. In contrast to this is the Zionist idea of liberation, since it looks forward to fulfillment out of its own strength and by astutely taking advantage of the circumstances of the time. The illusions of a people are the sign of its decline: they are fruitless, while the liberation idea springs from the natural principle of self-preservation. Therefore all the messianic attempts down to that of Sabbatai Zevi were bound to fail. It is quite different with the Zionist ideal. Even if its realization did not keep pace with the imaginations of its first protagonists, it nevertheless stirred up the people to help themselves and provided the means to do so.

One cannot be warned often enough not to depart from this road and lapse again into a policy of illusion. Such an illusion was the small Jewish state proposed by the Royal Commission. It is true that by it the idea of an international representation of the Jews was set forth for the first time since the dispersion of our historic community. This would have been of great importance for the protection of the Jewish people in the lands of the *Galuth*. In other respects, too, the establishment of a State, the ultimate aim of Zionism, would have brought the Jewish people many advantages. But the proposed Jewish state would by no means have meant the restoration of the old Jewish community contemplated in the Mandate, but a substitute that could not satisfy the national aspirations of the Jewish people. It would have been dependent economically upon the neighboring Arab states and militarily upon England. The prospect of the opening up of the Arab hinterland for the products of the Jewish state or for Jewish

immigration was very dubious in view of the unfriendly attitude of the Arab leaders. Military dependence would be likely because of the difficulty of defending the extensive frontiers, and the smallness of the state. The other advantages also proved illusory upon closer view. Thus, for example, the experience of history has shown that the seat in the League of Nations was of moral significance only. The small, youthful nation would lack the means for all essential governmental institutions, which could only be provided by means of a large loan from England or donations from abroad. This would have been a highly questionable position for the future of the state. The contemplated plan for the compulsory resettlement of the Arabs was a very dangerous proposal, which could not be accepted by the Jews in view of its possible future relationship to the remaining Arab states. It can therefore be regarded as fortunate that the British statesmen also realized the futility of this plan.

In these circumstances one can hardly understand why large numbers of Jews supported the partition plan with enthusiasm. An explanation is perhaps to be found in the statement by an eminent Zionist that the Mandate was dead. No further argument is necessary to prove that this was a fateful error. It would have been more correct if the Zionist leadership had confined itself to attributing the failure of the Mandate to the weakness, incapacity, and pusillanimity of the Colonial Office in carrying out the Mandate. But it can be understood that such was the desperate mood of the Jewish masses that they were prepared to accept the Jewish state proposed by the Royal Commission as a drowning man clutches at a straw. The necessities of the day drove them to grasp at any means.

In a note on the fortieth anniversary of the first Basel Congress I seriously warned Britain against giving up the Balfour Declaration. I emphasized that it would be a mistaken policy

to throw up the sponge as long as it had not made the attempt to fulfill its promises to the full extent. The attempt to retreat from it by bringing in the Arab states for the purpose of influencing Palestine policy must be regarded as a definite failure. We can now only cherish the hope that after the war the British Government will cease to satisfy the Arabs at the expense of the Jews.

The Jewish people have survived greater perils than those of the present. They will not be ruined on that account. They will likewise overcome the difficulties that have at present been put in their way in Palestine. They will seek new ways for the realization of their national ideal and for saving the Jewish people threatened by destruction, but they will never surrender their right of dwelling in *Eretz-Israel.*

CONCLUSION

I CANNOT conclude this account of a life which has been full of struggle, successes, and disappointments without a candid confession and a warning. I recall a tale by Wilhelm Hauff, in which a Black Forest peasant wishes for a heart of stone because one of his fellow countrymen owed his successes and his wealth to such an unnatural heart. His wish is fulfilled, and from that moment he knows neither sympathy nor willingness to help, neither hatred nor love, neither passion nor morality. One may often wish for such a stony heart when one goes through life as a Jew. What an enormous amount of distress befell us as we endured the fate of the Jewish people in Germany, Poland, Russia, Rumania, Hungary, and many other countries. How this upheaval tore at our hearts and our nerves! It is a wonder that our people have borne up in the tempest for so long. And all the persecuted, the wretched, the tormented seek a refuge in *Eretz-Israel.* Is it a wonder that many things still appear to us inadequate? How, in a few decades, would it be possible to create a people of uniform culture and uniform language out of East- and West-European Jews, of Russian, Sephardis, Persian, Yemenite, and Bokharan Jews, every one of whom carries with him not only the customs, but the bad habits as

well, of his place of origin? How would it be possible to remedy all the distress and the helplessness that confront us day after day? Who can observe the gigantic and often futile struggle of the *Yishuv* to reform all these people so that they may become valuable members of the community without feeling his heart contract? But then again it is exhilarating, it fills us with lofty emotion to look at the Jewish youth in the country, who hand in hand with experienced men and women, with courage, dignity, and strength, are mastering the enormous task of rebuilding here the National Home of the Jews. Therefore away with any thought of a heart of stone. Here I wish to sympathize, here I would feel with others. My pulse beats faster. My blood courses more strongly when I see that a better future is opening up for the Jewish people. It may yet take years, even tens of years, before the goal is reached; let us exercise patienec and prudence. The Jewish people have already been waiting two thousand years for their freedom. What does a generation signify in the history of humanity? But let us not forget that enormous obstacles are in our way. The moral degeneration from which we are suffering, a terrible consequence of centuries of oppression, engenders dissension and strife within our own camp. Often the questions at issue are of subordinate importance in relation to the external need and danger. Often enough it is only a theoretical dispute, the settlement of which could be deferred until we are masters in our own house. Let us always remember that as in the time of the struggle against the Romans, we are surrounded by a world of enemies.

It would be a great mistake to look upon the Jewish people as weak. It would be just as untrue as the exaggeration of the anti-Semites, who attribute to the Jews the will and the power to achieve world domination. The Jewish people are indeed weak in relation to the host peoples, because they are a minority among them. But as a whole they are strong in their passive

resistance against annihilation. A people that for two thousand years has preserved itself by passive resistance, without a national center, throughout the Diaspora, despite oppression and bloody persecution, while other great peoples went to perdition, is not weak. It is stronger than every historic people that has vanished as a national unit in the storm of time. It can always hope for a great future.

We must also be on our guard against another mistake. It is indisputable that money is one of the most important means for the rebuilding of the country, but it should never be forgotten that the will of the Jewish masses to escape the *Galuth,* their incentive to self-preservation, the confidence and endurance of the Palestine pioneers, are of greater value than the donations of millions of rich non-Zionists.

There is still another thing we should not forget. We are not alone in the country and must take account of the Arab people. It would be a mistake to believe that we can gain their friendship by assurances that signify a surrender of our national ideal and imperil the rebuilding of our National Home. On the other hand we can declare with a good conscience that we are serious with regard to the respecting of the civil and religious rights of all inhabitants of Palestine. We have experienced the bitterness of an oppressed minority long enough to be on guard against allowing a similar fate to the Arab people in Palestine if they should not form the majority in the country. The Arabs are protected from this danger above all by the fact that in the Arab national states live tens of thousands of Jews, whom we would expose to indescribable misery if the Jewish people wished to abuse their new freedom for the oppression of the Arabs. We even reckon upon the good will and the friendship of the Arab people, if the establishment of the National Home becomes an accomplished fact. A people who have sighed for hundreds of years under the oppression of Turkish rule will understand our unique position. They will

soon recognize that they can expect advantages from the establishment of our National Home which are denied to the purely Arab states. To spread this recognition in the Arab countries is an important task of Jewish propaganda.

Likewise, in the English camp not everyone is our friend. For this there are two reasons. The first is an enthusiasm for the primitive culture of the Arabs and for the romance surrounding them. One recalls that in their heyday they contributed much to the culture of Europe. But the English must know that the advance of the Arab people in the Middle Ages is to be attributed largely to the cooperation of the Jews in science, commerce, and trade.

A second reason for their opposition to the Jewish National Home is prejudice against the Jews as a *Galuth* people, which is still rooted in the English consciousness. It appears that in such circles people have not yet understood that Zionism wishes to put an end to this condition, and, with the last strength that has remained with the Jewish people, to build up its old community. It must be known in England that the Jewish people are prepared to defend their right of existence on the native soil of Palestine with the last drop of their blood. They will never give up the hope of creating in this country, as in ancient times, higher moral and spiritual values for humanity. It was a wonderful idea on the part of English statesmen to help the Jewish people to rebuild their home in Palestine. The Jewish people have done everything possible for it to realize that idea. The Jewish masses have denied themselves in order to make donations for that purpose. Well-to-do and wealthy Jews have taxed themselves, and hundreds of our Palestinian pioneers have died for that ideal. It is the only, the last hope of rescuing our people from bankruptcy. May England do her duty towards it, in order to realize the proud dream of a tortured people.

Through the rigging of an English warship there runs red

cord. That cord is like the idea that has run through my entire life—the redemption of the Jewish people. I recall that from my earliest youth the figure of Moses and his work of liberation always gripped me most. One evening, dreaming on my way home from school, I indeed saw a fiery glow blazing upward in the mountains about my home. For a moment I slipped into the delusion that it was the burning bush, from which a call was coming to me. From this dream I quickly awoke as the fire disappeared and there was only the setting sun reflected in my window. Perhaps it was this dream, arising from the subconsciousness, that aroused in me the Zionist idea to which I have devoted the strength of my youth and the experience of my old age.

NOTES

THE following list furnishes some information concerning a number of the personalities and organizations mentioned, and expressions used, in these memoirs. It makes no claim to being complete.

Abdullah, Emir, was the second son of the former King Hussein of Hejaz, previously Sheriff of Mecca, and was born in the first half of the 'eighties of the nineteenth century. In 1921 he became Emir of Transjordania under the British Mandate, and in 1946 King of Jordan. In 1951 he was murdered in Jerusalem, on the occasion of a visit to the Mosque of Omar.

Achad Ha'am (Asher Ginzberg), 1856-1927. The name he took means "one of the people." He believed in a Jewish cultural unit established through Palestine, and in his writings he was active as a publicist and stylist, and as one of the creators of a modern literary Hebrew.

Achimeir, Abu Saul (Geisinowitz), Dr., born 1896 in the vicinity of Minsk. Author, historical researcher. He attended the Herzlia *Gymnasium* in Tel Aviv from 1912 to 1914, then finished his studies at a Russian secondary school; studied history and philosophy in Russia and Belgium; graduated in Vienna in 1924. After his immigration to Palestine he joined the Revisionist movement, which openly criticized the Mandatory Government.

Adler, Ephraim, Dr., 1885-1910, Lübeck. One of the first Zionists in Germany.

Agency (Jewish Agency). Representative of the Zionist Organization to the Mandatory Government in support of the object of establishing a Jewish National Home in Palestine.

Allenby, Lord Edmund Henry Hynman, Viscount Allenby of Megiddo, 1861-1936. British Field Marshal. Attacked Beersheba on October 31, 1917. Jerusalem surrendered intact on December 9. Allenby officially entered the city of Jerusalem on December 11, 1917, the Jewish Festival of Chanukah. After the conquest of Homs, Tripoli, and Aleppo on October 26, 1918, an armistice with the Turks was concluded at Mudros on October 30, 1918. Allenby was later High Commissioner in Egypt until 1925.

Alliance Israélite Universelle. Association for the establishment of schools in the Orient and eastern Europe, mainly under French sponsorship.

Amira, Karl, Dr. Jur. et Phil., 1848-1930. Professor of German law at the Universities of Freiburg and Munich.

Apfel, Adolf, Dr. Jur., 1867-1920. Lawyer, Justizrat in Cologne.

Apfel, Rahel, d. 1912. Wife of Dr. Simon A. Her home was a literary salon.

Apfel, Simon, Dr. Med., d. 1932. Privy councilor, gynecologist in Cologne.

Arons, Paul, Dr. Jur., b. 1861. Banker, Kommerzionrat in Berlin.

Aronsohn, Aaron, Dr., 1876-1919. Agronomist, naturalist, discoverer of the wild ancestor of wheat. Before the war director of an agricultural research institute at Athlit. During the First World War he was killed in the crash of an airplane in which he was to bring material for the negotiations about the Jewish National Home to Paris. The valuable material was lost in the accident.

Ashkenazim. The name applied to German and Polish Jews. They are distinguished from the Sephardim by their pronunciation of Hebrew and minor differences of worship.

Auerbach, Elias, b. 1882 at Essen, lived later at Haifa. Well-known author of writings on the Prophets of the Bible.

Avé Lallemant, Friedrich Christian Benedikt, 1809-1892. Polizeirat and writer of crime novels. Lived in Hamburg, later in Berlin.

Babo, Hugo, Baron, Dr. Jur., 1857-1924. Privy Councilor to the Grand Duke of Baden and member of the Executive of the Secret Cabinet at Karlsruhe.

Baden, Grand Duke of. See under *Friedrich.*

Baden, Grand Duchess of. See under *Luise.*

Balfour, Arthur James, 1848-1930. First Earl of Balfour, philosopher and statesman. He was Foreign Secretary under Lloyd George, and always displayed a particular interest in Zionism. In November 1917 he published the declaration named after him, which favored a Jewish National Home in Palestine and which received final form as the British Mandate from the League of Nations at the peace conferences at Versailles in 1919 and at St. Remo in 1920.

Bambus, Willy, 1862-1904, Berlin. Member of the Palestine Pioneers, *(B'nai Moshe),* a league for the colonization of Palestine.

Bar Kochba or *Kosiba.* Jewish hero of liberation, who organized a revolt against Roman rule under Hadrian, and after a bloody battle was defeated by the Roman general.

Baruch, Joseph Marcou, 1872-1899. Journalist, agitator, born in Constantinople, studied at Berne, published the *Carmel Journal* at Philipopolis, traveled to Port Said, Alexandria, and Florence. Herzl had subsidies given to him. He suffered from a persecution mania and committed suicide in Florence.

Bauer, Otto, 1882-1932. Austrian Socialist leader.

Beck, Gottfried zur (Müller of Hausen). Author of a polemic in German modeled on the one by Joly which appeared in 1919.

Beer, Samuel Friedrich, 1846-1912. Sculptor, born at Brünn, studied in Vienna, and lived after 1875 in Paris. His bust of Herzl was considered by many to be the best likeness of the young Herzl.

Bein, Alexander, Dr. Archivist, historian, director of the Zionist archives in Jerusalem.

Beneckendorff und von Hindenburg, Paul Ludwig Hans Anton, 1847-1934. Field Marshal General, later President of the Reich.

Ben Yehuda, Eliezer (Perlman) 1857-1922. Ardent champion of Hebrew as a spoken language. His most important work in this field is his dictionary of the Hebrew language, *Millon.*

Bentwich, Herbert, Dr., 1856-1932. English barrister and editor of a law journal in London. At one time President of the Maccabaean Club.

Bergen, Diego von, Dr. Jur., 1872-1944. Acted as legation counselor and press representative in the Foreign Office. Prussian, and later German, Minister to the Vatican in Rome.

Bernstein, ———, D. S. Russo-Jewish author.

Bernstein-Kohan, Jacob, Dr., 1859-1929. Doctor in Kishineff, later in Palestine. He was one of the most ardent of Herzl's followers in Russia.

Bernstorff, Johann Heinrich, Count, 1862-1939. Ambassador to Washington, 1908-1917. In 1920 he was president of the German Association for the League of Nations, in 1926 delegate at the international disarmament conference. Emigrated in 1933.

Bierer, Reuben, Dr., 1845-1931. Co-founder of the first Jewish students' union in Vienna and of the Palestine Colonization Society, *Ahavat-Zion,* and contributor to the weekly, *Selbst-Emanzipation,* edited by Nathan Birnbaum.

Bilinsky, Leo, Ritter von, Dr., 1846-1923. Privy councilor, Austrian politician and economist, born in Galicia; head of the Polish Club loyal to the Reich, and a Polish statesman.

Binding, Karl, Dr. Jur., 1841-1920. Active as privy councilor, legal scholar and historian. Professor at Leipzig, 1873-1913. He was a pioneering scholar in criminal law, and was known for his "Theory of Norms."

Biram, ———, Dr., b. 1878. Principal of the first secondary school in Haifa.

Birkenstein, ———. Frankfort merchant.

Birnbaum, Nathan, Dr., 1864-1937. Later known under the pseudonym Mathias Acher. Publisher in Vienna of *Selbst-Emanzipation,* the first periodical promoting the Jewish National Home and Zionism.

Bischofsheim, Raphael Jonathan, Baron von, 1808-1883. Father-in-law of Baron de Hirsch, and member of a well-known Jewish banking family in Belgium and France, which originated in South Germany.

Bismarck, Otto Eduard Leopold, Prince of Bismarck-Schonhausen, 1815-1898. Prime Minister, Foreign Secretary, Imperial Chancellor.

Bloch, Joseph Samuel, Dr., 1850-1823. Scholar, publicist, member of parliament. Lived mainly in Vienna, and fought against Zionist aspirations in his *Osterreichischen Wochenschrift* published by him.

Blumenthal, Ferdinand, b. 1870. Professor, privy councilor at the University of Berlin; director of the Institute for Cancer Research.

B'nai B'rith. Jewish Order. The lodges of the Order of B'nai B'rith have as their aims humanity, patriotism, and charity among Jews. It was established by German Jews in America and spread first to Germany, then to many other countries. The establishment of the Order took place in New York in 1843.

Bodenheimer, Fritz-Frederick Simon, Dr. Phil., 1879-1959. Professor of zoology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem; 1931 guest professor in Minneapolis, U.S.A., 1938-41 in Ankara, Turkey, 1943 in Iraq. In 1955, journeys to England and Finland, in 1956 to Australia and South Africa. Member of the "Leopoldine"-Halle; from 1935 member of the Academic Internationale d'Histoire des Sciences, Paris; 1950-53 vice president and 1953-56 president. Published more than 400 articles and pamphlets in addition to some 50 books.

Bodenheimer, Hannah. Technical teacher; formerly principal of a technical school.

Bodenheimer, Rosa, 1876-1938. Wife of the author, for many

years chairman of the General German Women's Association (League of German Citizens) in Cologne, and founder of the League of Jewish Women for Cultural Work in Palestine.

Bodenheimer, Ruth, 1900-1941. Lawyer, formerly a barrister in Cologne.

Boehm, Adolf, Dr., 1873-1940. Member of the Board of Directors of the *Keren Kayemet* and of the Action Committee of the Zionist Organization. He published a history of the Zionist Movement and several pamphlets, and edited the periodical *Palästina.*

Boehlendorff, Wilhelm, Dr. Farmer-landowner and chemist in Berlin.

Boulanger, Georges Ernest Jean Marie, 1837-1891. French general, for a time Minister of War, who sought the favor of the public by promoting the idea of revenge against Germany.

Brandeis, Louis, 1856-1941. Supreme Court Justice in Washington; American Zionist leader.

Braun, Otto, 1897-1918. Son of the authoress Lily Braun; fell in France in 1918 *(Aus den nachgelassenen Schriften eines Frühvollendeten,* published by J. Vogelstein, 1929).

Bredig, Georg, Dr. Phil., Dr. Med. hon., 1868-1944. Professor, studied in Freiburg, Berlin, Leipzig. In 1911 he was called to Karlsruhe to take the chair of physical and electrochemistry vacated as a result of Haber's call to Berlin. In 1922-23 he was Rector of the Technical Hochschule at Karlsruhe and became Professor emeritus in 1934.

Broza, Samuel, 1869-1944. Born at Mohilev, Russia; took part in founding the settlement of Mozah near Jerusalem.

Bruenn, ———, Dr., German physician who carried on a medical practice in the colony of Chedera.

Buber, Martin, Dr., b. 1878. Professor of Jewish religious philosophy and ethics at Frankfort-on-the-Main, later at Jerusalem. Author of various works on Chassidism, the sect of Jewish mystics; publisher of the periodical, *Der Jude;* translator of the Bible.

Budko, Joseph, 1888-1940. Engraver and artist in Berlin, later

director of the Bezalel school (for art and handicrafts) in Jerusalem.

Bülow, Bernard Heinrich Martin von, Prince, 1849-1929. State Secretary; Prussian Premier; Imperial Chancellor, 1900-1909.

Burtseff, Vladimir, b. 1863. Author; witness at the Berne Trial, 1934.

Cahen, Ludwig, Dr. Jur., 1868-1927. Barrister, Juztizrat in Cologne.

Carlebach, Shalom Menachem ben Shlomo, Dr., 1873-1927. Rabbi and seminary director in Cologne.

Cavell, Edith, 1865-1915. English nurse during the First World War, credited with having helped numerous Belgians subject to military duty during the German occupation to escape over the frontier.

Cecil of Chelwood, Viscount, formerly Lord Robert Cecil, 1864-1959. Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1915-1918; Assistant Secretary for Foreign Affairs, 1918-1919. As one of the founders of the League of Nations he received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1937.

Chalukah, organization of pious Jews in Palestine, who sent envoys to all countries to collect donations for the religious institutions of the Holy Land.

Chalutzim. Jewish labor pioneers in Palestine.

Chamsin. A word derived from the Arabic, referring to a hot east wind which most people find disagreeable. The Arabs anticipate fifty *Chamsin* days a year, but in Israel there are likely to be many more such days when the wind is from the east.

Chanukah. Dedication of the Temple. This Feast of Lights is celebrated in memory of the rededication of the Temple after the victory of the Hasmoneans.

Chasanowitz, Leon, 1882-1925. Active as a leader of the *Poale-Zion* movement for establishing Jewish colonies of the ICA in the Argentine. He later published material on the pogroms in the Ukraine and Poland, and edited, jointly with Leo Motzkin, a collection of documents, *Die Judenfrage der Gegenwart.* For

a time he represented the Socialist association, *Poale-Zion,* in the Office at the Hague.

Chayla, Armand Alexandre, Count, b. 1885. Friend of Nilus and witness at the Berne trial brought against the Swiss Nazis in 1934 on account of their dissemination of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion.*

Chedarim. The plural of *Cheder,* the Hebrew word for *room.* In eastern Europe the *Chedarim* were the elementary schools, which Jewish children often attended beginning at the age of four years. The instruction was private in character, and often took place in the home of the teacher.

Chovevei-Zion or *Chibbut Zion.* A Hebrew expression meaning "lovers of Zion." This movement was established in 1881 with a center in Odessa, and occupied itself mainly with the establishment and development of agricultural settlements in Palestine. It also spread to Germany, England, and other countries, and was hostile to the establishment of a political Zionist State.

Churchill, Sir Winston S., b. 1874. British statesman and author, several times Prime Minister.

Clauren, Heinrich, 1771-1854. Pseudonym of the author Carl Hem.

Cleinow, George J. J. M., b. 1873. Chief of the *Ober-Ost* press bureau during the First World War.

Cohen, Hermann, 1842-1918. Professor of Philosophy at the Universities of Marburg and Berlin.

Cohn, Heinrich Maier, Dr., 1855-1905. Banker and philanthropist in Berlin.

Cohn, Oskar, Dr., 1869-1934. Lawyer; as a Social Democrat member of the German National Assembly which in 1919 adopted a constitution. As a Jew he was an active representative of the *Poale-Zion* in the Jewish community and in the Prussian Federation of Jewish Communities.

Cowen, Joseph, 1868-1932, London. Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust. He accompanied Herzl on his visit to the Sultan at Constantinople in 1902. He was

one of the directors of the *Jewish Chronicle* and for a time was a member of the Executive of the Zionist Organization.

Crete. The Greeks in 1896 fomented disturbances against the Turkish government in Crete, in order to take possession of the island. In August the Great Powers proposed to Turkey certain reforms which were adopted by all sides.

Cromer, Lord (Evelyn Baring, Earl of), 1841-1917. English Consul General in Cairo, 1883-1907, and Counselor of the Khedive; established England's position of power in Egypt. He was afterwards created a peer and viscount.

Curzon, George Nathaniel, Lord, 1859-1925. British statesman, for a time Viceroy of India and Secretary for Foreign Affairs.

Dizengoff, Meir, 1861-1936. Made the first land purchases for the *Geula* and the *Achuzat Bayit,* and contributed greatly to the establishment of Tel Aviv, of which he was the first mayor.

Djemal Pasha Achmed, 1861-1922. Turkish Governor of Palestine during the First World War.

Donreich, Albert, Dr., b. in Hungary, d. 1899 in Vienna. Member of the medical expedition in the Greek-Turkish War, Secretary of the first Zionist Congress in Basel.

Dreyfus, Alfred, 1859-1935. Captain in the French General Staff, arrested in 1894 on suspicion of spying for Germany; after five years' imprisonment on Devil's Island, was acquitted and released.

Dreyfus Affair. The trials following upon Dreyfus's arrest, which for more than ten years agitated the reactionary circles of the French General Staff, and such liberally disposed Frenchmen as Zola, Clemenceau, Jaurès, and many others. The guilty person was the French Colonel Esterhazy, whose name was known to the Kaiser Wilhelm, though he was unable to speak about it. It emerges from the memoirs in 1898 that the Kaiser confided the name of the really guilty person, in strictest confidence, to Herzl in Constantinople. The Dreyfus Affair had a profound effect upon Herzl, who then lived in Paris; and it was under its impression upon him that he wrote his *Jewish State.*

Dyk, ———. Agronomist.

Eberhard II, der Greiner (Zänker) der Rauschebart, Count of Württemberg. Ruled 1344-1392.

Edelstein, Emanuel, Dr. Bonn physician; exercised propaganda influence upon Zionism in the Rhineland and Germany.

Ehrenpreis, Markus, Dr., 1869-1951. Chief rabbi of Bulgaria, later chief rabbi in Stockholm. Zionist and author in the Hebrew and Swedish languages.

Ehrmann, Salomon, Prof. Dr., 1854-1926. Physician and university lecturer in Vienna; Grand President of the B'nai B'rith Lodge in Austria; president of the Vienna Jewish religious community; president of the Society of Friends for the Reconstruction of Palestine; directed a branch of the Committee for East European Jewry in Vienna.

Engels, Friedrich, 1820-1895. Merchant and Socialist author; colleague of Karl Marx, whom he met at Cologne in 1842.

Epstein, Baer, Dr., b. in Vilna, d. 1923 in New York. Studied, in Heidelberg and Marburg, medicine, chemistry and philosophy; attended the first Zionist Congress in Basel, and worked before the First World War for the Jewish National Fund, at first as a propagandist in Russia, and after the outbreak of the First World War in North and South America.

Erlanger, Michael, 1828-1892. Weissenburg-Alsace, Paris. Member of the Central Committee of the *Alliance Israélite* and vice-president of the Paris Consistory. In addition to five European languages he was a master of Hebrew and Arabic, and advocated the Jewish settlement of Palestine.

Erter, O. Pseudonym of Dr. Wilhelm Goldbaum.

Ethrog. Citron, one of the four species of plants prescribed for use at the Feast of Tabernacles.

Estermann, Arieh Leo, 1869-1944. Founder of the *Jung-Israel* in Berlin; lived later in Jerusalem.

Eulenburg, August, Count, 1838-1921. Royal Prussian Chamberlain to Kaiser Wilhelm in 1890; later Minister of the royal house. Accompanied the Kaiser on his journey to the East.

Eulenburg und Hertefeld, Philipp, Prince of, 1847-1921. Ambassador to Vienna, 1894-1902, and friend of Kaiser Wilhelm II.

Falk, Bernhard, Dr. Jur., 1867-1944. Lawyer; Justizrat in Cologne; Member of the Reichstag; representative of the State Party in the Prussian Upper House.

Farbstein, David, Dr. Jur., 1868-1956. Barrister in Zurich, later canton councilor and leader of the Socialist Party.

Farbstein, Josua Heschel, 1870-1948. Zionist politician; active in Warsaw, and later in Jerusalem, for the organization of Jewish Orthodoxy. He was for a time president of the Jewish community in Warsaw and a member of the Action Committee.

Feiwel, Berthold, Dr., 1875-1937. Zionist politician, poet, author; editor of *Die Welt.* Co-founder of the *Jüdischer Verlag* in Berlin, Director of the *Keren Hayesod* in London, and member of the Financial and Economic Council of the Zionist Organization.

"Fifty-Fifty" principle : that there was to be an equal number of Zionists and non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency.

Fischer, Jean, 1871-1929. Well-known merchant in Antwerp; political Zionist.

Flexner, Bernard, b. 1865. Lawyer, friend of Louis D. Brandeis, and one of the American delegates in the interest of Jewish rights at Versailles, 1918-19.

Fluerscheim, Michael, 1844-1912. Author, born in Frankfort; also lived later in the U.S.A. and Switzerland. He established in Germany the league of German land reformers, and demanded nationalization of landed property.

Fraktion. A group of Zionists brought together by common cultural interests, who placed the idea of a spiritual center above that of the Jewish state, and thus constituted an opposition to the political Zionism of Herzl, Nordau, Jabotinsky, and Bodenheimer.

Frank, Abraham Salomon, Dr., 1838-1917. Rabbi in Cologne.

Frankisten. Followers, in the eighteenth century, of a false messiah who afterwards, together with his adherents, went over to Christianity.

Franz Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria-Este, 1863-1914. Nephew

of Emperor Franz Joseph, after 1896 heir to Austrian throne, murdered at Serajevo on June 28, 1914. This event was the origin of the First World War.

Franzos, Karl Emil, 1848-1904. Edited, in Vienna, *Die neue Illustrierte Zeitung* and beginning 1866, in Berlin, the *Deutsche Dichtung.*

Friedemann, Adolf, Dr. Jur., 1871-1933. One of the leading German Zionists; author of a biography of Herzl and of an account of a journey to Palestine; lawyer and attaché at the German legation in Holland.

Friedrich, Grand Duke of Baden, 1826-1907. Brother-in-law of Kaiser Wilhelm I. The Grand Duke advocated German unity under Prussian rule and supported Herzl's political activity.

Friedrich III, 1831-1888. German Emperor for only a few months.

Fuchs, Eugen, 1856-1923. Privy judicial counsilor; German Jewish politician; co-founder of the *Central Verein deutscher Staatsburger judischen Glaubens* and of the *Verband der deutschen Juden.*

Galuth. A general term for regions outside Palestine inhabited by Jews.

Gaster, Moses, Reverend Dr., 1856-1939. *Haham* of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London; influential preacher; Orientalist; at one time president of the English Zionist Federation; member of the presidium of many Zionist Congresses.

Gaupp, Otto, Dr. Phil., b. 1866. Author in London.

Geiger, Ludwig, Professor, 1848-1920. Historian of literature and civilization. Editor of the *Goethe Jahrbuch* and of the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland.* For a time edited *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums.*

George, David Lloyd, later Earl Lloyd George of Dwyfor, 1863-1941. British jurist and statesman. Prime Minister 1916-1922, represented Great Britain at Versailles in 1919; author of war memoirs.

Ghetto, medieval Jewish quarter where the Jews lived in strict separation from the Christians. At first conceived by the Popes

for the protection of the Jews against the fanaticism of the populace, it afterwards resulted in the intolerable humiliation of the inhabitants owing to its narrowness and the restrictions to which the Jews were subjected.

Glicenstein, Henryk, 1870-1943. Sculptor; received, among other awards, the Rome prize of the Berlin Academy.

Goi. A non-Jew.

Goitein, ———. A merchant in Frankfort-on-the-Main.

Goldbaum, Wilhelm, Dr., 1843-1912. Journalist, on the editorial staff of the *Neue Freie Presse.* He contributed a weekly article to *Die Welt,* the Zionist weekly edited by Herzl.

Goldberg, Boris, 1865-1922. Russian Zionist, author, and publicist; member of the Zionist Action Committee; Chairman of the Zionist Central Committee in St. Petersburg; founder of the "Silicate" brick factory in Palestine, where he settled after the First World War.

Goldsmid, Albert Edward William, 1846-1904. Colonel in the British Army. President of the *Chovevei-Zion* in London, an association of Jews who worked for the creation of colonies in Palestine. He is well known as a result of his strange fate, which is parallel to that of George Eliot's *Daniel Deronda.*

Gottheil, Richard James Horatio, Prof. Dr., 1862-1936. Orientalist; professor in New York; president of the American Federation of Zionists.

Greenberg, Leopold Jacob, 1861-1931, London. Editor of the *Jewish Chronicle;* head of the English Zionists at the time of Herzl.

Gronemann, Sammy, 1875-1952. Lawyer in Berlin, later chairman of the Zionist Congress Court in Palestine. Writer of humorous books, mostly with a German Jewish milieu.

Gross, Nathan, 1874-1922. For many years principal secretary of the Jewish National Fund.

Gross, Zeev Wilhelm, 1857-1908. Member of the first Zionist Congress; merchant in Jerusalem.

Gruenbaum, Yitzchak, b. 1879. Publicist, Zionist politician,

leader of Polish Jewry in the World Zionist Organization and in the national politics of Israel.

Güdemann, Moritz, Dr., 1835-1918. Chief rabbi of the Jewish community in Vienna; influential preacher. He at first supported Herzl but afterwards wrote a polemic against political Zionism.

Haas, Jacob de, 1872-1937. Journalist, London, later U.S.A. One of the first Zionists in England. Assistant Editor of the *Jewish World,* later editor of the *Jewish Advocate.*

Haas, Ludwig, 1875-1930. Lawyer, Democratic member of the Reichstag, member of the Executive of the *Central Verein deutscher Staatsburger judischen Glaubens.* During the First World War was head of the Jewish department in the German civil administration in Poland.

Haggadah. Account of the history of the exodus from Egypt, with numerous illustrations, traditional blessings, and poems.

Haham. Sage or leading rabbi among Sephardic Jews.

Hahn, Victor, born 1869. Publisher of the *Acht-uhr-Abend Blatt.* Author.

Hantke, Arthur, Dr., 1874-1954. At first a lawyer in Berlin; successor to Dr. Bodenheimer as chairman of the Zionist Federation of Germany, later executive director of the *Keren Hayesod* in Jerusalem.

Hatzfeld, Hermann, Prince of, and Duke of Trachtenberg, Dr. Med. hon., born 1848. Physician, army general, senior president of Silesia. In 1914, deputy military inspector and commissioner of the Voluntary Nursing Service.

Hauff, Wilhelm, 1802-1827. German poet of the late romantic period.

Hechler, Rev. William H., 1845-1931 (South Africa, London). Tutor at the Court of the Grand Duke in Baden. Published in 1882 *The Restoration of the Jews in Palestine According to the Prophets.* Chaplain of the British Embassy in Vienna, 1885-1910.

Hentig, Philipp Hermann Otto von, Duke, Dr. Phil. hon., 1852-

1934. Active as privy councilor, chairman of the Society for Germanism Abroad.

Hermann (Latin Arminius or Armin), *der Cherusker,* born 18 or 16 B.C., died 19 or 21 C.E. Chief of the Germanic tribe or Cherusker; besieged the Romans in the Teutoberger Wald in the year 9.

Hermann, Hugo, 1887-1940. Wrote, among other things, *The Arab Question in Palestine,* 1932; *Palestine as It Really Is,* 1933; *In Those Years* (memoirs) 1938.

Hertzka, Theodor, 1845-1904. Supported the League of Land Reformers in Austria; also active for a long time in the office of the *Neue Freie Presse.*

Herzl, Theodor, Dr., 1860-1904. Author of brilliant novels; editor-in-chief of the Vienna *Neue Freie Presse.* By his publication of the pamphlet on the *Judenstaat* and convening the first Zionist Congress at Basel he became the leader of political Zionism.

Hess, Moses, 1812-1875. Leader and founder of German Social Democrats. In 1862 wrote *Rome and Jerusalem, or the Last Nationalities Question.* He thus launched the problem of the restoration of the Jewish National State in Palestine for the first time in modern politics.

Heymann, Hans Gideon, Dr., 1883-1918. Bank director, German Zionist leader, brilliant financier.

Hildesheimer, Hirsch, Dr., 1895-1910. Editor of the *Judische Presse* in Berlin, son of the famous Rabbi Israel Hildesheimer and protagonist of Jewry against the attacks of political anti-Semites.

Hildesheimer, Meier, 1864-1934. Preacher, director of education of the *Adass Israel* Community in Berlin, leading personality in German Orthodox Jewry.

Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden. Founded in Berlin in 1901, "to further the moral, spiritual, and economic development of coreligionists, especially in eastern Europe and in Asia." The work of the organization spread through all provinces of Jewish life, but especially that of public instruction in the Orient and

in eastern Europe, and also the difficulties of emigrants. In Palestine the Hilfsverein maintained numerous schools, a teachers' college, a training school for kindergarten teachers, a library, an eye clinic, a business school, a school for the teaching of the Talmud and Torah, and—as the crowning achievement in Palestine education—the *Technikum* in Haifa, in which there was in 1913 a conflict over the priority of Hebrew. Among those who held the office of president of the Hilfsverein were Dr. James Simon, Dr. Paul Nathan, and Max Warburg. Willy Bambus was its first general secretary.

Hindenburg, von. See under *Beneckendorff.*

Hinrichsen, ———. Member of Hamburg citizenry.

Hirsch, Karl, 1841-1900. Socialist journalist in Paris and Cologne.

Hirsch, Maurice, Baron de, 1831-1896, Paris. Founder of the Jewish agricultural colonies in Argentina. He left a fortune of 400,000,000 marks for philanthropic purposes.

Hirsch, Samson Raphael, 1808-1888. Rabbi of the Orthodox Jewish religious community in Frankfort-on-the-Main. He was regarded as the spiritual head of the new Orthodoxy in Germany.

Hirsch-Kalischer, ———, 1795-1874. Rabbi at Thorn, a precursor of the Zionist movement; wrote a book in which he urged the colonization of Palestine.

Histadruth. General Federation of Jewish labor, founded in 1920.

Hoffman, Max, 1869-1927. Royal Prussian Major General, military author, successor to Ludendorff as Chief of the General Staff of the *Ober-Ost,* Commander-in-Chief, 1917. Took part with authority in the drafting of the Peace Treaty of Brest-Litovsk between the Entente and Soviet Russia.

Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst, Chlodwig, Prince of, 1819-1901. Imperial Chancellor of the German Reich, 1894-1900.

Holtzmann, J., Dr., *Chovevei* Zionist; Hebrew author in Berlin. Wrote under the Hebrew name *"Et-zion."*

Hoofien, S., 1881-1957. General Manager of the Anglo-Palestine Company, later Bank Leumi-Le-Israel, Ltd., and Dutch consul general in Tel Aviv.

Hutton-Czapski. Bogdan Franz Servatius, Count, 1851-1937. Commander of the Castle of Posen, Member of the Prussian Upper House, political director of the General Staff. Imperial German Commissioner with the Polish Royal Government in 1918.

Ignatieff, Nicolai Pavlovitch, 1832-1908. Russian Minister notorious as a result of the so-called May Laws, anti-Jewish decrees which forced a great emigration.

Jabotinsky, Vladimir, 1880-1940. Russian author and founder of the Jewish Legion in the British Army, the four regiments of which took part in the conquest of Palestine. Leader of the Revisionist party among the Zionists.

Jaeckh, Ernst, Dr. Phil., 1875-1959. Professor in Berlin; editor of a number of works; emigrated in the 30's to the United States.

Jakobsohn, Victor, Dr., 1869-1934. Diplomatic representative of the Zionist Organization, first in Constantinople, later in Geneva.

Jasinowsky, Israel, Dr., 1842-1917. Lawyer in Warsaw, leader of the political Zionists in Russia.

Joachim, Prince of Prussia, 1890-1920. Son of the German Kaiser, Wilhelm II.

Jochanan, Ben Levi aus Gusch-Calab (Giscala), 66-70 B.C. One of the leaders of the war party during the revolt against Rome.

Joly, Maurice. Frenchman, author of a polemic against Napoleon in the 'sixties, *(Dialogue aux Enfers entre Machiavel et Montesquieu,* 1864).

Jonge, Moritz (Morris) de, Dr., 1864-1920. Lawyer, author; lived at Cologne and Berlin.

Josephus, Flavius. Properly Joseph ben Mattathias, 37 to about 100. Jewish historian.

Judas Maccabaeus. As Jewish General, 166 B.C., defeated the armies of the Syrian King, Antiochus Epiphanes IV, and restored religious worship in Jerusalem. He fell in 161 in the fight against the Syrians.

Judentag. An expression used by those who hoped to achieve solidarity among German Jews.

Kadoori, Sir Ellis, 1865-1922. Left a bequest of $1,000,000 for the establishment of technical schools in Palestine and Mesopotamia. Out of this bequest two agricultural schools were founded in Palestine in 1931-32, one for the Jews and one for the Arabs.

Kahan, Jacob, b. 1881. Preacher of modern Hebrew literature at the Seminary for Jewish Studies in Warsaw. Zionist Revisionist.

Kahn, Leopold, Dr., 1859-1909. Lawyer in Vienna, and member of the political Executive under Herzl.

Kalmus, Ernst, Dr., b. 1873 in Hamburg. Afterwards lived in Israel. One of the first German Zionists.

Kaminka, Armand, 1866-1950. Rabbi, Talmudic scholar, religious philosopher; teacher at the Maimonides Institute in Vienna, later also at the University of Vienna.

Kämmerer, ——— von, Major. Personal adjutant to Hindenburg; died 1916.

Kann, Jakobus, 1872-1945. Banker at the Hague; member of the Zionist Executive after the death of Herzl; later Dutch consul general in Jerusalem.

Kaplansky, Salomon, 1884-1950. Zionist and Socialist, leader of the Jewish labor movement, *Poale-Zion,* later secretary for the head office of the *Keren Kayemet* in Cologne; then member of the Financial and Economic Council of the Zionist Organization and member of the Board of Directors of the *Keren Hayesod;* one of the directors of the Agricultural Colonization Department of the Zionist Executive. Director of the technical school at Haifa.

Kaplan-Kogan, Vladimir, Dr., 1888-1948. Editor for several years of the *Neue Judische Monatshefte.* He was scientific assistant to the Committee for East European Jewry in Berlin during the First World War.

Karl I, Archduke of Austria, 1887-1922. Grandnephew of Emperor Francis Joseph, who succeeded to the Hapsburg throne in 1916 and was dethroned in 1918.

Karpeles, Gustav, 1848-1909. Literary historian and distinguished

authority on Heine. He published an *Allgemeine Geschichte der Literatur,* a *Geschichte der jüdischen Literatur,* an edition of the works of Heine, and various works on Heine. He also took part in the establishment of the Union of Societies for Jewish History and Literature.

Kattowitz conference: The conference of the Russian *Chovevei-Zion* for the colonization of Palestine, which took place there in 1884.

Katzenelsohn, Nissan, 1862-1925. Banker, Zionist politician, chairman of the Board of Directors of the Jewish Colonial Trust. He arranged for Herzl's reception by Plehve in Russia.

Kaufmann, M. Dr., 1869-1907. Physician in Freiburg. He was one of the earliest Zionists in Germany.

Kaulla, Otto, Dr. Supreme Court justice in Stuttgart.

Kellner, Leon, Prof., 1859-1928. Research worker in English language and literature. He was a close friend of Herzl and occasional contributor to *Die Welt.* After Herzl's death he edited his Zionist writings and published the first volume of a biography of Herzl under the title *Theodor Herzls Lehrjahre.*

Kemmerich, Max Philipp Albert, Dr. Phil., 1876-1932. Historian of art and culture; author of *Prophezeihungen, alter Aberglaube oder neue Wahrheit;* secretary of the Munich Oriental Society.

Keren Hayesod. Zionist Restoration Fund for Palestine.

Keren Kayemet. Zionist Land Fund for Palestine.

Kessler, Leopold, 1864-1944. Engineer in England and, for a time, in South Africa. Herzl appointed him leader of the expedition to El-Arisch in 1903. One of the founders of the English Zionist Federation. Member of the Action Committee.

Kibbutzim. Collective farms in Israel.

Kiderlen-Wächter, Alfred von, 1852-1912. Imperial German privy counsilor; State Secretary of the Foreign Office; first embassy secretary in Constantinople; minister at Copenhagen, later at Bucharest.

Kisch, Bruno, b. 1890 in Prague. Physician, physiologist, from 1925 to 1938 a professor at the University of Cologne. He later

became a professor at Yeshiva College in New York. He published books on cardiac research, the relation of religion and natural history, and one on numismatics.

Klatzkin, Jacob, Dr., 1882-1948. Philosopher and publicist in many languages, especially Hebrew. He devoted himself, among other matters, to a Jewish Encyclopedia.

Klausner, Joseph, Dr., 1874-1958. Hebrew author and professor of modern Hebrew literature in Jerusalem; took part in the first Zionist Congress at Basel.

Klee, Alfred, Dr., 1875-1943. Lawyer in Berlin, and German Zionist leader.

Klehmet, Reinhold. Imperial minister; acting privy legation councilor at the Foreign Office in Berlin; accompanied Wilhelm II on his Oriental journey.

Kober, Adolf, Dr., 1879-1958. Rabbi and Jewish historian in Cologne, later in New York.

Kokesch, Oskar, Dr., Jur., 1855-1905. Lawyer in Vienna. One of the founders of the *Kadimah* (Jewish national students' union) in Vienna, and member of the Zionist Executive under Herzl.

Kollenscher, Max, 1875-1937. Lawyer, Jewish politician in Berlin and in the Prussian Federation of Jewish Communities.

Korfanty, Wojciech, 1873-1938. Leader, in Warsaw, of the Poles in the German Reichstag; later leader of the National Democratic Party in Poland.

Korum, Michael Felix, Dr., 1840-1921. Bishop of Trier; professor of theology at the Strassburg Theological Seminary.

Krause, Eliyahu, b. 1878 in the Crimea. Studied agriculture in Mikveh Israel and at a French agricultural school. As agronomist and later director of the school in Mikveh Israel, he contributed much to the development of agriculture in Palestine.

Kremenetzky, Johann, 1850-1934. Vienna manufacturer; member of the Executive under Herzl; directed the first beginnings of the *Keren Kayemet Le-Israel* until the headquarters moved to Cologne.

Krieger, ———. General.

Kuk or *Kook,* Abraham Itzchak, 1865-1935. Rabbi in Jaffa, later chief rabbi of the Ashkenazi community in Jerusalem; in 1921 chairman of the newly created *Bet Din Hagadol.*

Lambsdorff, Vladimir Nikolayevitch, Count, 1845-1907. Russian statesman, Foreign Secretary in 1901.

Landau, Annie, 1873-1945. Lived in London and Jerusalem. Principal of the Evelina de Rothschild School established in Jerusalem by the Anglo-Jewish Association.

Landau, Leopold, Dr., 1848-1920. Member of health board; famous gynecologist.

Landau, Saul Raphael, 1870-1943. Lecturer at the Jewish Theological Seminary in Vienna on the history of the Jews in Poland. In 1897 he was editor-in-chief of the Zionist weekly *Die Welt;* later he established the Zionist monthly, *Der jüdische Arbeiter.*

Leimdorfer, David, 1851-1922. Rabbi, famous preacher in Hamburg.

Lenin, Vladimir Ilyitch Ulanov, 1870-1924. Founder, in 1922, of the Soviet Union, and head of its first government. With financial help from the Germans and with help of the German General Staff he returned from emigration in Switzerland to Russia in 1917 and seized power there in order to conclude a peace with Germany, at Brest-Litovsk in March 1918. Lenin was the great theoretician of Communism, who elaborated the teaching of Marx and Engels.

Lessing, Gotthold Ephraim, 1729-1781. German poet, critic, and philosopher.

Leszinsky, Eduard, Dr. Jur., 1877-1951. Berlin lawyer; one of the first Zionists in Germany.

Levi, Arthur, Dr., b. 1881. Chaplain on the eastern front during the First World War; afterward settled in Kiriath Bialik, Israel.

Levin, Shmarya, 1867-1935. Member of the Zionist Action Committee and Executive. From 1920 on, he was particularly active for the *Keren Hayesod.* With Bialik he established in Palestine the Hebrew publishing firm of Dvir.

Levontin, Zalman David, 1856-1940. One of the founders of *Rishon-le-Zion;* manager of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jaffa from 1901 to 1904.

Lewald, Otto Friedrich Theodor, Dr., 1860-1947. Secretary of State in the Imperial Ministry of the Interior.

Lewin, Karl, Dr., 1876-1930. Berlin physician and cancer research worker.

Lewin-Epstein, Eliyahu Ze'ev, 1863-1932. One of the founders of Rechovoth; worked for a time with Professor Frankfurter and Henry Morgenthau on behalf of President Wilson.

Lichtheim, Richard, b. 1885 in Berlin. Zionist politician; for a time editor of the Zionist central organ, *Die Welt;* representative of the Zionist Executive in Constantinople during the First World War, member of the Executive of the Zionist Organization in London; leading member of the Revisionist Union; settled in Israel.

Lieme, Nehemia de, 1882-1940. Chairman of the Netherlands Zionist Federation; director of the *Keren Kayemet;* member of the Action Committee and of the Zionist Executive; published various works on colonization and land policy in Palestine.

Lippe, Karl, Dr., 1830-1915. Took part in the establishment of Zichron Jacob and Rosh Pina in Palestine, and propagated the *Chibbut-Zion* movement in Rumania. He became a supporter of political Zionism and as honorary president opened the first Basel Congress in 1897.

Loewe, Heinrich, Prof., 1869-1951. Librarian at the National Library in Berlin; chairman of the Committee of the Friends of the Jerusalem Library; later librarian of the City at Tel Aviv.

Lubomirsky, Prince. Mayor of Warsaw.

Lucanus, Friedrich Karl Herman von, 1831-1908. Royal Prussian privy councilor, from 1888 head of the King's Civil Privy Cabinet. Co-author of the Kaiser's Jerusalem address.

Ludendorff, Erich, 1865-1937. German general; at first head of Hindenburg's General Staff, later Quartermaster General and

independent director of war operations. Entered politics with the demand for "total war."

Luise, Grand Duchess of Baden. Born Princess of Prussia, 1838-1923; married Grand Duke Friedrich I of Baden.

Lulaf. Palm branch.

Maaser. The tithe which, according to the Bible, was due the Temple or the State.

McMahon, Sir Arthur Henry, b. 1862. British administrator; first High Commissioner for Egypt; British Commissioner for the Middle East at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919. In 1915 he engaged in a correspondence with the Sheriff Hussein of Mecca and his son Feisal, in which British support of Arab independence was promised in return for an Arab revolt.

Magnes, Judah Leon, Prof. Dr., 1877-1948. Rabbi of Temple Emanuel of the Reform community in New York; chairman of the Board of Governors of the Hebrew University at Jerusalem.

Magnus, Julius, b. 1867. Justizrat; for a time edited the *Juristische Wochenschrift* and the *Tabellen zum internationalen Recht;* from 1919 to 1922 was chairman, later honorary member, of the Berlin Society of Lawyers. He was a member of the Executive of the Berlin Jewish Community, of the B'nai B'rith lodges, and of the German Federation for the Advancement of the University of Jerusalem.

Mandelstamm, Max Emanuel, Prof. Dr. Med., 1839-1912. A famous oculist in Kiev, and leader of the Russian Zionists.

Manteuffel, Baron von. Early Zionist.

Marmorek, Alexander, Prof. Dr., 1865-1923. Leading bacteriologist at the Pasteur Institute; discoverer of a remedy for tuberculosis; friend of Herzl and Nordau; member of the political Executive after the death of Herzl.

Marmorek, Oskar, 1863-1909. Architect of "Venedig," the famous pleasure resort in Vienna. Member of the Zionist Executive under Herzl. Leader of the expedition to El-Arisch.

Marrano. Christianized Jew, especially one who has converted to escape persecution.

Marschall von Bieberstein, Adolf, Baron, 1842-1912. Chamber-

lain of the Grand Duchy of Baden; State's attorney and later Supreme Court Justice at Mannheim; member of the Reichstag, later Baden Minister in Berlin and authorized member of the Federal Council. In 1890 he became State Secretary for Foreign Affairs; in 1897 Ambassador at Constantinople; in 1911 to England.

Marx, Karl Heinrich, 1818-1883. Founder of scientific socialism.

Masié, Aharon Meir, Dr., 1859-1930. Physician. In 1898 he was active as doctor for the Rothschild colonies in Rishon le-Zion.

Menorah. Eight-branched candlestick, with a ninth called the (servant), the candle from which is used to light the other candles.

Minyan. The ten Jewish males needed to form a congregation.

Minz, Alexander, Dr., Vienna lawyer.

Mirbach, Ernst, Baron, 1844-1925. Lord Chamberlain at the Court of Empress Auguste Victoria; in the retinue of the Imperial couple on the journey to Palestine in 1898.

Mizrachi. An organization of Zionists loyal to the Torah. They favored the Basel Program in the hope of seeing it realized in terms of traditional Judaism. The Mizrachi was founded in 1902 in Vilna, and at the sixth Congress (in 1903) it appeared with an already formidable delegation.

Mohilever, Samuel, 1824-1898. Principal of a rabbinical seminary and recognized authority among the Orthodox Jews of the East. He joined the Zionist movement under Herzl with enthusiasm.

Mond, Sir Alfred (Lord Melchett), 1868-1930. Head of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd.; minister in the Cabinet of Lloyd George; supporter of the British policy embodied in the Balfour Declaration.

Montefiore, Sir Francis Abraham, 1860-1935. Grandnephew of Sir Moses Montefiore, English barrister. President in 1900 of the English Zionist Federation, and a loyal supporter of Herzl. His great-uncle, Sir Moses Montefiore, 1784-1885, made seven journeys to Palestine.

Montesquieu, Charles de Secondat, 1689-1755. French philo-

sophical and political author; contributed to the development of the liberal concept of the state and a recognition of the importance of an understanding of history.

Moser, Alderman Jacob, 1839-1922. Bradford industrialist, justice of the peace; made possible the establishment of the first secondary school on National Fund land in the city of Jaffa-Tel Aviv.

Moses, ———, d. 1903. Kattowitz merchant; one of the founders of the *Chovevei-Zion* movement for the colonization of Palestine.

Moses, Julius, Dr., 1869-1945. Physician, professor of hygiene and medical pedagogy at Mannheim, later at Tel Aviv. He was one of the first Zionists with great influence in Germany.

Mosse, Rudolph, 1843-1920. Founder of an advertising agency and of the *Berliner Tageblatt* and *Berliner Morgenzeitung;* publisher of the *Berliner Volkszeitung;* for many years on the Executive of the Berlin Jewish Reform community.

Mossinsohn, Ben-Zion, Dr., 1878-1942. Principal of the Herzlia Hebrew *Gymnasium* in Tel Aviv.

Motzkin, Leo, 1867-1933. Founder of the Russo-Jewish Scientific Association in Berlin; chairman of the Committee of Jewish Delegations in Paris; vice president of various Zionist Congresses, and President of the Action Committee.

Münchhausen, Börries, Baron, 1874-1945. Author of Zionist songs and ballads, which were illustrated by E. M. Lilien.

Munk, Ezra, 1867-1941. Rabbi of the Adass Israel synagogue community in Berlin.

Murger, Henri, 1822-1861. French author, whose novel, *Scènes de la Vie de Bohême,* formed the subject of the opera *La Bohême* by Puccini.

Naiditsch, Isaac, 1868-1949. Born in Russia, lived later in Paris. Chairman of the Financial and Economic Council of the Zionist Organization; member of the Board of Directors of the *Keren Hayesod.*

Nathan, Paul, Dr., 1857-1927. Publisher of the monthly, *Die*

Nation; freethinker, later Social Democratic politician; founder of the Society for Combating Anti-Semitism.

Nebbich. Untranslatable Jewish idiom expressing contempt along with pity or sympathy.

Nicolson, Sir Harold George, b. 1886. Took part, as a member of the British delegation, in the Versailles Peace Conference of 1919, and published a book on the fate of the idealistic intentions of Wilson *(Peace-Making 1919;* published in Berlin as *Friedensmacher 1919,* by S. Fischer, 1933).

Nilus, Sergei Alexandrovitch. Russian religious writer.

Nobel, Nehemia Anton, Dr., 1871-1922. Local rabbi in Cologne; later rabbi at Frankfort-on-the-Main, where he also held a university lectureship for Jewish religious studies and ethics.

Nordau, Max, 1849-1923, Paris. Author of numerous novels and of a sensational work on the lies of civilized convention. One of the most important Zionist leaders.

Oehlschläger, Otto von, b. 1831. President of the German Imperial Court in 1885; later President of the Kammergericht in Berlin.

Oppen, Heinrich von, 1869-1925. Police chief at Breslau.

Oppenheimer, Dr. Franz, 1864-1943. Professor of political economy at the University of Frankfort, and author of several important works on sociology. He came into contact with Herzl in 1902 through the idea of the cooperative settlement.

Oppersdorff, Count Hans von, Castle Ober-Glogau. Member of the Prussian House of Lords.

Ottinger, ———, 1872-1945. Agronomist, director of Zionist colonization work. He had previously been an administrator of the colonies of Baron de Hirsch in the Argentine.

Pariser, Kurt, Dr. Director of a sanatorium in Homburg.

Passfield, Lord (formerly Sidney Webb), 1859-1947. Secretary for Colonies and Dominions; author of the Passfield White Paper, 1930, which proposed restrictions upon immigration and land purchase, and upon the authority of the Jewish Agency.

Peel, William Robert Wellesley, Viscount Clanfield, 1867-1937.

Statesman, member of the Royal Commission, 1936-37, which investigated the disturbances in Palestine.

Philippsohn, Martin, Dr., 1846-1916. Professor of history at the University of Berlin. His efforts led to the establishment in 1902 of the *Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums* and in 1904 to the founding of the Federation of German Jews.

Pilate, Pontius. Roman Governor of Judaea, who passed the sentence of death on Jesus. He was hated by the Jews because of his severity.

Pilichowski, Leopold, 1869-1933, originally from Zadzin, Poland. Well-known portrait painter and portrayer of Russo-Jewish scenes. He lived later in Paris, London, and New York. His picture "The Opening of the University in Jerusalem, 1927" became famous.

Pilpul. Untranslatable Hebrew expression, referring to dialectics.

Pinsker, Leo, Dr., 1821-1891. Odessa physician, founder of the *Chovevei-Zion,* who systematically worked for colonization by Jews. He published his pamphlet, *Auto-Emancipation,* in 1882.

Platen, (Hallermünde), August, Count, 1796-1835. Poet.

Plato, Hirsch, Dr., d. 1910. Director of the Jewish Teachers' Seminary in Cologne.

Plehve, Viatscheslav, 1846-1904. Russian Minister of the Interior 1902-1904; finally murdered.

Plotke, Julius, Dr., 1857-1903. Lawyer in Frankfort-on-the-Main, who interested himself particularly in the regulation of Jewish emigration, and worked in the *Alliance Israélite,* the Jewish Colonization Association, the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden,* and the Frankfort community.

Proudhon, Pierre Joseph, 1809-1865. French social philosopher.

Rabinowitch, Saul Pinchas, known as "Shefer," 1845-1910. Born in Lithuania; after 1874 lived in Warsaw; Hebrew author, leader of *Chovevei-Zion* from 1882. He was secretary of the Kattowitz conference in 1884.

Rampolla, Mariano, Marquis of Tindaro, 1843-1913. Cardinal, State Secretary to Leo XIII in Rome.

Rathenau, Walter, Dr. Phil., 1867-1922. President of the German Electrical Company; author, statesman; Imperial Minister for Reconstruction, later Foreign Minister. Concluded the Treaty of Rapallo with the Russians. Assassinated by the extreme Radicals as representative of the policy of fulfillment.

Reading, Marquess of (formerly Sir Rufus Isaacs), 1860-1935. English lawyer; Lord Chief Justice of England and Viceroy of India.

Renan, Ernest, 1823-1892. French Orientalist, a member of the French Academy. Devoted himself, among other things, to research on the life of Jesus, and published (among other books) *La vie de Jesus* (1863-64).

Renner, Karl, 1870-1950. Austrian Social Democrat; State Chancellor; President of the National Council. Was elected *Bundespräsident* in 1945.

Rhodes, Cecil John, 1853-1902. Prime Minister of British Cape Colony.

Richthofen, Oswald, Baron von, 1847-1906. Secretary in the German Foreign Office, 1900-1905.

Ringe. A series of broad streets which in Cologne have replaced the old city walls.

Robinsohn, Abraham, Dr., 1877-1918. Member of the Committee for East European Jewry; author of a biography of Wolffsohn.

Rohnbach, Paul, Dr. Phil., 1869-1956. Cultural historian, author of works on political geography, lecturer on colonial economy at the School of Commerce in Berlin.

Rosen, Friedrich, Dr. Phil., 1856-1935. Privy Councilor; teacher at the Oriental Seminary in Berlin. Consul at Baghdad and Jerusalem, 1898; minister at Bucharest and Lisbon, 1910-12; minister at The Hague, 1916; Imperial Minister for Foreign Affairs, 1921.

Rosenbaum, Shimshen, Dr. Jur., 1860-1934. Lithuanian lawyer and Zionist politician; later Lithuanian Minister.

Rosenblüth, Martin, Dr., b. 1886. Secretary of the Zionist Bureau in Copenhagen during the First World War; now representative of the Israeli Finance Ministry in New York.

Rosenheim, Jakob, b. 1871. Frankfort leader of the Orthodox separatists, *Agudas Yisrael;* editor of the weekly, *Der Israelit.*

Rosenthal, Ludwig, Dr., 1870-1938. Rabbi in Cologne.

Rosh Hashannah. Jewish New Year.

Rosin, Heinrich, Dr. Jur., b. 1855. Professor of Roman and commercial Law at the Universities of Freiburg and Berlin.

Rosner, Ignaz, Dr. Court councilor in the Ministry for Galicia; chief of the press bureau for the Polish consulate in Vienna; representative of the Poles in Vienna.

Rosoff, Benjamin Israel, 1869-1948. Russian Zionist.

Rothschild, Edmond, Baron de, 1845-1934. Lived in Paris; founder of the Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine; eminent philanthropist.

Rothschild, James, 1878-1957. Lived in London.

Rothschild, Lionel Walter, Lord, 1868-1937. Zoologist; recipient of the Balfour Declaration of November 2, 1917; vice president of the Jewish Board of Deputies and of the Anglo-Jewish Association, as well as president of the Maccabaean Club.

Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 1712-1778. Franco-Swiss author, cultural critic, and philosopher.

Rubinsohn, Eliezer, Dr. Dentist in Cologne.

Rüelf, Isaac, Dr., 1831-1902. Rabbi, author, philosopher, Jewish politician and *Chovevei* Zionist, who upon the advent of Herzl became an adherent of political Zionism.

Ruppin, Arthur, Dr., 1876-1943. Wrote various works on the Jewish colonization of Palestine. He was later Director of the Zionist Palestine Office, in which capacity he undertook the first colonizing attempts of the Zionist Organization.

Sachau, Edward, Dr., 1845-1930. Principal of the Oriental Seminary in Berlin.

Saint-Simon, Claude Henri, Count, 1760-1825. Paris philosopher; founder of a Socialist school of thought.

Samuel, Herbert, Viscount, b. 1870. Liberal M.P.; member of the Cabinet under Asquith, supporter of the Jewish Legion as Home Secretary, 1916; first High Commissioner for Palestine, a post he held for five years.

Sandler, Aron, Dr., 1879-1954. Founded the Jewish Society for Sanitary Interests in Palestine, and the International Hygienic Institute in Jerusalem, in cooperation with the Malaria Committee of the German Government.

Sauberzweig, ———. General; military governor of Lodz during the First World War.

Schach, Fabius, b. 1868. Hebrew author; secretary of several Jewish associations.

Schachtel, Hugo Hillel, Dr., 1876-1949. Dentist in Breslau, later in Haifa. One of the first German Zionists.

Schaeffle, Albert Eberhard Friedrich, 1831-1903. Professor of social economics at the Universities of Tübingen and Vienna. Beginning in 1892 he edited the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft.*

Schalit, Isidor, 1871-1954. Dentist; secretary of the Zionist Organization under Herzl.

Schapira, Hermann, Dr. Phil., 1840-1898. Professor of mathematics at the University of Heidelberg.

Schauer, Rudolf, Dr., b. 1870. Lawyer, Justizrat; well known as a member of the German delegation to the Peace Conference of Versailles 1919, where he acted as interpreter. The Bingen conference of 1897, at which German Zionism was founded, took place in his office.

Scheinkin, Menachem, 1871-1924. Merchant, economist; took part in the establishment of the Herzlia *Gymnasium* in Tel Aviv, and was chiefly active in Tel Aviv for the development of immigration.

Schekel. In ancient biblical times, the unit of weight used for silver. Later it was the name given to the tax that served to maintain the services of the Temple. At the first Zionist Congress in 1892, the Zionists chose the term *Schekel* for an amount to be paid annually, by means of which they showed their adherence to the Zionist Organization.

Schiff, Jacob, 1847-1920. American banker; lived in New York.

Schirokauer, Alfred, b. 1880. Lawyer, writer; also author of film scripts.

Schlemiel. Untranslatable Jewish term meaning an unlucky person.

Schlippenbach, Hans Friedrich Karl, Count, 1846-1926. Major General.

Schmidt, August, Dr., 1838-1921. Editor-in-chief of the *Kölnische Zeitung.*

Schmitta. The law prescribing that every seventh year was to be a Sabbatical year, observed as a year of rest for arable lands and gardens.

Schnirer, Moses or Moshe, Dr. Med., 1861-1941. Vienna physician; editor of a medical weekly; member of the Executive under Herzl.

Schnorer. Beggar.

Schocken, Salman, 1877-1959. Wholesale merchant and social economist; took part in the management of important Zionist institutions. Collector of interesting printed books.

Schofar. Ram's horn trumpet blown on New Year's day.

Schöller, Max, Dr. Phil., b. 1865. Düren chemist and sugar manufacturer; traveler, author of several works on his journeys in Africa; member of the Colonial Council.

Schrenk-Notzing, Albert, Baron, 1869-1929. Munich physician and author; published several scientific works in the fields of medicine, psychotherapy, criminal psychology, and occultism.

Schröder, ———. Director of A. Schaaffhausen'scher Bankverein.

Schub, Moses David, 1854-1938. Farmer from Rumania, came to Palestine 1882. One of the founders of the colonies of Rosh Pina and Mishmar Hayarden.

Scrydlow, ———. Russian Fleet Admiral.

Seder. Ceremonial supper commemorating the deliverance of the Israelites from Egypt.

Sephardim. The name given to Jews originating in Spain, where they were compelled by the decrees of Ferdinand the Catholic to abandon their native land. Today they speak Spaniolish, one of the dialects of their former homeland.

Segel, Benjamin, 1866-1931. Polish author.

Seidener, ———. 1860-1942. Engineer; member of the delegation

to the German Kaiser; later manager of a silicate brick factory in Tel Aviv.

Setzer, ———. Editor of the *Stuttgarter Neues Tageblatt.*

Shaw, Sir Walter Sidney, 1863-1937. Leader of the Shaw Commission of September 1929, whose report appeared in March 1930 in the form of a Blue Book. The Commission also included three members of the British House of Commons: Sir Henry Betterton (Conservative), Hopkin Morris (Liberal), and Harry Snell (Labor). The object of the Commission was to determine the causes of the disturbances in Palestine during August 1929.

Simchowitz, Sascha, Dr., 1865-1930. Dramatic director of the combined municipal theaters of Cologne. Lecturer at the University in Cologne.

Simmel, Georg, 1858-1918. Secretary of the Grand Lodge of Germany; German-Jewish philosopher; special professor at the University of Berlin, later professor at Strassburg.

Simon Bar Giora. Leader in the great war against the Romans in 66-70. He was put to death in Rome in 71.

Simon Bar Jochai. Famous Talmudic teacher in the Hellenistic period.

Simon, James, 1850-1932. Head of a cotton firm; vice president of the Berlin Chamber of Commerce; member of the Board of Directors of the Reichsbank; one of the founders of the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden,* the Haifa Technical School, and the German Oriental Society; member of the Council of the Jewish Colonization Association in Paris.

Simon, Julius, b. 1875. Zionist and economist. He took a leading part in the purchase of Haifa Bay lands; later, in New York, a member of the Zionist Revision Commission.

Simonsohn, ———. Dr., Berlin. One of the first Zionists in Germany.

Simpson, Sir John Hope, b. 1868. Was sent to Palestine in May 1930 as head of a Commission to study the immigration and Jewish questions. On October 21, 1930, the British Govern-

ment published the Hope Simpson Report and the White Paper.

Sliosberg, Heinrich, Dr., 1863-1937. Russo-Jewish lawyer, witness at the Berne trial, 1934.

Sobernheim, Moritz Sebastian, Dr., 1872-1933. Orientalist; legation councilor in the Berlin Foreign Office. During the First World War was member of the Committee for East European Jewry.

Sokolow, Nahum, 1861-1936. Editor of the Hebrew daily, *Hatzefirah;* later general secretary of the Zionist Organization and editor of *Haolam,* a counterpart in Hebrew to *Die Welt.* President of the Committee of Jewish Delegations, president of the Congress and of the Zionist Organization.

Sondheimer, Fritz, Dr., Frankfort-on-the-Main. One of the first Zionists in Germany.

Soskin, Selig, Dr., 1873-1958. Agronomist; member of the expedition to El-Arish and of the Palestine Commission; initiated the settlement of Naharia.

Stein, Ludwig, 1859-1930. Prof. Rabbi, philosopher, lecturer in Zurich, Berne, and later in Berlin; founded with Stresemann the *Mittwoch Gesellschaft,* an important political center, and took a lively interest in the reconstruction of Palestine.

Steinitz, Walter, Dr. Med. et Phil., b. 1882. Lecturer in zoology at Breslau; later one of the founders of the Ramoth Hashavim settlement in Israel.

Steinmeister, Otto, Dr. Head government official in Cologne from 1905 to 1917.

Stobbe, Johann Ernst Otto, 1831-1887. Legal historian; professor at Leipzig; wrote among other works, *Die Juden in Deutschland während des Mittelalters in politischen, sozialen, und rechtlicher Beziehung* (Brunswick, 1865).

Stöcker, Adolf, Dr., 1835-1909. Court preacher to Kaiser Wilhelm II; member of the Reichstag.

Stolypin, Peter Arkadievitch, 1863-1911. Russian statesman; Prime Minister, Chamberlain, State Secretary, Minister of the

Interior. Suppressed the revolution in 1905, was murdered at Kiev in 1911.

Straus, Elias, Dr., 1878-1933. Munich lawyer, one of the first Zionists in Germany.

Straus, Gabi. An enthusiastic Zionist, who later lost his life as a result of an unexplained accident.

Straus, Isaac, Dr., 1881-1933. German Jewish and Zionist politician, who during the First World War discharged important tasks in the U.S.A.

Strauss, David Friedrich, 1808-1873. Protestant theologian; among other works published *Leben Jesu kritisch bearbeitet,* (1835-36) and *Der Christus des Glaubens und der Jesus der Geschichte* (1865).

Stricker, Robert, 1879-1944. Architect; leader of the Jewish national political movement in Austria; founder of the radical Zionist union; publisher of the weekly, *Die Neue Welt.*

Struck, Hermann, 1876-1944. Lived in Berlin, later in Haifa. Portrait painter and etcher; leader of the *Mizrachi* party; author of a successful book, *Die Kunst des Radierens.*

Suliman Bey. Turkish governor in Crete.

Svatikoff, Sergius, b. 1880. Historian, witness at the Berne trial, 1934.

Syrkin, Nachmann, 1867-1924. Leader of the *Poale-Zion;* author.

Tel Aviv. A city near Jaffa, which was built with money from the Jewish National Fund.

Templars. A Christian sect founded in South Germany in 1854. They believed in the advent of the Messiah, which they wished to hasten, and accordingly, beginning in 1868, they founded handsome colonies in Palestine, which existed until the Second World War.

Tents. The name given to the branches of the English *Chovevei-Zion.*

Tewfik Pasha, Marshal Achmed, 1843-1936. Turkish Ambassador in Berlin, 1884-1895; Turkish Foreign Secretary, 1895-1909.

Thon, Jacob Johanan, Dr., 1890-1950. Beginning in 1908, director of the Palestine Land Development Company in Jerusalem.

He was a leader in the political as well as the economic life of the Jewish population.

Tilmann, Otto, Dr. Med., 1862-1934. Professor of surgery at the Universities of Greifswald and Cologne; general medical practitioner.

Timendorfer, Berthold, Dr. Jur., 1853-1931. Lawyer; Privy councilor; Grand President of the Independent Order B'nai B'rith; member of the Executive of the Jewish community of Berlin, the *Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden,* the *Alliance Israélite Universelle,* the Welfare Center of the German Jews, and the society for establishing and maintaining an Academy of Jewish Studies.

Tisza-Eszlar Affair, 1882-1884; *Xanten Affair,* 1891-92; *Konitzer Affair,* 1900-1901. Tisza-Eszlar, a city in Hungary; Xanten, a city on the lower Rhine; and Konitz, a Polish city in Pomerania, were the scene of ritual murder trials—i.e., Jews were accused of having killed children at Easter in order to fulfill a commandment of their religion. These disgraceful products of fancy and of hatred unfortunately found credence in many Christian circles and were spread by anti-Semites in order to incite the populace to excesses against the Jews.

Torczyner, Numa, 1885-1948. Prominent merchant in Antwerp; political Zionist.

Trietsch, Davis, 1870-1935. Dresden author and Zionist economist; publisher of the periodicals *Ost und West* and *Palästina* and of hand books and maps of Palestine.

Troelstra, P. I., 1860-1930. Press representative of the Political Commission of the Labor Party.

Tschlenow, Echiel, Dr., 1864-1918. Moscow physician; leader of the Russian Zionists.

Tuch, Gustav. Well-known Hamburg philanthropist.

Turoff, Isaac, 1855-1929. Secretary of the Ezra Society founded in Berlin for the establishment of agricultural colonies in Palestine. In 1891 he published a brochure, *Wo hinaus, Mahnwort an die westeuropaischen Juden,* under the name of Paul Dimidov.

Uhland, Ludwig, 1787-1862, Tübingen. Literary and philological historian of the later romantic period.

Ussischkin, Menachem Michael, 1863-1941. Engineer from Ekaterinoslav; leader of a Russian Jewish students' group; later, along with Tschlenow and Mandelstamm, leader of the Russian Zionists; still later lived in Jerusalem. Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Jewish National Fund.

Voltaire, originally François-Marie Arouet, 1694-1778. French author, playwright, epic poet, historian, and philosopher. Influential thinker of the French Enlightenment.

Wach, Adolf, Dr. Jur., Theol., and Rer. Pol. hon., 1843-1926. As a professor at the University of Leipzig he exercised, from 1875, an authoritative influence upon civil case law.

Waldersee, Alfred, Count, 1832-1904. Successor to Moltke as Chief of the General Staff. His inclination towards political activity (plans for preventive war) and his association with Stöcker brought him into conflict with Bismarck. But he soon lost his influence over the German Emperor Wilhelm II and was displaced.

Wahnschaffe, Arnold, b. 1865. Councilor in charge of reports; chief of the Imperial Chancellery under Bethmann-Hollweg.

Wallach, Moritz Moses, Dr. Med., 1866-1956. Physician; the first from Germany, at the beginning of the nineties, to establish a Jewish hospital in Jerusalem.

Warburg, Felix, 1871-1937, New York. Partner in the bank of Kuhn, Loeb, and Company.

Warburg, Max, 1867-1947, Hamburg. Partner in the Bank of M. Warburg and Company; later took an interest in the work of the Jewish Agency for Palestine.

Warburg, Otto, Dr. Phil., 1859-1938. President of the World Zionist Organization after Wolffsohn; professor of botany at the Technical College, Charlottenburg; director of the Agricultural Experiment Station in Tel Aviv.

Wassermann, Moses, 1811-1892. Author of the biographical romance, *Judah Touro,* O. Leiner, Leipzig, 1871; translated

from the German by Harriet W. Mayer, and published in New York by Bloch, 1871 and 1923).

Wauchope, Sir Arthur Grenfell, 1874-1947. British General; High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief in Palestine and Transjordan, 1931-1938.

Wedgwood, Josiah Clement, 1872-1943. British colonel and M.P.; chairman of the Labor Party; author.

Weil, Gotthold, Dr. Phil., 1882-1960. Orientalist; director of the Oriental Department of the State Library in Berlin; professor at the University of Berlin and later in Jerusalem.

Weisl, Wolfgang von, Dr., b. 1896. Physician; author; Zionist politician.

Weizmann, Chaim, Prof. Dr., 1873-1952. Lecturer on biochemistry at the University of Manchester; leader of the Zionist opposition to Herzl and Wolffsohn. During the First World War he rendered services to the Allied Powers by important inventions and came into contact with the Foreign Secretary, Balfour, whom he won over for the Zionist scheme. President of the Zionist Organization and of the Jewish Agency, and first President of the State of Israel.

Werner, Siegmund, Dr., 1867-1928. Born in Vienna. Physician; for a time editor of *Die Welt;* representative of Dr. Bodenheimer in the Vienna Action Committee. Friend and doctor of Herzl, whom he attended on his deathbed.

Welt, Die. The Zionist weekly which Herzl edited beginning June 4, 1897. It appeared until the First World War, the last number being issued on July 13, 1914.

Wilhelm I, 1797-1888. King of Prussia from 1861 to 1888; German Kaiser 1871-1888. Under him Prussia won the leadership in Germany.

Wilhelm II, 1859-1941. German Kaiser and King of Prussia; appeared more bellicose than he was. In 1918, after the German defeat, he fled to the Netherlands. He abdicated as German Emperor but not as King of Prussia.

Wilkansky, ———. 1880-1955. Agronomist, later director of the experiment station at Rechoyoth.

Wilson, Thomas Woodrow, 1856-1924. Professor of jurisprudence and political economy at Princeton University, also its president. American statesman, from 1913 to 1921 President of the U.S.A. After the First World War he tried to achieve international understanding through the League of Nations, but did not secure the adherence of the U.S. With his Fourteen Points he provided a basis of understanding which he was unable to carry through in the Versailles Treaty.

Wolff, Gustav. Cologne merchant; secretary of the German Zionist Federation and co-founder of the German Zionist Organization.

Wolffsohn, David, 1856-1914. Wholesale merchant in Cologne; succeeded Herzl as president of the World Zionist Organization.

Woodhead Commission. So called after its chairman, Sir John Woodhead, it was sent by the British Government to Palestine in 1938, and in October of the same year published a report in which it had no partition plan to propose.

Yemenites. A tribe in southern Arabia, presumably of Arab-Negro descent, which adopted the Jewish religion in Biblical times. They were subjected for centuries to severe oppression by the Moslems, and almost all emigrated to Palestine.

Yishuv. Jewish population of Palestine.

Zangwill, Israel, 1864-1926. English author and leader of the group of political Zionists who afterwards organized themselves as Territorialists. In a chapter entitled "Dreamers in Congress," in his book *Dreamers of the Ghetto,* published in 1899, he describes his impressions of the first Zionist Congress.

Zevi, Sabbatai, 1626-1676. Appeared in the seventeenth century as a Messiah, declaring that he had been called by God to deliver the Jewish people. After initial success he was taken prisoner by the Sultan and compelled, under threat of death, to accept the Moslem faith.

Zinoviev, Grigori (Hirsch Apfelbaum), 1883-1936. Soviet politician, executed as a Trotskyist.

Zipper, Gershon, Dr., 1868-1920. Published the first Jewish

national weekly, and later the first Zionist daily, in Polish. A fund he raised made possible a Hebrew secondary school in Jerusalem.

Zion. A Zionist monthly issued in Berlin in the years 1895-1899.

Zlocisti, Theodor, Dr. Med., 1874-1944. Physician; Zionist leader in Berlin, later in Tel Aviv.

Zweig, Egon, Dr., 1877-1949. Lived in Vienna. Well-known Zionist, who was particularly active for the Jewish National Fund.

APPENDICES

COMPLETE translations of texts given partially in facsimile illustrations.

1. Draft theses of the Jewish National "Zion" club in Cologne.

JEWISH NATIONAL "ZION" CLUB IN COLOGNE

PRINCIPLES.

The Club fosters the consciousness of the solidarity of all Jews on the basis of common descent, history, culture, and common social and economic interests .

For this purpose the club promotes

(a) the knowledge of Jewish history and literature,

(b) the use of the Hebrew language,

(c) the improvemnt of the legal, social, and economic position of fellow Jews in the countries in which they are oppressed in any of these respects,

(d) the establishment of Jewish agricultural colonies.

As means to this furtherance the Club envisions first of all the enlightenment of fellow Jews, at regular meetings, concerning all vital questions of the day as well as the support of all organizations active in any of these spheres.

2. Draft of a letter to Colonel Goldsmid.

From the reply dated December 15 (i.e., "in reply to your letter of November the 16th") it is clear that the letter was sent off on November 16th, 1895.

Dear Sir,

As a member of the Executive of the local colonization society, as well as director of the colonization committee of the *Freie Israelitische Vereinigung* ("Free Jewish Association"), which was established last year with the participation of several hundred Jewish representatives from all parts of Germany, I believe that I am justified in addressing myself to you in the following matter, since I must assume, from your propaganda activity up until now, that the ideas that I have represented in my writings and speeches during the last few years, correspond exactly to yours.

In this view I am strengthened above all by your attitude toward the organization of the Argentinian colonies, as well as by the address delivered by you some time ago in Manchester.

As my person is doubtless entirely unknown to you, I should like to say that a few years ago I made an attempt, through a brochure entitled *Wohin mit den russischen Juden?* ("Whither the Russian Jew?") and by a number of anonymously published newspaper articles, to promote interest in the revival of the Jewish nation.

Owing to the peculiar circumstances in Germany particular caution was necessary in representing Jewish national ideas, and I was therefore active in the first place in the revival of these ideas by the establishment of Jewish historical and literary societies.

It is by no means due least to the activity of my friends and fellow Zionists here that the local society, in both its activity and its total membership (over 500), is a leader among the 52 Jewish historical societies now existing in Germany. After a great deal of trouble I have also succeeded in creating a central organization for the furtherance of Jewish colonies in Palestine, which in its one year of existence has gained about 300 members.

In my opinion the development of the national idea is above all hindered by the lack of a centralized organization, which can be removed only by the formation of personal relations on the part of the principal advocates of this cause.

Any center presupposes that the individual members of the organization act according to the same principles, on which account a definition of these fundamental principles is absolutely necessary.

The centralized organization also presupposes that the association be formed on an interterritorial basis, as the Jewish national idea is the same for the Jews of all countries. Only when a vigorous interterritorial organization exists is it possible to proceed to develop the method of propaganda in the individual countries, which must be adapted to the circumstances.

The present organizations all suffer, in my opinion, from the defect that the establishment of agricultural colonies in Palestine has been advanced to the forefront, whereas in my opinion this colonization can form only one of the means of promoting the restoration of the Jewish people as a general concept.

If we were to depend upon the progress of these agricultural colonies alone for the future of our nation, it might be centuries before anything important were achieved.

In order to arrive at an exchange of views on this question, I consider it right to summon the known friends of Zion from all over the world to a general conference, the planning of which, however, presupposes a certain agreement on the main points.

I would accordingly ask whether you are at all disposed to be active in this matter along with our fellow Zionists, and (since judging from what I already know of you, I anticipate an affirmative reply to this question) whether, where, and when you would be prepared to meet me personally and to discuss the method of calling the conference in question and at the same time to exchange personal views on this matter verbally.

I should like to add that my legal practice imposes upon me some limits with regard to the conference I propose, and for this

reason a meeting somewhere on the Continent, and a date around Christmas time, would be preferable to me.

3. The first letter from Bodenheimer to Herzl.

Cologne, May 20, 1896

Dear Sir,

Having been informed by Herr Wolffsohn more fully about your ideas and plans, the idea of a conference in London particularly interests me, and indeed mainly because I have already exchanged letters on this matter, last year, with Colonel Goldsmid. As I have been in the movement about six years I have taken an obvious interest in your *Jewish State,* all the more as it is built upon fundamental ideas that are already found in the brochures of Pinsker and Birnbaum, and which have also been represented by me in my pamphlet of the year 1891 ("Whither the Russian Jews?"). A declaration of agreement on the part of the local Jewish national society will come up for discussion at our next meeting.

I am indeed of the opinion that a meeting would be of the greatest value because we are without any organization that is in the position to disseminate our aspirations to the general public. But I am of the opinion that before creating anything new one should base oneself upon what exists. Accordingly I call your attention to the fact that we have for years been actively creating in Germany the preliminary conditions for a Zionist organization. Ours are the historical and colonization societies. On the occasion of the meeting of the *Freie Israelitische Vereinigung,* which will take place in Berlin at the end of June, and at which I shall give the principal address, "On the Jewish Colonies," it is planned also to have a meeting of German Zionists or their delegates. It is very desirable that you should take part in this meeting. As chairman of the colonization committee of this association, which met in Hamburg last year, I

venture to beg you particularly to voice at this meeting your views on colonization.

Yours respectfully,

Dr. Bodenheimer

Attorney

4. Another letter to Herzl.

JEWISH NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
BUREAU HOHENZOLLERNRING 18

Cologne, June 9, 1897

Highly esteemed friend,

You will have learned from our friend Wolffsohn what high waves the tempest in a teapot is raising against our cause. We shall have to hear many a bitter word and perhaps be obliged to break off long cherished social contacts as objects of the fury of local assimilationist groups against the Congress at Munich. I therefore ardently cherish the hope that the Congress shall be outwardly representative and inwardly successful, so as to dispel the almost insane fear of the Jews longing for their rights.

I consider the following points or resolutions necessary for the attaining of this object:

(1) A declaration that the projected Jewish commonwealth should not be forced upon or wrung from the Turkish government, but formed with the free consent of that Government and for the benefit and welfare of the Ottoman Empire. Sovereignty over the Jewish State, as well as international representation, shall be placed into the hands of the Turkish ruler. Only the internal administration of any colony formed within a Turkish province should be Jewish.

(2) A declaration that the Zionist movement is not directed against either the European states or their peoples, nor yet against the Jews living therein in any way whatsoever. To the

rights already acquired there shall be added a new one : the right of international legal representation for those Jews who join the new community. The national idea shall not separate the Jews from the people among which they live, nor cause them to live at cross purposes with them, but as a result of the possibility of singling out particular nationally conscious elements, pave the way for a re-grafting of the peoples upon the Jewish branch;
(3) that the cooperation of non-Jews in the Zionist undertaking, in any form whatever, is extremely desirable.

I should also like to point out that possibly the Bavarian government might be persuaded to obstruct the convening of the Congress by expelling foreigners. In view of the present mood, anything seems possible to me, even a denunciation in Munich. Perhaps you can make investigations in this respect.

With cordial Zionist greetings,

Yours,

Bodenheimer

5. Notes on the Statutes of the Bank.
Dr. Bodenheimer
Attorney

Cologne, Dec. 8, 1898
18 Hohenzollernring

Hours of Consultation : 8–9 a.m., 4–7 p.m.
Telephone 2192

NOTES

(1) In defining the matters that the Bank shall undertake, in accordance with the resolution of the Congress, the addition must be made in the passages concerned—"especially in Syria and Palestine."

(2) In par. 18 of the memorandum donations are contemplated. The Bank institute as such must under no circumstances make

any donations or any money investments for unproductive purposes.

These two points cannot be a matter of trust between Managers and Director, because they have already been laid down absolutely by the Congress.

Page 6. "Provided always . . ." It is not enough that the manner of activity of the Bank be useful simply to the Jewish people, but also to the Zionist cause! Any concession in this sphere would be suicide.

Bank Committee. According to the draft proposal on p. 118 ff., the same would be merely a functionary of the Director, and, as such, has absolutely no purpose.

If this Committee is to have any sort of meaning, then it must come out of the Council as a permanent inspecting body of the Action Committee and of the Congress, for the purpose of a constant supervision from the standpoint of Zionist interests.

Founders' Shares. The holders of Founders' Shares must be elected by the Congress and the Action Committee.

Until the next Congress these shares can be administered provisionally by the Bank Commission, or they can be distributed.

6. Letter to Ze'ev Jabotinsky.

Antwerp, June 20, 1933

Highly esteemed Mr. President and dear friend,

I am taking advantage of the presence of my daughter in Paris to beg you earnestly to restore peace in our midst. The terrible distress of our people demands self-discipline and unity. Only in this way can we meet the dangers of the future. Personal irritations must be suppressed, and I see no fundamental reason why we cannot remain together. Also the tragic death of Arlosorof calls upon all Zionists to work together more closely. Whoever breaks away from us commits the bitterest wrong. Unity [*Achdut*] is what we need today. What is the theoretical question of disciplinary priority which would saw off the branch on which we are sitting, as against the danger of the complete bankruptcy of

the Zionist Organization, which is the work of our dead leader?

So, dear friend, I trust you will have the courage to put back a stake if you become convinced that you have rushed forward too quickly.

Cordial greetings from your devoted

Dr. B.

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© 1963 by A. S. Barnes and Company, Inc.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 61–13934

Thomas Yoseloff, *Publisher*
8 East 36th Street
New York 16, N.Y.

Thomas Yoseloff Ltd.
18 Charing Cross Road
London W.C.2, England

Printed in the United States of America

(*Continued from front flap*)

tinople with Herzl, he asked me: 'Why really did you become a Zionist?' He wanted to know whether Zionism was born by way of logic or intuition in the soul of West European Jewry. I then told him of my youth up to the time I became aware of my Zionist mission. That's very interesting,' said Herzl; 'write it down. . . .'"

From here Dr. Bodenheimer goes on to explain how, six years before meeting Herzl, he came to recognize the necessity for the foundation of a Jewish state in Palestine; how he became convinced that the Jewish problem was not a religious question but a national one; how he helped to originate the Zionist Movement in Germany and became active in the World Organization.

Edited by the author's daughter, Henriette Hannah Bodenheimer, and translated by Israel Cohen, *Prelude to Israel* is one of the most revealing and illuminating memoirs of recent years, and is in addition a significant contribution to the history of the State of Israel.

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Dr. M. I. Bodenheimer was born in Stuttgart in 1865. After completing his legal studies, he established himself as a lawyer in Cologne in 1891. In the same year, shocked by the great pogroms in Russia, he published the pamphlet "Whither the Russian Jews?" in which, six years before the famous Herzl Manifesto and the first International Zionist Congress in Basle, he conceived the idea of Zionism, and thereby founded the Zionist Movement in Germany. Indeed, not only was he the founder of the Zionist Union in Germany and its president for many years, but he was also the real organizational genius of the Zionist World Movement.

Herzl called upon him on occasion to draft memoranda for the Sultan of Turkey and the German Foreign Office. He was also extremely helpful in drafting the statutes of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and was selected to accompany Herzl on a mission to Jerusalem in 1898 for an audience with the German Kaiser.

Dr. Bodenheimer was the creator of the Jewish National Fund, presiding over it up to the First World War when the initial attempts to colonize Israel were made. During and after the war he served on the Committee for the Liberation of the Russian Jews. Until his flight from the Nazis to Palestine he was continuously active in the Zionist Movement and published a great number of books and pamphlets to aid this cause. He died in Jerusalem in 1940.

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New York • London • Toronto