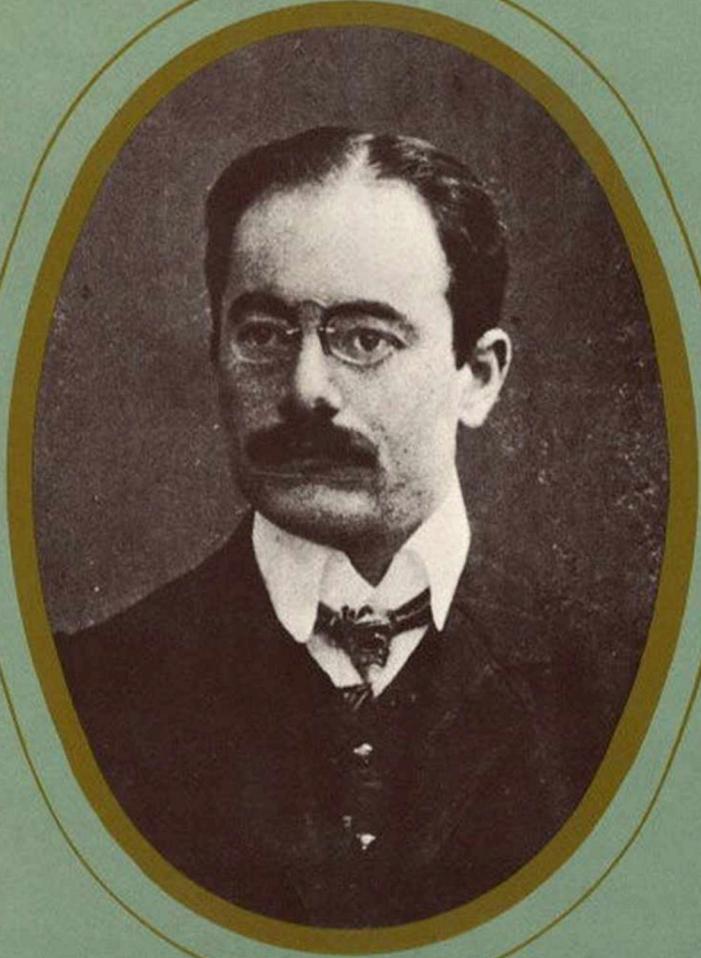
ARTHUR RUPPIN

Memoirs, Diaries, Letters



Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters

Edited with an Introduction by Alex Bein
Translated from the German by Karen Gershon
Afterword by Moshe Dayan

Weidenfeld and Nicolson

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ARTHUR RUPPIN:
MEMOIRS, DIARIES, LETTERS

Acknowledgments

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Hanna Ruppin

Editor's Note

Arthur Ruppin: Memoirs, Diaries, Letters is composed of two parts: the first consists of Ruppin's autobiography from his days as a youth until the period immediately following the First World War (1919), and the second is a selection of his diaries and letters from 1920 until his death. Likewise, the memoir is divided into two parts. Although Dr Ruppin originally wrote the reminiscences of his childhood (chapters 1–7) for publication, he later expressed reservations about presenting them before the general public. The second part of the memoir (chapters 8–20) was always intended for publication, although it was not written in a comprehensive fashion during a single period. Had Dr Ruppin lived longer, he would undoubtedly have reworked and expanded certain chapters and further developed the integral flow from one chapter to another. An editor cannot replace an author. Our task was to choose and arrange the material, correct slips of the pen on the basis of the diaries and other sources, shorten or delete those passages which demanded such treatment to achieve a proper balance and perspective for this edition and add explanatory notes to facilitate the reader's understanding of the text. In only a few instances did we add short passages to create a bridge between chapters, according to the lines suggested in Dr Ruppin's notes. At the time of his death, Dr Ruppin had not yet reached any final decision about the last chapter of Part One. The file for that chapter was filled with many letters he had received from Palestine during his stay in Constantinople, indicating that he probably intended to present a selection of these letters at that stage of the work. In place of this material, which we believe would have added little to the essence of the memoir, we have chosen passages from Dr Ruppin's diaries of 1916–9, which seem a more appropriate expression of that period of his life. Part Two was constructed from many volumes of diaries with the intention of creating a coherent and fluent line of thought for the reader.

Deletions from the original are not noted by any special symbol, as this edition is intended first and foremost for the interested reader. The scholar is therefore advised to consult the original (in German) in the Central Zionist Archives, Jerusalem.

Toward the end of his life, Dr Ruppin began to write some of his diary entries in English. These have been lightly edited for English style.

Alex Bein
Jerusalem, November 1971

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Ruppin (left) with his cousin and first wife, Selma Lewek, and his cousin Ludwig Danziger

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Jaffa harbour, the gateway to Palestine, as it appeared to Dr Ruppin upon his arrival in the country in 1908 to open the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization

Bustros Street, the main street in Jaffa, with the Palestine Office marked by the flag in the upper right (see p. 90)

Dr Ruppin and his close friend and colleague Dr Jacob Thon

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Dr Ruppin with friends in Rehovot (1936)

The Nineteenth Zionist Congress (London, 1935) with David Ben-Gurion at the podium and Dr Ruppin (seated at lower right) next to Moshe Shertok (Sharett)

Dr Ruppin standing next to Yehoshua Hankin (see pp. 113–4) at the ceremony dedicating new living quarters at Kibbutz Heftzibah in 1940

Masad soon after its establishment. The settlement was later renamed Kfar Ruppin in honour of Dr Ruppin (see p. 305)

A view of Kfar Ruppin today showing modern living quarters

The last formal portrait of Dr Ruppin, photographed in Santiago, Chile, during his trip to South America in 1935

Introduction

by Alex Bein

In 1904 Arthur Ruppin published a book entitled *Die Juden der Gegenwart* ('The Jews of Today'), which was the first summary of his observations and research on the Jews and their problems. At the time he was twenty-eight years old and a graduate of the universities of Berlin and Halle, where he had earned his degree in law and a doctorate in philosophy (political economy). The topic of the book, as well as the system by which the facts were gathered and the manner in which it was written, reflect the personality of the young Ruppin as formed during his childhood in the small town of Rawitsch on the Prussian-Polish border and later in Magdeburg, where his family was plagued by poverty until the enterprising eldest son, Arthur, simultaneously stabilized the financial situation by succeeding in business and independently acquired the knowledge necessary to pass matriculation examinations and continue his studies on a university level. The development of Ruppin's approach to Judaism over the years, as well as the crucial influence of these formative years upon the course of Ruppin's entire life, are clearly expressed in his autobiography covering that period.

What is not sufficiently stressed in Ruppin's memoirs is that *The Jews of Today* was an innovation in the existing literature on Jewish life. No apologist was speaking here, defending Judaism. Neither was the author a follower of any specific doctrine within Judaism, preaching to the people to follow his example. Ruppin was not yet a Zionist, although the fate of the Jewish people was close to his heart, and he wrote the book out of concern for that fate. He had not yet arrived at a clear conclusion, however. The essence of his aspirations was 'to establish, on the basis of statistics and independent observation, facts that cannot be contested, and in this way to found, first of all, a basis for discussion of the many problems of Judaism'. Towards that end he systematically surveyed the entire scope of Jewish life.

Ruppin's views on the Jewish problem and its solution were still somewhat simplistic. He saw anti-Semitism as motivated primarily by economic factors: middle-class hostility towards a competitive group. He also attempted to analyse the foundations of Jewish nationalism from an anthropological point of view and assess the chances of renewing the life of the Jews as a people. He described the Zionist movement with sympathy, but doubted the possibility of realizing the goal of Zionism in the near future. But that was not, in his opinion, the only means of rescuing Jewish nationalism; it would be possible to preserve it by other means: 'Zion will be anywhere that the strength of Jewish nationalism throbs, conscious of its value and goal, while in firm contact with the general human culture.'

The Jews of Today was the point of departure for all sociological literature on Jewish life that has been written since. After the book's appearance, it was no longer

possible to discuss the situation of the Jews and their problems without a numerical-statistical basis, and the entire approach to the subject was transformed, even if the conclusions drawn by others differed from those arrived at by Ruppin. But the book's most decisive influence was probably on Ruppin himself. The Jewish problem and its solution thereafter became his own problem and preoccupation in life. He never freed or divorced himself from it. It is said that every author writes one and only one book – a work on a fundamental problem in his life – and all the rest of his literary creations are only variations of the same work and fundamental subject. With Ruppin this is certainly true. All the books which followed upon this first work were new incarnations of it. A new comment, a new observation on the basis of experience was added, and changes were made in line with altered conditions, circumstances, achievements and with the changes in Ruppin's general outlook, based on new facts and new experiences in life. But the subject itself never changed: a description and analysis of the life of the Jewish people in the present – the disintegration of Jewish life in the Diaspora and the rebuilding of the ancient homeland – and a discussion of the roads leading to the future.

Ruppin's life extended between the various editions and incarnations of this book, step by step, from *The Jews of Today* to *Die Soziologie der Juden* to *Jewish Fate and Future*, in his practical and theoretical work as the director of settlement in Palestine, as a Zionist leader, as one concerned with the Jewish people and its land.

Just as *The Jews of Today* established the foundation for all of Ruppin's scientific work in the field of Judaism, it also directed him in his practical tasks. The book appeared in the fall of 1904, a few months after Herzl's untimely death, when the Zionist movement was in a state close to disintegration. Many Zionists were asking themselves what approach the movement was going to adopt: would it continue along the lines set by Herzl to achieve a charter and in the meantime organize the Jews in the Diaspora, without attacking the problem of practical work for the up-building of Palestine itself before the attainment of the political aim; or would it adopt the line of the so-called 'practical Zionists', who demanded immediate settlement in Palestine, taking possession of the land by settling and working, acre by acre, while maintaining political efforts and furthering cultural work towards the same end?

It was during that period of transition and search that Ruppin officially joined the Zionist Organization. In October 1904 he also began working (together with his duties in the court in Berlin) as the secretary of the newly founded Bureau for Statistics of the Jews as the editor of its publication. He edited its quarterly for a number of years, gathering all the material possible on the demography and statistics of the Jews in various countries, and even wrote a large part of the articles, surveys and monographs himself. In a collection called *Die Stimme der Wahrheit* ('The Voice of Truth'), in 1905, he also published his first Zionist article on 'The Immediate Task' of the Zionist movement, proposing that, in his opinion, the Jewish people were not yet prepared to carry out large-scale, systematic settlement in Palestine. As a prerequisite, it would be necessary to train Jewish farmers in Europe. Fulfilment of the Zionist goal – to establish a Jewish state – would take place gradually. It would require many years, during which the Land of Israel would not be a support for the Jews of the Diaspora but rather the opposite, and it would be necessary to educate Diaspora Jewry for that role.

That was Ruppin's opinion in 1907 when invited by David Wolffsohn in Cologne, president of the Zionist Organization, and Otto Warburg in Berlin, head of the Zionist committee that directed the preparatory work for settlement in Palestine, to travel there under the aegis of the Zionist Organization, or, more correctly, to combine an exploratory mission with the journey that Ruppin had planned in order to become more familiar with the country. The purpose of this mission was to judge the merits of certain settlement plans that had been placed before the Zionist Executive. Wolffsohn and Warburg deemed Ruppin fit for the task because of his practical experience in economic affairs, the wide span of his knowledge and his systematic approach to work, which had been displayed through his publications. This research journey actually led to Ruppin's appointment as the director of the 'Palestine Office', which the Zionist Organization was about to establish in Jaffa in order to direct and organize its work in Palestine.

One is moved to ask: what motivated Ruppin to leave Germany and settle in Palestine, an undeveloped country which was still quite distant from Europe both culturally and from the point of view of the realities of European Zionists? His memoirs and diaries provide answers if one reads between the lines. At the time, Ruppin had passed his final examinations in law and been promoted to the position of *Assessor*, the first title in the ranks of higher officialdom. He was a lawyer, economist and social scientist known in increasingly widening circles. Yet he nonetheless stood before a crisis. From his childhood, he longed for an unconventional life. Would he now become a lawyer like many of his Jewish friends? Would he return to business and direct his affairs with greater efficiency as a recognized economist? Would he take upon himself a scientific position in a research institution or become a lecturer in a university? None of the possibilities open before Ruppin captured his imagination. For he had also done research into the Jewish question, and although he had not yet seen the problem through to the depth of its foundations, he felt the forces undermining the position of the Jews, and his pride rebelled against the possibility of becoming a man of lesser status in the eyes of his non-Jewish colleagues, even though they accepted him with professional etiquette. Therefore, fully conscious that the success of his mission to Palestine would also affect the success of his life, Ruppin began his work there.

At the time Jewish colonization work in Palestine was almost at a standstill. The old methods of agricultural settlement taken from Europe had not proven successful, and they did not enable the new element of Jewish immigrants and would-be settlers who came with the influx of the Second Aliyah, beginning in 1904–5, to engage in fruitful labour. These were young people from Russia and Poland who came to Palestine both under the influence of the Jewish question, which took on its most violent manifestation in the pogroms in Russia, and as a protest against the plans of the Zionist settlement project in East Africa. These young men were not content with the situation – similar to colonization projects in other non-European countries – whereby the immigrating Jews increasingly assumed the position of landlords and overseers, while the hard work on the soil was done by cheap, indigenous labour. They wanted for themselves a real return to the land, to hard work and self-fulfilment as tillers of the soil and as workers in comradeship and equality. To try to rescue the situation, and in doing so rescue himself from an unappealing situation, was the challenge put before Ruppin. In meeting it, he liberated forces for creative work both in many of the settlers and within himself as their mentor.

It is possible to divide Ruppin's work into four periods. In the first, 1908–14, he laid the foundations for Zionist settlement; in the second, from 1914 to the end of the First World War, he led the struggle to preserve the Jewish community in Palestine; during the third period, from 1920 (the year he was allowed to return to Palestine) until 1933, he concerned himself with the systematic expansion of settlement in both countryside and town and with the economy of the country, through financial, political and personal crises; and during the final period, 1933–42, when he was considered a recognized expert on the economy of Palestine and on the sociology of the Jews, he filled a central role in the absorption of the Fifth Aliyah, the immigration wave with a large percentage of Jews fleeing from Nazi Germany, and in solving the problems that resulted from it.

Ruppin himself told of the chief events and summarized the achievements of the first and second periods in his autobiography (chapters 8–20). It was not coincidental that he dwelt on the initial period in Palestine and did not continue writing reminiscences on his work during the years that followed the First World War, for the first two were the periods of his greatest creativity. Zionist settlement after 1920 was actually directed to a greater and greater degree by other men and growing staffs, with diversification, specialization and all that goes with developments of this type. Although Ruppin was still the leading figure during most of that period, directing things in the last analysis, he spent much time and energy on co-ordinating the activities of others and on long meetings of the Zionist Executive and other public institutions. He felt inner objections to this manner of working, and from time to time he tried to liberate himself from it. In contrast to later periods, the early ones, when just a handful of men worked with him, were always remembered fondly by him. It was a time when he could use all his strength and put all his plans into operation himself, and he felt the joy of creating something out of almost nothing.

It is difficult for the present-day reader to imagine the state of affairs in 1908, when Ruppin began his activities in Palestine. The Zionist Organization and the Jewish community of Palestine alike were undergoing a crisis. The Zionist movement had almost no sources of funds: the annual income of the Jewish National Fund, the only fund of the Zionist movement in those days, was £13,700 in 1908 and rose to £40,000 by 1914. Scarce also were funds for the new institutions (some of which were established by Ruppin himself), such as the Palestine Land Development Company, which takes great credit not only for purchasing tracts of land, but for everything connected with the early settlement activities of the Zionist Organization. The Jewish National Fund, created in 1902 to acquire land as a national possession, owned several isolated tracts and did not know what to do with them. On the other hand, it was clear that if the Zionist Organization was to embark on settlement activities, it must not pursue the path taken by its predecessors in Palestine settlement work – the Hovevei Zion, Baron de Rothschild and the Jewish Colonization Association. None of these had a clear and defined settlement programme; they all wished to settle people on the land in the most secure manner, but beyond this aim they did not occupy themselves with more distant goals. But the Zionist Organization was obligated, through its stance on the Jewish question and in line with the Basle Programme of 1897 and the decisions of the Zionist congresses thereafter, to deal with settlement from a more comprehensive point of view and with a more systematic plan, directed towards and measured against its final aim: to strive for the solution to the Jewish question. Yet it was clear that with the limited resources

at its disposal, the Zionist Organization would not be able to take on grandiose plans. On these contradictory assumptions, a difficult and unique principle was formulated: that the goal of Zionism should serve as a guide to those responsible for settlement, even if they would initially be forced to limit the scope of their activities.

Ruppin's greatness lies in the fact that he understood his function in this spirit and carried it out with courage and consistency, despite opposition and complaints from all sides. Just as one cannot describe the initial period of Jewish settlement in Palestine without mentioning Baron Edmond de Rothschild, who was justly called 'the father of the *yishuv*' for laying the foundations of Jewish settlement in Palestine, it is impossible to describe the period of settlement under the aegis of the Zionist Organization, beginning in 1908, without Ruppin. The mark of his personality is so deeply impressed upon it that he can, without exaggeration, be called 'the father of Zionist settlement'.

This is not to say that Ruppin arrived in the country with a clear plan in hand. On the contrary: all those who came to Palestine with a definite programme for settlement were defeated by the conditions of the country. Ruppin knew of all these programmes and at first tended towards one or another of them. But he soon turned away from *a priori* plans when he sensed the opposition of those who were to implement them. He listened to the candidates for settlement, judged their suggestions and, when these were not sufficiently clear, devised forms which would make them feasible. He dared to be a pioneer and experiment with new ways, even when they were fraught with dangers. Abandoning the system of forcing settlement plans on the settlers, learning from their experiences and their way of seeing things, directing and co-ordinating by persuasion rather than by orders from above – these approaches crystallized, after initial reservations, as a basic system and led to co-operation between the settlement agency and the settlers as two *equal* factors.

The basis of Ruppin's success was his recognition of the fact that the most important element in settlement was the settler, and not the settlement agency. His great merit was that his personal qualities, studies and experiences taught him to understand the various types of immigrants who came to Palestine. He created conditions for their activities and did not dampen their enthusiasm or the will to fulfil their aspirations, even if they were bound up with endless difficulties.

It was from this basic understanding that his entire approach to the problems of settlement developed. Ruppin himself did not create any new form of settlement, but he did give some of them pragmatic shape and paved a way for them towards realization. In principle, he did not prefer one form of settlement to another; he affirmed and supported all of them. But human and material conditions moved him to support one or another at a given time, for a given place, and considering the specific type of settlers. Ruppin himself did not dream of creating the *kvutzah*, but when he was approached by people whose total worldly desire was to engage in independent labour collectively, without foremen or differences in wages, he allowed them to fulfil their dreams, guided them, restrained them from thoughtless steps, defended them against criticism and thus gave them decisive aid in developing this new form of settlement. As for his doubts, he kept them to himself. And his approach was exactly the same to Franz Oppenheimer's project of a cooperative settlement in Merhavyah, the *moshav*, *moshav shitufi* and the various forms of private settlement.

Ruppin's opponents criticized exactly this liberalism towards people and ideas and interpreted it as giving in to pressures from the various settlement movements,

especially the labour movement. Instead of running affairs by methods accepted throughout the world, they claimed, he was making 'socialist experiments' that had no substantive connection with the goals of Zionism and lead to wasting the limited funds at the disposal of the endeavour. There is no doubt that many mistakes were made, and Ruppin was the first to admit them; but in the final analysis, Ruppin was right. For what could not be achieved by the most up-to-date methods of administration was achieved by a system that appeared, at a quick glance, to be no system at all. Barren tracts of land were settled and cultivated by people who, for the greater part, lacked suitable training; initiative, energy and devotion were invested, whereas in any other way it would have been impossible to arouse or preserve such traits; and today the forms of settlement, methods of cultivation and means of organization of Jewish settlement – further developed by Ruppin's disciples and under changing conditions, waves of immigration, settlers and experiences – serve as a model for other peoples and countries.

From the outset, Ruppin's plans were directed not towards agricultural settlement alone but towards settlement in general, in the city and countryside alike, as a means of achieving the Zionist goal. He placed this aim before the Zionist Organization in Palestine in his first memorandum, which was composed as the summary of his investigatory mission of 1907. Even in his books on sociology and demography, he measured achievements against this end. As the work continued to expand over the years, Ruppin increasingly withdrew from dealing with details and became the recognized expert on the economy of the country, in Zionist circles and throughout the world.

The single problem which occupied Ruppin above all others was the 'Arab problem', and throughout his career he always returned to it. He regarded it as a basic conflict upon whose resolution the full success of the Zionist endeavour in Palestine depended. At first he viewed it superficially, like most of the Zionists in Palestine and abroad: the economic advantages which the Jews would bring with their return to Palestine would motivate the Arabs to act cordially towards them and create friendship between the two peoples. When Ruppin came into real contact with the problem in his work, the initial direction of his thoughts was principally to avoid injustice and causes for incitement. But the purchase of the first lands in Merhavyah in the Jezreel Valley and settlement there in 1910–2 proved that the problem also had other aspects. The buds of the Arab national movement were already making their appearance. From that point forward, two basic facts became increasingly obvious to Ruppin. The first was that the numerical relationship between the Jewish population and the Arab population would weigh against Jewish aspirations, even if there would be a large Jewish immigration, because of the large natural increase of the Arab population. The second problem was the Arab national movement, which grew stronger following the First World War and together with the general movement to liberate peoples from the colonial-imperialist powers. At first Ruppin wanted the Jews of Palestine to assimilate into the eastern, Arab world, with which they had ethnic and linguistic ties and an ancient common cultural tradition. But when placed up against the complicated problem, this desire appears to be more an expression of confusion than a road-sign towards a solution. More and more, his desire was therefore to investigate the entire complex of the Arab question, in cooperation with other scholars concerned by it. Towards this end, Ruppin joined

a small circle of people together and established the Brit Shalom (Covenant of Peace), chairing it until 1929.

From the beginning Ruppin's concept of the function of the Brit Shalom differed from that of other early members, who wanted to view it as an instrument to develop a new policy towards the Arabs. Nonetheless, he, too, arrived at the conclusion that it was necessary to strive for the creation of a bi-national state in which each of the two peoples would be assured freedom from domination by the other, regardless of the numerical relationship between them. Even after the bloody riots of 1929, his strong desire to arrive at peace with the Arabs was basically not affected, and he continued to maintain the principle of a bi-national state. But he stopped believing that the goal would be achieved quickly, either by propaganda or conciliatory steps.

This realistic stance brought him to the realization that the time had not yet arrived for fruitful negotiations with the Arabs, if the Jews were not to abandon the basis for achieving the Zionist aim: free immigration and settlement on continuous tracts of land. There was therefore no other choice but to postpone negotiations until the Jewish community in Palestine would be stronger. To achieve this state as quickly as possible was the task he set before both the political and settlement programmes.

The Holocaust that began to develop with Hitler's rise to power and spread over the entire continent of Europe proved finally that the Jewish enterprise in Palestine could not exist and grow without the organization of the Diaspora, and that the Jews of the Diaspora would not continue to survive without the Land of Israel. In this tragic chapter of history as well, Ruppin held a central place as the man responsible for the absorption of immigrants from Germany and Central Europe. He directed this work in a way that had become characteristic of him: planning and flexibility, side by side, growing out of a basic understanding for people, many of whom came to Palestine without any ideological or spiritual preparation. Ruppin was not one to turn on these people reproaching 'We told you so!' With a simple, humane approach that grew out of the will to help, he received all those who turned to him, while at the same time preparing plans and exploring means for their realization as a basis for the decisions of the peace conference. In the midst of these preparations and hopes, Ruppin died on 1 January 1943 while working in his garden, which he loved as he loved all nature and its creations.

There are people, sometimes one personality, who are a symbol or expression of an entire era. There is no doubt that Arthur Ruppin was the man who represented and symbolized the second era in Zionism, just as Herzl was the creator of and central figure in the first period, Chaim Weizmann in the third period, and David Ben-Gurion in the fourth. Ruppin paved the way from a purely political Zionism, which was for many more declarative than substantive, to a pragmatic Zionism, in which practical settlement work and political deeds were only different names and facets of the one enterprise: the up-building of the land and the people. 'There are few of this generation among us,' wrote Zalman Shazar in his collection *Or Ishim* ('Light of Personalities'),* who can say that their life's work was so necessary, so fruitful and so rich with potential as the blessed life-work of Arthur Ruppin, German Zionist pioneer of the last years of tranquillity, who was the architect of the early period of Jewish society in the Land of Israel.'

* Vol. 1 (1955²), p. 107.

PART ONE

Memoirs

(1876–1919)

1 My Ancestors

I know relatively little about my ancestors on my father's side. A tombstone in the Jewish cemetery in Rawitsch commemorates my great-grandfather Zvi (Hirsch) Ruppiner, son of Mordechai (Marcus) Ruppiner of Warsaw. According to the inscription on his grave, my great-grandfather was born in Warsaw in 1770 and died in Rawitsch in 1827. The name Ruppiner most probably comes from the little town of Ruppin [Rypin], near Warsaw, after which my great-grandfather named himself when he moved from Warsaw. He moved from Warsaw to Rawitsch in about 1790 and there married Riekel Braun, the daughter of Leiser (Eliezer) Braun, who, according to the inscription on her tombstone, was born in 1770 and died in Rawitsch in 1845. He opened a small shop, or perhaps took it over from his father-in-law, and as he knew French, he was asked to represent the community in its dealings with the authorities, thus acquiring the name Reb Hirsch Stadlan [lobbyist]. Either he or his widow dropped the last two letters of their name, which thus became Ruppin. When Poland was divided in 1795, Rawitsch became part of Prussia, and my great-grandfather became a Prussian subject.

His son Simon, my grandfather, was born in Rawitsch in 1797. He studied to become a teacher, and in 1825 the Prussian government recognized him as a teacher of religion and the German language; in 1827 he was appointed head master of a Jewish elementary school. In 1832 he became a citizen of Rawitsch. He married Jached, the daughter of Leiser (Eliezer) Brie and Jittel Guhrauer (1768–1840), and after her early death married her sister Perle (Pauline), my grandmother, who was born in in Rawitsch in 1815 and died in Lauban in 1899. He practised his profession for only a few years and in 1831 opened a drapery shop in Rawitsch, which provided a livelihood for him and his large family (fourteen children). As a young man, my grandfather had lived as a private tutor in other places, where he had come under the influence of the Enlightenment and acquired a lax attitude towards religious observances. From 1831 on he lived in Rawitsch, where he died of cholera, in 1866; his widow inherited the business.

My father, Albert Ruppin, who was the fourth child, was born in Rawitsch on 20 March 1842. He attended the Jewish elementary school

there and then took a variety of jobs, including that of labourer in a comb factory. He then worked as his mother's assistant and, after his marriage in 1875, took over the business. He married Cäcilie, (born in Posen in 1854), the daughter of the merchant Joel (Julius) Borck of Posen, and she brought with her a dowry of 5,000 thalers.

My grandfather on my mother's side, Joel (Julius) Borck, was born in Posen in 1822 and died there in 1883. He was one of the most important and most highly respected merchants in the city. He had studied the Jewish writings with the famous Rabbi Akiva Eger and was a devout Jew who, when he became crippled as an old man, installed a private synagogue in his house. He was the son of the furrier Salomon Jacob Borck. This name presumably comes from the little town of Borck near Posen and was adopted by Salomon Jacob after he moved from there to Posen; previously he had been called Fuchs, supposedly because red (foxy) hair was common in his family (it has been inherited by my sister Else and my daughter Carmella). Julius Borck married Rosalie (Rachel) Kalischer, who was born in Lissa in 1825 and died of cholera in Posen in 1866. She was the daughter of Selig Kalischer (born in Lissa in 1790, died in Breslau in 1864) and Täubchen (born in Lissa in 1799, died in Breslau in 1880). In 1827 the painter Moritz Oertel of Görlitz painted their portraits in oil, which still exist: Selig Kalischer is shown wearing a stand-up collar and a top hat; his wife has a lace kerchief on her head (there is an unmistakable likeness between her and my sister Lisa). Selig Kalischer's father was not a descendant of the Kalischer family but the son of Hirsch of Breslau; he changed his name, which was Meyer, to that of his father-in-law. Through his mother, Rachel (the daughter of Moses Kalischer), however, Selig was a descendant of a family of famous Jewish scholars, which can be traced back to Yehuda Leib Kalischer, who lived in Lissa at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The family is said to have originated in Kalisch and to have moved to Lissa at the time of the Chmelnicki persecutions (1649). Another member of this family was Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, a rabbi in Thorn (cousin of my great-grandfather Selig Kalischer), who was the first Zionist in Germany and wrote the well-known book *Derishat Zion*. The genealogy of the Kalischer family was published in 1935 and 1936 in the Archiv für Jüdische Familienforschung. After her marriage to Julius Borck, my grandmother remained faithful to the family tradition of piety, which was passed on to my mother, while my father gradually developed into an '*apikores*' [free-thinker]. Although he still continued to observe most Jewish traditions, he was no longer convinced that this was really necessary.

My mother was the fifth or sixth child in the family. Rosalie Kalischer had ten children, and after her death my grandfather married Amalie Levi (Loewe), who bore him another four children. Amalie Levi was the

daughter of Josef Levi of Heiligenstadt, whose sister Täubchen was the wife of Salomon Borck. She and her husband were therefore cousins. Josef Levi, a highly intelligent man, came from Lissa to Heiligenstadt as a cantor and teacher. He was the father of Ludwig Loewe, who became a liberal member of the German Parliament, and Isidor Loewe; the two brothers established the German armament factories which were the target of the pamphlet *Jewish Guns* (1892), written by the anti-Semitic Rector Ahlwardt.

When I was born, my father's mother was still living in Rawitsch, but she and my mother could not agree about the best way to look after me (my mother pampered me, my grandmother was in favour of a Spartan upbringing). Before long, my grandmother went to live with her daughter Ida Berner in Liegnitz, and after that with her daughter Henriette Danziger in Lauban. Only one of my father's sisters remained in Rawitsch; she was married to the wealthy carrier Prager. All his other brothers and sisters dispersed in all directions: to Berlin, Bromberg, Lauban, Liegnitz, Leipzig, Hamburg and the United States. Two of my uncles went to Australia when gold was being discovered there (1849) and sent back money for their sisters' dowries; they later moved from Australia to San Francisco, New York and Houston (Texas). My mother's brothers and sisters lived in Posen, Berlin, Schoensee (West Prussia), Jena and San Francisco. They all remained in touch with each other and with their parents by mail, and they all remained faithful to Judaism and married Jews. Some of their children, however, accepted baptism and married non-Jews.

2 Childhood in Rawitsch (1876–1886)

Rawitsch lies in the south-eastern corner of the province of Posen, near the Silesian border. Beyond Posen, the town is almost unknown. At most, someone who hears the name might remember that there is a large penal institution there. In my time, the town had a population of about 13,000 people, the large majority of whom were German. The proximity of Silesia was responsible for the large German element, which had ousted the Poles from the leading position they had once held in the town. The Poles now lived in the surrounding countryside and were mostly farmers, while commerce and industry had been taken over by the Germans. Even the former Polish name of the town, Rawicz, had been changed to the German-sounding Rawitsch. While Polish was the predominant language in the surrounding villages, an exceptionally pure and grammatical German was spoken in the town itself.

Rawitsch had a Jewish community of about 3,000 people, which amounted to a quarter of the total population. The rest of the inhabitants were divided almost equally into Protestants and Catholics. Almost all the Protestants were German nationals; the majority of the Catholics were Poles. The Jews felt closer to the German culture and spoke German. The different religious and national groups were on very good terms with each other. In the schools, there were no signs of hostility or discrimination against the Jewish children; Jews and non-Jews served together amicably on the town council; and the members of the three different religions regularly attended their places of worship and observed their holy days, the Jews rather more so than the Protestants and Catholics. On Saturdays and on Jewish holy days, all the Jewish shops were closed and the Jewish children were excused from school or (as in my case) at least excused from doing written work there. The Jewish dietary laws were strictly observed. All the Jewish children attended the state schools (elementary or secondary), and on Sundays we also attended special lessons in which we were taught religion, Jewish history and a little Hebrew. Most of the retail trade in the town was handled by Jews.

With the exception of the four main streets which radiated from the market-place, the streets of the town were narrow, and the houses were old and plain. On the whole, the town had nothing to distinguish it. In

a corner of the old market-place was a draper's shop (dry goods, mainly ladies' and mens' clothing) which belonged to my parents. Founded in 1831 by my grandfather Simon Ruppin, it was inherited by my grandmother upon his death.

Our family had been living in Rawitsch since the end of the eighteenth century, and the business founded by my grandfather was one of the oldest in the town. When my father took it over in 1875 he was thirty-three years old; he married my mother on 22 March 1875, before she had reached her twenty-first birthday.

As the first-born son of this union, I saw the light on 1 March 1876 in the large Jaross house at the corner of the old square, where the Posener and the Berliner streets meet. That is to say, I did not see the light, but, contrary to the usual practice of new-born babies, kept my eyes shut and did not make a sound. I was thought to have been born dead, and only after great efforts did the midwife, a Mrs Riebel, succeed in rousing me to life.

I have no first-hand memories of what happened to me during the first four years. Because my parents have told me so, I know that I had a sensible Polish wet-nurse and grew up strong and healthy, without a day's illness. Moreover, I did not remain an only child for long: in 1877 my parents had a daughter, Martha; in 1878 a second daughter, Else; in 1880 their second son, Siegfried; and in 1883 their third son, Martin. In 1878 and 1879 my parents took me with them to visit relatives in Breslau and Posen, but I remember nothing of these journeys.

My earliest memories date from the year 1880. I vaguely remember the circumcision of my brother Siegfried in the house next to the old post office in the old square, to where both our home and our business had been moved in 1878. I also remember a journey to Liegnitz made with my father in 1880/1 in order to congratulate my grandmother Pauline Ruppin on her birthday. I can still remember my grandmother's venerable face, and later I very much regretted that she had not remained with us in Rawitsch.

I was sent to school when I was no more than four years old, but only to a so-called play school, in which the children were taught by means of stories and poems and occupied in play. Although I do not remember much of my life at this school, one episode remains clear: because I had been naughty, I was sent from the classroom of the older children to join the younger ones, and this made me weep bitterly. At Easter 1881, soon after my fifth birthday, I was moved from the play school to the first class in the elementary school, and from then on I remember things more clearly.

As I was only five years old, I was the youngest in the class, and our teacher, Mr Tietzmann, therefore treated me with some care, although

I was not doing particularly well. At the end of my first year at school, Mr Tietzmann asked my parents to decide whether I should be moved up or not. Although I managed to keep up with the others, he thought that I was rather young, and as the secondary school would not accept me until I was at least nine years old, I had nothing to lose by staying in the first class for another year. My mother agreed because she was afraid that I might otherwise find the strain too great, so I went through the same lessons once more, but under a teacher who was stricter than Tietzmann. At the end of the year I was near the top of the form, and from then on I continued to be ahead of my class-mates. In the second year I came in second and in the third year I came in first, so that my parents were proud of me and my father sang my praises unceasingly to relatives and friends. My reports were sent to all the relations and shown to everyone, whether they were interested or not. In retrospect, this seems to have been the root of my tendency to over-estimate my abilities.

Altogether, I was definitely lucky with my elementary school. The headmaster, Mr Krüger, was one of my father's friends, and when lessons were over he called me into his study, showed me the stuffed animals there, and took an interest in me in all sorts of ways. My teacher in the third class, Mr Linke, an old and experienced educator, had a special affection for me, and I responded to it by paying close attention and always being his best pupil. He was probably the only one of my teachers for whom I felt a real affection and devotion. Other than this, I have nothing much to relate about elementary school, except that when I was in the fourth class we were photographed, and I still possess the picture.

That I was a good pupil was due not only to my ability to grasp things quickly, but also to the fact that I paid attention in class. I did not do much homework, however; that would have been impossible in Rawitsch. The games played by the children in the streets were an attraction I could not resist. When the weather was warm, we spent the whole afternoon and evening out in the streets. We played '*Anschnetzen*', a game in which a button was thrown against a wall so that it bounced back to lie close to one previously thrown by another boy; if the distance between them was no more than a hand's breadth, the second button had captured the first. We were always carrying about little bags full of buttons, and metal military buttons were in special demand. Another game was 'cops and robbers', and, of course, every boy wanted to be a 'cop'. As there was no limit to the hiding-places in our town, I always found its pleasures completely absorbing.

Until 1881 we lived in a nice, spacious flat, in the house on the old square, which had flower beds in the yard. When I was not allowed to go outside, I went to visit our landlady, Mrs Sturzel, who was seventy years old, lived alone and was a staunch Catholic. We were very fond of each other. Every

Friday my mother used to bake a small cake for me, and once I took it along to offer it to Mrs Sturzel. For many years my parents cited this exploit as proof of my silliness, saying that the cake was already crumbling and no longer at all nice. Towards the end of 1881 we gave up our flat in Mrs Sturzel's house for a flat in the house of the pastry-cook Friedländer on Posener Street. I spent some very happy years in this house, and got up to some nice mischief with the landlord's son, George. I also spent much time with his sister Frieda, who was a year or so younger than I. For the first time, there stirred in my little-boy's heart a feeling of affection towards a female; it lasted for several years and faded only very slowly.

We moved again in 1884. Our new neighbours were the Rosenthal family, whose two sons, Max and Georg, soon became my friends (the latter attended elementary school with me). We were almost always together and spent most of our time playing cards. I had a passion for the card game 'Sixty-six' and used all kinds of inducements – including presents – to make my friends, who did not care for it, play it with me. The Rosenthals were one of the most orthodox families in the town and therefore very acceptable to my mother, while my father did not like them very much and often made fun of their strict observance of rituals. Like my father, I was not too particular about observing religious customs and clearly remember the occasion when I bought some rolls during Passover and was scolded by my mother, who had somehow found out. Through associating with Max and Georg Rosenthal, however, I was infected by their orthodoxy and also began strictly to observe the religious commandments.

Unfortunately, my friendship with the Rosenthal brothers came to an abrupt end. Georg caught diphtheria, and the most terrible rumours circulated among us children about the horrors of this illness. It was said that in order to save the patient from suffocation, boiling water had to be poured down his gullet, that this was the way in which Matheus' children had been saved. Suddenly, people were saying that Georg Rosenthal had died after a tracheotomy had been performed in an effort to save him. I was unable to imagine what this meant. I ran to his home and met his older brother, who was crying terribly. Only when I saw that Georg was no longer there and learned that he was to be buried the very next day did a suspicion of what dying meant dawn on me. Although I was sad, I felt obliged to comfort the crying Max. He had a talent for mathematics (he later became a mathematics teacher), and when all other distractions failed I had the bright idea of working out the area and the volume of the room. This attracted his attention and he stopped crying, at least for a while. For a long time afterwards I lost all interest in games and pastimes, but with the thoughtlessness of youth I gradually overcame even these sad memories and again turned to the diversions which life in Rawitsch offered so amply.

With the school, we made excursions to Königsdorf or Sarne, near-by

villages in the forest, and what pleasures these occasions always gave me! With 50 pfennigs in my pocket, I fancied myself as rich as a king and the happiest of all people. We picked flowers and collected butterflies, caterpillars and lizards, which were abundant; to light a cigarette behind the teacher's back was the choicest of pleasures – at least for the moment. Often enough, amusing incidents happened on these walks. I remember, for instance, a walk arranged for all the children who attended the lessons in Jewish religious intruction and in Hebrew. We went to Königsdorf and there, in order not to miss the evening prayers, quickly arranged for a divine service in the garden of the inn. One of the peacocks in the garden joined the congregation and screeched as loudly as it could. The effect of this performance was so funny that we could not stop laughing, and the service was interrupted for quite some time.

In summer, my closest friends – Michalek, Püschel and Pulst – and I frequently went for the afternoon to the 'sand hill', where what we called our 'cave' was located next to a large poplar. We used its branches (always breaking them off the day before so that they could dry out) to light a fire and baked potatoes, which we stole from the near-by fields; ate apples, cucumbers and turnips; smoked the cigarettes which Michalek brought from his father's shop; and did not return home until quite late. Our baked potatoes seemed to taste better than the choicest delicacies did at home, and we never tired of finding ways of making the 'cave' more habitable and comfortable. Once, after reading *Robinson Crusoe*, I bought a few pfennigs worth of salt to pour into the fire of our primitive hearth and was most disappointed that it would not become 'glazed', as Robinson's cooking pots had. We broke up the ribs of an umbrella to use as forks with which to fetch the potatoes out of the fire. Püschel, whose father was a plumber, brought a sheet of metal, which we fixed above the fire to bake apples and other good things we could not put into the fire itself. When we lacked salt for the cucumbers, we sprinkled sand on them, claiming that 'sand cleans the stomach'. For fear of being caught by one of our teachers, we smoked the cigarettes only in the best of hiding-places.

When bilberries and strawberries were in season, we often went to the woods and collected them, eating whole basketfuls of berries and still bringing some home. In hot weather we went to either the 'Dreieck' or to the 'Furt', two ponds in which we splashed about. None of us knew how to swim and we were not entirely safe, because in places the water was quite deep. On one occasion some older boys amused themselves by covering me from head to toe with soap, so that I could not even open my eyes. Then they carried me to a place where the water was deep and let go of me, and I had great difficulty getting out and saving myself.

Whether on foot or by carriage, I hardly ever travelled further than half a mile or so from Rawitsch, except for the one time my father took me

with him when he went by carriage to Gründorf, about a mile and a half from Rawitsch, on business. The sight of pastures, flowering meadows and lakes with storks standing on one leg made me feel, for the first time, that I would like to live in a nice part of the country one day. Once, during the long summer holidays, I went to visit my uncle Moritz Mendelsohn, who lived in Bojanowo, a small town about twenty minutes from Rawitsch by train. He dealt in horses, and it was my greatest delight to be allowed to enter the stable and be lifted on a horse by one of the grooms. Sometimes, much to my delight, my uncle took me with him when he went out in his carriage. The meals in Bojanowo were very ample (food was ridiculously cheap), but except for a shabby memorial to one of the mayors there were no places of interest.Not until much later did I find out that this was the birthplace of Frauenstaedt, Schopenhauer's biographer.

Four times a year, a great fair, lasting two days, was held in the square, and then Rawitsch really came to life. With great pleasure, we helped the owners to erect the stalls, but in the evening, in return for our assistance, we made use of the still unfinished stalls as hiding-places, knocking down quite a few of the boards we had only just put up. My father naturally did a lot of business during the fair (the whole countryside flocked into town) and was then in his most generous mood. With 20 pfennigs in my pocket, and after receiving some solemn admonitions, I made my way between the rows of stalls and spent several hours before I exchanged the first 5 pfennigs for a bag of sweets. Unfortunately, the splendour lasted only a short while. The stalls were hardly up when, to our great annoyance, by the second day they were being torn down again, and soon only the litter and places where the pavement had been torn up bore witness to the event.

Apart from the great fair, a shooting contest took place once a year. Stalls were erected in front of the grounds belonging to the rifle-club at the southern end of the town, while on the grounds people competed for the title of king of the contest. On the morning of the great day, the previous king marched in a solemn procession, accompanied by music and followed by the crowd, to the grounds, and in the evening the new king was brought home to the sound of music. Apart from these celebrations, there was also the emperor's birthday and the anniversary of the battle of Sedan, when military parades were held in the old square and the whole town turned out to watch them.

Occasionally a troup of acrobats or a circus pitched in the new square, and naturally attracted young and old. I must admit that the joy I derived from a circus performance at the age of eight or nine was soon lost. I only went once later on, when I was fourteen or fifteen years old, and from then on I definitely disliked circuses, menageries and similar exhibitions. On the whole, life in Rawitsch ran its routine course and only rarely, as when we received a visit from relations, was there any excitement for us children.

At Easter in 1885 I moved from the elementary to the secondary school, which I remember with much less pleasure. In elementary school, I had been used to being among the first in my class distinguishing myself by my knowledge. My parents had also come to take it for granted that I would have the best marks at the end of each quarter. It was not the same in the secondary school, partly because I was still relying on my ability to grasp things quickly by paying attention in class – without doing any homework – and partly because some favouritism was shown towards the boys who had entered the first form from the prep school. Also, I must admit that I was wild, disobedient and headstrong, and this behaviour may well have influenced what my teachers thought of my school work. Gradually I got used to the new conditions, however, and worked my way up, so that by the end of the first school year I was again one of the first (I took third place), and in the second form I maintained my position.

A bitter and long-standing feud existed between the secondary and the elementary schools, and the boys did their best to keep it alive. Those who attended the secondary school called the others *'Klimpelschüler'* and they played every possible practical joke on us in order to revenge themselves for being ridiculed. While I was in the first form, it was decided to determine once and for all which side was the stronger, and for several Saturday afternoons the boys from the two schools collected on the sand hills to decide the issue in pitched battle. Certainly, these fights were nothing new; nevertheless, the intention was to settle the quarrel all over again on a larger scale. I too went to the sand hills with a friend one Saturday to fight for 'God and my country' in the ranks of the secondary school boys. Instead of finding our confederates, however, we found ourselves entirely alone, while the boys of the elementary school were advancing in close formation. As soon as they caught sight of us they began a mad chase, in the course of which we were caught and beaten black and blue.

During the last few years in Rawitsch I was particularly keen on collecting butterflies and caterpillars, which was then in fashion among the young people. During the holidays, I went to the sand hills every morning, equipped with butterfly net and specimen box, and searched the willows, pines, poplars etc. for caterpillars until noon. I valued particularly the privet-hawkmoth and the puss moth. At home, I put the caterpillars into little boxes and fed them fresh food daily until they changed into chrysalises and (if they did not die in this state, as in fact most of them did) the butterfly finally emerged. I also had a collection of postage stamps, which I built up by begging from adults, trading with other boys, and buying with what little pocket-money I was given. I never tired of looking at the stamps, which I had pasted into an album, and was proud that stamps from such infinitely remote places as Guatemala, New South Wales and the Cape of Good Hope had found their way into my possession. These last three

stamps were the *pièce de résistance* of the collection and seemed more valuable than jewels or gold.

One evening – I must have been about nine years old – I was sitting in front of our door, the stamp album on my knees, lost in contemplation of my treasure. Along came an older boy from my school, sat down beside me and looked at the stamps. I asked him what he thought of them. 'The stamps – they're not worth anything. They're quite common ones.' I objected and defended my stamps, but he shrugged his shoulders contemptuously. 'Another time I shall show you *my* stamps – they are proper stamps. Yours are no use at all.' I continued to defend my stamps, but already more feebly; I had been intimidated by the self-confidence and the apparent expertise of the older boy. In the course of our conversation he revealed an old umbrella frame. 'What is that for?' I asked him. 'Oh, it's very nice. You can break off the separate bars and use them as forks to fetch the hot potatoes which you bake in your cave out of the fire.' This explanation immediately kindled my enthusiasm for the umbrella frame, and I made it plain that I wanted to have it. 'Well, I did intend to keep it for myself. But as it's you, I will let you have it, if you give me your stamp album.' I hesitated. Should I part with my stamps just like that? He continued to wave the umbrella about before my eyes, describing its splendour. But I still could not make up my mind. Then he added 10 pfennigs, for which I would be able to buy a lot of transfers at the stationer's opposite (he knew that I had a passion for them) – my resistance was broken and the bargain was struck. That was the end of my first and only stamp collection.

My third collection consisted of plants. I began it because my botany teacher urged me to, and not on my own initiative. I still possess the herbarium which I made at that time; today it is in Bet Gordon in Deganyah.

On summer evenings my parents often went to the beer gardens and most often took me with them; but on Friday evenings they always stayed at home because my mother celebrated the coming of the Sabbath with prayers and an unusually good supper. We also played games and she shared out nuts and other treats. I was keen on going to the synagogue and went not only on holy days and Friday evenings, but also every Saturday, when a special children's service was held from eleven o'clock until 12.30. We boys were encouraged in our piety by the old men whom we saw sitting all day long over old parchments studying the holy scriptures in the *talmud torah* next to the synagogue. They must have been close to 100 years old – I am thinking particularly of Reb Meyer Bergel. There was a certain poetic haze about the divine service which was particularly attractive to young people.

We were made to study Jewish religion and history while still quite young. From the age of seven or eight we attended the classes held on

Sunday mornings by the rabbi – until 1883 Dr Koref, later Dr Loeb – and two other Jewish teachers. The instruction was very superficial: we learned to read the prayers and the Bible in the original and to understand them more or less, but we did not advance to the spelling and the grammar of the Hebrew language. We got up to all sorts of mischief in these classes. I remember an occasion on which the teacher chased us around the synagogue yard for half an hour before we consented to go to the classroom. About once a month, I went with my father to visit the graves of his parents in the Jewish cemetery, which lay outside the town in the sand hills. The cemetery was well cared for, and I liked to spend time there; I continued to like lonely places all my life.

Once, to satisfy my passion for a pocket-knife and some transfers I had seen in a shop-window, I took 3 marks from the till of my father's shop and bought the objects of my desire for one mark. Later, when I was displaying my wealth to my friends, one mark rolled into the gutter and was apparently lost. I proudly told my comrades that I would pay 10 pfennigs reward to the finder and went home. One of them found the mark and brought it to my father, asking for the reward. 'One mark? How does Arthur come to have a mark?' I was questioned closely, and I immediately admitted to what I had done. My father said terrible things about my behaviour, and when I realized that an exemplary punishment threatened, I escaped into the yard and climbed on to the sloping roof of a shed (I was an expert roof-climber). From below it looked highly dangerous, and my parents were terribly frightened that I might fall. I made use of their fears to dictate from above my terms for coming down: no punishment, and I, for my part, would promise never to take money again. The terms were accepted and carried out by both sides.

I have drawn a cheerful picture of my life in Rawitsch. Unfortunately, the last year of my stay in the town (1886) forms a sad conclusion to it. For some time, my father had been indicating to me that his business was failing. I was then nine years old, and I liked to linger about the office next to the shop, where my father sat on a revolving stool in front of his desk to do the accounts. The most important ledger was the one containing a chronological record of the bills of exchange, according to the dates on which they matured. With the utmost care, he would cancel the entry of a bill after he had managed, with much difficulty, to honour it. He would cross it out until it had become illegible and nothing remained to remind him of it. For a long time my father had been unable to pay cash for the goods he bought and purchased everything against bills of exchange, which he issued quite freely. It was another matter when the bills matured, however. Then he reproached the inventor of the system, and the due bill became his personal enemy, which every possible effort was made to defeat. First he tried to extend his credit. This usually worked once, or even twice, but in

the end the payment still had to be made. Then the last coppers were scraped together. Father liked to postpone the date until the quarterly fair, when the country people came into the town and the daily earnings (he called them the parole) were larger.

These earnings, however, rarely equalled the hopes cherished by my optimistic father, because the business was undoubtedly failing. Certainly, it had been established for more than fifty years and was well known, but my father relied too much upon this reputation and was unwilling to modernize the business, although the competition he had begun to face made this absolutely necessary. Newspaper advertisements, fixed prices and the like were horrible innovations which he refused to have anything to do with. Once, after I found a newspaper containing an advertisement by our fiercest rival, I was very excited and advised my father to advertise as well. My suggestion was not at all well received: 'My business has been in existence for fifty years, without advertising, and now I should begin to advertise?'

My father's treatment of the customers also left much to be desired, although my mother's influence curbed him a little, and his so-called proposal, i.e., exaggeration of the real price, could be monstrous. He was simply incapable of believing that it would be possible to do business without bargaining – and perhaps he was right, as his customers were Polish peasants who were used to haggling. I remember the sensation it created when a customer who had moved to Rawitsch from another district paid the price of 8 or 9 marks demanded for a hat, without bargaining. Such a thing had never happened before.

As I have already said, the business was failing and it became more and more difficult to meet the bills of exchange. Certainly, the messenger sent by the bank to collect the money waited until the last moment, and so, if the bill was not honoured, did the bailiff – if he was tipped enough and treated sufficiently well – but he, too, came in the end. Then my father ran from one acquaintance to another in order to borrow money, although he preferred to send me to them with the request: 'Father sends his regards and would like to know if you could loan him 50 marks?' Sometimes I got the money, but mostly I did not. In either case, I found these errands most unpleasant, but I always went, partly because the bills of exchange worried me as much as they did him, and partly because when I was successful I was given 5 or 10 pfennigs to add to the 20 or 30 pfennigs pocket-money which I received every Saturday out of my father's winnings at skittles.

For months, even for years, my father managed to keep his head above water in this way, and I even believed that this was how business was usually done and that it could not be done otherwise. I was, therefore, horrified when he informed me that the business was failing and that he

would have to go bankrupt. I (then nine years old) was very much against it. If only things could wait until I was older; I would find a way out. But things could not wait. In October 1885 my father went to court, and the business which had been in existence for fifty-four years was closed.

After this catastrophe, we remained in Rawitsch for another sixteen months. For me, this was a period of terrible humiliations. On the day the business was closed down, one of my friends stood in front of the shop and shouted 'Gone broke, gone broke', which filled me with anger and grief. Until then, my contemporaries had respected me as the son of an important shop-keeper and honourable citizen; I now became an object of pity, scorn and contempt. I was a proud boy and minded the pity even more than the scorn. When my sister Martha and I went on a school outing to Königsborn, we met the Pragers, our rich relations, who invited us to supper. I proudly declined with the comment that we still had the money to buy food, although in fact we had no more than 5 pfennigs.

A few months after the collapse – I was in the second form of the secondary school in Rawitsch – my parents were no longer able to pay the school fees (I believe 25 marks per quarter). There was a danger that I would no longer be able to attend school. My mother decided to ask the head master to give me a free place. I suspected as much but was not sure. During one break period, as I was playing with other boys, I saw my mother crossing the playground. My heart stopped, I was so ashamed – as if the other boys knew why she was going to the head master and that it was about to be decided whether or not I would be able to continue school. I could not bear to stay with them and was ashamed to talk to my mother, so I ran away, without attracting attention, to the lavatories, where nobody saw me. For a long time I felt a burning shame, which still persisted after I was granted a free place. At least I was no longer asked for the school fees in front of my class-mates, however, and so was spared their scorn and contempt, to which I had been exposed on two previous occasions. Free places were awarded not only to the poor but also to the sons of civil servants, etc.

With regard to scorn, no one was quite as bad as my form master. One day, after, there had been a compulsory auction of some of our belongings, I had a few feathers on my suit, and the teacher said in front of the whole class, 'Maybe their clothes-brush has been auctioned,' and sent me home to brush my suit. I went home boiling inside. I can still see myself crossing the town square, swearing that I would take a terrible revenge on the whole world for this humiliation. Above all, my greatest desire was to get away from the town in which I was helplessly exposed to such humiliations.

My parents may also have felt the same, and thus the idea of moving from Rawitsch gradually took shape. At first we considered settling in Breslau, then in Berlin, then in Leipzig. My father went to Leipzig in Decem-

ber 1886 and at the house of my Aunt Bertha met a relative called Wittenberg, from Magdeburg. He talked with such enthusiasm about this town that my father accompanied him to Magdeburg and actually rented a flat there. I remember to this day his telegram: 'SUCCESS RENTED MAGDEBURG'. It arrived on a Saturday, and I immediately told my friends about it during the children's service in the synagogue. After I had walked once more over every stone, said my warmest farewell to every tree and paid a final visit to all my beloved places, we left the town at nine o'clock on the evening of 28 December 1886 to make a new home in a strange place.

3 Youth in Magdeburg (1887–1890)

On the journey to Magdeburg we travelled fourth class and were not exactly impressive. My father and mother had their hands full with the five children. My brother Martin dragged a small stool about with him so that he could sit down; the rest of us had to stand (there was no seating accommodation in the fourth class). The next morning we arrived in Leipzig, where we stayed for a few days with Aunt Bertha. I found the flush lavatory even more impressive than life in a large town. I had never seen such a thing in Rawitsch, where lavatories were in the courtyards. Finally, we continued our journey to Magdeburg and moved into a three- or four-room flat, which cost about 350 marks a year, in 10 Scharrnstrasse. I was given a free place in the secondary school, and my brothers and sisters went to elementary schools.

During our first year in Magdeburg we were supported by our relatives. Every month, each of them sent a fixed sum, which added up to a monthly total of 68 marks. For our relations (mostly my mother's sisters) this was a trifling amount, since they were rich and several of them were childless. One of my mother's uncles (on her father's side) was a millionaire who emigrated when quite young to the United States, began as a pedlar and returned to Berlin with a fortune. He was crotchety, married at the age of fifty-five a much younger woman and refused to acknowledge us until I went to Berlin as a student and our years of poverty were over. My poor mother, who had never done her own cooking and had kept two maids in Rawitsch, did her best to manage without servants and keep us going on 68 marks a month. Of course it was very difficult. We had meat for our midday meal only twice a week – half a pound (which cost 35 pfennigs) for seven people. On the other days our diet consisted of potatoes, lentils, beans and rice.

My father rented a flat with a shop – 35 Jakobstrasse – and on 1 October 1887 we moved in. He opened a small draper's shop there. The flat was larger and nicer than that in the Scharrnstrasse, so we let one room, furnished, to a subtenant. It was my good fortune to find Goethe's collected works in our lodger's library, and I (twelve years old at the time) immediately read them all from beginning to end. Apart from this find, however, our new life was a terrible disappointment. The shop was in the wrong

street and its earnings were miserable. I helped my father to 'decorate' the shop-window, I even worked on it on my own initiative when he was not there, but this did not improve matters. Nor did things get better when my father once or twice placed advertisements in the newspapers (for 3 marks); they were excitingly worded, but small and ineffective. It was obvious that the shop could not keep going, and my father had to close it after a year or a year and a half. The stock was never worth more than 1,000 marks at any one time, and towards the end there was very little stock because the suppliers were unwilling to give credit. For a time things were undecided, until my father rented another shop, this time on the Breite-wege near the Kroekenthor, in which an enterprising businessman had run clearance sales. The business seemed a gold-mine and really ought to have been one, because it had become well known under the previous owner and the customers came in large numbers. I was delighted and dreamed up extravagant schemes for expanding the business. I implored my father to extend his range and stock everything that his customers asked for, but he either could not or would not do so. Consequently, the customers, who were unable to buy what they came for, soon disappeared. After only a few weeks this shop also had to be given up.

Now (1889) followed the very worst time for us. Even if the shop had brought not profit but loss, the takings had provided a few marks every day and at least there had been something to eat. Now there was not. Often we were without the most elementary necessities. The pawnshop then became the final answer; between 1889 and 1893 it played an important part in our family life. My father called it the *'bayit'* ('house'). We children soon became experts at doing business with this institution. Almost every day, and sometimes even several times a day, one of us had to go to the *'bayit'* to take things, extend a pledge that was due or redeem something that was urgently needed. I always went most reluctantly because I was afraid that one of my schoolmates might see me enter the *'bayit'* with a parcel; most often, my brother Martin and my sisters were obliged to go. We soon developed a whole science about which pawnshop gave the most for certain items and what ruses had to be used to dispose of things which the pawnshops were reluctant to accept. The pawnshop finally ceased to be a source of income because we no longer possessed anything that could have been pawned. Clothing, linen and so forth all went that way. One day when I came home from school I discovered to my horror that they had pawned Schiller's collected works and my French dictionary, which had been a *bar mitzvah* present; that seemed to me the height of misfortune, and I cried bitterly.

My parents had an open stall at the Christmas Fair in the 'Old Market'. It was not a covered booth like the 'better' or 'professional' ones, but no more than a table-top resting on two blocks of wood on which 'hunting

vests', other knitted goods, caps and so forth were spread out. The total value of the goods, all from my parents' Jakobstrasse shop, was less than 100 marks, and as the customers did not come to the goods, my parents brought the goods to the customers. But the customers still did not come; the miserable stuff did not attract them. My father and mother took turns standing in the stall with me from morning till night for several days. It was bitterly cold, so cold that our feet very nearly froze, and the open stall offered no shelter against the biting wind. If it had at least been possible to run around! But it was necessary to stay by the goods: perhaps a customer would come after all, and there was such a crowd that a thief might take something if no one were watching. Other vendors had braziers with which to warm themselves; we, the tiros, had nothing. Finally it became insufferable. I ran home, heated a brick and took it back to the market so that my father and mother would be able to warm their feet. I ran back and forth with the bricks. Even worse than the cold was my fear that some schoolmate might see me around the stall or carrying the bricks. How they would have made fun of me! Luckily, none of them came, or I managed to hide in time.

Evening came at last. We had, after all, sold goods worth 5 or 10 marks. The profit was much smaller than the overhead on the market (the payment for the stall and for renting a handcart), but in our circumstances we could no longer take this into account. The most important thing was to have a little cash to keep us alive. We loaded our goods on a handcart, which I pushed home at dusk and nobody was able to see me.

Once (1889) we even had a stall at the Magdeburg Fair, which was held in the autumn in the cathedral square. I had to help with things or look after the stall and was terribly afraid of being seen by class-mates (I was by then in the upper fourth). I watched like a hawk in order to hide instantly if one of them appeared in the distance. My father repeatedly told me that I ought not to be ashamed, and, when some of my schoolmates were coming and I had gone into hiding, he called to them: 'Come and look, he's ashamed.' Perhaps he was right; but at the time I would rather have been swallowed into the earth than be seen by my schoolmates.

After the failure of the last shop, peddling in the villages became the main source of income for our family. On Sundays or holidays I frequently went with my parents to the neighbouring villages of Niederndodeleben, Welln, Ochtmersleben, Fermersleben, Heyrothsberge, Königsborn and so on. We went by train or by tram, but we still had to walk long distances, each carrying a parcel of caps, scarves and knitted goods. We called on the farmers and offered our wares. My mother was the luckiest: she sold things much more easily than my father and often brought home 30–40 marks, whereas his journeys almost always turned out to be failures, and he brought home nothing or at most 5–10 marks.

Gradually, my mother learned the secrets of peddling and began to do quite a good business. There were days when she sold up to 50 marks worth of goods. This made it necessary to take more goods than could be carried about in parcels, and a woman, the wife of a bricklayer, was hired to accompany my mother and carry the goods in a wicker basket. There was the additional advantage that she knew many people in the villages and so made it easier to do business. She received 2 marks a day and probably more when business was particularly good. This peddling lasted for a year or perhaps even several years. It was a difficult way of earning money: setting out at dawn, going about in all types of weather, without any hot meals. My mother really was not to be envied; what she did was amazing. Only when we children started earning did the peddling gradually stop.

It became more and more difficult for us to find somewhere to live. No landlord liked to take in a family with six or seven children, and when he did he expected them at least to be punctual with the rent. Unfortunately, we were unable to oblige in this matter. It required endless manoeuvrings to raise the 90 or 100 marks for the rent, and we never managed it. In consequence, we almost always had to leave a place after a short time and never lived anywhere for more than nine months. We rented flats of three or four rooms overlooking a courtyard in the poorer quarter. Of course, I could not invite any of my schoolmates; I was terrified that they might see our poverty. The only ones to visit were my friends Winter, Meyer and Halbreich (whose parents were also poor, but, thanks to his capable mother, he was still much better off than I). At time of my *bar mitzvah* we lived in the Blauebeilstrasse. The rabbi who came to pay us the customary visit turned back because he found the district and our home unacceptable and unworthy of being visited by a man of his stature.

In the long run, my father became less and less capable of earning a regular living, but he made all sorts of plans and was always full of high hopes. Tomorrow, or at the latest on the next day, some big deal was going to succeed and leave him with hundreds or even thousands. Apart from a hundred failures, there were, in fact, two or three lucky occasions. For instance, he earned several hundred marks for arranging a marriage and a similar sum for arranging the sale of a house. Every few hundred marks made me believe that the golden age had dawned. In reality, however, debts consumed most of these sums and my father invested the rest in lottery tickets. Although he never won anything, in spite of the utmost difficulties he staunchly managed to continue to invest in the lottery. Actually, my father was willing to do any sort of work. On the occasion of an agricultural fair, he distributed the programme in all the restaurants, for which he received 3 marks a day, as well as tips and cigars from the proprietors. For a time (1888 or 1889) he became an assistant in a draper's shop in Apolda, near Jena, but he did not stay there for long. He was an

eccentric, always believed that he knew better than other people and liked to be his own boss. He was happiest in some small public house in the company of workers and the uneducated: here he was 'somebody' and made speeches about the wickedness of the world, which he felt had misjudged him.

My father was always anxious to please people, often more than was reasonable. He derived extraordinary pleasure from giving presents; he had a real mania for giving. Once, when he was in hospital for an operation (we children were already earning money), he gave away all the cigars and other things we brought him to the doctors and nurses until he had nothing left for himself, although he was a confirmed smoker and had to have his eight to ten cigars a day. As he did not always have the money to buy them (6 pfennigs apiece), he was particularly fond of telling his business schemes to tobacconists in order to receive credit from them. He gradually achieved a real expertise in the province of borrowing money. For almost twenty-five years it cost us children – and especially me, because I was the oldest and earned the most – enormous sums of money and caused us untold anger and grief, because only after we children had acquired well-paying jobs was he granted credit so readily, thanks to his exaggerated stories about our jobs and earnings.

Although I reproached my father bitterly for his irresponsibility, which made the difficult task of improving our financial situation almost impossible, secretly I could well understand the impulse which drove him, and it did not spoil our relationship. He was tormented by the thought of not having achieved anything, and he strove to become 'independent'. His life's ambition was to win a lottery prize in order to be independent and be able to give us presents, instead of receiving them from us. He would have given years of his life to be proud and independent for one hour. He has always reminded me of the old bankrupt (I have forgotten his name) in Ibsen's *Wild Duck*. What the wild duck meant to him, the lottery meant to my father.

My mother suffered even more than we children because she was better informed about his debts and creditors. My father concealed little or nothing from her, but, of course, he concealed everything from us as long as he possibly could and did not have to call upon us to pay. My mother, on the other hand, did not want to upset us further and told us nothing. Against her will, she also had to put up with helping him in his manoeuvres to borrow money and with being bullied by all his creditors.

Until the end of his life, my father was very resilient and shrank from nothing when his beloved lottery tickets were at stake. Even when he was sick, he dragged himself about the streets for hours to find new sources of credit or to attend the lottery draw. He easily lost his temper and believed that corporal punishment was useful or necessary for bringing up children.

Actually, he did not punish us very often, and then almost always for the wrong thing. But despite the unpleasant situations he got us into, my father had an affection for us which was really moving. When I worked in an office and had to leave the house at six o'clock, he insisted on waking me and giving me breakfast. He loved to perform certain household tasks – for instance, to clean herrings and make herring salad – and did so with the utmost precision, or rather, pedantry. He could not bear to be contradicted and immediately became angry and excited. I therefore got used to deciding every dispute beforehand: 'Father is right, Father is always right', as the best way of keeping peace at home.

He was very fond of citing certain proverbs, which were fashionable amongst the Jews of Posen during the first half of the 19th century. He was particularly fond of '*Mesoles geht über die ganze Welt*' ['Good luck is worth more than anything else'], which expressed his philosophy of life. Other people were lucky, he was not, and that was why he was not successful.

From 1887 to 1894, the winter always seemed a dangerous time to me. The inclement weather often prevented my parents from going peddling, and there was even less money than usual. Potatoes were our staple food. A sack (50 kg.) of potatoes cost 3 marks, and in my dreams security consisted of buying one or even several sacks of potatoes and a quantity of lignite briquettes (100 pieces cost 85 pfennigs) at the beginning of winter. Even this surely modest wish was rarely fulfilled, however. Frequently we had to buy or borrow one or two kilogrammes of potatoes and ten briquettes for 10 pfennigs because that was all we could afford. Our consumption of potatoes was amazing. My brother Martin could eat twenty to thirty potatoes at one sitting, and he did not leave the rest of us very far behind.

In the spring of 1889, my father went to Berlin to ask our relations there for money, as we were once more completely destitute. Passover, when we would not be allowed to eat anything except *matzah*, was almost due, and we had not a crumb of *matzah* in the house. We had expected him to return in two days or at least the day before the festival began. It was now the eleventh hour: since that morning we were no longer allowed to eat bread and we still had no *matzah*. It was worst for my mother because she was very religious and had a great reverence for Jewish ritual. But we children were also made unhappy by the feeling that it was a terrible misfortune not to have any *matzah*. From hour to hour the anxiety grew. All day long I sat by the window and almost wore my eyes out with looking. At last my father turned the corner carrying a large roll of *matzah*. He would probably also have some money. My mother was almost crying with joy, and we celebrated Passover after all.

It seemed to me that the food which my mother provided with the bit

of money we children were able to contribute towards the housekeeping was not very good. Especially hard to put up with was supper, which was monotonous and not particularly nourishing. I therefore decided to take matters in hand and suggested a menu according to which she could provide a different and satisfactory supper on every evening of the week for a total of 70 pfennigs. My mother kept to it for a little while, but then she made fun of me and went back to her own menus. Nevertheless, I am convinced that my menu was quite an effective piece of political economy.

Of course, it was impossible to provide us children with new suits or shoes. Between 1887 and 1893 I had only one new suit, which I got for my *bar-mitzvah* (my grandmother sent the money for it). The rest of the time I wore suits passed on to me by my cousin Fritz Lesser, who lived in Berlin. Fortunately, he passed on a lot of suits, so that there were enough for my brother as well. Once a year, or more often, a box with clothing would arrive from Berlin. Naturally, the suits were not a good fit, but this was not all that important; I was glad to get them at all. Shoes were a greater problem. Very few shoes were sent from Berlin, and they were usually too small for me. We were therefore forced to buy some. Fortunately, there was a shoemaker who bought old shoes and sold them again for 2–3 marks after minimal repairs. I got so used to wearing old shoes and regarding new ones as an unobtainable luxury that even later on, when I was already a head clerk, I never bought myself new shoes. Only in 1899, when I was a student in Berlin and had been invited to a wedding, did I buy myself a new pair of shoes, for 8 marks. I remember that my cousin Selma Lewek was horrified when I told her that this was my first new pair of shoes and that until then I had always worn old ones. She absolutely refused to believe me.

Almost once a year, or once every fifteen months, there was an addition to the family. This worsened our poverty because the confinement cost money and for a few weeks my mother was unable to work. The time had come once again: I was to have a new little brother or sister. I could tell by the mysterious restlessness at home. It was during the school holidays, when I stayed at home and read. On that day, however, there was no place for me in the few tiny rooms in which we were living. Also, there was no lunch for me, for who would have cooked it? My father, therefore, decided to send me to 'Uncle Georg' who lived in the suburb of Buckau. I was given a sealed letter to him and admonished on no account to open it. I set out, but not in order to go to 'Uncle Georg'. I suspected that the letter told him about the coming event and asked him to give me lunch, and I was ashamed. I preferred to go to the Rotehornwiese and to satisfy my hunger with blackberries, which had just come into season. I returned home late. Nobody asked me where I had been and what I had done with the letter (I really had torn it up, not read it). My parents had other worries: my

mother lay in bed looking very pale, and next to her lay a tiny baby: my sister Lisa.

When Lisa was a year and a half old she caught diphtheria. At night I kept watch beside her and when she fell asleep I studied shorthand, which I managed to learn within a fortnight. At first we used to call the doctor, but as her illness progressed we ran out of money, and he would not come without being paid. Lisa's condition continued to deteriorate, and one afternoon she was in danger of suffocating right under our eyes. I ran to a doctor who was as yet unaquainted with us and our poverty, and he came and wrote a prescription to be filled at once. All the money we had in the house was scraped together. The result: 85 pfennigs. I rushed to the nearest chemist, tormented by the thought of what would happen if the prescription cost more than 85 pfennigs. We might not succeed in raising more money until it would be too late for Lisa. At last, the remedy was ready, and it cost – heaven has come to our aid – only 70 pfennigs! I ran home, and the medicine was administered to little Lisa. Before long she began to vomit and breathe more easily. The worst was over, and within a few days she was better. For a long time, however, I was haunted by the thought: supposing the medicine had cost 1 mark? Would my sister have had to die?

On 19 February 1892 another boy was born. I wrote about it in my diary: 'When a child is born into a rich family, it causes a great deal of rejoicing; not much of this is felt among the poor. Poverty destroys even the holiest bonds. One always only thinks: still another mouth to feed.' My mother devoted the utmost care to every child, but poverty was more effective than her care, and four of the babies succumbed to the bad conditions. They usually died at the age of four months, and the new baby also died at that age. If they stayed alive beyond the fourth month, in spite of being inadequately nourished on fresh and condensed milk, they survived. The four who did not survive that long are buried in the cemetery in Magdeburg. No stone marks their grave: they were the children of the poor; their parents could not pay for the funeral and naturally could not afford a stone.

This time, the baby died at a very bad moment. There was no money in the house and my father was away. This was awful. Who was to make the funeral arrangements in father's place? I was then fifteen or sixteen years old, so I had to make them. I went to the *hevra kadisha* [burial society], and they sent one of their officials with a hackney-carriage and a small coffin. The small dead body was placed into it, and the official and I drove to the cemetery. I looked on while the corpse was being washed and placed in the grave. Apart from the two of us and the grave-digger, the cemetery was deserted. My heart was heavy because I loved all these small brothers and sisters; why did they have to die? With a little more milk and attention they could have survived!

My mother gave birth to another baby on a day when there was no money at all in the house. Although I was already a business apprentice with a salary of 30 marks a month, I had been obliged to draw on my money for months in advance and could not draw more. At other times my mother was the one to find ways and means, but now she was helpless and desperate. Finally, my father took a few trousers, which were our stock in trade at that time, and went out to sell them. The mood at home during his absence became more and more desperate. At last he returned with 9 marks. Some baker's boy had let himself be persuaded into buying a pair of trousers, after my father had offered to take them back at any time. A bad deal, but it provided 9 marks for the moment.

In spite of the insufficient food and the miserable living conditions, my brothers and sisters and I remained healthy and suffered no physical damage. As far as I remember, the five oldest children, that is, myself, Martha, Else, Siegfried and Martin, were never seriously ill while we were young. Lisa and Kurt were more susceptible, as they were born when my mother was already exhausted by many pregnancies and by poverty. They were still little children at the time of our greatest poverty. We older ones had been much better provided for in childhood and faced the years of poverty with basically good health. Apart from this, I had a happy disposition, saw in every dark cloud a silver lining and was easily satisfied. On 6 March 1892, I wrote in my diary: 'One does not need much to be content. It depends not so much on what life has to offer, as on our attitude to it.'

When we arrived in Magdeburg in January 1887, I entered the second form of the municipal secondary school. I was by far the youngest in the class but came out first in my class that year and the next. I then changed over to the fourth form of the Kaiser Wilhelm Gymnasium and remained there until I had completed the lower fifth (Easter 1891). At first I did not do very well there, but later I worked my way up. I did not study very hard and almost never did any homework (frequently I was unable to do it because I did not have the necessary school-books or had to go peddling with my parents), but I paid attention in class, grasped things easily and was considered a good pupil. Gradually, school began to bore me. With few exceptions, the teachers were the usual 'crammers' who did not know how to make their subjects interesting. Many of them made absolute fools of themselves. I spent a large part of the lessons taking down their peculiar pronouncements in shorthand or reading books under the desk. Sometimes during lessons I surrendered to philosophical speculations. One of my favourite themes was to discover the rule of universal justice in the lives of my schoolmates. I imagined that the sum total in their favour would have to be the same for each. Thus, if one had rich parents, he was either stupid, or sickly or short-sighted. I invented thousands of combina-

tions to prove to myself that my suppositions were correct. It comforted me, as I was one of the poorest, or rather the poorest, boy there, and at the same time it was a sign of my inexhaustible optimism and of my belief in the principle of supreme justice.

Two diary entries from my last year at school illustrate my likes and dislikes.

16 August 1890

Mathematics has always been my weakest subject, either because I have had no special liking for it and could not see any use for it, or because in the third form, when we started to learn mathematics, I frequently read books (trash about cowboys and Indians) under the desk instead of paying attention. This earned me two or three bad marks in the register, but I could not stop myself. Now I am doing a little better in mathematics because I have realized that there are many occasions when it is of use. I have always liked arithmetic – as opposed to geometry – very much and have always been good at it.

20 December 1890

Of all the writers and poets whom we are reading now, I like Homer best. Some of his lines are far better than anything by Virgil in his *Aeneid*, and his simple but poetic language makes an extremely pleasant impression. I often read him for pleasure and never tire of him.

In Rawitsch, where our family had been settled for generations and was well known, I had finally been given a free place in the secondary school. But what would be the reaction in Magdeburg, where we were newcomers? That my parents would be able to pay the secondary school fees was out of the question. I had reached the stage of having to forgo higher education. I was saved by the marvellous arrangement in Magdeburg whereby if three children from the same family attended the municipal schools, one of them did not have to pay the fees. My two sisters attended the municipal secondary school for girls, where the fees amounted to no more than 2 marks each per month (this could be managed, though only with the greatest difficulty and not always on time), and so I could go to the municipal secondary school without having to pay the tuition (30 or 40 marks every quarter).

A few years later another problem arose. I was then (1887/8) in the third form of the secondary school. At Easter I was to move into the fourth form. I was at the top of the class and full of high hopes that one day I would study and become an important man. 'Well, if you want to study,' the Jewish cantor Winter told me, 'you will have to change to the fourth form in the Wilhelm Gymnasium and begin to learn Greek.' The question of school fees did not enter into this change, because the Wilhelm Gymnasium was also a municipal institution, where I was entited to a free place.

My father, however, would not hear of the transfer. 'If you want to amount to something in life, you can do it anyway.' He did not want to go through the formalities of giving notice at the one school and registering at the other; it was too much of a bore. I did not give in, however, and dragged him with me during the holidays, shortly before the beginning of the new school year (that is, just in time).

In Magdeburg, I was exposed to anti-Semitism from my schoolmates for the first time; in Rawitsch it had been unknown. In the secondary school and – though to a lesser extent – in the Wilhelm Gymnasium, friendships between Christian and Jewish children did exist, but every class also had a few anti-Semites who avoided having anything to do with the Jews or tried to make things unpleasant for them. It seemed to me that the number of anti-Semites was growing from year to year, parallel to the increasing significance of the anti-Semitic movement all over Germany. The agitators Stoecker and Ahlwardt also aroused a response within the schools; however, as long as the teachers, who had grown up in the liberal era, did not encourage – and even fought against – anti-Semitism, it could not become a real force at school. With one or two exceptions, I cannot remember any anti-Semitic teachers, but I remember many who showed great kindness to the Jewish boys and especially to me. Even the comparatively small amount of anti-Semitism at school caused the Jewish boys to keep more and more to themselves. In the fourth form and in the lower fifth, my friends were exclusively Jews (Sally Halbreich, Felix Meyer, Julius Winter), but this may also have been because I was poor and felt socially inferior to the Christian boys, whose parents were mostly well-to-do.

The portion of the Torah which I had to recite, or rather sing, in the synagogue on the day of my *bar mitzvah* was taught to me by Cantor Winter. I went to his home and was obliged to help his son Theodor with his homework, which I did not like doing at all; but I considered myself morally obliged because I suspected that my father would never pay the fee of 10 or 20 marks. My suspicion proved to be right. The day after my *bar mitzvah*, Cantor Winter sent us a message asking for the fee, and my father asked to be excused because he had no money at the time – and so it remained.

The most important event of the day was that I received Schiller's collected works (and Thibaut's French dictionary) as a gift from Aunt Lesser in Berlin. I had also asked for Meier's *Dictionary of Conversation*, but that was apparently too much. Anyway, I possessed Schiller's collected works! I had been waiting for them impatiently for some months because I felt a strong urge to write some dramatic plays and I was not at all sure how to set about it. Now Schiller was to serve me as a model. My only visitors were my friends Halbreich and Felix Meyer. The latter brought me ten

cigarettes. In spite of the fact that nothing much happened to distinguish that day from any other, I had even at that time a great reverence for significant dates, and the day was important for what it meant to me. It was then that I decided to keep a diary to record an account of what I was doing, and I continued to do so from then on.

4 In Business (1891–1899)

In about 1889 or 1890 I earned money for the first time. The nature healer Koch advertised in the newspaper for someone to coach his two boys. I applied, asking for 25 pfennigs an hour. The man was generous and even agreed to 30 pfennigs, which meant 9 marks a month. I went there every afternoon, sat with his boys and was as happy as a king because whenever the hand of the pendulum clock facing me had moved twice, I had earned one pfennig. Of course, I handed my earnings over at home, but I was left with enough to enable me to buy 5 pfennigs worth of broken chocolate almost every day.

It was very difficult for me to give up the long-cherished plan of attending the grammar-school until I had taken the matriculation examination and then going on to university, but at last I realized that it would have to be done. It had been almost impossible for my parents to support me as far as the lower fifth, and I was thoroughly sick of the humiliations at school caused by my poverty. The whole business of school, where, I felt, one's head was stuffed full of school subjects and spirit and heart were left empty, disgusted me, and it seemed to be a complete waste of time to stay there for another three years until the matriculation examination. Nevertheless, I did not find it at all easy to leave school, where all my close friends stayed on. I made one last effort and wrote a letter to my grandmother Pauline Ruppin in Liegnitz, saying that I would like to continue my studies if at all possible and asking her to advise and help me. Her answer was that it would be much better to go into business. After that, I gave in.

If I had to go into business, I thought it should be a bank, which was at least distinguished. I therefore asked my father to come with me and make enquiries at some banks. A while later, he told me that he had spoken to Richard Nathan, a grain merchant who lived in the front part of our house, and that he would find me a job. I went to him that afternoon, but realized before long that rather than find me a job in a bank, Nathan himself wanted to employ me as an apprentice. I told him that I wanted to work in a bank. He answered that he would be able to teach me a lot and mentioned that he had many barges on the Elbe. Suddenly, I conjured up a scene from Freytag's *Soll und Haben* ['Credit and Debit'], which I had just read. I saw myself standing on the bank of the river, my hand

raised as I gave instructions about the ships and their lading. That decided me! Did the bank offer me anything like that?

Shortly afterwards we agreed that I would begin my apprenticeship with Nathan on 1 April 1891, that it was to last for three years and that I was to be paid 15 marks a month in the first year, 20 in the second and 25 in the third. Some entries in my diary show how hard I found the decision to leave school.

28 November 1890

Today, when I voiced my reluctance to go into business, Papa told me that he would not object if I wanted to continue at school, but that he did not have the means to support me later on and I must not expect it. That I may not be able to continue my studies later on does not worry me. What does worry me is the thought that I shall not be able to contribute to the support of my family during all these years.

Saturday, 24 January 1891

Halbreich and Meyer called and we went for a walk. Meyer considers the job Nathan is offering me a very good opportunity. I don't care. This is the end of all I wished for and planned. I am trying not to think or feel anything. I realize that I shall have to accept the job. Things are coming to a head with us. Until now we have managed to exist somehow, but this sort of life can't go on. Papa has earned less than 25 marks since the beginning of the month, our relations don't want to help, our debts amount to perhaps 1,000 marks and demand to be paid. If we don't want to starve, what alternative is there to everyone helping to bring in a little money? In short, I realize that it must be, and I will do the best I can since, if I have to be a grain merchant, at least I want to be a good one.

While I resigned myself to becoming Nathan's apprentice, I also made other plans. On my fifteenth birthday, a month before I began my apprenticeship, I made the following entry in my diary.

1 March 1891

Today I completed the fifteenth year of my life. I would like to take the opportunity to say something about my future. First of all, I must finish my three years as Nathan's apprentice. I will try very hard to become a good businessman, since I have no alternative, and if I want to carry out my plans I shall need a great deal of money. During my apprenticeship I want to join a local sports club (the monthly subscription is 30 pfennigs, which means that I can well afford it) and improve my French and above all my English. Then I will continue to work for Nathan for a few years (that is, if he wants me to; otherwise I find another job), and I think that when I am twenty-one or so I will do my year's military service. I used to be afraid of becoming a soldier and terribly frightened of being killed in war, but now I look forward to joining the army. Certainly, the one year will cost me 1–2,000 marks, but I will just have to save this up beforehand. For this purpose I have drawn up the following chart:

Year	*Salary*	*To parents*	*Pocket-money*	*Savings*
1	180	132	36	12
2	240	180	36	24
3	300	216	48	36
4	1,200	900	156	144
5	1,500	1,080	204	216
6	1,800	1,200	300	300
7	2,100	1,320	360	420
	7,320	5,028	1,140	1,152

Accordingly, I should be able to save 1,152 marks during the next seven years, which should grow to about 1,200 marks through the interest (I am thinking of depositing the money in the local savings bank). When I have finished my year's service (by that time my brother Siegfried will be earning about 100 marks and Martin about 20 marks), I shall get another job, which I shall keep until I am twenty-seven or twenty-eight years old. Certainly it seems awful to me that I shall have to be a book-keeper until then; but during this time I shall have to provide my sisters with dowries, and I don't have the means to start my own business. Of course, everything would be different if I had talent as a poet or playwright. Later I shall want to submit a drama to some theatre management, but for the time being I am not at all sure that I have talent. As I have said, I find it terrible to think that I shall be forced to live such an anonymous life, because I agree with Cicero that I work and strive only to become famous when I am dead. When I am twenty-seven or twenty-eight I shall travel to America and Australia in order to see them with my own eyes. If I can find a good job for myself, I shall remain there; otherwise I shall return home after three or four years. The love of travelling must be in the Ruppin blood, because three of Papa's brothers are in America and two of Mama's brothers are also there and would all be glad to see me. But one ought not to carry one's speculations too far. If God preserves me that long, on my thirtieth birthday I will record in my diary how far I have carried out the plans made here.

As far as the references to my earnings are concerned, I observed this plan meticulously for many years. This was not difficult, because my income was larger than I had estimated. I still possess the savings book of the Magdeburg Municipal Savings Bank; it shows the following deposits at the end of each year:

1892	4 marks
1893	70 marks
1894	108 marks
1895	400 marks
1896	700 marks
1897	1,275 marks
1898	1,820 marks

I suffered shipwreck only once: after three years I had to draw out the whole sum I had deposited in order to pay some of my father's pressing debts. I wept bitterly, but as I was already drawing a clerk's wages, I was soon able to repay the withdrawal. But one moment wiped out this plan. When I heard by chance in 1894 that I could take the matriculation examination as an external student, I decided that this was what I would do. But I am getting ahead of myself.

The firm of Richard Nathan, wholesale grain merchants, was founded in 1885. Originally it had been only a commission (negotiating) agency, but gradually it began to deal almost entirely on its own account. The head of the firm, Richard Nathan, who was then about thirty-five years old, possessed a fortune of some 100,000 marks, was a tremendously hard-working man and had great business ability. When I became his apprentice at Easter 1891, it was, thanks to him, one of the largest and most reputable firms of grain merchants in central Germany. When I joined it, the firm was dealing in all sorts of foreign and home-produced cereals and animal feed; a few years later it began to specialize in home-produced and foreign brewer's barley.

At first, I had to do all the menial jobs under the supervision of the 'senior apprentice': fetch the mail and take it to the post-office, copy or record letters, run errands and buy the travellers sausages and beer for breakfast. We worked from seven o'clock in the morning until eight or nine o'clock in the evening, with an hour-and-a-half break for lunch. We also worked on Sundays from nine to twelve o'clock and from five to seven o'clock (there was as yet no legislation against working on Sundays).

To begin with, I found things very difficult. Before long, however, I was rescued from the menial jobs by my knowledge of shorthand, my better education (I was the only one the of apprentices to possess the 'lower school-leaving certificate') and my business ability. After no more than a few months, Nathan gave orders that I was no longer to be sent on errands and was to be given office work instead. I was charged with ordering the 'sack-store', which was in an unholy mess because the customers either did not return the sacks or returned them much later or torn. I began by having a huge book made (they joked in the office that if it were to fall on me, I would be dead and buried) and started to keep an exact account of all the sacks going out and being returned. I also wrote stern letters of warning to negligent customers and threatened to charge for sacks that were overdue, etc. This system was quite successful and established my reputation as an organizer.

After being an apprentice for two years, I knew the whole business so well that I began to dictate some of the letters. 'The relationship between my boss and me,' I wrote in my diary on 24 July 1893, 'becomes stranger and more interesting every day. The boss no longer does anything, no matter

how unimportant, without first asking me for my opinion.' On 1 October 1893 I became a clerk (that is, half a year before the end of my actual apprenticeship), and instead of 30 marks I now received a salary of 100 marks a month. This seemed to me (and quite correctly) the turning point in the family's financial situation, because from then on I was able to give my parents 3 marks a day housekeeping money. On the day when I received my first real salary, I would have liked to run through the streets shouting 'saved!'

In spite of the long work hours, I found time for diversions. I was a member (the only Jew, I think) of the men's sports club and went to the gym two evenings a week. Afterwards I called for two of the other apprentices, Lüderitz and Täger (both Christians), and went with them to play skat over a glass of beer. I usually lost and had to pay for the three glasses of beer (15 pfennigs each plus a tip of 5 pfennigs). On Sundays I sat from twelve to one in the Café Hohenzollern, ate a dish of *ragout fin* and played chess with Isaac, another of the apprentices. Early on Sunday mornings I used the 'business bicycle' to make excursions in the district with some friends; unfortunately I had to be back at the office by nine o'clock.

The first journey I made on behalf of the firm (1892) only took me as far as Neuhaldensleben (half an hour by train). When Nathan told me that I was to go and discuss business with a customer there, my joy knew no bounds. I hurried home, put a sandwich in my pocket, and set our for for Neuhaldensleben. Even the feeling of travelling third (not fourth) class and of being a commercial traveller (not an apprentice) was marvellous. When I succeeded in selling the customer 100 cwt barley, on which our profit amounted to 35 marks, I was the happiest man alive. I had the right to eat lunch in Neuhaldensleben at the firm's expense, but I made do with the sandwich in my pocket and bought myself a shirt-front and a long tie with the money I had saved on lunch. I had long had a hankering after these things, but it had been impossible for me to satisfy it. Judging by the money I paid for them, I can hardly believe that the shirt-front (40 pfennigs) and the tie (75 pfennigs) were the latest fashion.

A while later, I made a second journey on behalf of the firm, to the Polegemühle. My third journey (also in 1892 or 1893) was to Rathenow. It turned out to be highly dramatic, because as soon as Nathan informed me at noon that I was to go to Rathenow at one o'clock and to return that same evening, I decided to use this journey to make an excursion to Berlin. I had long dreamed of seeing the capital of the country; now I intended to slip over to it from Rathenow. The train connections were very convenient; I could be back in Magdeburg at two o'clock in the morning. The difference in the price of the ticket via Berlin was immaterial.

I had arrived in Rathenow at three o'clock, and by 4.30, after completing my business with C. Hübener, had left it again, to arrive at the Lehrter

station in Berlin at about six o'clock. I soon found my way to the Unter den Linden, bought myself a cigar and felt intensely happy as I strolled under the limes. Then, in order to see as much as possible before I had to leave again at eleven o'clock, I decided to climb on to the upper deck of an omnibus and travel across Berlin. As I did so I was very pleased that a man sitting next to me started to talk to me and relate the names of all the passing sights. Towards ten o'clock I remembered that it was time to go to the Potsdamer station, in order to catch my train at eleven o'clock.

I wanted to buy a newspaper for the journey, and when I put my hand in my pocket, the purse with my ticket was gone. I searched every pocket repeatedly, but it was gone. I was gripped by fear: what will the boss say tomorrow morning if I am not in the office? Is this unauthorized escapade to Berlin going to ruin my whole career as a traveller?

I concentrated on finding the money for the return journey. I found 1 mark in my coat pocket, but I needed another 2 marks for the ticket. I asked the newspaper vendor if he would lend me 2 marks if I pledge him my watch. He refused. I then went into a tobacconist's: the same response. They had been taken in so many times; the innocent must suffer with the guilty. My train was to leave 11.10 and it was already 10.30. I still had to cover a considerable distance from the Friedrichstrasse to the Potsdamer station. I asked a policeman for the nearest pawnshop and ran to it, but at that time of night it was of course closed. In the end, however, I was lucky. I went into a public house and persuaded the landlord to lend me 2 marks on my watch. In the meantime, it was already 10.45. I ran as fast as I could through the unfamiliar streets to the station and reached a fourth-class carriage literally at the last minute. The next morning I arrived at the office on time and had the satisfaction of reading in a letter from C. Hübener: 'Today we had the pleasure of welcoming your Mr Ruppin.' I was very proud that such an important customer should regard me as a 'mister', in spite of my seventeen years.

After I became head clerk I travelled only to the more important customers, that is, mills, breweries, malt factories, and I gradually became extremely successful. In the beginning they may have looked at me with a derisory smile, since I did not talk much and did not urge them to buy; but when they had become used to this 'strange bird', and especially when they saw that I had a sound knowledge of our commodities – especially of brewer's barley – and always told them the truth, they came to trust me and gave me large orders. Some of them relied on my expert knowledge and honesty to such an extent that I was able to tell Nathan what they would buy from me before I set out on my journey.

Sometimes I was much too young for my position. I was only nineteen years old and already head clerk and entrusted with important business deals. Therefore, I had to behave as if I were an adult. Once I visited our

representative in Erfurt and in the evening I went to the theatre with his wife. I had never before sat in a private box with a lady, and I was very conscious of my manly dignity. The piece was a poor melodrama. Whenever I see things of this sort I have an uncontrollable impulse to cry. I tried very hard to remain manly, but my tears began to stream down. My lady was most astonished when she saw that I was crying, and that was the end of my manly dignity.

The climax of my travels came with my journey to Hamburg in the summer of 1896. Nathan had bought a large quantity of 'American Mixed Maize', c.i.f. Hamburg. Payment was due only after it had been officially passed as being in good condition. When it arrived in Hamburg, however, the maize was damp, hot and 'smelled strongly', that is, it was spoiled and unfit as fodder. The Americans from whom it had been purchased referred to 'the bill of health', and we were powerless against them. The spoiled maize was almost worthless, and we were faced with a loss of several hundred thousand marks. Nathan was dejected and sent me to Hamburg. The position was this: either the maize had to be dumped into the sea as worthless, or an expensive attempt, with uncertain results, had to be made to 'cure' it. The latter meant spreading it out and turning it daily, but there was no space in any of the warehouses. Therefore, I hired dance-halls, skittle-alleys and so forth and arranged for the maize to be taken there. In fact, its condition improved considerably during the next ten days. When Nathan arrived in Hamburg, the situation was already looking much more hopeful. To express his gratitude, he took me to the well-known restaurant Joh. Koeln, where I tasted lobster (and I think also oysters) for the first time; he also took me to a flower-show. We left the maize in storage for some time, until the other importers had sold off their maize cheaply as of inferior quality or as fertilizer. Then the price began to rise, and the quality of our maize continued to improve. In the end, we did not lose anything on the deal and may even have made a small profit.

Not all the journeys I made on behalf of the firm ended so pleasantly. I remember, for instance, the quarrel I had with a man who ran a malt factory near Aschersleben and was known to be rude. He insisted that I had given him some wrong information, when I had done nothing of the sort. I wanted to clear my name and got excited, but the man coolly showed me the door, and I was obliged to go. At that time – I was about to take my matriculation examination – I promised myself not to continue with a career in which one was defenceless against such insults. Another firm wrote to Nathan: 'Don't send us your Mr Ruppin any more.' When I asked the reason, it turned out that they had heard that I had made an offer to one of their customers, which was untrue. I clarified the matter, but they nevertheless did not think it necessary to apologize, and I had to swallow the humiliation.

As my salary was never sufficient to cover the needs of our family, I tried to earn extra money. I received my first earnings of this sort (20 marks) from Nathan for making an index of securities he had inherited. At the time, I was very proud of the confidence he showed in me. Originally I did not want to accept payment; I was so sensitive on this subject that I nearly cried when I received my first salary or when my boss wanted to give me a little money for my holidays. I finally allowed myself to be paid, however, and my business activities soon taught me to be less sensitive.

I also gave lessons in book-keeping. Once, my father told me that a greengrocer in one of the suburbs had a son who wanted to learn book-keeping. I myself was far from being a perfect book-keeper, as I had only occasionally looked at some ledgers and books. But so what? I borrowed a book on accounting and 'What I learned in the morning I taught in the evening.' Several times a week, I marched to the greengrocer's when our office closed, gave the boy lessons and let his two sisters admire my wealth of learning. When I wanted to collect the payment which had been agreed upon, however, it turned out that my father had already done so on my behalf, and I was left with nothing.

Once (in May 1894) I wanted to try my luck as a speculator. Our head clerk was buying wheat and asked me half jokingly if I wanted to stake five to one. I took the suggestion seriously and agreed. If we were going to have bad weather during the summer, the price of wheat would rise and I would earn money, but would fret that I could not make much use of my season-ticket to the swimming-pool. Otherwise I would be able to enjoy the swimming-pool, but would have the disappointment of losing on the speculation. In either case there was compensation. The speculation failed and lost me, I think, 30 marks. Since then, I have kept clear of speculations.

Between 1891 and 1895, when my parents were very poor, we lived in very small apartments and I never had any privacy. I decided to move into an attic, really meant for a servant (which we obviously did not have). It was only wooden partitions beneath the roof, could not be heated and was unbearably cold in the winter. I brought up a bed, an iron washstand, a sort of table, a chair and a box on which I fixed a lock and which served as a 'library' for my books. At least there I was alone and could read and write until the small hours by the light of a paraffin lamp. I puffed at my pipe and practised with a rapier. Only in 1895 or 1896 were we able to afford a larger apartment, where I had a room of my own.

The turning point in our financial circumstances came in 1896, when I became managing clerk, with a salary of about 3,000 marks. From then on we were definitely no longer poor, although the money which my father spent on the lottery still occasionally caused us embarrassment. I recorded the following accounts in my diary.

1 May 1898

Today my brothers and sisters gave me 136 marks out of their earnings (Siegfried 60, Martha 46, Else 23, Martin 7), which is more than they have ever given me before, and the amount will remain the same during the next few months (it may even increase to 400 marks). In addition, there is my own salary of 250 marks (apart from commissions, expenses and the gratuities of my brothers and sisters). So our family has a splendid income, which is far greater than our expenditure. We now have a very good standard of living and I give Mama 170–80 marks housekeeping money alone; last month I even gave her 200 marks.

What I have longed for so passionately during so many years has at last been achieved: the material circumstances of our family are now satisfactory. I am very glad that I have finally been able to provide my parents with a quiet life, free from care. Considering that only four years ago we were still so poor that we frequently did not have enough to eat, were up to our ears in debt and had to beg continuously from our relations, our circumstances now can really be called splendid, and the change has come about comparatively quickly.

23 December 1898

Last night I had a lengthy discussion with Papa about the lottery. At the beginning, remembering the great moral and material harm which I and the whole family have suffered through Papa's gambling, I was very excited and said some very unkind things for which I was afterwards sorry. With many long and very devious speeches, Papa then explained to me that he gambled only because he found it so depressing that he should have to let his children support him; I softened and cried, which I have not done for a very long time. I think of Papa as being completely absorbed by minor concerns, of caring only about the trivialities of housekeeping, but I see that he also harbours great thoughts and has burning desires. Papa also softened, which I have never known him to do before, and he surprised me very much by sometimes expressing himself very well indeed. But our conversation did not achieve anything. After all he said, I am left with no doubt at all that Papa will continue to gamble on the lottery; but at least it has brought us a little closer to each other after we had not been on very good terms for some time.

When I had left school I had believed that I had done with 'learning'. But I had been wrong. In January 1894 I met my friend Sally Halbreich, by chance, in the Jakobstrasse. He told me that he was sitting the first part of his matriculation examination on the following day and that an external student was taking the examination together with the grammar-school boys. 'Really, is that possible? Can people take the examination even if they didn't finish the grammar-school?'

'Of course they can. "Our" external student didn't finish grammar-school.'

At that moment I was struck by the thought that I, too, would take the examination as an external student. To do so, I would have to cover the curriculum of the upper fifth and the lower and upper sixth. For several months I turned the matter over in my mind and finally decided to do it.

I got Halbreich to tell me the curriculum of the three forms, bought the textbooks and began to study. Only in mathematics did I take lessons, two or three hours a week from my former mathematics teacher, Schollwer (for 2 marks a lesson). As I was working for Nathan twelve to fourteen hours a day, I had to make use of every spare minute to study for the examination. I copied the contents of the textbooks into small exercise books, which I took out whenever there was an opportunity at the office (Nathan repeatedly asked me what these little blue notebooks were all about; I told him of my plan to take the matriculation examination only when I needed five days' leave of absence for the written examination). I also studied on the train when I travelled for the firm and even when I rode my bicycle.

18 March 1894

I told Halbreich of my time-table beginning 1 April. Now I am so full of energy and self-confidence, I told him that he would one day be proud to have been my boyhood friend, because either I would die soon or I would live for decades as a famous man.

I registered, and at the beginning of 1896 I was notified by the authorities that I was to sit the examination at the Dom-Gymnasium in March 1896. I grew nervous and asked my former teacher Schaper to examine me to find out if I had studied all the subjects adequately. Apparently I had covered the syllabus in Latin and German, but in Greek I had left out a great deal of the syntax. Schaper sadly told me that a knowledge of this subject was absolutely essential and advised me to wait another year before taking the examination. But I thought this out of the question; I would be forgetting too much in the interim. I went home and that night copied the parts of syntax that I had still to learn into an exercise book, studied feverishly for a week and presented myself to the astonished Schaper with the news that I had caught up with the syllabus. He examined me, and I really knew it all.

I did not have to sit the examination in religion, which was very difficult for the Christian boys, because I was Jewish (what advantages there are in Judaism!). On the first day of the written examination I left our apartment and went to the Dom-Gymnasium feeling both solemn and elated. I was aware that this examination would determine my entire future. I would lose prestige in the office and a great deal of my self-confidence if I failed, and it would be the end of my dreams of studying. I would not sit the examination a second time.

On the first day we did the paper in mathematics. It contained four problems: the marks for two solutions were satisfactory; for three, good; for four, very good. I was not particularly good at geometry and worse at stereometry, but I had studied hard with Schollwer – and I was lucky.

For instance, I was to set a Diophantine equation, of which Schollwer had just taught me the formula. At the end of the five hours, the master asked his pupils how many problems they had solved. Eight boys answered that they believed they had solved two of them; one boy, three. 'And you, externe?' (Because of my moustache he did not dare to address me simply as 'Ruppin', but could not bring himself to call me 'Mr Ruppin'.) I was embarrassed. I had solved all four of the problems, but was that possible, when all the 'real' school-leavers had solved only two or three? I stammered that I had tried to solve all four. 'Well, well, you are a rare bird. Until now no external student has ever solved more than one.' As it turned out, I had given the correct solutions to all four of the problems. The next day, one of the grammar-school boys told me that the master said I had been the only one to have solved all four and had even solved the equation according to an especially interesting formula. Naturally, this encouraged me tremendously; mathematics was the subject of which I had been most afraid. The next day we sat the German examination. For an essay, I was given the choice of three subjects and chose 'The Importance of the Railways in the Lives of the Nations'. I managed to write this with ease (the other two subjects were concerned with German literature, and I could certainly not have managed them). During the next three days were the other papers in Latin, Greek and French.

The oral examinations took place two or three weeks later, on 15 March 1896, I believe. In the meantime, I had been told that my German essay was 'good', and approached the remaining examination with some degree of confidence. The nine 'real' school-leavers were excused from the oral examination on the strength of their written papers, so I stood alone before the board of examiners (the state inspector and five or six teachers). Latin came first. Together with my application to sit the examination, I had had to submit a list of the Latin books I had read. It included Cicero's *Cato Major vel de senectute dialogus.*

'You have read Cicero's *Cato Major*?'

'Yes, sir.'

'Do you know the other title of this book?'

'*De senectute dialogus.*'

'Do you know what previous writer is quoted by Cicero?'

'He quotes Ennius.'

'Who was Ennius?'

'He lived at such and such a time, wrote such and such a book' (I have long ago forgotten the title), 'the quotation in Cicero is such and such.'

General amazement. 'Well, he knows absolutely everything,' the inspector said, and I felt certain that I have already passed. But next came physics, about which I knew almost nothing. Fortunately, the examiner was the mathematics teacher who had bestowed such praise on my written

paper. I answered his question somehow and he was baffled: was it possible that this external student, with top marks for his written paper and his knowledge of Latin, had given a stupid answer? Impossible! 'Oh, I see, you mean such and such?' 'Yes, sir.' Thus I got through the examination in this and other subjects. I was not tested at all in French, contrary to the rule that external students must always be orally examined. In this case, however, the examiners, who were in a hurry to get home, thought it unnecessary. The entire examination was over in less than an hour. I had passed and received an excellent report, with 'very good' in mathematics.

Probably because of the poverty to which our family was exposed when I was a boy and because of my burning desire to save us from it, I never lived in the careless manner of other children, but became serious at an early age and tried to give an account of myself to myself. The saying 'Know thyself' became a sort of shibboleth to me.

I began to keep a diary on the day of my *bar mitzvah* (9 March 1889). I recorded what happened to me on every single day. During the first few years, the entries were rather inane and superficial, but gradually I became more critical and tried to preserve a record of only those things that were of significance to my development and to our family circumstances. I also commented on political and other important public events. The entries cost much time, although between 1893 and 1896 I frequently used time-saving shorthand, and more than once I very nearly abandoned keeping the diary, but I continued out of habit, however, and because it forced me to give an account of my doings, which I believed was good for me. Not until 9 March 1899, exactly ten years after I had begun the diary, did I definitely reach the decision to stop because, as I recorded at the time, I thought that 'my diary arises out of my vanity and self-glorification and supports them, and I am determined to be rid of these faults'. After that date, in fact, I no longer gave an account of each day, but I have continued to make notes (especially when travelling), albeit much more briefly, of anything of importance in my life. More than fifty years have passed since 1889, and I have covered more than 10,000 pages since then, but almost half of these belong to the first ten years. The writing of them has cost me probably more than 2,000 working hours, that is 250 eight-hour work days.

I kept the diaries strictly secret and did not show them to anyone. Apart from the extracts which I am using now, they will also remain a closed book in the future, because none of my children, for whom I originally meant them, will be able to read my Gothic script or my shorthand.*

While I was in business I spent twelve hours a day – and sometimes even more – working. As I also wanted to follow other interests, I had to be very economical with my time, especially when I began to prepare

* The latter was finally deciphered by Clara Wiesner.

myself for the matriculation examination. At that time, my working day lasted from six o'clock in the morning until midnight, and I was glad to get six hours sleep. As a result, I learned to apportion my time meticulously and even became a miser with it; this was to apply, more or less, for the rest of my life. I never allowed my mind to go wool-gathering and have always resented small talk because it wasted my time. I might say that I have built my life upon spare snippets of time. Nevertheless, I have never overcome the shortage of time. In my optimism, I have always believed that I would be able to do rather more in a given time than was possible, and consequently I have always ended up five or ten minutes short.

This serious way of conducting my life was thoroughly upset when I was about seventeen years old, and felt a strong urge of what I disapprovingly called 'sensuality': an interest in the opposite sex. Certainly the question of sexual intercourse did not arise; I shrank from it because of my moral beliefs. But I found it pleasant to be in the company of girls and, following the example of the young men I worked with, I began to visit dance-halls on Sundays. I never became a good dancer, and the conversations with my dancing partners mostly did not appeal to me, but I persuaded myself that this contact with girls would be a means of alleviating the 'sensuality' which plagued me. Then my friend Sally Halbreich appeared as a *deus ex machina*. He never tired of reproachfully trying to convince me that my visits to the dance-halls were morally bad for me and my reputation; that people who knew me were most surprised and distressed that I had suddenly forsaken my former ways. Halbreich's earnestness had an effect on me, and I stopped going to the dance-halls.

When condemning my visits to dance-halls, Sally had suggested that I join a dance-club, where the girls were nice and meeting them would be the best means of counteracting my 'sexual passion'. I followed his advice and, when I became a clerk with a monthly salary of 100 marks, I treated myself to the luxury of taking a dance course from a teacher named Richard. The fee was, I think, 20 or 30 marks, and we had one or two lessons a week. The students were middle-class boys and girls between the ages of ten and twenty; among them were a few of my former schoolmates from the grammar-school. I was the only Jew and some of the other boys may secretly have had their reservations about me because of it, but their behaviour showed no sign of this. I was not a good dancer; besides, I believed that I was ugly and therefore kept a certain reserve. I did not really get to know any of the girls and was satisfied with admiring one or two particularly good-looking ones from a distance. Some of the girls confided to me their (fairly innocent) infatuations with other young men; apparently my serious nature and the fact that I was in business won their confidence. At the end of the first course, the teacher invited me to partake of the second part without paying, and I accepted the invitation.

After finishing the second part of the course, some of us joined the 'Lätitia' club, which held dances. It was always a problem for me to decide whether or not to go to one of these dances, because I was tormented by doubts about being welcomed by the others, especially by those of the girls whom I liked. Most of the time, by the time I finally decided to go, it was too late to do so. On the other hand, I attended the practice evenings of the shorthand club, Stolze-Schrey, fairly regularly, and within a short time I had reached a speed of 200 syllables a minute.

At school, I was not very good at gymnastics and I did not like sports very much. On the other hand, I had a predilection for walking, swimming and ice-skating; for some years I also went for bicycle rides in the neighbourhood very early on Sunday mornings. When I was an apprentice, I went for a half-hour walk along the 'glacis' every morning in the summer before going to the office, and on the way I bought a glass of milk for 5 pfennigs at a dairy. Twice a week I went to the men's sports club at the gymnasium, and on summer evenings I bathed and swam in the Elbe, practised with foils and did other physical exercises in my attic room.

I stopped growing rather early. I was 161 cm. on 20 September 1893 and have not grown since. On the other hand, my weight, which had been only 63–5 kg. before 1902, increased by almost 10 kg. (probably as a result of drinking beer and eating better food) and has remained fairly steady at 75 kg. since. Perhaps my strong bones are responsible for my heavy weight, because I have never been fat.

For a short time I was interested in playing chess, and during my apprenticeship I also played cards (skat) with the other boys. I excelled at none of these games. I went to the theatre fairly frequently. In the beginning I had a strong predilection for operettas, which were staged in the Wilhelm and Victoria theatres, but this did not last long; afterwards I preferred serious plays (in the municipal theatre). As for music, I loved light melodies but got nothing out of serious music, and I have always envied the people to whom a good concert opened another world. From time to time I visited the museum, in which there were many pictures by Böcklin, whose reputation was at its height. I remember particularly well the first appearance of an Edison phonograph and wrote about it in my diary.

10 December 1890

At eleven o'clock this morning our class marched to the Fürstenhof, where we were to be shown a genuine Edison phonograph. The phonograph reproduced, a little indistinctly, through a horn what had been spoken into it; it reproduced whistling very well. Some pieces of music aroused general admiration. Later we heard extremely clearly and loudly counting, whistling, the playing of instruments and the recital of some verses from Schiller's *Die Glocke* through a tube placed into the ear.

The telephone made a similar impression on me. I saw it for the first time in 1891, at Nathan's. My prophecy about the development of this invention, which I entered in my diary, has since come true.

5 October 1891

Today the telephone connection between Magdeburg and Hamburg has been opened. I am convinced that in ten years we will be able to talk to Paris, London and all the larger towns in Europe; in twenty-five years to New York and Alexandria; and in fifty years to Melbourne, San Francisco and Tokyo.

My last three years in business (1896–9) and my three years as a student were the period of storm and stress in my life. The passing of the matriculation examination had encouraged my self-confidence. I had also succeeded in rescuing our family from the direst poverty and, at the age of twenty, in occupying an exceptionally responsible position in business. Although my capacity for work was unlimited, I became more and more convinced that I ought not to remain in business, but to dedicate my life to higher things ('ideals'). This resolution had long been in my mind, though not clearly defined. From the age of fourteen, at least, I had cherished great ambitions, which grew and grew during the next ten years. It seemed a waste to lead the life of a 'Philistine' and be content with satisfying material needs alone. I wanted to accomplish 'higher' things and be remembered by posterity.

13 September 1893

But what, in fact, do I mean by my ideals? In the past and sometimes even now, the glory of a poet and dramatist seems to me the height of ambition, but I am already beset by doubts if I have made the right choice. A great politician, a national leader – were you not much rather made for this? And could you not serve humanity better in this way? I don't know, since my imagination also dangles still other pictures before my eyes, because there is hardly a field in which I am not passionately interested, for instance chemistry, physics, astronomy, philosophy, exploration of foreign countries and so on.

I was very interested in politics. When a new parliament was being elected in 1887, I waited most anxiously for the results, and when my father went to drink a glass of beer on the evening after the election, I begged him to let me come because I wanted to read the newspapers there. It was then about 8.30 p.m. I took the newspapers into a corner and immediately became engrossed in working out the number of votes received by each party. I was so quiet that my father forgot to take me home with him at eleven o'clock. When he got there and my mother asked about me, he rushed back to the restaurant to find me quietly sitting in the same place busy doing sums, and I was very sorry that it was already time to go home.

When we stopped getting a daily newspaper for a time because we could not afford it, I missed it very much indeed.

For a time I was a keen supporter of a left-wing party; later, after reading Marx, I developed socialist leanings. My political attitude was very much influenced by the fact that I was a Jew; naturally I did not support any party which showed anti-Semitic tendencies, not only because this affected my personally, but because I regarded such an attitude as the enemy of progress and culture. I never became an 'orthodox' Social Democrat. In the long run, I found the historical materialism of Marx unsatisfactory, because it discouted the influence of the individual and of national differences on the course of history. A few years later (1903) I analysed my attitude to historical materialism in my book *Darwinism and Social Science.*

I (and probably my whole generation) took it for granted that it would be necessary to acquire a 'philosophy of life', that is, to assess the meaning of the world and our place in the scheme of things. When I was fifteen years old, I began to regard philosophy as the crowning discipline and tried very hard to understand it. I read, quite unsystematically, any book on the subject that I happened to come across. I remeber that I rejected with horror the materialism in Büchner's *Force and Matter*, but on the other hand was very much attracted by Schopenhauer's *Welt als Wille*, although I rejected his nirvana as an unnecessary part of the doctrine. I took much trouble over reading Kant and Hegel. Eventually, I managed to understand Kant's philosophy, both through studying his writings and through attending lectures and discussing him with my friends; Hegel, on the other hand, remained a closed book to me, although my friends Fiedler and Wyneken sang his praises. A number of years later (1912), I returned once more to Hegel's writings, but they remained inaccessible to me, if only because of his complicated style.

During the history lessons at school in 1888 or 1889, I had become particularly interested in the monk Arnold of Brescia, a martyr who was burned at the stake because of his opposition to the Church. I wanted to write a drama about him, but at the time had no clear idea of how to set about it. I was given Schiller's collected works for my *bar mitzvah*, and reading his plays stimulated my ambition. I wrote the drama in verse and after working on it intermittently for almost ten years, finally completed it. I realized rather too late that it had no artistic merit and merely expressed my opposition to the Church and other organizations because of their interference with freedom of thought. Many years later I came across Lassalle's *Franz von Sickingen* and noticed that the two pieces greatly resemble each other in intention, but I thought that mine was better written. When I add up the number of hours I spent on the many versions of this piece, I cannot understand how I found the time to do it. It made a lot of difference to

my daily life, however, by allowing me the illusion that I was in constant touch with the nobler aspects of humanity.

After the matriculation examination (March 1896), I remained with Nathan for another three years; my salary was raised every year, so that in the end I had – including commission – a yearly income of 7–8,000 marks. I took leave of Nathan after I had saved 5–6,000 marks, which I hoped would be sufficient to pay for my studies. He tried to keep me by offering me a partnership. But I remained firm.

25 September 1898

It is now definite that I shall leave Nathan on 30 April 1899. Now that my future and the moment at which I shall stop being a businessman have at last been decided on, I am delighted and am looking forward with pleasure to the joys of spending the next year together with Fiedler, Ziegler and Danziger at the Alma Mater in Berlin. It must compare to my present circumstances as heaven does to hell. I know perfectly well that there is something adventurous about the change I am making, which might horrify all the aunts and Philistines. My present position is materially splendid (had I stayed, Nathan would gladly have given me 6,000 marks next year, as well as a percentage), and yet I am leaving. It is an inevitable step; I would have been stifled by the considerable demands which the business was making on me, and I would have been unable to develop in any way.

31 December 1898

Once I have made the change and begun to study, I shall have every chance of developing as much as I can. It would be awful if I would then find that I was not making as much intellectual progress as I should. I think that if this should happen, and I would have to realize that I was inferior to someone, I would never get over it.

One Sunday (I think this was 22 April 1899) I worked in the office as usual. The next day I went to Berlin to study and begin a new life. Out of consideration for Nathan's name, I had always travelled second or third class on his behalf; now I travelled fourth class, as an outward sign that I had broken with my old life.

5 Student Years in Berlin and Halle (1899–1902)

I had been employed in business for eight years, and when I arrived in Berlin on 24 April 1899 and registered as a law student, I had an unlimited thirst for knowledge and was determined to begin a new 'spiritual' life. Officially, I had already been registered as a student in the Faculty of Law in Berlin from Easter 1896 to the autumn of 1897, but as I was then living in Magdeburg, I had been unable to attend the lectures. Now I was for the first time able to devote all my time exclusively to studying. I did so with vigour, attending twelve hours of lectures a day – from eight o'clock in the morning until eight o'clock at night – and continuing to study when I returned to my lodgings at nine o'clock. I did not study jurisprudence, for which I was officially registered, however; I was not particularly interested in it. I preferred philosophy, political economy, Bible study, chemistry, botany, geology, ancient history, even Egyptology and Assyriology. To this day, I possess the notebooks which I filled with Assyrian cuneiform and Egyptian hieroglyphs at that time.

I lived in the Bellevue quarter, where I rented a furnished room overlooking the yard for 20 marks a month (with breakfast). When the weather was fair I did not take the metropolitan railway to the university, but walked the route across the Tiergarten, which took three-quarters of an hour. I enjoyed the birds' singing, the fresh greenery and the play of light in the trees. Between one o'clock and 1.20, that is, between the lectures, I quickly swallowed some food in the public houses frequented by the university people or in the vegetarian restaurant von Kronberg; usually I did not spend more than 50 pfennigs on lunch. In the evenings, I prepared a simple supper at home, for which I did my own shopping (mostly sardines, Kieler sprats, sausage, etc.). For six or nine months I shared a room with my cousin, the painter Ludwig Danziger, and for a time we went to eat supper with Wyneken and Fiedler for a week, and then they ate with us for a week. Their meals consisted mainly of the fat sausages, which they received from their parents; ours, on the other hand, were made up of 'small fish'. After supper we discussed philosophy, art or literature, or I read scientific books until late into the night by the light of a paraffin lamp. I made use of the days on which there were no lectures to visit the museums and the botanical garden, read in the libraries or go for walks with Fiedler, Wyneken

and Danziger. Sometimes I also visited my Berlin relations and spent a Sunday at their home. They were very nice to me, but the shallow, *bourgeois* atmosphere did not appeal to me.

The greatest and most lasting influence on me was my friendship with Fiedler and Wyneken. I got to know them through Erich Ziegler, the brother of my Christian 'appprentice's mate'. Fiedler's parents lived in a small house with a garden in Gr. Salze by Schönbeck. His father was town treasurer and had a university education, but was not nearly as gifted as his mother, whose manner and background always reminded me of 'Frau Aja'.* Even before I went to Berlin, I used to visit her frequently in Gr. Salze; both she and her son Fritz received me very warmly. Fritz, who had been studying science since 1896 or 1897, had acquired a phenomenal amount of knowledge. He was at home not only in science, but also in philosophy, art and literature. I continued to consider the extent of his knowledge and his readiness to let me share this treasure miraculous. He was, moreover, charmingly considerate and never made me feel that I was his inferior. He never drank alcohol, hardly ever ate meat and, like Wyneken and myself, was still a virgin. He was engaged to Wyneken's sister Luise, whom I met when she came to Berlin in the summer of 1899. Unfortunately, Fiedler met with a tragic end. On 10 February 1900, he left his home and was never heard of again. His parents, Wyneken and I followed every possible trail, all without the slightest success. Only many years later did Wyneken believe that he had discovered the cause of our friend's disappearance: some girl may have seduced him and infected him with venereal disease, and he had committed suicide, believing that only thus could he atone for this betrayal of his virginity.

Wyneken was the son of a clergyman in Edesheim (near Göttingen) and had been brought up in an enlightened Protestant tradition. He was studying theology and philosophy and later became the assistant to Dr Lietz, the principal of the rural boarding school in Ilsenburg; afterwards he himself became principal of a boarding school in Wickersdorf famous for its principles of *Jugend Kulture* [youth culture]. He was a man possessing profound knowledge and great vitality. His philosophy was close to that of Hegel (and so, incidentally, was Fiedler's, who always raised his hat to Hegel's statue near the university). Fiedler had a certain inclination towards mysticism, and both of them were enthusiastic about music and the fine arts.

My intimate friendship with these two extraordinarily gifted people aroused in me the ambition to emulate them and influenced my thinking. This was to both my advantage and disadvantage. Many of their ideas were not quite acceptable to me, and at the time I felt that I was a kind of

* Goethe's mother, as known to her close friends.

mental hybrid, composed of my own and alien ideas. It took a great many years before I had rid myself of the ideas which did not really suit me and became mentally whole. My horizon was enormously widened by the many lectures I attended, the books I read, my friendship with Fiedler and Wyneken and a greater understanding of painting, which was due to my cousin Ludwig Danziger. When I left Berlin after three terms (autumn 1900) to continue my studies in Halle, I was quite another person.

Danziger, who had been studying painting for many years and had to think of beginning to support himself, left Berlin to become a designer in a flag factory in Bonn. I remained in fairly close contact with him for many years. He was devoted to painting with all his heart and became known to a small circle as the painter of the Riesengebirge (he was born there, in Lauban), but his paintings remained traditional and lacked originality. During the years of the inflation, when he lost his savings, Danzinger withdrew more and more into solitude. Nevertheless, I looked him up whenever I came to Berlin from Palestine and bought his paintings, which are still in my possession, as are two portraits he painted of me in 1899/1900 and which I took in 1941 to my week-end room in Benyaminah. He died in his early fifties, in about 1925.

19 April 1897

Remarks which Fiedler made to me when we were together in Gr. Salza:

'One day you will surpass us all. You have astonishing will-power, a hundred times stronger than that of the rest of us. By the grace of God you will one day be called upon to do great things.

'Jews are almost all either particularly gifted or completely stupid, almost never just average people.

'You have something of a general about you; I can see you as the president of the Jewish republic.

'There is no such thing as differences in individual talent, there are only the individual differences of will-power. There are three sorts of talent: that of men, that of women, that of geniuses. Within each of these groups it is the same.

'I don't want you to think that I have reached my present position by my own efforts, by means of miserable human energy. I am ahead of you and have a complete philosophy of life only by the grace of God.'

7 February 1898

Talking about Spinoza Wyneken said: 'I would advise you not to read Spinoza for the time being, because he is quite objective and abstract, and you are thoroughly subjective and concrete.'

11 August 1898

Fiedler immediately has an explanation for everything. He explains my recent development of interest in botany as an attempt on my part to acquire a feeling

for the beauty of nature, which I lack, and I think he has a point there. It is true that I have recently become much more aware of the beauty of nature than I used to be.

11 August 1898

Today Fiedler said to me: 'Actually, Ruppin, I see your future quite clearly before me. You possess much more energy than the rest of us. You have a magnificent talent for organization and are a skilled diplomat. It seems perfectly natural to me that you should become the organizer of the socialist state of the future. The time will come when you will realize that you have benefited by your friendship with Wyneken and me. We have made you aware that there is more to the world than you used to think.'

In Berlin I was one among many thousands of students and could allow myself to grow a beard and ignore the undergraduate life altogether. In Halle, where I transferred in 1889, it was impossible to disappear in the crowd: one had to adopt an attitude towards fellow-students. My beard would have made me a target of ridicule, so I had it shaved off and kept only my moustache. I was also prepared to come into conflict with the other students and decided, just because I was a Jew, that I would then fight with the customary weapons (pistol or rapier). I acquired a pistol and, together with Ziegler, sought out deserted places in the woods to practise. Once I nearly hit a lecturer who appeared unexpectedly. Later I took fencing lessons from the university fencing master. The lessons took place in the Moritzburg. I did my best, although I certainly was physically not as strong as the others. I was delighted when, after several lessons, the fencing master noted: 'Certainly, Mr Ruppin has made the most obvious progress.' I also tried to build up my physique in other ways. I remember taking pleasant walks across a meadow called Ziegelwiese and to the castle Giebichenstein, and parties of us sometimes went rowing on the Saale River. I lived very modestly in Halle, paying 60 marks a month for a furnished room (on the old promenade) with full board. For one or two terms I shared a room with Ziegler.

Among the most pleasant memories I have of my student days in Halle are the afternoons of the summer of 1901, which I spent at the special tutorials of Professor Rudolf Haym. He was already over seventy at the time. He held the tutorials in a lovely garden (with roses and lilies) of a summerhouse beside the Saale. Tea was served while we read Spinoza in the original. Only five to eight students took part in these special tutorials, to which the old man devoted himself whole-heartedly. For me it was a consecrated hour: the garden by the Saale recalled Goethe's garden by the Ilm; the old professor had known Schelling,* and Schelling was the link to Kant and

* Friedrich Wilhelm Schelling (1775–1854), German philosopher whose theory expresses the aspirations of the romantic school.

Goethe. During the final tutorial I called for three cheers for the old gentleman from all the participants. A few months later (autumn 1901) he died on a journey in Vorarlberg.

Rudolf Stammler was professor of civil law in Halle and author of the book *Wirtschaft und Recht nach der materialistischen Geschichtsauffassung* ['The Economic System and the Law']. He was probably the only member of the faculty who taught me something, namely the scientific theory of method. I therefore considered it a real honour to be invited by him to his regular table at the 'Tulpe', where he told a few students funny stories, which were made all the funnier by the serious nature of the man who told them.

It was obvious to me that I would have to acquire a doctorate as evidence of my academic education. The easiest would have been the LL.D., as I was a student in the Faculty of Law. The doctorate in law (including the cost of printing the thesis) cost about 500 marks; the Ph.D., however, cost only about 300 marks. As I had by that time run out of money and could acquire even the 300 marks only by borrowing from my Uncle Mendelsohn in Bojanowo, I decided to take a Ph.D. in political economy, with philosophy and constitutional law as subsidiary subjects. The professor of political economy was [Johannes] Conrad, who knew that I was erudite from his tutorial classes. For my dissertation, I submitted to him an essay on the theory of value which I had written not long before as an article for Schaeffle's* magazine (it had been returned to me 'for reasons of space'). Conrad was a great admirer of J.H. von Thünen and asked me whether I had also taken his theory of value into consideration. When I said that I had not, he asked me to rectify the omission. In the course of the next few weeks I wrote a chapter on Thünen's theory into my essay, and Conrad accepted it – probably without having read it – simply because he had confidence in me. On the evening before the oral examination, he invited me to dinner, and I sat next to his daughter at the table – which I regarded as proof that I had already passed the examination.

Indeed, I found his questions on the next day child's play, but Friedberg, who was examining me on constitutional law, did not make things so easy for me. The philosopher Riehl, who also knew me from his tutorial classes, confined himself to reading a passage from Spinoza and asking of which other philosopher it was reminiscent. Of course I was meant to say Plato, but the devil got into me and I answered 'Leo Hebraeus',** whose writings I had accidentally come across a few days before. Riehl did not want to discuss this idea; instead he told me what he thought of the passage, and

* A. Schaeffle (1831–1903), economist and sociologist who published the periodical *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Statswissenschaft.*

** Yehudah Abarbanel (1460–1530), Jewish philosopher, close to Neo-Platonism.

when I had agreed with him, the half hour of the examination was over. In the end I learned that instead of *magna cum laude*, which I had expected, I had only received *cum laude*. Conrad had suggested *magna cum laude*, if the others would agree to it; but Friedberg was in favour of *cum laude*, and that settled the matter.

During my first term (1899) I accidentally saw a notice for an essay competition on the notice-board of Berlin University: 'What do the Principles of the Theory of Evolution Teach Us about the Internal Political Development and Legislation of the Nations?' It was signed by Ernst Haeckel, Joh. Conrad and Dietrich Schäfer. What was expected of the competitors was set out in four closely printed pages. The essays were to be handed in by 1 December 1902. I became very depressed after I had read the conditions. I had understood almost nothing of the contents; even many of the words were incomprehensible to me. It seemed to me that if there really were people who understood all this, there was no point in my studying at all, because I would never be capable of reaching their level. I seriously considered giving up my studies. In the end I began to study like the devil, stimulated by the encyclopedic knowledge of my friends Fiedler and Wyneken. I later continued in Halle as I had begun in Berlin. I saw the same essay competition advertised again on the university notice-board in Halle in the spring of 1902. It had been up for the past three or four years. I read it and was stunned. It was as if the competition had been meant for me. Not only did I understand every word, I was better equipped than anyone else to write this essay, as I had studied the subjects on the border line between science and philosophy. Now I realized what an enormous amount of knowledge I had accumulated since 1899.

I decided to enter the competition, but first I had to take my law examination (in June 1902). The day after I had finished it, I sat down in the university library with mountains of books and started to make notes. Dr Michael Meyer, a fellow-lawyer told me one day that he had been present during my law examination in Naumberg (at that time we did not yet know each other) and could not believe his eyes when he saw me sweating in the library the next day. Had I not already taken the examination? I continued to work on the essay for a month, and meanwhile, in July, also took my Ph.D. in political economy.

After the oral examination for the doctorate (23 July 1902) I went to Cloetze, and there wrote the essay for the competition in four months, first in a rough and then in a final draft. The manuscript contained more than 500 quarto pages. I had it bound by a bookseller in Cloetze and sent it off towards the end of November under the motto '*omnia audere, nihil sperare*', to receive – much to my amazement – a telegram by March 1903 announcing that I had been awarded the second prize of 6,000 marks (the first prize of 10,000 marks went to Wilhelm Schallmayr). This vindi-

cated my *salto mortale* from businessman to scholar not only in my own eyes, but also in the eyes of all my relations.*

Like most grammar-school boys I wrote some terrible poems during my years of puberty (the first one as early as 1888, occasioned by the death of Emperor Friedrich III. I can say this today; at the time I might have seen them in a different light. Fortunately, writing poems did not become an inveterate habit of mine, but was confined to a few occasions and then stopped for years. While I was a student and barrister, however, the impulse to write poetry returned. What I managed to produce was not really poetry so much as prose written in verse form, at most with a touch of satire. My final 'poems' date from the years 1912 and 1913. After that time I definitely put a stop to my poetry writing, as I had finally discovered that I was not meant to be a poet.

* Ruppin's essay was printed in 1903 as a book entitled *Darwinismus und Sozialwissenschaft*.

6 Years in Law Practice (1902–1907)

After I had qualified as a *Referendar*, I asked the president of the provincial court in Naumburg to assign me to the county court in Magdeburg or near-by Schönbeck for the first period of nine months. That way, I could have lived with my family and saved the expense of staying in another place. This was a very important point, as all the money I had saved during my time in business had been consumed by my studies and my father's debts. It therefore came as a blow when I received the reply that I had been assigned to the court in Cloetze. As I was determined to acquire some insight into Prussian officialdom, I decided to give Cloetze a try. I borrowed 300 marks from Richard Nathan and hoped to earn a little money through writing articles for the newspapers and to receive monthly assistance from my brother Martin, who had a job in Stettin at that time. The little fellow really did send me 15 and 30 marks several times, for which he went hungry, and I sold several articles to newspapers and magazines, earning 20 or 30 marks, which always arrived just when I was most in need.

On the morning of 24 July 1902 I went to Cloetze accompanied by my brother Siegfried as far as Oebisfelde (where he had some business). I arrived in Cloetze at about ten o'clock and was met at the station by servants from the Blue Angel and Golden Lion hotels. I chose the latter at random. The district judge, Grunert, gave me an unexpectedly warm welcome. It was the first time that a *Referendar* had been assigned to him, and he was tremendously pleased about it.

'Although we are not very busy in the court and you won't be overworking yourself, this is a small provincial town, and we need a little fresh air from outside if we're not to get stale. We will be pleased if you will join our regular circle. We meet for a drink three times a day – in the morning, at dusk and at night. Of course you will have to join us regularly. I have already made extensive enquiries about a furnished room for you; here is the list. They are all decent families. Where have you put up, *Herr Kollege*?'

'In the Golden Lion.'

'That's very convenient. That is where we have our regular table. Let's go there now for our morning pint.'

At the *Stammtisch* [regular table] I was introduced to the dignitaries: the mayor, the doctor, the notary, Wendland, the chemist, the chief forester

and his assistant, the clergyman, the head master and the son of a rich Berlin industrialist, Krause. They all gave me a warm welcome and were apparently satisfied with me and my drinking habits (I had learned the students' drinking ritual in Halle). I drank five to six glasses of beer to make the proper toasts to each one of them. Afterwards I had to drink wine with my lunch at the hotel, and my head was heavy at five o'clock, when I made my way to the court in order to take the oath. The district judge and the clerk of the court were waiting for me and proceeded to take my particulars.

'Your religion?'

'Jew.' The district judge was thunderstruck; he was not prepared for that. His *Referendar* – a Jew! I could see that he found it difficult to remain calm. 'Well?' turning to the clerk of the court, 'religion, Mosaic.' Then I took the oath 'to be faithful and obedient to H.M. the King of Prussia and conscientiously to observe the constitution' and went home. I had said 'Jew' on purpose. Because I had read in the newspapers that Jewish lawyers in small towns were frequently exposed to anti-Semitism, I wanted to draw attention to my Jewishness. (There were no Jews in Cloetze; the inhabitants knew of them only through the Old Testament, but the district judge and the members of the *Stammtisch* had of course met Jews in other places.)

When I appeared at the *Stammtisch* for the early-evening drink, I immediately noticed that the atmosphere had changed. It had become known that I was a Jew, and the behaviour towards me was freezingly polite. I pretended not to notice anything and continued to drink according to the ritual. After supper, the same thing happened over the late-evening drink. I believed that they intended to drink me under the table. In Halle I had got used to drinking a few glasses of beer, but on this evening I was obliged to down a total of twenty-two glasses, and this had a devastating effect on my intestines. I felt terribly sick but did not let it show. I continued to sit up straight on my chair, apparently not at all drunk, and decided I would burst rather than give in. At one o'clock in the morning, the district judge left the pub, apparently somewhat reconciled to 'his' *Referendar*, who could hold his liquor. (He was a good, decent man, and later we were on very good terms.) Gradually, all the others left. As I was the youngest and was living at the hotel in which the *Stammtisch* was held, I felt obliged to remain to the last, and finally the notary Wendland and I were left alone together. I found out later that he was something of a drunkard and on that night he was already fairly drunk. The following conversation ensued:

'Ah well, ah well, *Herr Kollege*, you won't find things easy here.'

'But why, *Herr Rechtsanwalt*?'

'Well, you know. . . '

'What do you mean?'

'Well. . . because of your religion.'

'How does that come into it? I was sent here by the president of the provincial court and I shall do my duty.'

'Of course, of course . . . I don't mean any harm . . . If you should meet with any unpleasantness, I should be glad to help you.'

'I am very grateful to you, *Herr Rechtsanwalt*, but I think that I shall be able to help myself; I am quite a good pistol shot.'

The words had slipped out inadvertently. Although it was true that I knew how to handle pistols, I would hardly have made such a remark under any other circumstances. The effect of my words was completely unexpected. Wendland seemed suddenly to have become sober. He apologized, saying that he had had no intention of offending me; became rather nervous, as if I were already pointing a pistol at him; and shortly afterwards left the pub. Then I, with twenty-two glasses of beer inside me, was glad to be able to retire to bed.

The next morning, over the morning drink, the atmosphere was different again. Besides perfect politeness there were already renewed signs of friendliness. Wendland had spread the word: the *Referendar* is a first-class pistol shot. The ice melted, and within a few weeks I had become a popular member of the circle, played skat and skittles with the dignitaries and received invitations to all the parties and celebrations. All together, I spent nine marvellous months in Cloetze.

One Sunday afternoon I went for walk and played croquet with no fewer than nine middle-class daughters of Cloetze (one of them, I don't know which, afterwards wrote me anonymous love-letters in the style of a 'noble' daughter for quite a long time). As the young men left Cloetze for the large towns, there was a shortage of eligible men, and therefore the lawyer was very much in demand. When I returned to my room I found a telegram which had been addressed to Magdeburg and forwarded by my parents. 'AWARDED SECOND PRIZE. 6,000 MARKS. CONGRATULATIONS HAECKEL, CONRAD, SCHAEFER.' I was stunned. Not for one moment had I expected the judges to reach their decision so quickly (hardly four months after the closing date) and that I would be one of the prize-winners. I repeatedly told myself aloud, 'Fancy that', and went down into the street. There I met Krause, the son of the Berlin industrialist, and told him the news. He became quite excited: 'Then you won't be staying much longer in this filthy little hole; if I were you I would set out on a long journey.'

The following morning at nine o'clock, I went to the court as usual, past the farmers' carts on their way to market, bringing newly washed, pink pigs. When the district judge saw me he said: 'Well, are you coming to court today? Is it true, as Krause told me, that you have really won a prize of 6,000 marks?'

'Indeed, sir. But it is after all nine o'clock, office hours.'

'Nonsense! On such an occasion we don't keep office hours. We'll shut up shop and go for a walk in the forest.'

And that is just what we did. Prompted by his questions, I told the district judge a little about my essay. That evening I invited the whole court staff – from the district judge to the prison cleaner – to my hotel. There were beer and cigars, a cold buffet, and a speech from the district judge, and they were all well satisfied with and proud of 'their' *Referendar*. The next evening I celebrated in the same way with the members of the *Stammtisch*. From then on I was a particularly prominent member of this circle. The Cloetze *Kreisblatt* reported that 'our *Herr Referendar*' had been awarded a prize of 600,000 marks.

The 6,000 marks prize money played an important part in deciding my own future and that of my brothers and sisters. When I left the firm of Richard Nathan, my savings amounted to 6–7,000 marks which, according to my calculations, were to cover my expenses during the three years at the university and see me through my four years as a barrister. Martha, Else, Siegfried and Martin were already earning, and I assumed that they would be able to provide for my parents. As it turned out, my parents continued to need considerable contributions from me, which used up all my savings. In the autumn of 1902, this lack of funds brought me to the verge of resigning from my appointment as *Referendar* to seek employment as a journalist. At the critical moment, however, the prize of 6,000 marks suddenly and unexpectedly provided for all my needs. It would cover my expenses for several years, especially as I was also earning small sums as a writer and statistician. The prize money also made it possible for me to provide Siegfried and Martin with the necessary capital (2,000 marks) to set themselves up as grain merchants in Magdeburg and buy Martha a small handicrafts shop in the Kantstrasse in Charlottenburg (for about 1,200 marks). Both these enterprises succeeded beyond all expectation and quickly provided extraordinarily high profits, which were beyond all comparison to our previous income. From then on we no longer had to worry about money, and it no longer mattered to us that Father continued to gamble on the lottery for the rest of his life.

I left Cloetze in April 1903, but I was remembered there for a long time. Twenty years later, when I returned and visited the Golden Lion, the landlady immediately remembered that I was the *Referendar* who had celebrated his success in the competition so generously. I met no one else whom I had known; most of them were probably no longer there: dead, ruined, gone.

After I had served as a *Referendar* in Cloetze from July 1902 until April 1903, I was promoted to the public prosecutor's office and later to the county court in Magdeburg, where I remained until the autumn of 1904. The

district judge in Cloetze had provided me with good references and it had also become known that I had been awarded the Haeckel prize, so the judges in Magdeburg received me very kindly. Even if they were secretly anti-Semitic – which applied to only some of them – they were polite and frequently even charming in their dealings with me. The lawyers were another matter. Anti-Semitism was much more prevalent among them than among the older gentlemen, and social relations with them outside the court were unpleasant or impossible. We were six Jewish lawyers: Meyer, who later practised in Berlin; Fliess and Merzbach, who later practised in Magdeburg; Frohnhausen, who later practised in Nordhausen and became a Christian; and Richter. We formed a *Stammtisch* for Jewish lawyers and met on Saturday evenings in the Café Dom. My share of the work in court (keeping the records at sessions, drawing up sentences) was neither difficult nor interesting. I deputized for the public prosecutor in a few criminal cases, and on one occasion I had to plead against a mother who had killed her illegitimate child. I proposed the lightest permissable penalty, for which I was afterwards taken to task by my superior. In the afternoons, I had no official functions and could go for walks (to the Rotenhorn and the Herrenkrug) or read books and write *The Jews of Today*.

In the autumn of 1904 my application to move to Berlin was granted; I wanted to take over the management of the Bureau for Statistics of the Jews, which had just been opened by Dr Alfred Nossig. For the first six months I worked for the Justizrat Timendorfer, who played a leading role among the Jewish freemasons. His partner was Alfred Story. I was on excellent terms with both of them (unfortunately, Story was killed serving as an officer in the Great War). There was not much work for me, and I devoted myself to editing the *Journal for Demography and Statistics of the Jews*, writing almost all of it myself. I also attended Zionist conferences and conventions. When the [Seventh] Zionist Congress was being held in Basle in 1905, I gave some lectures on assimilation as part of the course on Palestine organized by Dr Nossig at the university there. I was so poorly prepared for the first lecture that I almost ran out of material before the end. I was therefore all the more suprised when many listeners, amongst them Professor Otto Warburg, congratulated me afterwards. After the congress I went to Weggis, together with many of the delegates (among them Chaim Weizmann and his young wife), for a holiday.

In January 1906 I was transferred to the provincial court at Naumburg, where I remained for six months. In this small place, the Jewish lawyers were even more isolated than in Magdeburg. Apart from myself, there was one other Jew, the *Referendar* Heilbrunn (who later practised in Erfurt). We frequently went for walks together in the lovely surroundings of Naum-

burg and discussed Jewish and legal subjects. At about this time I became fascinated by botany. I began to make a herbarium, went for almost daily walks to collect plants and spent many hours a day in drying, classifying and arranging them. I neglected all my other – much more important – work; botany had taken hold of me as if it had been an illness. I still possess the herbarium with more than 300 plants. It had its use, because since then I have felt at home among plants.

In the autumn of 1906 I went to Berlin to take my professional examination. This consisted of two essays – one to be written within six weeks, the other within three – and an oral examination. At the time I had again developed some sort of hobby (a statistical research or something of that sort) and did not do anything about the main essay for the first three weeks, until it suited me to tackle it. In consequence, it was bad or only passable, and only the fact that the second essay was good and that I did very well in the oral examination allowed me to pass the examination in March 1907. This was my final examination and concluded 'the time of trial'.

Naumburg, 24 July 1906

When acquaintances ask me why I chose to become a lawyer, I am in the habit of answering jokingly: because it is the only discipline which did not attract me. There is quite a lot of truth in that joke. Although I realize that legal knowledge is essential to the social scientist – which is how I classify myself – I would hardly have begun to study for a degree in law out of pure inclination, whereas I have studied a lot of medicine and science because I was interested, and I am always concerned with increasing my knowledge. And so I am quite right in saying that I have forced myself to study law. My ability to think and write clearly and to the point has benefited by it enormously.

7 My Attitude to Judaism

In Rawitsch, I had felt very close to the Jewish tradition, and after we moved to Magdeburg this feeling lasted for another few years; but it lessened during my time in business, when I had to work on Saturdays and began to meet 'liberal' Jews. The Jewish community in Magdeburg had been in existence only since the 19th century, when Jewish families had moved there from the smaller towns, and it lacked a sense of community tradition and ties. Not many Jewish observances were perpetuated, although from 1880 Magdeburg had absorbed an influx of orthodox Jews from Eastern Europe. Halbreich and Winter, my closest friends at school, were still religious, and I was influenced by them; but when I left school I lost touch with them and found my friends among the younger employees in Richard Nathan's firm (Julius Nüsken, Willy Ziegler), who were all Christians, with the exception of my Jewish fellow-apprentice Julius Isaac. Gradually, as I left the Jewish environment and entered a Christian one, I became estranged from Jewish customs.

From 1892 to 1893 I was a member of the Graetz Society for Jewish History and Literature and attended its weekly meetings. Usually, the founder of the society, Rabbi Doctor Rahmer, and twenty to thirty younger members were present. Rahmer was a militant advocate of liberal Judaism and never tired of demanding that we adapt and devote ourselves to all that was German. In 1892 I gave a talk on patriotism to the Graetz Society and suggested that the Jews establish their own sports clubs. Dr Rahmer disagreed, stating that the Jews should join the general (Christian) sports clubs. He was an active member of the Liberal Party and a firm believer in 'progress' and the imminent disappearance of the last traces of social discrimination against the Jews. I did not like him very much because I thought he was an opportunist, more interested in worldly things than in religion. I was also not influenced by the two Jewish teachers who gave us special lessons in Jewish subjects. I attended synagogue on the High Holy Days, ate *matzah* on Passover and more or less kept the fast on Yom Kippur; these were the only ways in which I manifested my Jewishness. My father agreed with me; my devout mother would have wished things otherwise but was much too gentle to reproach me. Many entries in my diary reflect this growing distance from traditional Judaism.

23 July 1891

Today, near our house, I met a Jew who told me that he had been expelled from Russia. He asked me where there was a Jew at whose house he could pray. I took him home. It is nice that such people continue to observe the custom of their fathers, even in a strange country. I am just the opposite. In Rawitsch I was one of the most religious boys; I would rather have bitten off one of my fingers than desecrated the Sabbath by tearing paper, writing, and so forth. Now I tear paper or write on Saturdays with absolute indifference. I cannot even say that I am sorry to have reached this state. I don't think that a Jew is one who keeps the commandments of Moses, but one who believes in a single, all-powerful and eternal God.

24 April 1892

Yesterday I put to the Graetz Society the question of whether the essence of Judaism is the observance of the Jewish rites or a belief in God, the immortality of the soul and so forth. Dr Rahmer answered that the question immediately revealed the attitude of the questioner. Both belief and ritual were part of the essence of Judaism; the one was unthinkable without the other. No religion could exist by virtue of faith alone; customs were also necessary to remind the adherent of his religion. Without ritual, the Jewish religion would have disappeared from the face of the earth long ago. A child, for instance, cannot grasp the essence of faith; he must have something to look at if he is to believe. Not only Judaism but every religion had its ritual and would not relinquish it.

22 May 1892

Conversation with Sally Halbreich: Sally maintains that only one who observes all the prescribed commandments can be a Jew and that belief takes only second place. I say that a Jew is a Jew only through his belief (in God, etc.) and that ritual is balderdash and exaggerated piety. I have every respect for the 'religious' Jews, but I myself am too 'enlightened', and perhaps also too lazy, and cannot be bothered with emulating them.

As I have already mentioned, I had first become aware of anti-Semitism during my school-days in Magdeburg (1887–91). At the time, however, it seemed to me no more than the invention of some malicious schoolmates. During my first few years in business I was hardly aware of anti-Semitism at all. The Christian employees in the firm of Richard Nathan were on the best terms with the Jewish ones. As a matter of fact prejudice was altogether absent in the grain trade, in which there were many Jews. I could also join the general sports club without ever encountering any sort of discrimination. Certainly, the members of this club were mostly skilled and unskilled labourers, and as a business apprentice I ranked slightly above them; perhaps this was the reason why they treated me with respect. It was said that there was anti-Semitism in the 'better' sports club, Jahn, and this was probably why I joined the other one.

The Jews in Magdeburg generally shared their rabbi's view of anti-Semitism, that is, they believed that it was a vestige of bygone ages that

would die out with the spread of 'progress' and 'enlightenment'. This view, incidentally, was shared during the period of liberalism by many Christians, especially those in business and in the large towns. Although the Jews regarded anti-Semitism as an unpleasant phenomenon, it did not stop them from enjoying equality before the law and improving their economic position, while they hoped that this 'old-fashioned' movement would soon disappear. I did not share this optimism, and my ears were sensitive to the distant rumbling of the approaching storm. In my diary entries, I repeatedly expressed the notion that anti-Semitism would one day make it impossible for me to remain in Germany. I also recorded many instance of anti-Semitic insults which I experienced personally.

7 December 1892

(On the occasion of the Ahlwardt trial) I am thinking about anti-Semitism day and night.

9 February 1893

Today we received a letter in which a customer wrote about 'stinking Jews' and 'Jewish cunning', although he was not referring to our firm. We are going to bring an action against the man.

25 February 1893

When I mentioned the possibility (in a conversation with Halbreich) that the Jews may one day be *thrown* out of Germany, Halbreich considered this nonsense. But the possibility is not all that remote. Anti-Semitism is growing by leaps and bounds.

26 March 1893

(Conversation with my Christian collegue Nüsken) I maintained that every Christian had an anti-Semitic streak, no matter how friendly he felt towards the Jews; Nüsken contradicted me.

6 January 1897

Last night I started to read Stirner's *Der Einzige und Sein Eigentum* ['The Individual and His Property']. Among other things, I found his many unfavourable opinions of the Jews very interesting. Could it really be true that the Jews are by nature inferior to the Christians, that is, to the Indo-Germans, at least in certain respects, and especially with regard to their intellectual grasp and so forth? I would find it monstrous to have to believe such a thing.

19 March 1897

It is quite likely that anti-Semitism will one day oblige me to emigrate to a country where it does not exist, e.g., England.

22 March 1897

There are imponderable aspects of the German national character of which we Jews, with our sophistry, are unaware, or at least we are quite incapable of understanding them.

I encountered much more anti-Semitism in 1899 when I left Magdeburg and went to Berlin and then to Halle, and after 1902, when I became a *Referendar* in Cloetze and Naumburg. In all these places the Jews were quite clearly being rejected. Jews were already being excluded from the Christian students' associations – the few exceptions did not alter the fact – and although the relationship between the Christian and Jewish students was superficially correct during the lectures, it never went beyond that stage. In Wyneken, Fiedler and Ziegler I had close Christian friends, but I think that this was exceptional. In Halle, the separation between Christian and Jewish students was even more noticeable than in Berlin. While I was a *Referendar* in Cloetze, I came to realize that among the notables of the small town the Jew was still considered an 'alien'. This did not always result in hatred or contempt, but the Jew was simply considered an 'outsider'. In the small town of Cloetze, it was still possible for me to overcome this prejudice by participating in all the social occasions, and because of my personal qualities as a 'nice' or 'decent' or 'cultured' person, the townsfolk finally more or less accepted me as one of their own and treated me with respect and even fondness. During my service as a *Referendar* in Magdeburg, and especially in Naumburg, however, I had no social contact at all with my Christian colleagues and superiors. In the hotel in Naumburg where I used to lunch, I always shared a table with Heilbrunn, the other Jewish lawyer, and remained separated from all our other colleagues. While making a public speech in Magdeburg commemorating a Jewish judge who had shared his chambers, the president of the county court said, in my presence, 'I thought very highly of him, in spite of his being a Jew,' and this attitude was typical. The honest and well-meaning judge inadvertently revealed that in his circles, the Jew, despite his political and civic equality, was at the time (1904) in fact considered an alien.

I heard of Jewish national and Zionist aspirations for the first time in February 1892, when a young business apprentice, Boschwitz, gave an enthusiastic account of them to the Graetz Society. Dr Rahmer described these aspirations as phantoms, irreconcilable with reality. I myself was undecided, and after the talk I came home and made the following entry in my diary.

24 April 1892

Boschwitz works for the creation of a new Jewish state (he also represents a Jewish national paper in Magdeburg); he is religious and well read in everything concerning Judaism. A constant feud exists between him and Dr Rahmer. There may well be something in his fanciful idea of a new Jewish state. In fact, I am extremely interested in it; but I am doing my utmost to banish the thought, as I feel completely German.

Gradually, however, it began to dawn on me that differences between Christians and Jews went beyond the religious sphere. In a discussion

about anti-Semitism in February 1893, my boss Nathan said: 'Actually, I am not really a Jew at all; I never attend the synagogue.' To which I answered: 'But you are still a Jew because you belong to the Jewish nation, even if you don't belong to the Jewish religion.'

I remained interested in the idea of Zionism, and between 1897 and 1901 I attended some Zionist meetings, but the talks I heard meant nothing to me. I wanted to have facts about the prospects of settling in Palestine and was given only phrases. I fared no better in 1901, when, as a student in Halle, I went to Leipzig in order to listen to a Zionist lecture. The form and content of the lecture repelled rather than attracted. In 1902 and 1903, however, I heard Samuel Gronemann and Albert Goldberg (Neuenahr) speak in Magdeburg, and their lectures were considerably better. It was also in Magdeburg that I got to know Eduard Löwe, a Zionist, with whom I had many discussions. My interest also grew through my correspondence with an enthusiastic Russian Zionist, Sarah Rabinowitz, who had written a doctoral thesis on the Russian working class. I was also deeply hurt by anti-Semitism, which became more and more difficult to ignore, and the news about the suffering of the Russian Jews under the czarist regime. On 21 August 1902 I wrote a poem about it called 'My Fatherland, A Jew's Lament': 'I am rejected by the country of my childhood, / It does not want my love any more.' It expresses rebellion at the thought of belonging nowhere, until suddenly 'I see many thousands, armed. / They are coming from the East. / They are calling.' I answer their call and ask for a sword, to share with my brothers: 'The highest aim in life, / The fight for the homeland.' I continued to move closer to Zionism as a result of my concern with the Jewish problem, which I can trace back to 1897.

Every day, my attention was drawn to the Jewish problem by the anti-Semitism which was becoming more and more vociferous in the newspapers and at meetings and particularly by the Dreyfus trial, over which I became tremendously excited. I felt a desire to find out what had caused the Jews to arrive at their special position. Aphoristic comments in my diary, the first of them dating from 1892, show that I had noticed certain psychological differences between Jews and Christians and that as early as 1892 I had considered writing something about the Jews.

6 June 1892

I have a few subjects which are suitable for lectures or pamphlets, including 'Against the anti-Semites', 'Judaism in the Year 2000' and 'Patriotism among the Jews'.

Certainly, at that time I got no further than the intention to write. Five or six years passed before I took the thought up again.

18 December 1898

Last night I stayed at home and read Shakespeare and suddenly I started to write on 'Judaism and its future'. I don't quite know what got into me. While I was writing, many good ideas came to me, and I am thinking of finishing the theme (as a pamphlet of 100–150 pages). It is meant to explain my opinion about Judaism and my attitude towards it.

The long-winded and vague title of the treatise was: 'The Jews in the Past, the Present and the Future: An Historic Sketch of the Development of the Jews with Special Reference to Their Economic Significance and Attitude to the Most Important Contemporary Problems'. At that time (1896–9) I was under the influence of Marx's materialistic view of history. I searched the whole of history for confirmation that this view was correct and also applied it to Jewish history according to the biblical tradition. In 1899, when I went to Berlin as a student, I read some extracts to my Christian friends Wyneken, Fiedler and Ziegler and they laughed at me. How could I talk of Abraham and Moses as historical personages and of biblical stories as records of actual historical events? Had I never heard of Bible criticism and its conclusions? I had not, but at once eagerly plunged into this subject and thereby became even more involved with Jewish history.

One day, while sitting in a political economy section of Berlin University, I came across a book of statistics which contained some particulars about contemporary Prussian Jews. I found this so absorbing that I lost my usually reliable sense of time; when I had finished reading I thought that it would be five o'clock, and in reality it was already seven or eight o'clock. I then decided to add to my essay on the Jews a chapter on the Jews of our time. In the end, things turned out otherwise. I used this statistical material for an article on the social conditions of the Jews in Prussia, which was published in 1902 in Conrad's *Year-Book of Political Economy and Statistics* (Vol. 78). It was probably the first article on Jews which employed statistics, was strictly methodical and appeared in a general scientific publication. From there I turned to a similar investigation – based on statistical material – on Jews in other countries and collected a great deal of material. Meanwhile, my faith in the materialistic view of history had been shaken. I wrote a critical analysis of it as a prize-winning essay entitled *Darwinism and Social Science* and discarded my manuscript on Jewish history viewed from a materialistic point of view. The material I had collected on the social conditions of the Jews of the time was so abundant and of such interest to me that I decided to make use of it for a a separate book.

In the spring of 1903, I had completed the plan of such a book in my mind, but I was aware that the work would suffer under a handicap: I had no personal knowledge of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. Until then I had met

only the Jews in Germany, and of these really only the liberal, assimilated section. I had had no close contact either with Jews who had immigrated to Germany from Eastern Europe or with the orthodox German Jews. I was afraid that my ignorance of East European Jewry might lead me to draw unreliable conclusions based upon my knowledge of the Jews in Germany. I therefore decided not to write the book until I had also visited among the Jews in Eastern Europe. The Haeckel prize, which I had just received, enabled me to afford such a journey. Originally I had Russia in mind; but as Jews were refused a visa, except in certain exceptional circumstances, I had to resign myself to Galicia.

On the day I began my journey I made the following entry in my diary.

9 May 1903

Having been granted leave by the president of the country court, I left Magdeburg at 4.45 p.m.; Mama and Lisa went with me to the station. My investment in the journey amounts to four weeks' time and expenses, which I estimate at 250 marks. Its consequences may be important, if it will help me to reach a firm opinion on the question of Zionism or assimilation, on which I have so far been quite undecided.

As I was getting on to the train today, I had to admit to myself that I had reached the point of going more or less unintentionally. From a practical point of view, the journey is, after all, a rather aimless adventure, but a sort of psychological need drove me to make it. Perhaps I am also prompted by the fact that I shall presumably meet Sarah Rabinowitz, who, to judge by her letters, must be a very special girl; she is travelling in Galicia on behalf of some Jewish society.

I had never been to Vienna before and was very impressed by it; Maximillian Paul-Schiff gave me a great many letters of introduction to Jewish notables and to the principals of the Hirsch school in Galicia which were later very useful to me. After two days I left for Cracow. On this journey I saw 'real' Jews, with *peyot* and caftans, for the first time. In Cracow I went for a walk from the Jewish quarter to the centre of town and entertained myself by statistically recording the mode of dress of the adult Jews I saw: 230 with *peyot* and a caftan; 25 without *peyot* but with a caftan; 92 without *peyot* and without a caftan. I also visited Rabbi Osias Thon* there. At the time I could not have known that his brother, Jacob Thon, would one day be my closest collaborator in Palestine.

Most of the experiences of this journey, which I noted in my diary because they were novel and therefore seemed worth mention, now appear trivial and commonplace. I will present only a few excerpts.

Cracow, 15 May 1903

9.30 to the Jewish quarter. Very dirty, noisy, untidy. In the Romo Synagogue a service was held commemorating Rabbi Moshe Isserles. In the old cemetery hordes

* Osias Thon (1870–1938), writer, philosopher, and leader of Zionism and Jewry in Galicia.

of Jews with black cords around their caftans are praying by the rabbi's grave. They throw bits of paper with wishes, as well as tufts of grass, on the grave so that the rabbi, who performed miracles, might continue to help them. Much economic misery: a shoemaker, his wife and three children have a miserable hole of a room where they live and which also serves as his workshop. Fish and pickled gherkins are sold by the piece.

Tarnopol, 18 May 1903

I realize that I cannot come into closer contact with the Jews in the larger towns. Also, because they have already absorbed a lot of European influence, I am quickly moved to go on to the very small towns . . . Ate in a Jewish restaurant and at four o'clock went by farmer's cart to the little town of Kozlow, which is two-and-a-half miles from Tarnopol. On the way I was completely soaked by rain and felt fearfully cold; inwardly, I was cursing my decision to make this journey. Arrived in Koslow at six o'clock; visited the principal of the Hirsch school, Nathan Willner. Later visited the homes of workers; terrible poverty. Frequently, two families with children share one small room. No beds, only wooden planks. A woman just preparing tripe told us that she had bought it together with four calf's feet for 25 kreutzer. She hopes to sell the calf's feet for 16 kreutzer after she has prepared them, so that the tripe will only have cost 9 kreutzer; this would provide the family with lunch for two days.

We visited a businessman who was indignant about the oppression of the Jews. Although he was a town councillor, he was completely helpless when a junior post-office clerk recently insulted him. When I asked another Jew if the authorities showed less respect for the Jews than for the farmers, he answered: 'Respect? Do people respect a mouse?'

The daily wages of a worker amount to 30–40 kreutzer; a servant girl receives 2 guilder a month. Traders earn no more than 3 guilder a week. There are still a few Jewish farmers in the neighbourhood of Kozlow, but fewer than there used to be: they can't keep going without the income from breeding pigs. A Jew is president of the Cech, the guild to which all the workmen belong. There are more Jewish than Christian workmen in the town.

On the whole, I spent the time talking to Jews in the street or in cafés, the synagogues or their homes. I put something like the following questions to workmen (and similar questions to other Jews):

1 How's business? (Answer mostly: good, bad, how do you expect it to be? As in all small towns in Galicia. As it pleases God.)

2 Were you born here? Where was your wife born?

3 How many children? How old? What schools do they go to? How much are the school fees? Are your children already earning? By what means?

4 What did your father do for a living? What did your wife's father do?

5 Is this house your own? How much is it worth? Or: What rent do you pay?

6 How old are you? How old is your wife?

7 Do you lay *tefillin*? (Answer, indignantly: Well, so *what*?) Do you go to study in the *bet ha-midrash* on Saturdays?

8 How much do you earn a week? (Most of them can't answer this; none of them know their yearly income.)

9 How many times a week do you eat meat?

10 How are things here for workmen generally? Were they better in the past?

11 Have you a master's diploma?

12 What plans do you have (emigration, Zionism)?

I did not always get the information. Although most people did not think it extraordinary to be asked questions by a stranger, some of them were suspicious or asked questions in turn. One woman insisted on knowing why I was asking these questions. She was not satisfied with my answer: 'I am generally interested in the conditions of the Jews.' 'But what for?' she obstinately continued to ask. Apparently she wanted to know in what way I was going to benefit. In another place the wife of the landlord told me that she had already heard that I was there in order to distribute money on behalf of Baron Hirsch. I left the place in a hurry because I was afraid of being besieged by people.

I did not meet Sarah Rabinowitz in Galicia; I always missed her by a few hours or a few days. A goldsmith in Kolomea told me that she and her travelling companion, Frau Pappenheim, had called on him a few days earlier and had bought something from him; they had spoken only a few words, but those had been 'as sweet as honey'. In Halicz I investigated the conditions of the Karaites and especially the question of whether the in-breeding which is prevalent in this small community is detrimental to the health of the children.

I had heard so much about the miracle rabbis (*rebbes*) that I was naturally very anxious to meet them. I visited the rabbi in Czortkow and later the rabbi in Belz. The house of the rabbi in Czortkow was very imposing (the local Jews called it a palace), with a magnificent synagogue and a splendid room for the rabbi's prayers. I arrived in the morning and the *shamash* gave me a '*quittel*', a sort of entrance ticket to the rabbi, who does not receive visitors until midnight (until then he prays.) I gave the *shamash* my visting-card, on which I am described as a *Referendar*. In answer to his question, I explained that 'a *Referendar* is someone who wants to be a barrister but has still to pass an examination'. I spent a few hours waiting at an inn opposite the 'palace', and because I 'had travelled such a long way', I was the first to be received at midnight. I handed my '*quittel*' to the rabbi, who was a white-haired, venerable old man with the face of an Aztec (receding forehead). He said something to me, but as I did not understand a word, I made no response. He spoke for the second time: the same silence. He then

called the *shamash*, asked him something, placed his hands on my head and said: 'God will help you,' and I was dismissed, naturally utterly perplexed. Explanation of the mystery: the *shamash* apparently told him that I was about to take an examination and wanted to have his blessing. The blessing, apparently, did me no harm, because four years later I passed my final examination.

What seemed to me unintelligible superstition was absolute truth to some. Hundreds of people waited together with me at the inn, including an intelligent Jew from Russia who had been consulting the rabbi about his business for months. He was completely satisfied with the result; the rabbi was a second Bismarck, had an excellent memory and sound judgement and foresaw the future. A Jew from Galicia who now lives in London came to the rabbi in Czortkow twice a year. His present journey cost him 800 guilder, and he brought the rabbi a present of twenty-five silver spoons.

My meeting with the rabbi of Belz was very peculiar. I arrived in Belz by train on the evening before Shavuot. The train was filled with Jews who were on their way to the rabbi. All were wearing – apart from incredibly long *peyot* – similar black, round, velvet hats, and some wore sandals. We arrived in Belz in the afternoon. The long procession of Jews from the station over the meadows to the town reminded me of a mass migration. Belz normally has 3,000 Jews, out of a total population of 6,000; that day everybody seemed to be a Jew, as thousands of Jewish visitors, including some from Hungary and Russia, had streamed in from outside. In the evening I went to the synagogue. There were no benches, and several thousand Jews were standing closely packed together, swaying in prayer like the corn in the wind. When the rabbi appeared the service began. Everybody tried to get as close to him as possible. The rabbi led the prayers in a thin, weeping voice. It seemed to arouse a sort of ecstasy in the listeners. They closed their eyes, violently swaying. The loud praying sounded like a gale. Anyone seeing these Jews in prayer would have concluded that they were the most religious people on earth.

After the synagogue service (10.30 p.m.) I joined the others at the rabbi's home to watch the supper. In a huge room, with an unbelievable crowd, people were packed shoulder to shoulder. By chance, I was noticed by the rabbi's attendant, whom I had previously met in the street. I had told him that I had come from Berlin. He had been pleased that some one should come such a distance to visit the rabbi and had told me kindly: 'Berlin, well, 200 years ago there were some famous people living there.' As far as he was concerned, the city had lost its significance with the disappearance of the great talmudic scholars. The attendant helped me to make my way through the crowd and showed me to a seat on a window-sill just above the rabbi's chair; from there I would be able to see and hear everything. When the rabbi came, many more people climbed on to the window-sill,

on which there was space, at most, for three people to sit, and so I had to get up and stand. I stood there, together with ten others, for three whole hours, hemmed in and terribly hot. When I took my hat off for a moment in order to wipe the sweat away, my neighbour dug me in the ribs: that was no way to behave; the place I was in was not a café. So I put my hat on again and continued to suffer, holding on to the window frame with one hand and one leg dangling in the air. I think I have never paid for the privilege of observing with such a physical effort, but I had to endure it, as the crowd made it impossible to reach the exit. It was nearly midnight before the rabbi appeared and began to eat the supper consisting of fish, soup, meat and stewed fruit. The rabbi touched the food, dipped the bread in the sauces with his fingers (there was no knife and fork, though there was a spoon for the soup), divided the fish and the meat by hand and handed the pieces to his dinner guests (rabbis from the neighbourhood) and other people at table, who pounced on them greedily (the fish bones are preserved as relics). People fought over the sauce-boats in order to dip their fingers into them. The attendant brought a piece of fish to me too and was extremely surprised when I made some excuse to refuse it. After the meal, the rabbi quietly made a speech, of which I could not understand a word.

It was impossible for me to talk to the rabbi. I was told by a Jewish doctor that the rabbi enjoyed the protection of the head of the local government, who needed him in order to be elected. I found out that only ten per cent of the Jews in Belz have a yearly income of more than 600 guilder, which enables them to rent a room with a kitchen and to have more or less enough to eat. Of the other ninety per cent, half have a weekly income of 3–6 guilder; the rest are beggars. There is a lot of typhus because of inadequate drainage. The Jews of Belz are known as being particularly religious, and none are without caftan and *peyot* there. The slighest deviation from the traditional costume brands a person as 'German', that is, as a heretic. Parents send their sons to the *heder* and try, by every means possible, to prevent them from attending a secular school, for fear that the children might lose their 'Jewishness'.

The Jewish deputy mayor of Jaroslau explained to me that the Jews of Galicia had only two alternatives: to introduce industry or to continue to emigrate in large numbers to America; he considered Zionism utopian and harmful. He thought that 10,000 of the 15,000 Jews in Jaroslau did not know at the beginning of the day where their next meal was coming from.

In Tarnow I saw a Christian chopping wood for a Jew. When I asked the Jew why he did not let one of the many unemployed Jewish workers do this work for him, he answered: 'A Jew does not undertake such work, even when he is starving; it is not suitable for a Jew.' I talked to the Torah scribe, who had married his daughter to a *yeshivah* student. I asked the daughter what her husband would do when her father would no longer

support the two of them. Her answer: 'Why bother to worry about the future?'

Parents and sons are ready to make enormous sacrifices to enable a son to study at the university. They regard it as 'the only way out'. In Stanislau I met a very intelligent young man who was studying law at Lemberg University but who could not afford to live there. He was therefore studying from legal books at his parents' home, an extremely wretched place. He also helped his parents, who were small traders. Law is the favourite subject of these poor sons because it is much easier than studying medicine at home from books.

The parents' greatest concern, however, is to marry off their daughters. In the whole of Tarnow there is only *one* Jewish spinster, who is regarded as a curiosity. The main consideration in choosing a marriage partner is whether or not he or she comes from a 'good' family. Among the Hasidim, engagements between children (eight to twelve years old) are still taking place. Marriages of thirteen- to fourteen-year-old boys to girls of the same age are not exceptional, and they are immediately consummated. It is interesting that among the Jews, proof of virginity (a bloody shift, etc.) is provided, as it is among primitive peoples. The minimal dowry is a few hundred guilder. Instead of the dowry, the father-in-law frequently provides the son-in-law with '*Kost*', that is, he houses and feeds him. The bride and groom are not asked their opinion when a marriage is being arranged; this matter is the exclusive concern of the parents. The girls are frequently more intelligent than the men they marry and do not love them, but submit to the inevitable and become model mothers. Family life is perfect.

The use of soap is forbidden (because it is not *kosher*), as is the tooth-brush (because it is something new). A father who saw his daughter using a tooth-brush said to her: 'You might as well have yourself baptized immediately.'

The entire journey took about three weeks, but I had made such thorough use of every day that I believed I had gained a reasonable insight into the life of the Jews. I saw that in Galicia, 'being Jewish' did not mean loosely belonging to a 'confession', as it did in Germany, but being firmly related to a certain ethnic and cultural group. I saw the differences between the upper classes, tending towards assimilation, and the masses, who were still firmly rooted in tradition. I saw the economic misery and the strong creative urge, whether expressed in the study of the Talmud or in the preparations for a legal or medical degree. The Jewish problem began to look quite different to me. I was very glad that I had collected these impressions before I began to write my book about the Jews.

I still hesitated, however. Certainly, I had met assimilated Jews in Germany, and now in Galicia I had also gained a certain insight into the lives of Jews who continued to observe the traditions; but I did not know the

Jews who had chosen the middle path between tradition and assimilation. I was hoping that the Dutch Jews or the East European immigrants in England would provide examples. I therefore decided to travel via Holland to England in September 1903. I visited The Hague, Amsterdam, Rotterdam, London, Liverpool and Manchester, where I met my former friend Sally Halbreich, who was now a doctor there. The following description of Jewish life in the streets of Amsterdam dates from this journey.

It is Saturday evening. We are in the Jodenbreestraat, the main street of the Jewish quarter in Amsterdam. Jews dressed in their best clothes are walking past, enjoying the summer evening. On every doorstep, people are sitting and talking; at every corner large groups are gossiping and joking. Here a Jewish soldier is laughing as he flirts with a Jewish servant girl; there a group of younger lads are indulging in coarser jokes with young Jewish working girls. A party of Jewish orphan girls becomingly dressed in an old-fashioned manner are returning to the orphanage, accompanied by their teachers.

Until now it has been comparatively quiet in the street; suddenly everything comes to life; Saturday is over. There is the clutter of shutters being raised from the shop-windows, of doors opening; people are leaving the gossiping groups to hurry to their work. Within a few minutes begin the deafening street calls of the traders, who appear with their hand carts to offer fruit, coconuts, pickled gherkins, etc. for sale. Such things are also sold by street pedlars in other towns, but what I had never seen sold before were pieces of roasted beef liver, which are apparently in great demand, and pieces of herring, which are eagerly bought. To meet the demand, the dealer in herrings untiringly cuts one salted herring after another into five or six pieces. A piece costs 1 cent, which also gives the purchaser the right to help himself to sliced onion from a large bowl, into which everybody dips his hand.

The material conditions of the Jews in Amsterdam are largely connected with the diamond industry, as more than half of the approximately 55,000 Jews are directly dependent on it. Some of the many places where diamonds are cut employ about 500 or more Jewish workers exclusively. Of course, these are not factory workers in the usual sense of the word; they represent a workmen's *élite*, partly because of the value of the material which they handle, which requires special care and attention, and partly because of the delicacy of their work, which demands considerable intelligence. Many of the Jewish workers look handsome and strong. What is noticeable is that many of their faces do not look at all Jewish. Anyone who maintains that the Jews are racially uniform and pure should take a look at these workers.

Apart from the diamond workers, there are, of course, other Jewish workers in Amsterdam. For example, I saw about fifteen Jewish, together with an equal number of Christian, workmen demolishing a house under the direction of a Jewish foreman. Complete political equality and the absence of the least sign of anti-Semitism have allowed the Jews to enter every conceivable profession and trade. They can be found in the police and the ministries, in business and in the professions. The great majority of the Jews are still living in the old Jewish quarter or in its immediate vicinity, but the wealthier minority has settled in other parts of the city.

The two synagogues, the Sephardi and the Ashkenazi, are more than 200 years old, and the inscriptions on private houses, giving the year they were built according to the Jewish calendar, show that many of them are even older. On the Waterlooplein, one house bears the year 5422 (1661), and another bears the year 5490 and a relief representing the sacrifice of Isaac.

The façade of the Portuguese synagogue, a large square building, is very plain. Compared with the Ashkenazi synagogue, which services a community of 50,000, the size of the large Sephardi synagogue is now out of proportion to the 5,000-member Sephardi community in the city. The former social gap between the Sephardim and the Ashkenazim has almost disappeared; the Sephardim no longer consider themselves to be superior and more distinguished Jews. This is particularly apparent in marriage patterns. Marriages between Sephardim and Ashkenazim used to be extremely rare; today the number of intermarriages between the two groups is greater than the number of pure Sephardi marriages. The difference between the two communities today is almost entirely confined to variations in the synagogue service and synagogue dress. The religious Sephardim wear plus-fours with white stockings and a black three-cornered hat to synagogue (a custom which has been preserved since the community lived in Spain), and they look very handsome.

My walks through the Amsterdam Jewish quarter were strongly reminiscent of those in the Jewish quarters of Lemberg, Cracow and other towns in Galicia: first because of the unconcern with which all kinds of refuse is thrown into the street (many of the houses in the Jewish quarter are still without drainage); second, because most of the social life of the adult population takes place in the streets, which have consequently become unpleasant; and finally, because of the extraordinarily large number of children romping about the streets. Hundreds and hundreds of children crowd the narrow ways, and some of the streets, like the Rapenburgerstraat and the Valkenburgerstraat, are literally black with children on nice afternoons. There is no evidence here of the declining Jewish birth-rate which has been noticeable in other Western countries. The Jews in Amsterdam do not share the strict moral attitude towards sex which exists in the most wretched Jewish communities in Galicia. Love affairs between girls and young men are not at all rare and in many cases result not in marriage, but only in illegitimate children. At some street corners, Jewish lads can be seen loafing about, and their appearance marks them quite clearly as the *souteneur* type. There is a decline in the devotion to Judaism and in the observance of the Jewish ritual laws. Many of the old Jewish women still cut off their hair and wear a wig, but this custom has almost disappeared among the younger women. Marriages between Jews and Christians, which were once completely unknown, though still not common today, are also no longer rare.

In England – where I was for about three weeks – I spent most of my time in Whitechapel and was indeed able to study all the stages of the gradual adjustment of the East European Jew to the English culture. On my return trip from England, when I had to wait in the harbour of Hoek van Holland for several hours, I wrote down the disposition of the book about the Jews in one go, and as soon as I had returned to Magdeburg I began to write it.

I finished the book within a few weeks and offered it to Calvary & Co. in Berlin, and it was accepted. The book was published under the title *Die Juden der Gegenwart* ['The Jews of Today']* in the spring of 1904.

The Jews of Today was a new departure in the literature on the Jewish question. People were used to books pleading for or against the Jews, but they did not know what to do with a book which did not take sides but confined itself to marshalling the facts as objectively as possible. The book was given a mixed reception in the Jewish press: the assimilationists tended to disapprove of it, the Zionists to approve. A particularly enthusiastic review of the second edition, written by Adolf Böhm,** appeared in the *Jüdische Rundschau*, the weekly of the Zionist Federation of Germany.

One day in the spring of 1904, not long after the publication of *The Jews of Today*, I read in a Jewish newspaper that Dr Alfred Nossig had founded an Association for Jewish Statistics in Berlin and was looking for a director for it. I applied for the position and was invited by Dr Nossig to come to Berlin to discuss the matter. Nossig, a Jew from Galicia, was at once painter, sculptor, writer, politician and social worker. We quickly reached an agreement; he told me that he was thinking of calling himself 'general director' and me 'general secretary'; surprised and amused, I agreed. He then introduced me to a young man from Lemberg, Dr Jacob Thon, who was to act as my 'secretary'. The discussion took place at Dr Nossig's home in Berlin-Halensee, and when it was over Thon and I went for a walk, during which he told me about himself. No more than twenty-three years old, Thon had come to Berlin with his young wife as soon as he had completed his doctorate. He had no paid employment and no means. Thon impressed me very much by confessing quite frankly, although the position would probably save him from want, that he knew nothing about statistics and doubted whether they served any purpose. He became my faithful assistant in the Bureau of Jewish Statistics and Demography and proved to be an indefatigable worker. When his son Theodor was born in 1905, I attended the circumcision and met his wife, Sarah, who later, from 1912 to 1916, provided me with lodging and board in her home in Tel Aviv. Thon himself, with his enthusiasm for a Jewish National Home in Palestine, was largely responsible for my decision in 1907 to make a journey to Palestine in order to study the conditions there. Thon himself emigrated to Palestine towards the end of 1907. From then onwards he remained my faithful collaborator.

* The second edition was published in 1911; the English edition, translated by Margery Bentwich, was published in London in 1913; the Hebrew edition, translated by Yosef Haim Brenner, was published in 1914; and the Italian edition, translated by Dante Lattes and Moshe Beilinson, in 1922.

**Adolf Böhm (1873–1941), Viennese Zionist and historian of the Zionist movement.

The Bureau for Statistics of the Jews was only a vague idea in Dr Nossig's mind; he felt that it was necessary to know more about the actual conditions of the Jews, but he had no idea how this knowledge was to be acquired. In 1903 he had published a collection entitled *Jüdische Statistik* containing many articles on the conditions of the Jews, but most of these had been written by amateurs and were of no value. From a scientific point of view, the book was beneath criticism. I explained this to him and suggested that we found a journal for Jewish demography and statistics in order to publish articles by experts and especially any statistical material available about the Jews throughout the world. He readily agreed to this, especially as I estimated that the cost of the journal would be low and was prepared to combine the post of editor with that of 'general secretary' without asking for an increase in my salary of 200 marks a month. As it turned out, the printing expenses were the only costs we had to lay out on the journal, which began to appear in January 1905 under my editorship (as I wrote most of it myself), assisted by Thon (who was still inexperienced in statistics). In September 1904 I moved from Magdeburg to work as a barrister in Berlin and was busy from morning until late at night. Much of my time was spent visiting the libraries, especially that of the Prussian Statistical Office, to find statistical information about the Jews in the recent publications of every country and then writing them up for the journal. I had to compile and work out every table by myself. The Association for Jewish Statistics could not meet even the minimum needs (salary for Thon and myself and the printing costs of the journal), and I frequently had to pay the expenses out of my own pocket, while my salary was months in arrears; however, I considered it my duty to see that the journal appeared punctually and contained a wealth of reliable material. I personally benefited greatly by acquiring, in the course of time, quite an exceptional knowledge of the sources of statistical material about the Jews. When I went to Naumberg for half a year in 1906, I edited the journal from there. In 1907 Bruno Blau became the editor, and later Jacob Segall assumed the post and edited it until 1930.

When I wrote my book *The Jews of Today*, my attitude to Zionism was still ambivalent. I considered the diplomatic Zionism of Herzl hopeless and unrealistic. I began to draw closer to Zionism only after I went to Berlin in 1904 and came into contact with the circle of 'practical' Zionists (Berthold Feiwel, Davis Trietsch, Martin Buber, Hans Gideon Heimann), who were dreaming of Jewish settlements in Palestine. In 1903, when the British government suggested to Theodor Herzl the colonization of Uganda, the Zionists were deeply stirred and divided. It annoyed me that in spite of the division and anger, Uganda itself and the possibilities of colonization there were hardly discussed at all. I procured official British reports on Uganda and gave a lecture to a Zionist society in Berlin, explaining that its

climate made Uganda unsuitable for settling large numbers of Jews there.

My knowledge of the Zionist movement and of East European Jewry increased enormously through my friendship with Jacob Thon. I joined the Zionist Organization officially in March 1905, and by the summer of that year I was already attending the [Seventh] Zionist Congress in Basle, although not as a delegate.

Berlin, 16 July 1905

Apart from the legal and the statistical work which I have been doing, I have in the past few months devoted much time to attending a great many Zionist meetings and conferences. On 1 March I paid the *shekel* and so joined the Zionist Organization. Feiwel, Trietsch, Dr Buber, Dr Nossig, Hans Gideon Heimann, Elias Auerbach, Israel Auerbach, Dr Thon and Dr Julius Becker were present during a number of conferences, as the result of which a resolution was drafted and printed. Unlike the official Zionist resolution, it rejected the so-called 'charter' and demanded an immediate start of the settlement of Palestine. The plan was not published; instead, the leaders of the official Zionist party in Germany began to negotiate with us. At a conference attended by the 'official' Zionists Dr Klee and Arthur Hantke, we drafted a new, more moderate resolution, then adopted in its essentials at a meeting of the German Zionist Central Committee in Cologne and published.

On the whole, I am still very far from being a Zionist like all the other Zionists. I still regard the whole matter very critically and dismiss as nonsense some of the things which are considered of world-shaking importance by the Zionists, especially all the party politics and 'foreign policy'.

My visit to the congress in Basle has not altered my attitude towards Zionism in either direction. Among the people who attended the congress were many who were deeply and sincerely enthusiastic, but also quite a number who were vain and empty headed. The congress made no progress with the matter in hand, but rather the opposite. I see no opportunity here in Germany which would allow one to be of active assistance in the matter. But, if I could go to Palestine, it might be possible to do something there.

By 1907 I had become such an ardent Zionist that I set out on a private journey to study the conditions of the Jews in Palestine, with the help of letters of recommendation from the Zionist Organization. I imagined large-scale settlement and became so enthusiastic about the possibility that I accepted, without hesitation, the suggestion of the Zionist Actions Committee to emigrate to Palestine as the representative of the Zionist Organization. I became a Zionist during the seven years between the publication of the first and second edition of *The Jews of Today*. This spiritual development is quite clear in the prefaces to these two editions.

PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

What has led me to undertake this book has been the fact that a comprehensive work on the Jews from the point of view of social science does not yet exist. The

numerous publications about the Jews and about Judaism which appear every year are more concerned to prophesy and to preach than to explain, showing rather what ought to be than what is. My main concern, on the contrary, has been to ascertain facts by means of statistics and to create in this way a firm foundation for the discussion of the many problems of Judaism. Because I am a Jew, the fate of the Jewish people is more than a purely scientific question for me, and I have therefore not refrained from drawing conclusions from the facts and from expressing opinions and expectations concerning the future. Perhaps these diagnoses and prognoses will not meet with general approval. But a diagnosis must be made not according to the expectations of a third person, but according to one's best knowledge and belief. This is what I have done. I remain open to objective arguments.

Magdeburg, 28 August 1904

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

This book, which was written seven years ago, is now appearing in a completely revised edition. I have not significantly changed my opinions since expressing them in the first edition, the revision has been made necessary by the fact that with this second edition I have set for myself a new aim. At the time of the first edition, reliable and complete Jewish statistics did not yet exist, and I therefore considered it my main task 'to ascertain facts' by means of statistics. In the meantime, all available statistical material about the Jews has been collected and published, either in the *Journal for Jewish Demography and Statistics*, which has been appearing since 1905, or in the 'Publications of the Bureau of Jewish Statistics and Demography'; I have therefore been able to confine myself considerably in this respect. In many places, I have thus been able to refer the reader to these sources and to relieve the book of statistical accessories. On the other hand, I have extended the scope of the book in other respects and endeavoured to provide a complete picture of the social realities and trends of contemporary Jewry, and to consider objectively the dangers of assimilation and the prospects of Jewish nationalist aspirations. This has been made easier for me by the fact that I have during the past seven years become familiar with the Jewish organizations, East European Jews, the Middle East generally and especially Palestine, and have thus in many respects been able to reach sounder conclusions based upon my own opinions. Whether I have been able to anticipate correctly the future development of matters which at the moment are still in their beginnings, the future itself will have to decide. I make no claim to being a prophet, but the signs of the time demand an interpretation, and I have given *mine*.

Jaffa, 12 January 1911

When I emigrated to Palestine I often remembered how many 'coincidences' were necessary for life to take me in that direction. To mention only a few:

1 It is obvious that I would neither have written sociological books about the Jews nor have reached a leading position in the work for Palestine if I had remained in business and not changed course to study. But that could not have happened if (a) in 1899 Cantor Winter in Magdeburg

had not told me that in order to study law it was necessary to have a classical grammar-school education, and if I had not in consequence persuaded my father to take me out of the secondary school and register me in the fourth form of the classical Wilhelm Gymnasium; (b) if the principal of the secondary school had not been prepared to exempt my father from paying the 3 marks for the final report, which was necessary to change to another school and which he could not pay; (c) if we had not happened to live in the back of the house where the grain merchant Richard Nathan had his office (in this way my father met Nathan) and I had not become an apprentice in his firm and done so exceptionally well that I was able to support my parents and save enough money to support myself while I was studying; (d) if I had not by chance learned from my former class-mate Sally Halbreich in 1894 that it was possible to take the matriculation examination as an 'external student', thereupon decided to do so and passed.

2 If I had not succeeded, in 1904–5, to practise in Berlin, I would have had to reject Dr Nossig's offer to manage the Bureau for Statistics of the Jews which was about to be opened there. My written application to be transferred from Magdeburg to Berlin was rejected by the president of the supreme court. I went to Berlin, visited the head of the department and again received a negative answer. I then showed him the two books which I had already published and pointed out that I needed the libraries in Berlin for further scientific research. This impressed him, and I was transferred to Berlin, where I came into contact with Zionist circles.

3 As my assistant in the Bureau for Statistics of the Jews, Nossig appointed Dr Thon. He was a Zionist and also secretary to Professor Otto Warburg, a member of the Zionist Inner Actions Committee.* Thon drew his attention to me and at the same time urged me to visit Palestine. I agreed to go after my final examination.

4 Through Thon I became acquainted with Warburg, who encouraged my plan to go to Palestine.

5 On the day on which I passed my finals, Thon told the news to Warburg; now was the moment to persuade me to go to Palestine. *By chance*, on the evening of that very day, Warburg went to Cologne to attend a meeting of the Zionist Inner Actions Committee, of which David Wolffsohn was chairman and Warburg and Jacobus Kann were members. He spoke to Wolffsohn and Kann about me, and as a result, on 19 March 1907, Thon received the following telegram from Warburg in Cologne: 'WOLFFSOHN

* The former name of the Executive of the World Zionist Organization. It was headed by David Wolffsohn, who became president of the Zionist Organization (until 1911) after Herzl's death (1904).

AND I REQUEST RUPPIN TRAVEL COLOGNE TONIGHT. DISCUSSING PALESTINE JOURNEY TOMORROW 10 A.M. WOLFFSOHN'S HOME SACHSENRING 26. WARBURG.' I went to Cologne, and there it was decided that I should be entrusted with completing or confirming certain affairs of the Zionist Organization. This led one year later to my appointment as representative of the Zionist Organization in Palestine.

Perhaps I would have gone to Palestine in the course of time even without all these coincidences; but certainly not in 1907, at the decisive moment when the Zionist Organization began its 'practical activities' and needed someone.

8 My First Journey to Palestine (1907)

As I was planning to travel to Palestine, the three members of the Inner Actions Committee decided to entrust me with a report on economic conditions there. Wolffsohn asked me to return to Cologne before leaving and spend some weeks there, in order to familiarize myself with the matters concerning Palestine which were of interest to the Zionist Organization. Accordingly I went to Cologne in April 1907. Wolffsohn formed a good opinion of me in spite – or perhaps because – of the fact that I made the impression of being a Prussian *Assessor*. He asked my advice even about his private affairs and invited me almost daily to lunch or dine at his home. Wolffsohn was a good man and a good Jew with a lot of common sense, but he had a rough manner and was vain. He would spend hours in small talk and I, who had grudged wasting time all my life, would be reduced to despair. At Wolffsohn's house I first met Herzl's daughter Trude, a good-looking girl.

One day Wolffsohn asked me to go with him to Hamburg. We left Cologne travelling first class (although I thought this a waste of money and said so) and stayed at the best hotel in Hamburg. We made the journey in order to attend a general meeting called to discuss the future of the Palästina-Handelsgesellschaft, which had been founded by the Zionist Organization in 1904 with the financial assistance of non-Zionists. Having been badly mismanaged by a Sephardi Zionist, it had lost a lot of money, and Wolffsohn wished to prevent its liquidation, which would have lost the Zionists much prestige. The general meeting was presided over by the old banker Moritz Warburg (the father of Felix and Max Warburg). He let Wolffsohn and the other Zionists talk for an hour – one hour and not a minute longer. Then he stood up and said: 'The meeting has resolved that the company should be liquidated.' General surprise. But why? Old Warburg had, on the quiet, bought up the majority of the shares and could decide anything he pleased. Abashed, Wolffsohn and I returned to Cologne.

My decision to travel to Palestine aroused strong disapproval among my relatives and acquaintances. At that time, it seemed as reckless and adventurous to travel to Palestine as to Central Africa. Moreover, all the Philistines asked why. I was a newly qualified lawyer, had a doctorate in political economy, a great deal of business experience, was known as a recipient of the Haeckel prize and was the author of published works. Did Germany

not offer me a brilliant career at some university or as lawyer or syndic? Why give all this up? I hastened my departure, leaving Berlin on 20 May 1907 for Trieste and there, on 22 May, boarding a ship of the Austrian Lloyd Line, bound for Jaffa. After seven days we arrived in Beirut, where we visited Victor Jacobson, director of the Beirut branch of the Anglo-Palestine Company.* I showed him the two letters of introduction which David Wolffsohn had given me, which included the following remarks:

> This week, Dr Arthur Ruppin is travelling to Palestine on behalf of the Actions Committee and the Jewish National Fund. Although he has not yet been officially appointed, we very much need someone to represent Zionist interests there, and I think that he is the right man.

Jacobson received me very well. He was a noble and higly cultured man, and later a close friendship developed between us which lasted until his death (1934). We remained in constant touch, exchanging opinions by letter when we could not meet; in 1919 we worked side by side in the Zionist Office in Copenhagen for half a year. After the Great War, our mutual concern with the question of an agreement between the Jews and the Arabs was the theme of numerous conversations and memoranda. Even in Beirut, I was very much impressed by his charming personality, extensive knowledge and sincerity, which won the Zionist movement many friends. In Beirut, I saw the marvellous flora of the eastern Mediterranean for the first time and especially admired the tall cactus plants.

On the following day, I continued my journey on the same boat to Haifa. There I visited Samuel Pevsner, who managed the Atid oil factory. This, a similar factory in Motza, near Jerusalem, managed by S. Klimker, and an engineering workshop in Jaffa were the first Jewish industrial enterprises in Palestine. I spent the night at the Hotel Kraft in the German Colony and admired the magnificent flowers in the garden opposite. I also called on the German vice-consul in Haifa, Keller. One of the few Europeans, he had built himself a house on the Carmel and planted a small pine grove there, which had the oldest trees growing on the Carmel. He made me very welcome and showed me all the places on the Carmel which Emperor Wilhelm II had visited with him in 1898. Some parts of the Carmel looked almost like forests and, enchanted, I told him how much it pleased me that he was interested in the afforestation of the Carmel. He answered, in his Swabian dialect: 'We do it all for the sake of the Jews, whom God

* Established in 1902 as a subsidiary of the Jewish Colonial Trust to deal with the financial aspect of settlement in Palestine. Its central office was opened in Jaffa in 1913. Later officially know as the Anglo-Palestine Bank, and now Bank Leumi Le-Israel, the largest bank in the country.

has promised would return to this country.' He was a Templar,* believed in the Bible and spoke those words with absolute sincerity. His remark fell on fertile ground with me; I decided to buy the Carmel for the Jews if ever I should have the opportunity to do so. This possibility was realized during the Great War.

On the following day I sailed on the same boat from Haifa to Jaffa. I remained there for some time and established contact with Z. D. Levontin, the director of the Anglo-Palestine Company; Dr Chissin, the representative of the Odessa Committee, and other notables. I made small excursions in the vicinity, especially to Lydda and Beit Arif, the future Ben Shemen, where the Belkind Agricultural School, Kiryat Sefer, was then located.

Dr Shmaryahu Levin had travelled with me on the boat as far as Jaffa, but we had not seen much of each other. However, after I moved from Jaffa to Jerusalem, in the middle of June, and met him again in the Hotel Kaminitz there, we became attached to each other and remained close friends until his death (1935). The friendship developed further in 1923, when we were living close to each other in the United States, and later, after he moved to Jerusalem. He was a man whose counterpart was to be found among the ancient Jewish prophets. His speeches were tremendously effective because they flowed not from his head but from his heart. Moreover, he possessed great personal charm and, as his autobiography shows, a deep insight into the profundities of Jewish life. He was refreshingly free from all stereotyped opinions and prejudices, and his assessment of people was almost always correct and to the point.

Four days later I travelled by train from Jaffa to Jerusalem. Here I visited (sometimes together with Shmaryahu Levin) all the Jewish institutions, including the Bezalel School, on which I was to make a report. I also visited all the notables, including Dr Aharon Masie, Dr Isaac Levy and Yehoshua Eisenstadt (Barsilai) of the Anglo-Palestine Company, and Ephraim Cohen, the director of the school of the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden. Cohen was born in Jerusalem and educated in Germany; he was highly intelligent and an excellent administrator, but greedy for power and career-minded. I was a frequent guest in his home, and Cohen told me interesting stories about life in Jerusalem. I spent most of my time looking at all the antiquities and talking to the Jews in the Jewish quarters. I also went on excursions to Bethlehem and Hebron. I undertook the journey to Hebron together with Sholem Asch, whose play *The God of Revenge* I had seen the previous year in Berlin.

I tried to obtain reliable information about the size of Jerusalem's

* German Christian sect (founded in 1854) whose members believed the coming of the messiah was near and who settled in the Holy Land from 1868 to help build the messiah's kingdom.

Jewish population by asking people with some knowledge of the locality, but the various estimates differed to such an extent that they were useless. I therefore decided to undertake a census on my own responsibility, probably the first since the days of the Emperor Augustus, as no census had taken place in Palestine either in the Middle Ages or under Turkish rule. I went to the school of the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden and tried to interest a few of the pupils in the upper forms; they agreed to help me with the census. With the aid of Isidor Lipski, one of these pupils, I divided the city, (for administrative purposes) into twenty-four districts and assigned each to one of the boys. The work took place under an unlucky star, however. To begin with, some of the census takers were arrested and charged with having been involved in an agitation against the Sephardi chief rabbi (*hakham bashi*), and later it was said that they had been arrested because of the census. When the rest of the boys nevertheless wanted to continue their work, the authorities informed them that the census could not take place without the sultan's permission. This brought the work to a premature close. Lipski tried to complete the census singlehandedly but failed. Thus, the first census did not take place until 1922, under the British Mandate.

I had been warned not to drink the water from the usual cisterns in Jerusalem. I therefore had an Arab woman bring me water in a large jug from a spring in Ein Karem, but apparently this very spring water became my undoing. I assume that the Arab woman once filled the jug from some other source with contaminated water, perhaps to replace the spring water which she had spilled. I began to feel rather ill. At first I thought that this this was due to my running around so much and to the heat, but I began to feel worse and worse. As I had never been ill, it did not occur to me that my condition might be due to some illness, and although Shmaryahu Levin repeatedly told me that I looked terrible and ought to consult a doctor, I refused. In July I travelled with Levin by train from Jerusalem to Jaffa. Realizing how ill I felt, he arranged, without my knowledge, to have Dr Leo Kahan called to the hotel in Jaffa. He examined me and said that I had to go into hospital at once.

When I was taken to the hospital, I was allowed to believe that I was suffering from malaria, when in fact I had typhoid fever. I was very angry with the doctors in the hospital (first Dr Leo Kahan, later Dr Chissin), because it took them so long to cure a common (malarial) 'fever'. Only gradually did I realize the true character of my illness. The hospital was a parody of a medical institution, lacking running water, a sufficient stock of linen and utensils and trained nurses. Every year, the family of Baron Rothschild sent a few thousand francs for the hospital, and the '*parness*', S. Rokeach, opened it for as long as possible, usually for three to four months; then he closed it again. Although my illness had been diagnosed

as typhoid, at first my room was shared by another patient (Adelmann from Jerusalem) and only later did I lie by myself. There was no proper door to the room; at night cats entered, woke me with the their noises and looked at me with phosphorescent eyes from the coverlet of my bed or from the bedside table – not exactly pleasant for someone who is running a fever. When I wanted to take a bath, the water had to be carried up in 'tins' from the well in the yard and warmed. In spite of all this, and in spite of the heat, I began to recover. Studying the fever chart and the gradually descending curve was my most interesting pastime.

Dr Chaim Chissin, who substituted for Dr Leo Kahan when I was receiving medical treatment, was one of the young Bilu pioneers who went to Palestine in 1882. He was already more than forty years old when he left Palestine in order to study medicine in Switzerland. He thought and spoke slowly, but had an excellent critical mind and was extremely reliable both in his attitude and in all he did on behalf of the Odessa Committee. There was at once a close rapport between us. In the spring of 1908, when it became known that I was to be the representative of the Zionist Organization in Palestine, the Palestine Council, a union of active Zionists, met and passed a resolution objecting to my appointment. Why send a German lawyer to Palestine as the representative? Were there not already people there who were better qualified for the task? Although Chissin, who was chairman of the Palestine Council, could not prevent the resolution, he sought to reassure me when I returned to Palestine in 1908, saying that I should just begin to work, and the storm would soon pass.

Chissin remained my very good friend for the rest of his life. Later, he moved his office to the Palestine Office and made a point of working closely together with us. He was not a methodical worker, but he was indefatigable. He regarded me as a personification of German system and order. Day and night, the Jews gave him no peace. It was jokingly said that when he wanted to have a haircut, he had to travel for three days by coach to Tiberias; in Jaffa the Jews left him no time to go to the barber.

I had continued to write to my parents without mentioning my illness. I told them that I had sprained my wrist, to explain my unsteady handwriting. At the Zionist Congress which took place at about this time, however, Dr Max Bodenheimer told people about my illness, and it soon became general knowledge. I received an agitated telegram from my parents on the very day I left the hospital, and I could answer truthfully: 'COMPLETELY WELL.' When I left the hospital (2 September), after more than six weeks, I still felt very weak, but before long I nevertheless rode on a donkey to Rishon le-Zion, Nes Tzionah and Rehovot. On this ride, I suffered another attack of intestinal trouble, but I took a powder (which I prescribed for myself and bought at a chemist's in Rishon le-Zion), and the trouble really passed.

From Rehovot, I went on to visit the *moshavot* [villages] of Kastina (Be'er Tuviyah) and Katron (Gederah). I talked to many of the settlers, inspected fields and schools and by these means tried to form an opinion about the conditions in the colonies. During the following two-and-a-half weeks, I paid brief visits to the settlements in the Coastal Plain north of Jaffa (Petah Tikvah, Hederah and Zikhron Ya'acov), the German colonies Wilhelma and Sarona, and also the Jewish settlements in Lower and the Upper Galilee (Tiberias, Safed, Rosh Pinah, Mishmar ha-Yarden, Yessud ha-Ma'alah and Metulah. I then went to Nabtiya and Sidon and from there I travelled for ten hours by omnibus to Beirut, to begin the return journey.

I missed the boat to Constantinople and had to wait for almost a week for the next one. I decided to make use of this time to visit Damascus and went there by train. I spent a few days there, staying at the best hotel, and bought presents for my family in the bazaar. I found the oriental character of the town attractive, and I was in a happy frame of mind. At noon on the last day I decided (as I had only a small travelling case and the station was quite near) to walk to the Beramke station instead of taking a conveyance there. Not quite sure of the way, I approached an Arab and asked 'Beramke?' making the appropriate gesture, and the nodded affirmatively. I went along with him, but it seemed rather strange to me that the station should be so far away. I asked him again and he nodded, so I walked on. Finally, however, I suspected some misunderstanding. I tried to convey to him through mime that I was looking for a place from which trains leave. Then he became alarmed, ran with me quickly as far as a railway crossing, and I saw my train just leaving the station, which was about 1 kilometre away. (The Arab had thought that I wanted to go to the *village* of Beramke). At first I considered jumping on to the moving train, but I thought that it would be a pity if I were to lose my legs, so I let the train go. But what was I to do? According to the time-table, the next train to Beirut did not leave until the following morning. I had a ticket to Beirut and one German mark in cash. How was I to manage on that until the train left? I was ashamed to return to my posh hotel and ask them to put me up for the night when I could not pay for it, so I went to the bazaar and first of all tried to exchange my mark for two boiled eggs and Turkish currency. After several attempts I succeeded and received, besides the two eggs, 1 beshlik and 7 metalliks in change. I rented a room in a low-class 'hotel' for 1 beshlik and then went to some café, ordered a cup of coffee for 1 metallik, and spent another 2 metalliks on grapes and a *pita* to eat with the two eggs. In the hotel, I did not lie down in the dirty bed but spent the night sitting on a chair with a revolver in my hand. In the morning I had my shoes cleaned (noblesse oblige!) for 1 metallik and bought for the remaining 3 metalliks coffee, *pita* and yoghurt, which made a good meal. I arrived in Beirut, where I had money at the hotel, in good spirits in the afternoon, boarded a boat that

same day for Constantinople and from there returned by train to Berlin. I had been away from home for more than five months.

Until then, I had cherished a vague plan to emigrate to Palestine; as a consequence of my journey, I determined definitely to do so. I had got to know the country and the people, and although I found many faults, it seemed to me that there was a possibility of large-scale settlement. (Some months after my return I delivered a lecture on the subject to the Kolonisationverein in Vienna which was printed in 1909 as a pamphlet and reprinted in 1936 in *Three Decades of Palestine*.) The possibilities of the country attracted me. True, there were excellent prospects for me in Germany as an economist, or lawyer or university lecturer (when I took my doctorate, Professor Conrad, who had been my teacher in Halle, had offered to secure an appointment for me as a lecturer in political economy). But I had a feeling that no matter how much I would achieve, I would continue to encounter hostility and be regarded as an outsider. I was hoping that in Palestine I would be able to work without friction as a member of the community.

I informed Wolffsohn and Warburg, who had offered me the leading position of the Palestine Zionist Organization, that I was prepared to emigrate. They asked me about my salary and a contract, and I told them that I did not want to sign a long-term contract with them; I wanted to be free and did not want them to be under any obligation to me, either. Finally, on 16 March 1908, we agreed on a two-year contract. During the negotiations concerning my work in Palestine, I had insisted on the formation of a society which would be legally responsible for all financial transactions (land purchase, settlement, etc.). Warburg suggested the name of Palestine Land Development Company (PLDC); with a share capital of £50,000.

I presented a memorandum of my work programme as well as another memorandum concerning the purpose of the PLDC to a meeting of the Actions Committee which took place in Berlin in December 1907. It agreed to my appointment as representative of the Zionist Organization in Palestine and the formation of the PLDC. No one was particularly enthusiastic. First, many members of the Actions Committee were 'political' Zionists and against 'practical' work in Palestine; second, I was a new man with the aura of a 'Prussian *Assessor*', which was no recommendation. Only Warburg, Johann Kremenetzky* and Hans Gideon Heimann stood up for the PLDC and subscribed to a considerable number of shares.

31 December 1907

No more than a few words at the end of the year 1907. Apart from the law examination, with which I have at last qualified for a profession, it brought me a five-

* Johann Kremenetzky (1850–1939), founder of the Jewish National fund and its first director (until 1907), supported all programs to develop Palestine with substantial sums.

month journey to Palestine, which has considerably enlarged my mental horizon. With such a journey behind me, the *Philisterium* [narrow life after leaving the university] will in future be unable to claim me *altogether* as a victim. I have been appointed by the Zionist Actions Committee to manage the newly established Palestine Office at a yearly salary of 12,000 francs for two years, and I shall shortly emigrate to Palestine and hope to find there the long dreamed of scope for my energies.

It is true that my departure for Palestine will cause a rupture in our family life, which has recently been even more pleasant and warmer, if possible, than it used to be. I am truly sorry about this, but I am so thoroughly convinced that I have an important task to fulfil in a wider field of action that I have never seriously considered renouncing the more important commitment in favour of this pleasant family life. The call of duty and conscience must be obeyed. I remember an old Jew from Galicia who travelled with me from Trieste to Jaffa in order to end his days in Jerusalem. He told me that he had left many grown children in Galicia and in Germany. I asked him if his children were pleased that he was going to live in Jerusalem, and he answered: 'Of course not. The children were very distressed that their Papa was leaving, and I found it difficult too. But what was I to do? You live only *once*.'

I shall in all probability go to Cologne on 15 April 1908 in order to study the Palestine documents, and some time after that I shall leave for Palestine. It is quite clear to me that this emigration will decide my whole future. Either I shall find a suitable field of work in Palestine, and then my life's task will be the creation of an autonomous Jewish community there, or I shall become convinced that this idea is impracticable and live my life out as a lawyer in Berlin or its vicinity, perhaps occupied with biological research on the side, which would not be an unpleasant life, but in the last analysis a unsuccessful one for me.

When I mentioned to Dr Bodenheimer in Cologne the strange coincidence of receiving a new and important task on the day after I completed my examination, he thought that this was not a coincidence but destiny. In so saying, he had expressed my own feelings about it. It is strange. Until now I have always kept in the background and never accepted any Zionist office, and suddenly, without my doing anything, everybody is showing the utmost confidence in me and I am considered a suitable person for every office. The explanation can only be that people are impressed by my training as a businessman, a political economist and a lawyer and that I have gained – although I don't know how – the absolute confidence of Professor Warburg, who has been singing my praises in every key. I only hope that I will be able to justify this confidence and that, when I am offered great opportunities, the moment will not reveal me as a small person.

On 19 March 1908 I married my cousin Selma Lewek in Berlin (Professor Warburg and his wife were among the wedding guests and he made a speech). On 22 March my wife and I travelled via Rome to Naples, where we took a boat of the North German Lloyd Line bound for Alexandria. There we boarded another boat and arrived in Jaffa on 3 April 1908.

9 Early Years of the Palestine Office

As soon as I arrived in Palestine, I set to work in an office which Dr Thon had rented on Bustrus Street in Jaffa. As director of the Palestine Office, I was officially answerable to the Inner Actions Committee, but in reality I was completely independent, as the committee had given me *carte blanche* to direct all Zionist affairs as I thought best and did not interfere with what I was doing. This was in no way detrimental to the cause. Besides my theoretical knowledge of law and economics, I had also acquired practical business experience in Germany. I was sufficiently sure of myself, as far as economics were concerned, to trust my own judgement and accept full responsibility for my actions. When a business opportunity arose, I, as 'the man on the spot', could decide about it immediately on my own responsibility and did not have to run the risk of having a written account of my suggestions misunderstood or the answer to it delayed until the opportunity had been missed. In this respect, I was in a much better position than the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA)* officials in Europe, who had to refer even minor matters to Paris. Thanks to my independence, I could sometimes afford to initiate daring enterprises, for which a board viewing the matter from a distance would probably have refused to accept responsibility. I was always ready to risk my neck for any enterprise which seemed necessary to me.

There was no danger that the taste of unlimited power would turn me (like some of the people employed by the Inner Actions Committee or by Baron Rothschild) into a little despot. I was by nature not interested in having power; on the contrary, I shrank from using what power I had over others. Had I been holding a high military rank, this quality would have been a great handicap; in directing the affairs of the Palestine Office, it was very useful to me. Most of the young people then arriving in Palestine (the so-called Second Aliyah), having been brought up as Zionists, had received a comprehensive education, knew much more about Jewish affairs than I did and were ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of rebuilding Palestine.

* An association for Jewish settlement, established by Baron de Hirsch in 1891, which founded Jewish agricultural settlements in Argentina from 1900. It also managed the settlements of Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Palestine.

They represented the *élite* of the East European Jewish youth, never matched by any other wave of immigrants into Palestine. The officials of the Palestine Office, who came from their ranks and were the first Jewish 'civil servants' of the Zionist Organization, did not have to be encouraged or exhorted in order to serve the Zionist cause to the best of their abilities. They were models of industry and of devotion to their work. I saved myself the trouble of acting as their chief and instead had a pleasantly friendly relationship with them, achieving what I wanted by persuasion, rather than by ordering them about. In return for their loyalty, I protected them from any unjustified attack and always accepted responsibility for everything they did.

In all my activities and my struggles, I had the invaluable support of Dr Thon, who had arrived in Palestine a few months before me and acquired a useful knowledge of the country and the people. He had grown up close to Zionism, among East European Jews, and while still a student had led Zionist associations. Palestine at once became his natural habitat. His unfailing integrity, his ability to understand people, his tenacity and patience and his knack for finding a solution even to the most difficult problems were tremendously valuable to me, especially when I first began my work and was baffled by some of the issues confronting me in Palestine. In 1920, he became the director of the Palestine Land Development Company, and he remained my faithful friend and colleague through many vicissitudes.

Apart from Dr Thon, who acted as my deputy, Meir Wilkansky also worked in the Palestine Office, as Hebrew correspondent. He had come to Palestine in 1905 with the Second Aliyah and had worked and starved as an agricultural labourer in Rehovot. He had an excellent knowledge of the Hebrew language and had already made a name for himself as a writer. For some years, Joshua Radler-Feldmann worked in the Palestine Office, and at times he was sent on its behalf to act as a book-keeper on the Kinneret farm, where he smoothed out the differences between the manager and the workers calmly and with equanimity. I had already met him in Berlin; later he became known as a writer under the name Rabbi Benjamin. He was the initiator of the scheme of sending an emissary to Yemen in order to encourage the Jews there to emigrate to Palestine. Ulitzky, who came from Lodz, acted as a sort of apprentice (at the time he was seventeen years old; later, under the name of Ulitzur, he held an important position in the Keren Hayesod). Most of the letters were at that time written by myself, by hand, and then copied on a copying-press. Today, when I look through the books containing the copies, I simply cannot imagine how I managed to find so much time and patience. We were still without a typewriter, and we did not acquire one until 1913.

I had chosen Jaffa as the location for the Palestine Office. At the time, this seemed an almost inevitable choice. Jaffa already contained the head office of the Anglo-Palestine Company, the agency for the Odessa Com-

mittee of the Hovevei Zion (Dr Chissin and Menahem Sheinkin), and the land development corporation Geulah, whose representative at the time was Meir Dizengoff. Also in favour of Jaffa was the fact that it was centrally situated among the largest agricultural settlements (Rishon le-Zion, Rehovot, Petah Tikvah). But even more important, the greater part of the new *yishuv* [Jewish community in Palestine] had settled in Jaffa; Haifa had a much smaller number of recent settlers, and in Jerusalem the newcomers went unnoticed among the large majority of the old *yishuv*.

In 1908 Jaffa was a town of about 40,000 inhabitants, 8,000 of whom were Jews. The Jews lived scattered among the Arabs in the centre of town or close together on the northern outskirts in two predominantly Jewish quarters, Neveh Shalom and Neveh Tzedek. The two Jewish quarters, as well as the Arab part of the town, were dirty, and the streets and houses looked neglected, which was typical of the small oriental towns of that time. The two residential settlements of the German Templars were an exception. One was called simply the German Colony, the second Walhalla; they consisted of no more than a few dozen houses, all rather primitive, but the streets were clean and the houses and gardens properly cared for. In the areas inhabited by Arabs and Jews, many houses were dilapidated or were still being built, and the rubbish-filled streets were unpaved or the surfaces marked with innumerable holes. There was no drainage, and therefore an unpleasant smell hung everywhere. There was no running water, and as water was obtained from draw wells or pumped up by hand from – frequently heavily contaminated – wells, every summer there were typhoid epidemics; trachoma and malaria were also widespread. The roads were lined with beggars, men and women (mostly holding children) whose eyes, sick with trachoma, were covered with flies.

The only street in the centre of Jaffa with a fairly good surface and pavements on both sides was Bustrus Street, which extended from the Serail (government offices) several hundred metres north. It had been built some years before by a Christian Syrian, Bustrus, to enhance the value of his property, which bordered on the town. He had lined the road with Arab-style houses and shops, which were rented by both Jews and Arabs. The street had thus become Jaffa's main road, where the Jewish institutions had their offices. We opened the Palestine Office there in a four-room, first-floor flat, for which we paid a yearly rent of 800 francs (£32).

Food could be bought either in the oriental-style *suk* (bazaar) in the old town or in the market in Neveh Shalom. There were no shops selling fresh food until after Tel Aviv was founded. The food, brought into the town by Arab peasant women from the neighbouring villages, was very cheap: tomatoes, lettuce, eggplant were abundant when in season; chickens, eggs, mutton and yoghurt were available all year round. On the other hand, cows' milk and butter and cheese made from it were almost or

altogether unobtainable; the Jewish settlements did not produce them, and though the Arabs had large flocks of sheep, they kept very few cows. The chief sources of cows' milk were the settlements of the German Templars, Sarona and Wilhelma. A particularly good cheese was made at the Trappist monastery of Latrun (between Jerusalem and Jaffa), but it was not for sale in the open market. It was a stroke of luck to obtain such a cheese, and it was then shared faithfully with all one's friends.

As the central office for all the activities of the Zionist Organization and its institutions in Palestine, the Palestine Office was, of course, extremely dependent on the post and other means of communication, which were at that time still very primitive and not yet properly organized. Besides the Turkish post-office, there were also German, Austrian, French, Russian and Italian post-offices in Jaffa, Jerusalem, Haifa and Beirut. All had the right to handle the post between these four towns and with other countries. Naturally, they competed for customers. The Austrian post-office was especially keen; it was willing to give large quantities of stamps on credit to Jerusalem institutions which existed on charity and to writers of letters soliciting funds, thereby encouraging this activity, which could hardly have continued to exist otherwise. The Turkish post-office was well known to be slow and unreliable; it was not used to send mail abroad, and in the country was used only for letters addressed to places where there was no foreign post-office; it was also avoided if there was any alternative and an 'opportunity', that is, a traveller, could be found to deliver a letter.

For telegrams, one had to rely exclusively on the Turkish telegraph-offices. The service was so bad that most people hardly ever made use of it and were satisfied if a telegram from Jaffa to Tiberias or Safed arrived after a few days or even weeks. There was no guarantee that it would ever reach its destination at all. Until 1920 there was no telephone communication in Palestine. At that time the British administration introduced an inland telephone service, and only many years later was telephone communication with other countries established. Because of the difficulties of communicating over distances, I was obliged to travel a great deal in order to talk over business personally with, for instance, people in Kinneret, Huldah and Merhavyah. I think that during the eight years between 1908 and 1916, I must have spent at least a 1,000 days travelling.

Transportation was in a very bad way. There were only two stretches of railway line in the country: Jaffa–Jerusalem (twice daily in both directions; travelling time, three-and-a-half hours) and Haifa–Tzemah (two or three times a week; travelling time, three hours). As the trains lacked every comfort – for example, washing facilities and lavatories – travelling by train was not very pleasant, but it was incomparably better than travelling on the roads, which actually existed in name only (from Jaffa to Jerusalem, from Jerusalem to Jericho and from Haifa via Nazareth to Tiberias).

Travel by coach was torture because of the number of holes in the road surfaces, the terrible dust in the summer and the knee-deep mud in the winter. The horses were emaciated and incapable of pulling their load (one of the coachmen jokingly called them his *Udler* [eagles]); there were no facilities for having a meal or for lodging overnight on the way. During the Great War, when the Turks removed the rails between Jaffa and Jerusalem and all traffic between the two towns was restricted to the roads, the journey lasted ten to fourteen hours and sometimes more. Even short stretches of road on which there was a lot of traffic – for instance, Jaffa–Petah Tikvah – were in terrible condition; as a rule, in summer passengers walked the stretches that led across sand and helped the horses to pull the coach.

Occasionally, the 'coach' was a hansom cab with two horses that could take three people (two on the back seat and one on a small wooden bench that could be set up), but more often it was a diligence pulled by three horses and had three cross-benches with wooden back rests, leaving room for eight people besides the coachman (usually, however, far more people travelled on it). One day, on the road from Jaffa to Petah Tikvah, the German agronomist Hubert Auhagen and I met a diligence containing the correct number of travellers, that is, eight people; he stood rooted with surprise and said: 'Here comes an empty diligence with only eight passengers!' The journey by coach from Jaffa to Haifa took one-and-a-half days. In 1912 or 1913, Shmaryahu Levin made the journey from Jaffa to Haifa (changing horses at Zikhron Ya'akov) in one day (without staying overnight at Zikhron Ya'acov); this was considered great progress. The worst journeys were those in the southern part of Palestine (in the vicinity of Beersheba of from Kastina [Be'er Tuviyah] to Gaza). Here the coaches regularly got stuck in the wadis, and it took hours of hard work to drag them out.

The first motor-car (imported from the United States) appeared in Palestine in 1912; it belonged to Aaron Aaronson. It aroused a great deal of interest, but after a short while it broke down and disappeared from the roads. Shortly before the Great War, a German called Wagner produced a car in his engineering works in Jaffa by fitting an engine into a sort of hansom cab. This car could be rented from him for special journeys. I used it shortly before war broke out for an urgent journey from Jaffa to Haifa. I paid 105 francs (more than £4) for it and made the journey in five hours, which at that time appeared to be an amazing feat. Cars became the regular means of transportation in Palestine only after the Great War.

The best connection between Jaffa and Haifa was by boat. Steamers made the voyage in no more than four to five hours. Nevertheless, almost nobody went by boat in winter, and even in summer it was rare to find people travelling this way because they shrank from having to get on and off the boat. The approach to Jaffa had a bad reputation because of the rocks, and the difficulties of embarking and disembarking there (boats

lay two kilometres out to sea) were well known throughout the Middle East. Even Haifa, which was better protected by nature against storms, did not offer an easy landing. Passengers had to jump (or were thrown) from the steamer into a pitching and tossing boat; even people with strong nerves were reluctant to face the screaming of the boatmen and the wild confusion. Between November and April, the worst aspect of the sea voyage was the uncertainly whether or not the weather would allow the steamer to land passengers at Jaffa (to a lesser extent this was also true of Haifa). An acquaintance from Jaffa who went to Beirut by sea for a day to attend a wedding was unable to land on the return journey and had to go on to Port Said. On the next journey she was again unable to get ashore at Jaffa and had to go on to Beirut. There, however, she decided to go to Haifa, via Damascus, by train and travel from Haifa to Jaffa by road. The journey had taken her almost three weeks instead of three days, and she had travelled 2,000 kilometres instead of 200.

Equally primitive were the conditions under which travellers were put up for the night. Apart from Jaffa and Jerusalem, very few places – for instance, Tiberias, Safed and some of the *moshavot* [villages] – had Jewish 'hotels'. People who were obliged to spend the night in one of these inns could be sure of finding many bedfellows. It might have been worth writing an article about Palestine's 'bed fauna'. The most basic 'conveniences' were lacking. When I asked for the W.C. I was frequently told: *Noch nicht geendigt'* [not yet finished], whereas the truth of the matter was that it had never been started or even planned! Once, I was surprised to be told that there was a shower in the hotel. I searched and found it on the roof: a room with a water-pipe hanging down from the ceiling, but there was no door to it!

I was repeatedly surprised (and very annoyed) by the lack of sanitary facilities and people's indifference to this problem. When I asked the agronomist Bermann, the manager of the Kinneret farm, for the lavatory there, he gestured munificently, as much as to say 'The whole world is at your disposal!' He opposed on principle the introduction of such 'urban' facilities into agricultural settlements. This attitude changed radically only when Tel Aviv began to be built. While I was working out the details of the plan for Tel Aviv, I got hold of the plan of the newly built, extremely modern town of Heliopolis in Egypt and found that the regulations concerning lavatories played an important part in it. I tried a similar plan in Tel Aviv, and consequently it became compulsory for every house to possess a lavatory. This led to the joke: 'What is a house in Tel Aviv? A W.C. surrounded by small rooms.'

In the Arab quarters in Jaffa and in the surrounding villages, conditions were, if possible, even worse than among the Jews. The only praiseworthy exception were the quarters of the German Templars in Jaffa, Haifa and

Jerusalem; although their sanitary arrangements were also primitive, at least they existed and were kept clean. The hotels managed by Germans in Haifa, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Nablus, Nazareth and Tiberias were the only ones to meet simple European standards. Only after the Great War, when the number of Jewish tourists began to increase, were hotels and boarding-houses for Europeans opened by Jews.

In the beginning, the Palestine Office had very little contact with the *yishuv*; the Jews did not know what to make of this 'new-fangled' office. Some thought that it existed in order to provide 'support' (subsidies) in the manner of other Jewish institutions; some approached it with fantastic plans for economic enterprises, others to spread gossip and initiate intrigues. When none of them derived any benefit, the circle of clients soon shrank considerably. There remained only a few local inhabitants, who came for advice, and the 'tourists', who asked for information about 'the sights'. In order not to have to repeat the same things over and over, I wrote and printed a *Führer durch Palästina* ('Guide to Palestine') for them in 1910. The Palestine Office extended its activities only after it founded its own settlements (Kinneret, Ben Shemen, Huldah).

During the early days, after office hours, when Thon, Radler-Feldmann and I went home for 1 beshlik in a hansom cab (we did not indulge in this luxury every day), I frequently asked myself whether we had to show 1 beshlik's worth of positive achievement for that day, and very often I had to give a negative answer. Gradually, I established friendly relations with many of the immigrants of the Second Aliyah who turned to agriculture. After living in great poverty as farm labourers for many years, quite a few of them eventually held leading positions, and the development of the *yishuv* was very much influenced by them. They seemed strangers to me in many respects: they were predominantly motivated by emotion, tended to hold endless discussions, were unreliable, unpunctual, and inaccurate in their work; but I recognized that more important that all this was their invaluable contribution in regarding agriculture as the foundation of the Jewish National Home and their genuine enthusiasm, which had to be preserved at all cost. It therefore seemed essential that they should be encouraged to help creatively in the settlement programme and not be degraded to drudges. In spite of the difficulty of communicating (they did not know much German and I did not know much Yiddish or Hebrew), they realized that I was trying to understand their aims and opinions and that I wanted them to be equal partners in the endeavour to settle the country. This is what brought us spiritually close to each other.

In spite of all the doubts and reservations of the villages and many influential 'bourgeois' Zionists, I decided to found the Kinneret farm with Jewish labourers, and later the workers greeted the founding of Kvutzat Deganyah with enthusiasm, while the villagers regarded the activities of

the Zionist *'shmendriks'* with scornful patronage and predicted certain failure. The first experiments in settlement were governed by great caution and confined to narrow limits, corresponding to the ridiculously small amount of money at my disposal. Nevertheless, I was clearly prepared to follow a new route and to settle the country by means of Jewish labour. After two or three years, a relationship of complete confidence had been established between myself and the workers, and it remained the unshakeable foundation of my efforts to settle the country. Of course, I also encountered opposition and there were many misunderstandings, and during the early days of my life in Palestine I frequently asked myself whether it was not a labour of Sisyphus to battle again and again against suspicion, lack of understanding, inefficiency and lack of money and if it would not be more sensible to relinquish this apparently hopeless struggle before I had been completely worn out by it. In the end, however, my optimism always won, and I remained.

I also came into closer contact with the *yishuv* through the *mishpat ha-shalom* [magistrates' court], which was founded at my suggestion and under my chairmanship in 1909. It soon earned the respect of the population and was called upon to settle many disputes. In a report which I wrote on 15 February 1909 for the Zionist Actions Committee in Cologne, I noted: 'This institution arose out of an urgent need, as it became more and more difficult for the Jews in Palestine to pursue their legal claims, because of their various nationalities. The need for a place which could hear and settle legal disputes between Jews became increasingly obvious.' The existence of the magistrates' court was a blessing especially for the small Jewish *moshavot*, which frequently split into two camps violently opposed to each other and threatening the very existence of the *moshavot*. The magistrates' court – consisting of five members – was called upon to restore the peace, and it often had to set out for the *moshavot* in the horrible weather conditions of winter on the terrible roads.

When I immigrated into Palestine, my knowledge of Hebrew was as good as non-existent. Certainly, I was familiar with the Hebrew letters and could read Hebrew with vowels, though not fluently (and not always correctly), but I was very far from understanding written or spoken Hebrew. This was because I had never really been taught the language. In special lessons, Jewish children in Rawitsch and Magdeburg had been taught to read and to have a general idea of what they had read. At the university in Berlin, I had learned a little of the grammar together with my friend Wyneken, who was studying Protestant theology, but that was all. Later on I did not have the opportunity to add to my knowledge; on the contrary, I had forgotten the greater part of what little I had known. Not until 1905, when I met Dr Thon, who spoke and wrote Hebrew fluently, did I begin to take a renewed interest in the language.

In Palestine, the importance of the Hebrew language was brought home to me for the first time when I visited a Hebrew nursery school on my first journey to Jerusalem and discovered that the children heard, between them, thirteen different languages at home. Under these circumstances, how could the next generation grow up homogeneously? How could a nation arise if its members did not have a common language? I realized that no European language could ever become the common language of all, because this would have led to an endless struggle between the local supporters of French, German, English and Russian, and the struggle would also be taken up by the European powers, who wanted to use the Jews as a means of extending their sphere of influence. I was convinced that national considerations made it essential to introduce Hebrew into the schools, even if, from a utilitarian point of view, it would have been better to introduce some European language.

At the time, I was hoping that this conviction would not remain a mere theory and that I myself would soon be able to acquire a complete command of Hebrew. Thon suggested that I ask the writer Czaczkes (S. Y. Agnon) to give me lessons. Since then, Agnon and I have been good friends, but as a pupil I disappointed him. He took a great deal of trouble over me. For a while he even lived with me in order to give me a lesson whenever I had time to spare; but the work at the Palestine Office made such demands on me that I did not get very many lessons. Throughout my career, I was so overwhelmed with Zionist work that I was effectively prevented from studying Hebrew systematically. There were also other reasons, however. I did not have a keen ear (although it was many years before this manifested itself as deafness) and could learn languages only by visual, rather than aural, means. In addition, in contrast to the East European Jews, who are really bilingual from birth, in Germany I had been completely adjusted to German and found it extremely difficult to adapt to another language. I finally managed to read Hebrew fluently and understand what I read, but I find speaking improvised Hebrew difficult to this day. I was not able to overcome the inhibitions which arose from the fact that the German language was for me what a Stradivarius violin is for a violinist, while Hebrew was a children's violin on which I could not completely express what I wished to say.

I have regretted this short-coming all the more because I admired the clear, almost mathematical structure of the Hebrew language, and I became increasingly aware of the disadvantages which my incomplete command of the language entailed. I knew that the Hebrew language would have a hard fight against utilitarian interests and against the flood of immigrants speaking other languages, and I did not want to aggravate the matter by speaking German in public and setting a bad example to others. In consequence, I avoided appearing in public as much as I possibly could, or I

made the enormous effort necessary to speak Hebrew, even if I could not do it well. I often had the feeling that by giving up the German language I lost a great deal of my personality and of the influence which I had on public affairs. My lectures at the university were not spontaneous talks; I read them from a prepared script, and even then not always without problems. I remember that I gave my inaugural lecture in 1926 after David Yellin gave his; his Hebrew was excellent and served to emphasize my short-coming to both myself and the audience. What displeases me most is that I have a foreign accent – one might call it the Magdeburg accent – in every other language, and especially in Hebrew. This was made particularly clear in the following episode.

Mr Leo Simon, a member of the Jewish Agency, had invited Hausmann, a Prussian district governor and a Christian friend of Zionism, to visit Palestine. In Jerusalem, the two men attended a meeting at which only Hebrew was spoken. Hausmann patiently suffered all the speeches, although he could not understand a word, and did not move, but when *I* began to speak in Hebrew, he was surprised and became restless. Finally, he could not keep quiet any longer, turned to his neighbour, Dr Hantke, and said: 'What's going on, eh? That sounds very familiar to me! I can almost understand him! That man doesn't by any chance come from Magdeburg?' He himself came from Magdeburg and had recognized the local accent in my Hebrew!

10 Agricultural Settlement

When I arrived in Palestine, the Jewish National Fund [JNF] owned four areas in the country: Hittin, Dalaikah with Um Juni (today Kinneret and Deganyah), Beit Arif (today Ben Shemen) and Huldah. They had been bought on various occasions between 1905 and 1907. It was my duty to find some use for these areas in order to safeguard them against the threatened *mahlul* [expropriation by the government if the land had not been worked for three years], but this was far from easy. Hittin had been acquired very carelessly in 1905 by a commission of 'experts'. The area, embracing 2,000 dunams, consisted of several hundred separate large and small lots; moreover, it was without water and was, in view of these factors, entirely unsuitable for any sort of settlement, at least for the time being.

The second area consisted of 6,000 dunams in Dalaikah (Kinneret) and Um Juni (Deganyah), which had been acquired for the JNF in 1905 by Mr Haim Kalvariski, then an official of ICA. This area had the advantage of being all of one piece and possessing an ample water supply, but one thing was lacking: money to cultivate the land. Although the Zionist Organization had established the JNF in order to buy land, it had in no way provided for the land to be settled after the purchase. I therefore had no choice: in order that this valuable area should not devolve on the government or the surrounding Arab population, in the summer of 1908 I established the first Zionist farm, Kinneret.

Ben Shemen was the site of Israel Belkind's agricultural school for the orphans of the Kishinev pogrom. It was already in the process of closing down for lack of funds, but was nevertheless enough to safeguard the area and to protect it from being taken over by the neighbours. Moreover, the land included a well about fifty metres deep which provided it with sufficient water. On the other hand, the situation of the 2,000 dunams in Huldah was all but hopeless. The land had been bought in 1905 through the good offices of Mr Sapir, assistant director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank. Sapir knew the country better than most people, was extraordinarily frugal and worked untiringly for the Zionist cause, but he was not an expert on the subject of settlement and was satisfied to have acquired 2,000 dunams for the Jewish people. The question of what was to be done with the land lay outside his province. The problem was difficult to solve because Huldah was very

poorly situated. It could be reached from Ramle by coach in about one-and-a-half hours, but the road was extraordinarily bad. The worst drawback, however, was that Huldah had no water. Throughout the entire history of the place, extending over almost thirty years, the question of water has been of decisive importance. At that time there was only the well belonging to the Arab village of Huldah which the Jews had the right to use. The worst thing was that this well contained very little water and dried up completely during the summer months, so that water had to be brought in barrels from a great distance.

Under these circumstances, it was very difficult for me to decide how to cultivate the 2,000 dunams in Huldah. Apart from the JNF, the Zionist Organization had at its disposal only the so-called *Oelbaumspende* [donations for olive trees], which at that time, if I remember correctly, amounted to 50,000 marks. I decided to use this fund to plant the Herzl Forest in Huldah. When it became known that I intended to bring Jewish workers to Huldah for this purpose, I was confronted with a great deal of opposition to this 'squandering' of national resources, especially from the settlers in the nearby *moshavot* of Ekron and Rehovot. They maintained that if I were to entrust them with the planting of these trees, they would be able to do the job better and more cheaply than I with my Jewish labour force. Nonetheless, I was under the impression that it would be impossible for the settlers, who were, after all, living about ten kilometres away, to plant the Herzl Forest, and I also thought that it would afterwards be necessary to have it guarded by Jews. (At the time, it was still taken for granted that Jewish property should be guarded by Arab watchmen.) I also doubted whether the settlers would employ Jewish labourers to plant the trees, and in any case I wanted to rule out a whole series of difficulties that could be foreseen in this respect. In spite of all the objections, I decided to bring a number of labourers into the district and entrust them with the planting of the forest. The agronomist Brisch presented me with a plan for a modest dwelling house, at a cost of 5,000 francs (£200). That I thought this a lot of money may serve to indicate how limited our resources were at that time. In the end, we had no choice but to build this house, which is still standing at the former site of Kvutzat Huldah, and a group of Jewish workers settled there as hired labourers.

I then tackled the problem of water. I had just heard that a contractor in Beirut had imported a modern drilling machine from America which was capable of reaching a depth of 200 metres, while the method which had been used in Palestine until then could reach at most 100 metres. A drilling previously done at Huldah had to be abandoned when it had reached ninety-three metres. I made contact with the American contractor in Beirut and engaged him to continue the drilling. As is usual under the circumstances, I agreed that the cost of the drilling would increase with

each additional metre. As I had such limited means at my disposal, I found this drilling an extremely exciting enterprise. When it had advanced to a depth of 120 metres without striking water, I was confronted with the question of whether to call it off or to continue for another twenty metres. The same question continued to arise, and I found the decision more and more difficult. When the drilling showed no result at 140 and 160 metres I persisted because I could not decide to write off the money which had already been spent as a complete loss, and a real miracle occurred: when the drilling had reached 180 metres it struck water.

The next problem confronting us was to bring the water to the surface. This could not be done by the pumps available at that time in Palestine, and a special pump, working with compressed air, had to be ordered from abroad. When the pump had finally been successfully installed, after great difficulties (because no experts were available), it became apparent that because of the great depth the frequent necessary repairs to the pump and the high sulphur content of the water, the well was of only very limited use.

The relationship between the Jewish group and its Arab neighbours suffered because the Arabs begrudged the group even the small amount of water it took from the common well. Shortly after the British occupied the country, the British district governor visited the Arab villages and the Arabs complained to him about the Jews, pointing out the site of the Jewish settlement, which, with the Herzl Forest, already looked green and formed an oasis in the otherwise tree-bare region. The governor asked the Arabs, 'How long have you lived on this land?'

'Since time immemorial, probably for 1,000 years.'

'And for how long,' he asked, 'have the Jews been here?'

'The Jews,' they said, 'came no more than ten years ago.'

'Well,' said the governor, 'why have you not planted a single tree in 1,000 years, while the Jews have already created a forest in ten?'

To that the Arabs had no reply.

This is not the place for me to enlarge upon the subsequent checkered history of Huldah. It went through so many phases that it would make the subject of a separate book. The settlement has been maintained by the sweat and blood of some of our best people, of whom I will mention only Ephraim Tschisik, who fell in the defence of Huldah during the disturbances of 1929. From an economic point of view, the settlement had little to recommend it. It was difficult to find groups prepared to settle there, and ones which dared to do so frequently left again after a year or two. This led to a steady decline of the farm. Not until a group from the youth movement Gordonia went to live there in 1930 did the economic position improve, after the water problem had been more or less satisfactorily solved through laying a pipe from the neighbouring settlement Na'an. In 1937 the settle-

ment left the old buildings, erected almost thirty years previously, and built new ones in another spot which was in a better position from an economic point of view.

As I have already mentioned, the only funds at my disposal for establishing the settlement Kinneret were the £5,000 share capital which had been subscribed to the newly founded PLDC. Certainly, I had grave doubts about using the money for this purpose. First, it would have prevented the PLDC from undertaking, for instance, the purchase of land on behalf of individuals; second, I doubted whether the settlement would be profitable, that is, whether it would produce for the shareholders the dividends, which the prospectus of the PLDC had promised them. I mentioned my doubts to the agronomist M. Bermann, who had once been an agricultural inspector in Russia. He had been recommended by his brother-in-law, Dr Selig Soskin, to Professor Warburg, who, as the president of the Palestine Department of the Zionist Organization, had sent him to Palestine in 1906. Bermann then showed me an estimate containing all the details of the probable income and expenditure (even the food for the watchdog at 25 francs). It showed the farm as making a net profit of eleven per cent during its first complete working year, but I remained sceptical and asked Bermann to have the calculations checked by Dr Soskin, who was at that time – beside Aaron Aaronson – the only agricultural expert in the country. Dr Soskin confirmed the calculations by appending his signature.

I engaged Bermann as manager, at a monthly salary of 200 francs and free accommodation, and authorized him to establish a farm with all the necessary buildings, buy the stock for it and accept Jewish workers. About thirty workers, led by Zvi Yehudah, arrived at Kinneret and work began. In the beginning, the relationship between Bermann and the workers was excellent; their enthusiasm about the first Jewish farm in the Galilee prevented manager and workers from becoming daunted by any difficulty, especially the many cases of malaria. After the honeymoon period, however, the relationship deteriorated. Bermann was accustomed to the large social gulf which existed between manager and workers in Russia and to blind obedience on the part of the workers. He had a four-room house built for himself and his family, while the workers lodged four or six together in one stuffy room. The workers frequently found fault with his management, and rather than listen to their opinions, he roughly rejected all their criticisms. He did not mince words in his dealings with the workers, and this caused a great deal of bitterness.

It was to Bermann's great advantage that he was not a theorist, but a practical farmer, a magnificent horseman and conversant with every job in agriculture. With his tall, muscular figure, black beard and sparkling eyes, he was the ideal embodiment of the '*Muskeljude*' [muscular Jew].

But he could not do sums. All his estimates of the capital investment needed and of the profit to be expected turned out to be wrong, and the first working year closed with a large deficit. Bermann also lacked enough theoretical knowledge to understand how to adapt the experience he had acquired in Russia to conditions in Kinneret, and he managed the farm as he would have done in Russia. Knowing nothing at all about agriculture, I had to leave things to him. As he was 'the man on the spot' and the one who was directly responsible, he had to be given a free hand to begin with. I started to interfere only after I began to have growing doubts about the wisdom of his management. Certainly, it was far from easy for me. It took almost a week to make the journey from Jaffa to Kinneret and back, so I could not afford to make it more often than once every few months. Before I managed to supervise him more closely, however, he had already spent large amounts on buildings, equipment for the farm, an irrigation works and wages.

Although I could speak only German, I succeeded once or twice in talking Bermann and the workers out of a quarrel. On the third occasion (February 1911), however, the animosity was already so far-reaching that the workers proclaimed a strike. I received a telegram from Bermann stating that I must come to Kinneret at once, 'by land or by sea'. When I got there I was in an extremely difficult position. I could see that Bermann was at least as much to blame for the quarrel as the workers. Therefore, the only fair solution seemed to be to dismiss both Bermann and the workers and to engage both a new manager and labour force. This was not easy to do. I was obliged to remain in Kinneret for more than two weeks and was almost stung to death by the flies, mosquitoes and fleas. (Although I had given up smoking ten years before, at that time I took it up again as a protection against the mosquitoes.)

I invited the agronomist Golde to come to Kinneret, and he arrived after about a fortnight. Bermann left the farm, as did some of the workers and work began anew; but as far as its profitableness was concerned, the results were no better than before. Bermann, guided by his experience in Russia, had introduced grain as the main branch; I was forced to draw the conclusion that it was not profitable and that another, more intensive branch of agriculture would have to be found. As a result of Y. Wilkansky's experiments in Ben Shemen since 1911, mixed farming was gradually introduced.

On the occasion of the first strike in Kinneret (1909) I had several long discussions with the workers (including Berl Katzenelson, who was to become editor of the labour newspaper *Davar*). They repeatedly made the point that the manager, with his salary and personal expenses on journeys, etc., was an intolerable burden for the farm. His *bourgeois* standard of living, in contrast to the miserable accommodation and food of the workers

living on the same farm (who were mostly better educated than he), created a social gulf which Bermann had further aggravated by his domineering behaviour and which, in the long run, made harmonious cooperation impossible. To solve this problem, the workers suggested that the manager should be eliminated and the management of the farm be placed in the hands of a committee which they would choose leaders from among themselves. They referred to the success of a similar experiment one or two years before on the ICA farm Sejera.

I was very impressed by the seriousness and the sense of responsibility with which the workers stated their case. Although I refused to hand the whole Kinneret farm over to them, because it seemed too much of a risk to begin with, I agreed to let six specially chosen experienced workers manage independently, in a sort of share tenancy, the area of Um Juni on the opposite bank of the Jordan. Until then, Um Juni had been worked as a farmstead from Kinneret without any success. During a discussion out of doors I drew up a brief contract (in German!) on the spot, and the six workers and I signed it. At the same time, the six workers suggested two of the group as managers of the undertaking, and I confirmed their appointment in writing.

Thus the first *kvutzah* [collective settlement] was founded. Although I did not fully realize the importance of this event for the future development of the country, I rather thought that major consequences might follow from this minor beginning, and I wrote about it to the PLDC in Berlin, on 10 December 1909, saying, among other things:

During his recent stay in Kinneret, the undersigned has succeeded in establishing the planned settlers' cooperative. The cooperative consists of six of the most capable workers in the Galilee. They have been in Palestine for several years and have a good knowledge of agriculture. They are living in a barrack which we have had built in Um Juni, and this year they will cultivate approximately 1,300 dunams.

With regard to the legal arrangements concerning the cooperative, we had to take into consideration that the workers are entirely without means, as there was no time to collect the few workers in Palestine who have some financial resources. We thought it inadvisable from a business point of view to grant credit to workers who have no means of their own and have therefore decided upon a system by which the entire farm will remain our property. On the other hand, we have granted the workers a great deal of independence and a stake in the farm through arranging to pay them a high percentage of the profits and through appointing the manager responsible for the enterprise from among the workers, according to their own suggestion.

It is the express wish of the members of the cooperative that public attention should not at once be drawn to this first modest experiment of a cooperative settlement in Palestine, but that it should be allowed to proceed in private, at least during the first year. Therefore, we ask you for the time being not to publish anything

about this matter in the newspapers. As soon as we will be able to give you further details about this enterprise and its results, we will of course inform you at once.

In the autumn of 1909, the seven workers (a woman, Shifrah Sturman, had joined the six men) settled in Um Juni, which they later called Deganyah. In the beginning, they lived in miserable conditions in a barrack and in mud huts which had been left there by the former Arab owners. When I saw that the people were doing their work intelligently and with tremendous industry and showed a profit at the end of the first working year, my confidence grew and I decided to renew the contract. Although the experiment continued, the workers, who had been chosen specially for Um Juni from various groups, were replaced by others who had already worked in Petah Tikvah and Hederah as a community of hired labourers.

When I founded the cooperative in Deganyah, it seemed to me that this was actually a realization of the 'cooperative settlement' advocated by Franz Oppenheimer* at the [Sixth] Zionist Congress in 1903, though the constitution of the Deganyah cooperative was a little different from the one Oppenheimer had proposed. It seemed to me that what mattered was that the settlement should be a cooperative; everything else was of secondary importance. The JNF, however, which was at that time headed by Dr Bodenheimer in Cologne, as well as Franz Oppenheimer, were against this identification. They did not object to the founding of the Deganyah cooperative, but they considered it a separate matter and not an adequate substitute for Oppenheimer's cooperative settlement. Deganyah differed from Oppenheimer's plan for a cooperative settlement in two respects, which he considered decisive: the employment of an expert manager; and the scale of payment which the members received should depend upon their work.

On these two points, I could not fulfil Oppenheimer's demands. After their experiences with Bermann, the members of Deganyah so profoundly distrusted any agronomist or manager that it was hopeless to try to persuade the community to accept one. On the second point, I tried to convince Oppenheimer that the workers, who had formed the Deganyah cooperative of their own free choice, thereby considered themselves equally capable of making their contribution. To pay them different wages would lead to envy and bitterness between them and destroy the feeling of comradeship on which the future success of the farm depended. The question was raised

* Franz Oppenheimer, a well-known Jewish economist and sociologist, published a comprehensive work in 1896 on the problem of producers' cooperatives. He was thereafter invited to speak on his ideas at the Sixth (1903) and Ninth (1909) Zionist Congresses, and the latter decided to bring his programme to fruition. Toward that end, a settlement company and special cooperative fund were established, and the JNF placed 3,500 dunams of land at Merhavyah, purchased in 1910, at the disposal of the project.

at a meeting of the members of Deganyah in 1911. It had been intended to found a cooperative settlement at Merhavyah, and Oppenheimer had appointed the agronomist S. Dyk as manager. Although work had already begun there, Dyk now suggested that the cooperative should be founded at Kinneret (which was at that time cultivated by hired labourers under the management of the agronomist Golde) and that the neighbouring Deganyah and its members should become part of this cooperative settlement.

In fact, the cooperative settlement was not moved from Merhavyah to Kinneret and the cooperative in Deganyah continued to develop successfully. Gradually, however, changes occurred in its legal and social structure. Originally, the workers cultivated the land as share tenants and were guaranteed a minimum wage. This changed, especially after the Great War, until the group of workers cultivated the farm as an independent cooperative on its own account and at its own risk (without a guaranteed minimum wage). From the farming point of view, definite progress was made when the cooperative changed over from extensive to intensive farming.

Soon after the Great War, a second community (Deganyah Bet) was founded in the area, and later there was also a third (Deganyah Gimmel). Each of the three communities had twenty to thirty members and about 1,000 dunams of land. Much of the land was irrigated, thus introducing the type of 'mixed' farming (with dairy farming, fodder crop, poultry farming, vegetable gardening, tree nurseries, etc.) which has continued until this day.

During the first few years of its existence, Kvutzat Deganyah lost several of its most valuable members through treacherous murder or through accidents. On 25 November 1913, I received a telegram from the community: 'MOSHE BARSKY DEGANYAH MURDERED SATURDAY. YESTERDAY WORKER JOSEPH SALZMANN KINNERET MURDERED. COME.' Moshe Barsky had been a young lad of eighteen who was generally liked because of his cheerful disposition. His tragic end came as a profound shock to us all. His father showed that the spirit of the Maccabees is still alive in Israel. When he received the news of his son's death, he decided to send his other son to Deganyah to replace his brother. News of this attitude soon spread. A particularly heavy blow for the community was the death of Joseph Bussel, who drowned in Lake Kinneret in 1918. For the previous five or six years, Bussel had been not only the conscientious farm manager, but also the spiritual leader of the community. He had a gift for leadership and a unique personality. He laid the foundations for the change from extensive to intensive farming, and his sense of responsibility and knowledge of farming established the good name Deganyah has since enjoyed even in circles (especially the neighbouring ICA colonies) which had until then looked down upon the work of the community.

I followed the development of Deganyah with particular interest and

became more and more convinced that in many instances the conditions of the country made the *kvutzah* the most suitable means of cultivating the soil. I therefore entrusted other communities with the preparation of newly acquired land (e.g., Merhavyah). While the workers in Palestine greeted the establishment of the first cooperatives with enthusiasm, middle-class people, who were in the majority on Zionist boards and at the Zionist congresses, regarded them as adventurous and expensive experiments which reeked of socialism or even of communism. I was neither a socialist nor a communist, but I would not have considered it a fault if the experiments had displayed these tendencies. The truth of the matter was that I had established the community out of purely practical considerations. I was looking for the best and cheapest way of making young Jews familiar with Palestinian agriculture and believed that the *kvutzah* offered the solution.

Sir John Campbell, a member of the Commission of Experts which had been sent to the country by American Zionists and other Jews, published a report in 1928 which stated:

> From personal observations, and from a series of conversations with colonists who have worked for years in kevotzoth, and who are now in moshav settlements, I have come to the conclusion that the moshav settlement is unquestionably better, as an economic organization [page 444]. . . My advice would be to take a formal decision that no more kevotzoth should be established . . . The kevotzoth, the establishment of which was begun in 1927 should, I think, be abandoned . . . [page 495].

We had a hard struggle with the opponents of the *kvutzah*; their special champion was S. Kaplanski, who was my successor in the Colonization Department of the Jewish Agency. We successfully resisted the dissolution of the communities founded in 1927 and have the satisfaction of knowing that they have developed into the prosperous settlements of Ramat David, Sarid, Gevat and Mishmar ha-Emek. In 1927 it was still possible to regard the communities as a doubtful or unsuccessful experiment, but I feel that the subsequent years have undeniably proven their positive value.

Sir Arthur Wauchope, High Commissioner for Palestine from 1931 to 1938, was a close friend of the settlements and frequently visited them. He was an admirably noble and humane man and showed a profound understanding of the enthusiastic idealism and the endeavour to create a better society which found its expression in the *kvutzot*.

Matters which had been the concern of the Zionist Organization before the establishment of the Palestine Office also became part of our responsibilities, as, for example, the supervision of the agricultural school at Beit Arif (Ben Shemen). In 1909 this school was closed because of lack of funds.

Belkind fought against its closure and tried to raise money for the school in all sorts of ways, but failed. Thus arose the question of what was to be done with the buildings and the 2,000 dunams of land belonging to the JNF. At about this time, Yitzhak Wilkansky came to Palestine. He had completed a course in agriculture at the University of Königsberg, and though he was without any practical farm training and was not very good at figures, his seriousness and quick grasp of problems gave me confidence in him. As we could not leave the land lying fallow, I decided to establish a farm at Ben Shemen and to appoint Wilkansky as its manager. The JNF, which was, willing or not, obliged to see that its land was cultivated, provided the necessary means; the Association for *Oelbaumspende* [donations for olive trees] also made a contribution, so that a second Herzl Forest, of olive trees, could be planted there.

Under Wilkansky's management, the farm at Ben Shemen developed into an 'experimental farm' and had an influence on all our future settlement activities. Wilkansky, who had studied agriculture under German professors, soon made contact with the German settlement Wilhelma, which was near Ben Shemen. There he became familiar with the experience which the efficient and industrious Templars had gained in the course of many years of farming in Palestine, and in consequence he introduced 'mixed farming' centred on milk production, which had been ignored by Jews until that time. He combined it with poultry keeping for the sake of egg production.

It was not easy to establish such a farm successfully with Jewish workers. The Germans farmed with cheap hired Arab labour, and in many respects it was not possible to follow their practices. Also, some of the traditional German methods were, in the light of modern science, out of date. Wilkansky experimented with new fodder crops; imported valuable milk cows from East Frisia, Damascus and Beirut; cross-bred them with the local breed, etc. He also tried to improve the breed of poultry and built for this purpose modern chicken-runs, which became popularly known as 'chicken Tel Aviv'. He suffered many setbacks, however. The experiences of Ben Shemen, together with those of Huldah and Kinneret, convinced me that the establishment of agricultural settlements was a difficult task. That I did not despair, but nevertheless stubbornly persisted with the work once it had been begun, was entirely due to the enthusiasm and the devotion of the Jewish workers, which continued to carry me along.

Everything I did in Palestine seemed infinitesimal compared with the task which still lay ahead of me. At that time, there were barely 70,000 Jews in Palestine, and 50,000 of them belonged to the old *yishuv*, which was unproductive and indifferent or hostile to the national movement. Also, of the 20,000 new settlers, only about 1,000 families were engaged in agriculture, and their circumstances were very unsatisfactory. It was important

to extend this small beginning as quickly as possible if the work in Palestine was to be taken seriously, but all my attempts to extend the settlement activities were hampered by the fact that the Zionist movement lacked the necessary means.

As this was the state of affairs, I tried desperately to raise private capital for agricultural and urban settlements, and in 1909 I wrote and published two pamphlets: *Land Purchase in Palestine* and *Establishing Plantations in Palestine*; they were also published by Boris Goldberg in Russian (Vilna). At that time, plantations of almond trees were very profitable in Palestine, and there was a boom in almonds, similar to the one in oranges twenty years later. My pamphlets recommended the purchase of land to be planted with almonds, olives or oranges and suggested the formation of companies of planters, for which the name 'Ahuzah' was adopted. In fact, as a result of this suggestion and of the propaganda I spread personally on my two visits to Russia (1913 and at the beginning of 1914), several such companies were founded by wealthy people: in Bialystok, Lodz, Kiev, Yekaterinoslav, etc. Among others, there was also one in Chicago, founded by an enthusiastic Zionist, Simon Goldmann. The companies established plantations (in Kfar Saba, Kerkur, Bir Adas, Kfar Uriah, Poriah, Ruhamah etc.), but unfortunately, most of them failed, mainly because many of the members were unable to pay their yearly subscription during the Great War and the plantations lacked the means to keep going. In addition, the managers appointed by the companies were not always equal to the task or did not make sufficient allowance for the climatic conditions in Palestine. Thus in Poriah, 2,000 dunams of almond trees were killed by kapuodis because they had been planted on ground unsuitable for them. In a number of cases, however (for example, in Kerkur and Kfar Saba), new, healthy settlements arose out of the plantations.

The question of Jewish farm labourers in the *moshavot* was closely connected with agricultural settlement. Since the beginning of the Second Aliyah, many young people had come to Palestine determined to become farm workers. By this time, the immigrants of the First Aliyah (the Biluim), who had come to Palestine in 1882, already regarded farming as their natural occupation; but the Biluim had gradually become accustomed to employing Arab labour and being satisfied with managing their farms. The young people of the Second Aliyah, influenced by the socialist movement, which had become prominent in Russia, brought with them the conviction that the employment of hired labour was an unjustifiable exploitation of human beings and that the Jewish immigrants should perform all the work on the soil with their own hands. They also thought it essential, from the point of view of Jewish nationalism, that the Jewish National Home should be built by the Jews themselves. They went into the *moshavot* and tried to find employment as labourers – first, in order to



Arthur Ruppin at the age of ten (1886)

School-days in Magdeburg: Arthur Ruppin at the age of fourteen in the centre of the middle row



Ruppin (left) with his cousin and first wife, Selma Lewek, and his cousin Ludwig Danziger



Arthur Ruppin at the age of thirty-one (1907)





above Jaffa harbour, the gateway to Palestine, as it appeared to Dr Ruppin upon his arrival in the country in 1908 to open the Palestine Office of the Zionist Organization. *below* Bustros Street, the main street in Jaffa, with the Palestine Office marked by the flag in the upper right (see p. 90)



Dr Ruppin and his close friend and colleague Dr Jacob Thon



Kinneret farm on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, where Dr Ruppin had his first contact with the pioneers of the Second Aliyah (see pp. 101–3)

Dr Ruppin and friends bathing in the Dea Sea after his return from exile in Constantinople





An early view of Merhavyah, the settlement established according to the programme proposed by Franz Oppenheimer (see p. 104)

A Tel Aviv street scene when camels were still a common means of conveyance. Dr Ruppin was instrumental in the founding and development of what has grown to become the largest city in Israel (see cap. 12)



Dr Ruppin at Niagara Falls, New York, during his trip to America in 1922 (see pp. 200–5)

learn farming, about which they knew nothing; second in order to earn a living. They had hoped that the Jewish villagers would be willing to employ and instruct them, but they suffered a great disappointment. The villagers were not able to train them because frequently they themselves were unfamiliar with actual farm labour, or they were unwilling to employ beginners who would be unable to do much work, considering the abundance of experienced and capable Arab labourers. Moreover, it was impossible for the Jewish immigrants to work for the low wages received by the Arabs.

This dilemma caused profound animosity between the villagers and the Jewish workers. The workers reproached the villagers, saying that although they considered themselves to be 'idealists' and accepted the help of Jewish circles interested in the development of Palestine, in reality they were only looking after their own material well-being and ignoring what was in the national interest. The colonists maintained that their own income was so low (this was at the time of the slump in wine) that they were unable, with the best will in the world, to employ Jewish workers, who asked for high wages and were not capable of doing much work. Having come to Palestine with so much enthusiasm and such high hopes, the workers were in despair. A fierce quarrel arose, upsetting the *moshavot* and becoming increasingly bitter. The workers were undisciplined and the villagers, who were of an older generation and were used to a patriarchal society, regarded them as insolent young socialists with whom it was impossible to come to terms, while the Arab workers were docile and made no trouble.

Under the circumstances, the establishment of the first Zionist farms and settlements – Huldah, Ben Shemen, Kinneret, Deganyah and Merhavyah – in which Jewish workers were employed was welcomed by the workers with enthusiasm, as they saw in them a solution to their hopeless situation. But the farms could employ at most hundreds, while thousands were eager to work. Therefore, it was necessary to find still other solutions. I sought to solve the problem in several ways:

1 By making it cheaper for the Jewish workers to live, so that it would be easier for them to compete with the Arab workers. To this end, the Palestine Office, with money from the JNF, built large hostels (for unmarried workers) with communal kitchens in Petah Tikvah and Hederah.

2 By building small houses with one dunam of land for married workers. These houses cost about 1,000 francs and were intended to provide the workers with cheap and healthy accomodation and enable them to grow vegetables for their own use. They were built in Petah Tikvah, Hederah and Rishon le-Zion.

3 Through the formation of groups of workers to undertake work in the plantations on a contractual basis.

4 Through attracting Yemenite Jews, who were used to a hot climate and had a lower standard of living.

These measures were moderately successful. In any case, Jewish workers, none of whom had previously worked in the wine and the orange plantations, gradually began to be taken for granted there. In 1913, I was able to inform the [Eleventh] Zionist Congress that the number of Jewish farm workers had risen from a few hundred to more than 1,000. Almost a quarter of a century has passed since then, and by 1938 the number of workers employed in the Jewish villages had risen to more than 10,000; but it would not be true to say that the Jewish farm worker has by now become firmly established in the *moshavot*. At the time of the disturbances, when gangs of Arabs attacked the Jewish settlements, Jewish workers replaced Arab ones for security reasons, but as soon as peace was more or less restored, many of the villagers again preferred the cheaper Arab workers to the Jews.

As early as 1882, a few Jews had emigrated from Yemen via Aden to Palestine. They spoke Arabic (many of the men also spoke Hebrew), had the lifelong habits of the Arabs, made few demands on life and – thanks to their contentedness, industry and intelligence – had firmly established themselves in Palestine. They were undoubtedly the most cultured and industrious among the oriental Jews. Boris Schatz, the founder of the Bezalel School, valued them highly because of their skill in silver and copper work, employed many of them as workers in his school workshops and started a course to train them as stonemasons. Most of the Yemenite immigrants had settled in Jerusalem (a few in Tel Aviv and Haifa), but some of them had also gone to Petah Tikvah, Rishon le-Zion, Rehovot and Hederah. Because of their lower living standards, I saw in the Yemenites a group which had a better chance of holding its own in the *moshavot* against the competition from the Arabs. The question was how they were to be brought to Palestine in large numbers, Radler-Feldmann (Rabbi Benjamin), who was in touch with the Yemenite Jews, gave me the idea of sending an 'emissary' to Yemen in order to tell them that they could earn their living as workers in the agricultural colonies in Palestine. We found a young worker, Shmuel Yavnieli, who was enthusiastically prepared to undertake this task, which was connected with many dangers and hardships. For many months, we heard nothing from Yavnieli and feared the worst, but he returned after a year. The Jews in Yemen had received him with enthusiasm, and the mission had been extremely successful. Until the Great War, 2,000 Yemenite Jews emigrated to Palestine, and most of them found work in the *moshavot*. By 1940, their number had risen to 15,000.

One day in 1910, Bezalel Jaffe called on me at the Palestine Office and introduced me to a shy young girl; her name was Hanna Meisel (she later married Eliezer Shochat, one of the founders of Deganyah and Nahalal, and thereafter called herself Hanna Shochat-Meisel). She had just qualified

as an agronomist at a French university and had come to Palestine in order to devote herself to training girls in agriculture. Until that moment, when colonists had been chosen for agricultural settlements in Palestine no one had thought of the wife of the future farmer. Nothing had ever been done to train women in agriculture, and therefore, apart from a few exceptions, the wives in the Jewish settlements were a burden rather than a help to their husbands. In the German settlement Sarona, the wives did a great deal of the farm work, and did it well. One of the settlers once told me shortly after I arrived in Palestine: 'You Jews will never be able to make a success of farming. Even if you manage to turn your men into farmers, that is only half the battle; the help of the women is absolutely essential, and your women will never get up at dawn in order to milk the cows.'

Those words found a ready response in me. In an article published in *Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir* on 27 November 1911, I discussed the situation of the Jewish farm worker and stressed the necessity for also training girls in agriculture, as the success of settlement depended upon the women knowing something about farming and being able to help. Thus in theory, Hanna Meisel's intentions had my full sympathy and support, but at first it was impossible to see how I could help her put her plans into practice. She could not carry out her intentions without having a farm at her disposal, and I had no means whatever to establish one for her. I was not willing to give the idea up, however, and in the end I succeeded in obtaining a few rooms and a small piece of ground on the Kinneret farm and the Verband Jüdischer Frauen für Kulturarbeit in Palästina in Berlin provided a little money to establish and maintain a school there. In the spring of 1911 Hanna Meisel was able to move to Kinneret and begin the training of ten girls.

She was far from welcome in Kinneret. Bermann, who was still the manager there when she arrived, had been most reluctant to agree to the experiment and was convinced that it was bound to fail. Once, when I was walking with him across the fields in Kinneret, where the girls were working in city clothes entirely unsuitable for farm work, he pointed to them: 'Look at them playing! One tomato produced by them will cost one medshidy' (a Turkish coin worth 20 piastres). This hostility put poor Hanna Meisel in a difficult position. Things improved when Bermann left the farm, but then the financial situation became more and more difficult. However, Hanna Meisel possessed the necessary patience for farm work in Palestine and did not relinquish the idea to which she had dedicated her life. She knew that she still had a lot to learn, and continued to learn untiringly.

I also remained undeterred by all the difficulties and did my best to provide Hanna Meisel with money to keep the school going. In the newspapers, I repeatedly drew attention to the fact that the wife of a settler needed to have some training in agriculture. Hanna Meisel persevered and

finally received her reward. The Women's International Zionist Organization (WIZO), which was founded in 1920 and developed rapidly during the following year, regarded the training of girls in agriculture as its main task and provided Hanna Shochat-Meisel's school with financial security.

11 The Purchase of Agricultural Land

As soon as the Palestine Office had been opened, a great many agents, Jews and non-Jews, turned to it as the representative of the JNF and the PLDC with offers of all sorts of real estate in both urban and rural areas. Most of these agents were completely unreliable and did not really understand the legal intricacies of land purchase. After the first few attempts, I realized that it was useless to negotiate with them. The purchase and attempted purchase of land were accidental and sporadic. They had always concerned only small areas (a few thousand dunams at most), since the money at our disposal was not sufficient to buy large areas at a time. The systematic acquisition of land for agricultural settlements is inseparably linked with the name of Yehoshua Hankin. He devoted his whole life to this task, which was among the most difficult and most important of all the work done in Palestine.

Hankin became active in this field in 1890, when he was no more than twenty-five years old. The laws concerning real estate were among the most intricate of the Turkish regime, and they persisted for much of the period of British administration as well. A land register, in the European sense, did not exist. The requisite information for one was lacking, as the land had not been surveyed. An area had therefore to be 'identified' by very unreliable landmarks (wadi, hillock, tree, fence), and its dimensions almost always differed from those stated. The legal title (*kushan*) issued to the purchaser by the land-registry office (*tabu*) was no guarantee that the purchaser was now the legal owner. It was no more than a certificate that the seller had transferred his rights to the buyer, who was thereafter always vulnerable to the plea that the seller or one of the previous owners had had no legal right to the property and was therefore not able to transfer it. Consequently, disputes concerning boundaries occurred quite frequently. A buyer always had to pay the closest possible attention to avoid being cheated by the seller or his agent.

Hankin developed land purchase into a fine art, and when I came to Palestine he was known as the greatest expert in the field. He was completely obsessed by a passion to increase the area of land owned by the Jews. There have been many such single-minded people who have made a decisive contribution towards the development of the Jewish National Home, and a much greater one than the cautious and calculating businessmen

and critics among the Zionists, whose criticism was negative and frequently destructive. In an article published on the occasion of Hankin's sixtieth birthday in the *Jüdische Rundschau* on 18 November 1925, I wrote the following about him:

Yehoshua Hankin has the appearance of a tranquil man, and this impression is enhanced by the fact that he is not very talkative. He is surrounded by an aura of mystery. His hair, which has never been cut in his life, recalls the ancient Nazarites, whom he also resembles in his tendency towards asceticism, a renunciation of all the pleasure of this world. This apparent tranquility and rejection of the world, however, is only the outer shell, concealing a kernel of burning excitement, terrific energy and extreme intelligence. Through using words sparingly and renouncing everything which is outside the province of his life's work, Hankin manages to *concentrate* on his work and to put all his energy and ability 100 per cent at the disposal of his one and only purpose. Life in Palestine has brought me into contact with many people, but I know of no one else who has perfected this art of concentrating on one single purpose to quite the same extent as Hankin. He will wait patiently for weeks and even months, if he considers it necessary to wait in order to complete the purchase of a piece of land, and not a single outward sign will betray his internal excitement; but he will become impatient and annoyed within a quarter of an hour if time has to be spent on anything not connected with this purpose.

Hankin detests slowness; for him, everything connected with his work is extremely urgent. He is a pastmaster in the art of travelling quickly, and occasionally it seems that he is capable of performing the miracle of being in several places at once. This haste arises out of his preference for doing, or at least supervising, everything himself, but it is also the consequence of his belief that in the matter of land purchase, every moment is precious. He was the first to foresee that the small country of Palestine can only put a limited amount of land at the disposal of Jewish settlement, and that the acquisition of areas of land will become more difficult with the increase in Jewish immigration. Therefore, he has everywhere expounded the view that it is necessary to buy as much of the land as possible, and to buy it quickly. Today, this thought is commonly accepted, but it must not be forgotten that even a few years ago many people rejected it, maintaining that there was plenty of time for buying the land, because the land would always be there.

When I arrived in Palestine, Hankin was buying land on behalf of ICA. In his capacity as an official of this organization, he negotiated the purchase of 9,000 dunams in Fule (today Merhavyah) in the Jezreel Valley. When the opportunity arose to close the deal, Hankin snatched it, although he had not yet been authorized by ICA to do so. When ICA refused to ratify the deal, it placed Hankin in a very difficult position, as he did not want to break his word to the Arab client. He then came to me as director of the PLDC and offered the land to us. The PLDC had very little capital and was not prepared for such offers – it was a matter of paying 40 francs per

dunam, i.e., 360,000 francs (£14,400). But I saw the importance of gaining a foothold in the Jezreel Valley, and after tremendous difficulties I succeeded in raising the necessary sum of money. (About a third of it came from the JNF, which bought 3,500 dunams for the Oppenheimer collective settlement). A young agronomist called Elias Blumenfeld also came to my aid by offering the cash to buy 1,000 dunams.

It was still necessary to overcome the objections of the Turkish authorities to the deal. The competent authority, the *kaimakam* in Nazareth, who was a fanatic Young Turk, said that he would never allow the deal to be entered in the land register, without which it would not be legally valid, and he ignored all the legal directives and orders from his superiors. Hankin had to appeal to his friends in Constantinople, who finally succeeded in having the deal registered by the competent minister. Thus the first Jewish position in the Jezreel Valley was secured. After this first purchase, Hankin continued to work for the PLDC. It was an extraordinary stroke of luck that Hankin and the PLDC found each other. Between 1910 and 1940, this collaboration has been responsible for most of the deals involving the purchase of large areas of land for the JNF and for private individuals; for instance, for the acquisition of the large areas in the Jezreel Valley, the plain of Acre, Emek Hefer, the Huleh Valley, etc.

The acquisition of the legal title for Fule was not the end of the troubles and difficulties there. It was still necessary to take possession of the land, on which the former tenants and labourers were still living. A few of the workers we sent there, including the indefatigable Sa'adiah Paz, spoke Arabic and were experienced in dealing with Arabs. Advised by Hankin, and with the help of considerable donations, they succeeded in persuading the Arabs to leave the land peaceably and installed themselves in the buildings – most of them miserable mud huts – which belonged to the seller. Some time later, however, an unfortunate thing happened. A quarrel arose when a group of our workers and a group of Arabs met in the fields of Fule. In the fight which ensued, one of the Arabs was shot dead and two of the Jews were wounded. The death of the Arab aroused great excitement throughout the region, and during the following week shots were fired at dusk into the huts where the Jews were living. The police from Nazareth arrested seven of our people and imprisoned them in Acre, where they remained under appalling conditions for several months. After expending a great deal of trouble and money, we succeeded in convincing the authorities that it had been a matter of self-defence, and the prisoners were released. The case served as a warning to me and made me more cautious in all subsequent purchases. Hankin and I agreed that quarrels with former tenants had to be avoided at all cost, even if it meant spending a great deal of money.

Jewish settlement in Palestine would not have survived its early years

without the help of Baron Edmond de Rothschild, whom I met several times both in Paris and Palestine. He was always ready to discuss Palestine and usually did most of the talking. On one occasion he told me that his settlements by Lake Huleh were very much affected by malaria.

'How does malaria arise?' he once asked me.

'It is carried by the Anopheles mosquito, which breeds in the stagnant water of Lake Huleh.'

'Only in stagnant water?'

'Yes.'

'Can the water not be kept in motion?'

'How?'

'For instance by means of a steamer with large paddle-wheels which continually moves about?'

Almost speechless, I answered, 'But it is a large lake; it is impossible for a steamer to keep it in motion!'

'Well then, we will just have to use several steamers!'

Baron Rothschild visited Palestine in February 1914. It was, of course, very important for the future of our work to gain the Baron's support for it. His local officials were not very pleased that the Baron had made contact with the Zionists, who were at that time still regarded condescendingly as intruders and *kabtzanim* [beggars] by ICA. Nevertheless, I succeeded in talking with the Baron several times through the good offices of his confidant Henri Frank, who was a gentleman and believed that he ought not to refuse my request to meet the Baron. Once we met at the settlement Kinneret and I talked to him about our work. The Baron was delighted to hear that he was not alone in spending money for agricultural development in Palestine and promised to help us. News of this aroused great pleasure among the workers of Kinneret and others who had collected there from the neighbourhood. In the evening, they lit a large bonfire, sang Hebrew songs, and Shmulik Hefter – now a member of Tel Yosef – and some others performed the Arab sword dance. Naturally a great many speeches were made to celebrate the Baron's connection with the Zionists as an epoch-making event.

While Baron Rothschild was staying in Palestine and his yacht was anchored off Jaffa, Julius Rosenwald visited the country. He was the head of the firm Sears, Roebuck & Co. of Chicago and was reputed to be one of the richest Jews in the United States. There was such a shortage of capital in Palestine at the time that whenever a Jewish 'millionaire' appeared there was tremendous excitement: will we succeed in making him take an interest in Palestine? It was, of course, very important to me to speak to him and to persuade him to make a capital investment. He came to Jaffa accompanied by Aaron Aaronson, who had met him previously in the United States and persuaded him to contribute money to his Agricultural

Experiment Station at Athlit. I received a message from Aaronson that Mr Rosenwald wished to speak to me at his hotel that evening. This put me in a dilemma. I was offended by the way in which the invitation was issued; it seemed to me that the millionaire thought himself entitled to summon me, the representative of the Zionist Organization, as if I were an underling. On the other hand, I was afraid that if I declined I would lose the chance to talk to him, which I had been looking forward to very much. Finally, I decided to answer that I would not be available that evening but that I would be at Mr Rosenwald's disposal the following morning at the Palestine Office.

The meeting took place, and I was delighted to find that Rosenwald was easy to talk to, intelligent, and listened with interest to everything I told him. It occurred to me that it might be useful to introduce Rosenwald and Baron Rothschild to each other. I thought that the Baron's personality and his enthusiasm for Palestine would be more likely to influence Rosenwald than my most polished speeches. Rosenwald readily accepted my suggestion to meet the Baron. I enquired whether the Baron would like to receive Mr Rosenwald on his yacht, and when he agreed Rosenwald and I went on board. The Baron (his wife was also present), always ready to proselytize for Palestine, was extremely charming and talked with Rosenwald about all sorts of things. Finally, the talk turned to the '*Sprachenstreit*' [language dispute] which was current at that time.*

Within a few days, there was to be a meeting in Berlin, at which the governing body of the newly established Technion in Haifa was to decide definitely whether Hebrew or German was to be used as the language of instruction. The Baron was in favour of Hebrew, perhaps because he felt that the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden in Berlin, which dominated the governing body of the Technion and advocated the use of German as the language of instruction, was, consciously or unconsciously, acting as a tool of German politics in the Middle East. Rosenwald, who had probably until that moment known nothing about the whole matter, agreed with

* The so-called language dispute arose out of the controversy over the language of instruction at the Technion in Haifa, due to be opened in the spring of 1914. At a meeting of the governing body in October 1913, it was decided, on the suggestion of the management of the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden and despite the objections raised by the Zionist representatives, that German was to be the language of instruction. The Zionist representatives withdrew in protest, and a protest movement of strikes by pupils and teachers against the schools of the Hilfsverein arose throughout Palestine. Numerous Hebrew schools were established and financed by the Zionist Organization. As a result of this movement and of the objections raised in other countries, especially in America, in February 1914 the governing body accepted a compromise solution by which Hebrew was to become the language of instruction within four years, while some subjects were to be taught in Hebrew immediately. During the first few months of this dispute, Dr Ruppin was abroad.

the Baron, either out of politeness or because he accepted his arguments. It occurred to me that it might help the cause of Hebrew language if the Baron and Rosenwald were to send a telegram to the meeting in Berlin expressing their preference for the introduction of Hebrew. My suggestion was accepted and the telegram was sent. I sent an account of my meetings with the Baron and Rosenwald to the Inner Actions Committee in Berlin, saying, among other things:

I am able to inform you (this is of course to be treated as strictly confidential) that the Baron has been extraordinarily satisfied, indeed delighted, by what he has seen in Palestine. It is of particular interest to us that he regards Zionist activities as being largely responsible for the development of Palestine and has repeatedly expressed his satisfaction and gratitude for this cooperation. The immediate result of the Baron's journey is that he agreed to the purchase of large areas of land in the Jezreel Valley and in the region between Hederah and Zikhron Ya'akov in a discussion with him and two of his officials, Frank and Rosenheck, on the evening before he left Kinneret. He wishes to keep some of these areas for himself, especially those which will not be difficult to irrigate, with the intention of settling smallholders to grow early vegetables. Concerning other areas, he only made the condition that the PLDC should then sell the land. I said that the PLDC would accept this responsibility if the buyers were asked to pay no more than thirty per cent of the purchase price immediately and the remaining seventy per cent in seven equal annual instalments of ten per cent. The Baron agreed to this. Altogether, the purchase of these areas will require a sum of six million francs. I had the impression that the Baron would be prepared to continue to buy in excess of this sum.

It is interesting that the Baron reprimanded the representatives of Rosh Pinah, whom he met in Kinneret, for employing Arab labour. He also reprimanded the rabbis of Tiberias for doing nothing for the development of the town and for observing the letter, not the spirit, of the Torah. In connection with this, he later asked me to see to the reorganization of the *halukah*.* It was a pity that the large amount of money sent to Palestine as *halukah* bore so little fruit there. My answer to this was that, in my opinion, this situation could only be improved by introducing those now living on *halukah*, especially in Jerusalem, to agriculture and by establishing settlements in the vicinity of towns for this purpose. The Baron told me that he would instruct his officials to buy as much land as they possibly could in the vicinity of Jerusalem, to cultivate the land and afterwards to let the cultivated land on lease to the Jews of Jerusalem.

Just before I accompanied the Baron to Migdal, I heard that the meeting of the governing body of the Haifa Technion had decided in favour of Hebrew. When I told the Baron, he was very pleased with the news and reminded me that he had given Rosenwald permission to send a telegram to Berlin saying that he (the Baron) was also in favour of Hebrew. He then added that, like all the other national minorities in Turkey, the Jews would have to have their own language. Without it they would not be able to become one (separate) nation with its own culture.

* Charitable funds received from abroad for distribution among the needy.

12 Urban Settlement

In July 1907, during my first visit to Palestine, I was sitting one evening in the Hotel Kaminitz in Jerusalem, tired after an exhausting day, when a man came up to me and introduced himself as the watch-maker Akiva Weiss from Jaffa. He began to tell me about the unbearable conditions under which the Jews in Jaffa were living. The streets were extremely dirty, and the flats which could be rented from the Arabs lacked everything that was, according to European standards, considered essential for health and comfort. Therefore, sixty Jews, most of them businessmen, teachers and intellectuals, had come together to form a company called Ahuzat Bayit for the purpose of establishing a modern Jewish quarter outside Jaffa (on the road to Petah Tikvah). They were already considering a certain tract of land. The Hebrew grammar-school had received money for a building from a Zionist patron, Jacob Moser of Bradford, and intended to erect a building on the land to be bought.

I liked the quiet, impressive story, asked Weiss how much money the sixty people had available to realize their plan and was expecting the answer I always received when people came to me with their plans: 'Money! We don't have any money. We have this plan; the money has to be found by someone else.' Much to my surprise, however, he answered that the sixty people were prepared to contribute 100,000 francs of their own. When I asked Weiss if he could bring me some proof of this, he showed me a statement that 50,000 francs had indeed been deposited with the Anglo-Palestine Bank and said that the people would raise the remaining 50,000 francs within a short time. Certainly, 50,000 francs or even 100,000 francs (2,000 or 4,000 pounds in gold) were not exactly an enormous sum, but nevertheless, it was money. I asked him how much money the company would need in addition to the 100,000 francs, and he answered 300,000 francs. This would be sufficient to allow sixty people to raise mortgages of 5,000 francs (200 pounds in gold) each. Any additional money needed would be found by the people themselves. As I was planning to go to Jaffa on the following day, I promised Weiss that I would go with him to have a look at the tract of land under consideration and that, if I thought it suitable, I would put his request before the JNF.

On the following morning, Shmaryahu Levin and I took the train to

Jaffa. As I have already mentioned, I had felt unwell while I was still in Jerusalem, and in Jaffa Shmaryahu Levin, without my knowledge, sent for a doctor. The late Dr Kahan came to the hotel and after a brief examination told me that I was ill and would have to go into hospital at once. I told him that I was willing to go, but that first I would have to keep a promise, namely, to look at a certain tract of land together with the watch-maker Weiss. Dr Kahan objected, but I insisted; Weiss was already waiting for me, and the two of us rode out to the tract on donkeys.

The road was a Turkish one (that is, it was full of holes and unsuitable for all vehicular traffic), but I thought the position favourable, as it was between Jaffa and Petah Tikvah and also relatively close to the sea. After Weiss had satisfactorily answered my questions concerning the constitution of the Ahuzat Bayit company, I decided to write to the JNF as soon as I returned to the hotel and recommend a loan of 300,000 francs, on certain conditions. I sat down to write but was no longer able to hold the pen. Therefore, I asked the late Mrs Emma Trietsch, who was at that time working at the Anglo-Palestine Company, to come to my room and dictated to her the following letter to the JNF:

Jaffa, 21 July 1907

To the Head Office of the Jewish National Fund
Cologne

. . . Ahuzat Bayit (Jaffa Building Company). You will have received some time ago a request from this company for a loan. It seems to me that this is an extremely important matter, and this is why I should like to draw your attention to it. The Ahuzat Bayit company consists of sixty members, all of them well-to-do people living in Jaffa and its surroundings. The company has been established for the purpose of erecting houses for its members in a self-contained quarter of the town. It is already considering a suitable 222-dunam tract of land which offers space not only for the sixty dwellings to be built now for the present members, but for a total of 200 houses. Of the capital investment of 400,000 which will be required to buy the site and build the sixty houses, the members already have 50,000 francs in cash and 50,000 in promissory notes deposited at the Anglo-Palestine Bank here. The present time is particularly propitious for building houses in Jaffa because all building enterprises have come to a standstill in Jerusalem owing to the water shortage, and labour and building materials are therefore particularly cheap at the moment.

I consider it extremely important that there be a Jewish quarter both in Jaffa and Jerusalem which will stand comparison with the quarters of other nations and, in regard to hygiene, will not suffer from the short-comings of the present Jewish quarters in these towns. The narrow streets, the dirt and the monstrous style of architecture in the present Jewish quarters are a downright disgrace to the Jews and discourages many worth-while people from settling in this country. It is extremely important to provide good, healthy housing for the Jewish middle classes in Jaffa. I do not think that I am exaggerating when I say that the creation of a well-

built Jewish quarter will present the most important step towards the economic conquest of Jaffa by the Jews. Apart from the 100,000 francs in its possession, the Ahuzat Bayit company requires a further sum of 300,000 francs, which it hopes to raise as a loan. It asks the Jewish National Fund to lend it these 300,000 francs. This transaction entails no risk for the Jewish National Fund, because the loan would be made not directly to the Ahuzat Bayit company but to the Anglo-Palestine Bank, which would then lend the money to Ahuzat Bayit but would itself remain liable to repay the money to the Jewish National Fund. The Anglo-Palestine Company is able and willing to take this risk, as the tract of land and the buildings will be registered in its name and as the members of Ahuzat Bayit are solvent. The investment is to be repaid over a period of eighteen years, and the Jewish National Fund is to be guaranteed four per cent interest on its capital. If necessary, the company would be satisfied with a loan of 200,000 or 150,000 francs, as the Anglo-Palestine Company has promised, if necessary, to loan it 100,000 francs or 150,000 francs for one year, and the company hopes to be able to raise a long-term loan for this amount elsewhere during that time.

I wish to stress that I am not alone in thinking that this is a matter of extraordinary importance. Everyone with whom I have discussed the project is agreed on this: it is not one of those enterprises which flourish only for a day. Therefore, I ask you to give this matter your most serious consideration.

Some weeks passed. One day, as I was lying in hospital and running a high temperature, Dr Kahan came and brought me a telegram from the Hague (the [Eighth] Zionist Congress was then in session there) stating that the JNF granted the Ahuzat Bayit company a loan of 300,000 francs. Of course the company was delighted with the telegram, but more than a year was to pass before all the formalities had been completed and the loan was actually made. The building of the first houses was begun in the summer of 1909. Ahuzat Bayit received only 250,000 (4,200 francs per house); the remaining 50,000 francs were used to finance the building of ten houses in Haifa. These were the first Jewish houses on the slopes of the Carmel, where the Jewish district Hadar ha-Carmel is located today.

The development of Tel Aviv was hampered by the general lack of money. With the help of a loan from the JNF, people might manage to built their own little house, but there was no money to spare for all the other expenses which inevitably arise when a town is being established. The whole development was influenced by this lack of money.

The first houses in Tel Aviv were built by the members of Ahuzat Bayit, which commissioned the surveyor Josef Treidel to design the layout of the streets and the division of the 220,000 pics which were originally available into lots. But all the land which was subsequently bought was shared out not by this company or by the Tel Aviv committee, which later replaced it, but by the Palestine Real Estate Company, which bought the additional land through the Technical Department of the Palestine Office. Of course,

the network of streets which already existed was taken into consideration, but it was not always possible to match it perfectly. For instance, Allenby Street, today Tel Aviv's main thoroughfare, has a bend in it for which there is no topographical reason. When we wanted to buy the next piece of ground, which would have allowed the existing street to be continued in a straight line, we encountered some unexpected difficulties, so the street had to be continued over the neighbouring piece of ground, which happened to be for sale.

Difficulties in the planning also arose out of the fact that buyers to whom we offered plots of land were either unable or unwilling to pay large additional amounts for paving streets. There was a constant conflict between the interests of the buyers and those of the emerging town. A storm was provoked when the engineer Joseph Loewy, the head of the Technical Department of the Palestine Office, suggested that Allenby Street, the main traffic route from east to west, should be thirty metres wide (until then no street had been more than twelve metres wide at most). How were the poor buyers of the plots of land going to pay for such an area and for having it paved? And who was going to be able to pay for the upkeep of such a wide street? But I insisted; the street was built thirty metres wide and is therefore still adequate for the traffic now that the town has a quarter of a million inhabitants. I also had to overcome a great deal of opposition in connection with the public playground on Nahlat Benyamin Street.

Tel Aviv became the training ground for Jewish skilled and unskilled labourers in the building trade. Although there were a few bricklayers among the Jews, coming as they did from Eastern Europe, the only building material they were used to were bricks, while the usual building material in Jaffa was a rough, porous sandstone (*debbish*). The Arabs had been familiar with this stone for generations and knew how to use it. Therefore, until Tel Aviv began to be built, it was the rule in Jaffa (and also in Jerusalem and Haifa, where blocks of hard sandstone were used for building) that all the masonry was carried out by Arabs. It was extremely difficult to introduce Jewish labourers into the building trade. Today it seems perfectly natural that Jews should be engaged in all branches of the building trade in Palestine, but at that time this prospect appeared more or less impossible. The Arab labourers were not only cheaper, they were also familiar with the stone used and therefore far more experienced and skilful in building with it. The Jews, on the other hand, had to acquire this skill like apprentices in the course of the years.

Most of the small houses in Tel Aviv were built without the help of an engineer or an architect. The builder, whether or not he knew what he was doing, concocted some sort of plan together with the man for whom he was building, who knew even less about the field. It is hardly surprising that many monstrous houses were produced in this way, especially as the

lack of money made it necessary to build as cheaply as possible. Real progress in the field of town planning was made only after the Great War. In 1920, when we were about to settle the Jezreel Valley, I was cautious to avoid a repetition of the ugliness in the layout of the old settlements and invited to Palestine Richard Kauffmann, a town-planning engineer and architect who was at that time working in Christiana. It was a happy choice. He worked out the plans for the settlements in the Jezreel Valley – first for Nahalal and Kfar Yehezkel and later for many other settlements – and also created a certain style for the layout of our communities.

It is impossible to imagine present-day Tel Aviv without its beach; but in its early years, Tel Aviv was separated from the sea by a kilometre of Arab land. This land consisted of dunes, and anyone who walked across it to reach the sea sank into sand above his ankles. Therefore, when the inhabitants of Tel Aviv wished to reach the beach, they chose the long way round through Jaffa. I realized that Tel Aviv would have to be extended, at all cost, as far as the beach, and I tried to get in touch with the Arabs who owned the land by the sea. Albert Antebi from Jerusalem acted as the go-between in this matter. All the 'experts' with whom I discussed this purchase considered it absurd to buy land beside the sea as long as there would continue to be a wide strip of Arab land between the beach and Tel Aviv. They pointed out that living even in Tel Aviv, where there were, at the time, only about 100 houses, was extraordinarily inconvenient because it was poorly connected by road. How would Jews acquire plots of land and build houses on the beach, to which the approach was even more difficult?

If the money then at my disposal had been sufficient to buy the whole region from the beach to Tel Aviv, the problem would have been simple to solve; but I could not afford to do this, and what made it all the more impossible was the fact that the land adjacent to Tel Aviv was already fetching high prices, namely 2–3 francs per pic. On the other hand, it was possible to buy 220,000 pics by the sea for 55 centimes each. This was roughly the entire capital of the Palestine Real Estate Company, which had recently been established. I decided to invest the capital of the real estate company in these 220,000 pics by the sea because I knew it was essential for Tel Aviv to be able to extend down to the beach and was convinced that if we wanted to buy the land adjacent to Tel Aviv, we would have to pay the Tel Aviv price for it.

Soon afterwards I handed half this land over to a group of workmen who had formed a cooperative to build houses there. I had a plan drawn up for the division of the remaining 100,000 pics into lots and took it with me to Russia in 1913. It was published together with an explanation and a Russian translation on 25 October 1913 in the journal *Rasviet*. The Russian Zionists, who had never before seen a proper blueprint for the division

of Palestinian land into lots, did not hesitate long before deciding to acquire plots offered to them in a business-like manner – with a printed contract. Many who paid 1,000 roubles (including the cost of building a road) for a plot and for whom those 1,000 roubles were a paltry sum, had no idea that five or six years later, after they had lost all their possessions in Russia as a consequence of the revolution, this land would be all that was left to them. They were destitute when they arrived in Palestine, vaguely remembering that they had once paid me a small sum for a piece of land and hardly expecting anything in return for their money. They were all the more surprised and pleased to hear from me that their land was waiting for them and was worth two or three times as much as they had paid for it. For many, this became the foundation of a new existence in Palestine.

This action – which many Zionists at the time regarded as unpardonably irresponsible, almost as a squandering of national capital – proved to be the right and necessary one. Following the first purchase, further tracts of land were bought by stages right up to Tel Aviv. Twenty years later, the land by the beach which I had acquired for 55 centimes (about 2 piastres) was worth 200 or 300 times as much.

In 1907, when I was in Haifa for the first time, there were about 3,000 Jews living scattered all over the town. Most of them lived in primitive rooms rented from the Arabs, but a few had found more adequate accommodation in the houses of the Templars in the German Colony, which, because of its cleanliness and gardens, contrasted very favourably with the dirty town centre. At the eastern end of Haifa, near the railway station, was the 'Yehudi' district, where Sephardi Jews lived in a few dozen, neglected houses built in the oriental style.

In 1907, Dr Paul Nathan, the business manager of the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden and an extremely energetic man, came to Palestine. His mission was to prepare the way for establishing a technical secondary school within the framework of the general educational activities undertaken by the Hilfsverein for the benefit of the Jews in the Middle East (as a counterpart to the French schools of the Alliance Israélite Universelle). He recognized Haifa's key position and decided to buy a suitable piece of ground there for the school.

When work began on the school buildings in 1909, the slopes of the Carmel were quite untouched and there were no other buildings there. I realized that this would soon be the site of a commercial centre, which would increase the value of the surrounding land. Moreover, it was not desirable that the school stand entirely isolated in the midst of Arab land. Therefore, I endeavoured to acquire this land for the Jews as fast as I possibly could. I turned to Professor Warburg in Berlin with the suggestion that a Palestine Real Estate Company be established for the purpose of buying land in Haifa and Tel Aviv; its capital of 100,000 marks should be

raised among German Jews. Professor Warburg, who was always open to suggestions, and his adviser, Abraham Avadiovitz, agreed and succeeded in raising the capital in a relatively short time. This made it possible for me to acquire additional plots of land in the vicinity of the technical school.

On the Hadar ha-Carmel, as in Tel Aviv, the interests of the people who bought the individual plots conflicted with the interests of the future district. I asked the purchasers to accept certain obligations or restrictions in the public interest; for instance, to contribute to the cost of building the streets and maintaining a public park, not to build shops on their land, to build within five years, etc. This discouraged some prospective buyers and made it more difficult for me to succeed in my endeavours, but I was constantly aware of the future needs of the district and used all my powers of persuasion to convince the buyers that in the last analysis their private interests and those of the district were identical.

In the beginning, the development of Hadar ha-Carmel (the building and maintenance of the streets, provision of drinking water, etc.) was administered by the Palestine Office (representing the PLDC) and the Palestine Real Estate Company. As the number of inhabitants increased, however, especially during and after the Great War, I thought that the time had come to hand the administration over to the inhabitants themselves. I went to Haifa, convened a meeting of all the landowners on the Hadar ha-Carmel and suggested they elect a committee which would be responsible for administering the district. My suggestion was not as favourably received as I had expected, however. Apparently, people were satisfied to be administered by the Palestine Office and shrank from taking the responsibility upon themselves. Finally, a compromise was reached and the PLDC agreed to send some representatives to the committee and thus continue to be partly responsible. After a time, this condition was forgotten and the committee became accustomed to standing on its own feet. Under the chairmanship of Samuel Pevsner, it gradually became very active in extending and beautifying the district.

In connection with the first land purchases in Haifa, there is an interesting episode dating from 1910 concerning the Berlin grain merchant Reinhold Pinner and his son Dr Ludwig Pinner. It is worth mentioning here because it is typical of the attitude of assimilated German Jews to Palestine and to Zionism at the time. In a letter of congratulation which I wrote to Dr Pinner in January 1940, on the occasion of his fiftieth birthday, I recorded the episode, as he had been my colleague in the Land Development Department, as follows:

Long before I ever met you, when I was the head clerk of a firm of grain merchants in Magdeburg, I was acquainted with the firm of Reinhold Pinner & Co. in Berlin, which belonged to your father. The firm was so well known in the German grain trade

for its large imports of American 'mixed' maize that the idea of maize became firmly associated in my mind with the name Pinner. I had close business relations with the firm and therefore with your father, but lost sight of him when I left the grain trade in 1899. In 1909, when I had already been in Palestine for two years and was living on the road from Jaffa to Sarona, I received, much to my surprise, a visit from you and your father. Your father explained to me the reason for his visit: you, his son Ludwig, on whom the whole future of his business depended, had suddenly been infected by Zionism. He had not objected to this, as long as you had confined yourself to giving Zionist lectures and belonging to Zionist associations. But now you had decided to emigrate to Palestine, and all his exhortations that this was madness had no effect. So he had decided to go to Palestine with you in order to demonstrate on the spot that there was no place for you here, and he asked me to help him talk you out of your intention. I was known to him from our previous connection in the grain trade as a reasonable person, and he trusted me not to give his son advice which would lead him to take the wrong path and ruin his future.

I told your father that I valued his confidence in me and that we would discuss the matter further after he had spent a few weeks getting to know the country. I walked with you and your father from my house to the nearby site on which the first houses of Tel Aviv were just beginning to be built. Surprised, your father asked me what they were building on this sand, into which we sank up to our ankles. I told him that this was the beginning of a large town, which would stretch from here to the sea-shore and showed him what was already drawn in the blueprint: the future street to the sea, the site for the building of the grammar-school, and the sites of several public buildings. Your father shook his head and found the whole prospect fantastic. Nevertheless, it seemed to me that he was impressed by it all.

We went to look at the country. I showed him Haifa, where the Technion and the first houses of Herzliyah were being built on what is today the Hadar ha-Carmel, and we then continued our journey to Kinneret, where a swim in Lake Kinneret gave the old gentlemen the greatest pleasure. Our farm Kinneret was then still in its beginning stages, but he was obviously impressed by the very facts of a Jewish manager, namely the agronomist Bermann, who sat his horse very well, and Jewish workers cultivating the land. They seemed to make him realize that Zionism consisted of more than literature and included real pioneering work. We returned to Haifa and again visited the area of the present Hadar ha-Carmel, on which there were only a few miserable Arab huts, so that it gave the impression of being completely deserted. When I told your father that we were buying all the land right up to the top of the Carmel and wanted to build a large Jewish district but lacked sufficient funds, he nodded sympathetically. In the hotel he took me aside and, apparently a little ashamed of his own enthusiasm, admitted to me that he was interested in the plan for a Jewish district in Haifa and was prepared to invest in it. He put a sum of 50,000 marks at my disposal to buy land. You and your intention of coming to Palestine were hardly mentioned again between us. Apparently the journey and his introduction to the beginnings of our activities had caused your father to modify considerably his idea of Zionism and of Palestine.

The period during and immediately after the Great War provided me with the opportunity to buy the first tracts of land on the Carmel plateau and to

realize the dreams I had cherished since 1907, when I had visited the German consul, Keller. In 1917, when I was in Constantinople, I received a letter from Grasovsky, manager of the Haifa branch of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, stating that many Germans in Haifa wished to sell their land on the Carmel. I suggested that the Anglo-Palestine Bank make 25,000 Turkish pounds available to buy this land. The Anglo-Palestine Bank agreed, and Grasovsky succeeded in buying several thousand dunams of land on the Carmel at a price of 10 to 30 Turkish paper pounds per dunam. Prices were low because the Carmel was considered not a residential area, but only agricultural land (and poor agricultural land at that). After the war, the PLDC continued to buy the land, although prices were already rising, until almost the whole of the Carmel finally belonged to Jews.

At first, the development of the Carmel into a residential quarter went slowly. In 1930 there were still fewer than 100 houses and about 600 inhabitants. Since then, however, and especially since the immigration of Jews from Germany, who had a particular liking for the tree-covered Carmel, the development proceeded much more quickly, and by 1941 there were already about 600 houses with 6,000 inhabitants.

Professor Patrick Geddes, an extremely original man who had made a name for himself in England as a town-planning engineer, was living in Palestine just after the Great War. We sought his advice in connection with the development of the land we owned in Haifa and on the Carmel. One day, after roaming through the entire district surrounding Haifa, he came to inform me that he had found on the so-called 'Red Carmel' (east of Haifa) a beautiful, almost level plateau of about 1,000 dunams, which was for sale at £8 pounds per dunam. He advised us most strongly to buy this tract of land. I discussed it with the people I knew in Haifa, and they advised me most strongly against buying. The tract of land was some distance away from the Jewish settlements, it lacked water and there was no road to it from the town. No Jew would dare to build a house in this wilderness; to build an approach road and lay a water-pipe to it would cost a fortune. For many months I could not make up my mind. But then fifty people in Haifa, attracted by the low purchase price, formed themselves into a group and offered to pay some of the money for part of the land. I decided to take the risk and buy, although most of the fifty buyers were quite poor and unable to cover the financial demands. Settling the land was extremely difficult during the first few years, and large sums were consumed in building the road and laying the water-pipe. But the first settlers persevered, full of enthusiasm because of the beautiful view, and today several thousand Jews live in the large and beautiful district of Neveh Sha'anan.

It was difficult for the officials of the Anglo-Palestine Bank to find suitable housing in Jerusalem. The director of the Anglo-Palestine Company

in Tel Aviv, Z.D. Levontin, asked the director of the Jerusalem branch, Dr Isaac Levy, to look around for some land near Jerusalem which could be bought to build houses for officials. Dr Levy found a tract of land which he liked south of Jerusalem, on the way to Bethlehem, but it was much too large for the needs of the officials. The Anglo-Palestine Bank did not want to buy more land than it needed for its officials; on the other hand, the owner did not want to sell a part of it. I went with Dr Levy to look at the land, and I liked it because of its open position and the low price (about 1 franc per pic). I was hoping that I would be able to sell it again, after dividing it into separate building sites, through the Palestine Real Estate Company (which had just been founded in Berlin) and offered to buy the land that was not wanted by the bank officials. Dr Levy was thus able to sign a contract for all the land, thereby taking the first step towards the establishment of a modern Jewish district near Jerusalem.

After the Great War, the Greek patriarchate in Jerusalem needed large sums of money to pay its debts and therefore offered to sell some pieces of land from its vast complex of holdings there. Today, this ground is covered by the district of Rehaviah, Ben Yehuda Street, the commercial centre and Ramat Rahel; at that time, these areas were wild and inaccessible. The PLDC was interested in buying, but as we were also negotiating large purchases in the Jezreeel Valley at the time (1921/2), I thought it impossible to sign contracts for the pieces of land in Jerusalem, which were to cost £220,000. On the other hand, I did not want to let the chance go, especially as the Sendsheriah area (today Rehaviah) seemed to be excellent for a residential district. We finally succeeded in persuading the JNF to lend us £80,000 to buy these pieces of land. On the strength of the loan, I decided to risk it. After lengthy negotiations, in which the intrigues and greed surrounding the patriarch played a large part, in 1922 Dr Thon and I marched into the residence of the patriarch in the Old City, and after drinking coffee with him I signed on behalf of the PLDC the bill of sale committing us to pay £220,000 in the course of eighteen months. We were unable to fulfil our obligation towards the patriarch in time, but he, or rather a commission which had meanwhile been appointed to administer his finances, showed some consideration and repeatedly postponed the date of payment. I believe that we did not pay the final instalment until 1934, when Ben Yehuda Street and the commercial centre were already well established and Rehaviah already had 2,000 inhabitants.

13 Educational Institutions

In 1905 or 1906, Professor Boris Schatz, who had been teaching at a school of arts and crafts in Sofia, came to Berlin to canvas support for the establishment of a school of arts and crafts in Jerusalem. He came to visit me, accompanied by the painter E.M. Lilien (apparently on the suggestion of Professor Warburg), and asked me to write a prospectus on which to base his propaganda, which I did. When I came to Palestine, Schatz had already founded the Bezalel School there. I enlisted the help of Dr Isaac Levy, director of the Anglo-Palestine Bank in Jerusalem, on his behalf, and with money from the JNF I bought two beautiful Arab houses, which have remained the school's premises to this day. The school also became my concern in other respects, as I acted as the representative of a committee in Berlin which raised the money for its maintenance.

Things were far from easy. Schatz was unselfish, worked indefatigably and was an ardent Zionist, but he had the fault of a self-made man – not knowing the limit of his abilities. By training and taste, he was a second-rate artist; but he believed himself to be much more, and people who were more gifted but less aggressive had no chance beside him. This applied, for instance, to the painter Shmuel Hirschenberg, who taught at Bezalel in 1918 but died before the end of that year. E.M. Lilien and the painters Richard and Erich Goldberg (father and son) found it impossible to teach under Schatz. He did not keep to a budget but, continually endeavouring to enlarge the school, spent more money than was available to him on its behalf. He relied on the talent he had for making propaganda, and on his fund-raising journeys he was always able to find Jews who were willing to donate to the Bezalel School. Nevertheless, his funds were not sufficient.

I found it difficult to mediate between Schatz and the Berlin Committee, which urged an ordered expenditure; but I continued to be impressed by his unselfishness and enthusiasm and did my best to improve his position. Later, it became necessary to separate the workshops from the school and to found a separate company for the workshops, which were placed under the direction of the businessman Leo Estermann. But this was also not a permanent solution. The products of the Bezalel School (carpets, silver-filigree work, other metal work) were bought by a small circle of Zionists because they had been made in Jerusalem, but it became apparent that

there was no selling them beyond this limited market. The carpets could not compete in price and quality with Persian carpets, and the silver work was not of a sufficiently high artistic standard. So the school and the workshops gradually failed. With tireless energy, Schatz continued to seek new sources of funds and went to America for this purpose; but it was all in vain. The school failed and was finally closed. Schatz concentrated his energies on establishing a national museum and collected a fair number of art objects (good and bad). He died in 1932 while he was visiting America.

In 1934, the High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, told me that he was prepared to contribute £20,000 to Jewish technical education and asked me to suggest how the money should be used. I remembered the high hopes we had once cherished for the Bezalel School and included in my suggestions appropriating £1,500 for reopening the Bezalel School. The money paid for the restoration of the old school buildings and for providing modern equipment. The school was renamed the New Bezalel, reopened under the direction of Josef Budko, and maintained by the Department for Settling German Jews, which had young German Jews trained in it. Budko proved himself to be an excellent director, and the school developed artistically as well as administratively under him. Unfortunately he died at an early age in 1940, but the school was able to continue successfully after his death, building upon the healthy foundations which he had laid.

I came into contact with the daily problems of the educational institutions from 1912 to 1914 as a member of the board of directors of the Hebrew grammar-school in Tel Aviv, and I was concerned with establishing and maintaining the Hebrew grammar-school in Jerusalem. The grammar-school in Tel Aviv was in a very precarious position, from an educational as well as a financial point of view. There was no general agreement on the school curriculum or on the standard of achievement, no textbooks in Hebrew, no money, and no experienced teachers. Every year, a few teachers had to be sent to Europe to complete their training and improve their standard. Owing to a donation from Jacob Moser of Bradford, the school at least possessed a building from 1910 (before that, classes had been held in quite unsuitable rented rooms), but the equipment still left much to be desired. The relationship between the teachers was sometimes wanting. On one occasion, during a heated discussion of the board of directors, one teacher slapped another in the face because he thought that he had been insulted. The rest of us were dumbfounded and did not know what to do. I saved the situation by looking solemn and exhorting all those present to promise to keep the incident in strictest confidence, and, in fact, it remained a secret. When war broke out and the teacher of German was called up, I substituted for him for the rest of the school year and read *Faust* with the class. They absolutely insisted upon reading *Faust*, although their German was altogether inadequate for understanding it.

The Herzliyah Hebrew grammar-school was established in Jaffa in 1905 by Dr Metman and Dr Bogratshoff; some years later a similar grammar-school was established in Jerusalem by Dr Salomon Schiller from Galicia, an enthusiastic Zionist who was highly cultured and noble-minded. In the first few years, the number of pupils did not exceed 100, and the school was therefore handicapped by the lack of funds and – even more so – a building of its own. It was impossible to build the grammar-school during the war. Devaluation of the Austrian valuta made the 50,000 kronen in Galicia completely worthless (£1 was worth 330,000 kronen) or, to be precise, they were worth 15 piastres! 'My' 50 kronen, originally worth £2,000, had grown through interest to over £3,000 by 1922 and made it possible to begin building the grammar-school on the land acquired by the PLDC in the new district of Rehaviah, where the JNF placed a suitable site at its disposal. The existence of the grammar-school played an important role in inducing wealthy Jews to settle in Jerusalem. If it had not been for the grammar-school, many parents would have chosen Tel Aviv or Haifa because of their children's education.

At the time of the language dispute, from the autumn of 1913 until the spring of 1914, schools in which Hebrew was the language of instruction sprang up like mushrooms. Day by day, teachers and pupils fighting for the Hebrew language simply left the schools of the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden and established themselves independently, on their own responsibility. This created a tremendous confusion: classes were accommodated in whatever building happened to be available; the number of teachers and pupils fluctuated; there was no equipment and no money; and all this made proper instruction difficult, if not impossible. Hebrew textbooks and a systematic curriculum were also lacking. The combination of these factors endangered the very continuation of the work which had only just been begun with so much enthusiasm and which was of such importance to the Hebrew language. It was necessary to find a way out of the chaos as quickly as possible. In my report to the [Eleventh] Zionist Congress, held in Vienna in the summer of 1913, I had emphasised the necessity to concentrate all our cultural efforts in one place (these activities lay outside the province of the Palestine Office, because at that time there were no Zionist schools). I tried to prepare the way for this task by inviting to my home a number of teachers from the new schools, together with some other people interested in education, and discussing the problems with them over a glass of tea. We continued these discussions until gradually we saw what would have to be done to solve the problem. As a consequence, we established the Education Committee (Va'ad ha-Hinukh), which later developed into the Education Department of the Va'ad Le'umi.

14 Working under Difficulties

My work as director of the Palestine Office made extraordinary physical and mental demands on me. Above all, it was necessary for me to travel a lot, and this was difficult. As I have already mentioned, I spent an average of ten days per month travelling, and that by stage-coach. This meant wearing out my back against the wooden board that served as a back rest and having my bones shaken up on the horrible roads – quite apart from having my patience tested by the waste of time when the horses collapsed because they were incapable of doing their work, or when the stage-coach sank into the sand (in the summer) or into the mud (in the winter). Moreover, there was a shortage of passable hotels, which meant that one did not get enough sleep. The many meetings which were necessary to discuss public affairs were also exceedingly tiring. Those invited to take part usually arrived one or two hours late and, to make up for it, kept the discussion going until late into the night. From June to October, the climate in Jaffa was rather oppressive; the humid heat made it more difficult to work during the day and to sleep at night. I had been ill with typhoid in 1907, and for several years I continued to suffer from the unpleasant consequences of this disease. I also underwent a few bouts of malaria, although these were never serious.

Apart from these physical inconveniences, I was depressed by the lack of money, which hindered my work of developing of the country, and the lack of understanding and opposition to my work, which I encountered frequently both in and outside Palestine from influential people upon whose help I depended. This made me waste much valuable time clearing up intentional or unintentional 'misunderstandings'. I was opposed because their 'principles' did not coincide with my way of seeing and of doing things. To me, this attitude seemed to be caused by mental laziness and a fear of innovations, and on 26 June 1912 I commented in a note:

> Principles are the crutches of people who are of limited intelligence; they help them to get through life more or less without the necessity of taking thought and forming an opinion about every new experience. They quickly apply one of their principles to the experience, and they have reached their conclusions. The creative spirit is opposed to these pigeon-hole minds. It is capable of assessing every experience

afresh according to its special attributes and of adapting behaviour to suit the circumstances.

The work at the Palestine Office occupied me from morning until late at night and I do not remember taking one single day off during my first three years of working there (apart from the journey to Europe with my wife for the birth of our first child). Only in the fourth year, when my brain seemed to be melting away after a particularly strenuous period of work, did I allow myself the luxury of several days' rest in Rehovot. I took a dose of phytin, which succeeded in dispelling the fatigue with remarkable speed. I minded the quantity of work much less than its monotony. In Germany I had been used to taking an interest in widely different fields of knowledge and their problems and relaxed by turning from one problem to another. In Palestine, this opportunity did not exist; the work at the Palestine Office took up all my time.

I found this limitation very annoying and tried to escape from it in all sorts of ways. I sent to Germany for an astronomic telescope and set it up on the roof of our house. I was attracted by the sparkling firmament of Palestine and spent many hours contemplating the moon and the stars. Later, the telescope became the property of the Jerusalem grammar-school, and it gives pleasure to many children to this day.

At the same time I returned to my previous philosophical studies. This brought me back to my adolescent attempts to develop a philosophy of life, but I got no further than an 'ignoramus', which I substantiated (3 July 1912) with reference to Schopenhauer's *Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* as follows:

The world is my imagination. It is the product of my senses and my intellect. And for just this reason *my* world is only one of many possible worlds. My senses are incapable of perceiving certain processes, for instance ultra-violet rays or the waves of wireless telegraphy. And just as it is possible that a vast world of living things exists beyond that which can be observed by the microscope, much beyond the grasp of my intellect may be apparent to an intellect which is differently constituted. For instance, we fail to see any ultimate purpose in existence, any guiding principle in the course of events. Why are we alive? What is the purpose of human history? What task are the creatures swarming about on this planet supposed to fulfil? What is the aim of this world? There are no answers to these questions, as the ethical or scientific answers, or the answers of priests, leave the core of the problem untouched. Certainly, it is also possible to argue that to ask these teleological questions is in itself a peculiarity of our intellectual constitution. But where does that get us? Does it make the question any more innocuous? Does it make it easier for us to ignore it? All that is left to us is the 'ignoramus and ignorabimus'. Because of the infinity of space, we are already familiar with the thought that the human being is not the be-all and end-all of the world. We will also have to become used to the

thought that only an infinitesimally small sector of the world, namely 'our' world, is available to our intellect. But there is nothing that contradicts, and much that even supports, our assumption that a differently constituted intellect would be aware of order and purpose where we see no more than the effect of chance.

I collected old Jewish coins and old travel books in Palestine; I took lessons in Hebrew and in drawing. In the spring of 1912 I read in the newspapers that Professor Czermak, the famous geneticist, had founded an institute for plant cultivation in Eisgrub (Moravia). This aroused all my old love for the study of genetics, and I wrote the following letter to Professor Czermak:

Dear Sir,

With the greatest interest, I have just read in the newspaper that an institute for plant cultivation is to be established under your direction. I am not a botanist by profession, but am concerned with research in the field of sociology and ethnology. I have long ago realized that only the new science of genetics based upon Mendel's discoveries can provide a firm foundation for many questions in this field, and I have therefore studied the literature on the subject and have made some of my own attempts at hybridization. It is impossible for me to undertake any systematic study here, because I do not have the necessary resources and assistants. Therefore, I ask you, Sir, kindly to let me know if you would permit me to work for a time at the new institute. In that case, I would come to Europe for this purpose in the spring of 1913. If the prospectus of the new institute has already been printed, I should be very grateful if you would kindly have it sent to me.

Nothing came of the intended educational journey, however. In the autumn of 1912, my wife died. I was so upset that I rejected anything that might have been considered entertaining and was grateful that my job absorbed me completely and left me no time to think. Two years later, the Great War broke out and put an end to all plans for relaxation.

In order to have some sort of 'normal' profession and standing, I registered as a lawyer at the German consular tribunal in Jaffa in 1909. The consul, who had passed only the *Referendar* [junior barrister's] examination, was very impressed by me because I had passed my *Assessor* [professional] examination. I once conducted a case for an importer of oranges in Trieste against a firm in Jaffa. The consul suggested that my client might have infringed a certain regulation. I contested this, but at home I consulted the statute-book and discovered that the consul was right. What was I to do now? I decided to admit that I had been wrong at the first opportunity; but before I had the chance to do so, at our next meeting the consul confessed, 'I have thought about the matter of the oranges. You were right.'

Once I represented a German Jew in a divorce case. The reasons put forward for the divorce were not enough to grant it according to the civil code, but the consul and I both believed that it would be better for the

couple if they were divorced, so the divorce was granted. As an appeal against a consular verdict had to be addressed to the Supreme Court of Justice and was connected with enormous expenses, it was obvious that the verdict would not be contested, so we could risk it without having to worry.

Once the director of the German vine-growers' association in Sarona came to me in obvious excitement. A few months earlier, he had sold a large quantity of wine to a French firm, but had made some excuse for not delivering the wine, the price of which had in the meanwhile risen steeply. Now the Frenchman, accompanied by the French consul, was calling at the German consulate in order to complain, and instead of the German consul, who was away, there was only a secretary, who was unable to hold his own against the French consul. The German insisted that I accompany him to the German consulate and represent his case. I was most reluctant at first, but as he insisted I gave in to him. At the consulate, I soon realized that both the parties were afraid. The Frenchman thought how could a German consular tribunal pronounce in his favour against a German? The German thought: how was he to plead his bad case well, especially in front of a weak secretary? Within half an hour, I had persuaded the two parties to come to an agreement on a fifty-fifty basis. On the way home the German thanked me repeatedly for what I had done and asked what fee he owed me. I told him that I was not earning my living as a lawyer and did not want a fee, but would like him not to ask me to represent him again. The following day, when I came home from the office, Selma asked me: 'Have you been buying wine to last you for the rest of your life? Fifty bottles of it have arrived here today from Sarona and a man has also put fifteen gold pieces (worth 20 francs each) on your desk.' This was the highest fee (and I think the only one) I ever earned as a lawyer.

Although at this time I was no longer keeping as regular and as detailed a diary as I had done as a boy in Germany, I still made short entries every few weeks or months. Especially at the end of each year I summed up briefly the most important events of my life. Concerning the years 1909 to 1912 I made the following entries (apart from those quoted elsewhere in this book).

Jaffa, 31 December 1909, 9.45 p.m.

For twenty years, the last day of the year has been a day of looking back and looking ahead for me, by thoughtfully taking the most recent year from the thread of life and putting it down beside the years which have already been discarded. I consider critically the years which have already gone and those which still remain. How many are still remaining? What do those which have gone look like? What hopes do the future ones hold? For the first time, I am not spending the day in the circle of my family, but completely alone in a hotel room in Jaffa. My family is in Berlin, including my wife and child, both of them only just beginning to recover

from an illness. Unless I am not completely mistaken, this day occurs during a time in which my whole future is being decided. During this week the Ninth Zionist Congress was held in Hamburg. It has probably already been closed today, and so far I know nothing of its decisions. Are they good? Are they bad? Will they advance the affairs of Zionism, to which all my efforts are now dedicated? I don't know. But I have a feeling that perhaps during these days and weeks the dice will be thrown to decide whether, when history comes to be written in future centuries, Zionist aspirations will be regarded as the beginning of an important historic movement or as a fantastic stupidity. It still seems extremely difficult, but not impossible, to strive for a national Jewish community in Palestine with agriculture as its economic foundation. But every day which passes unexploited brings us a little closer to the 'impossible'. Every day improves the prosperity of the country, strengthens the ties of the non-Jewish population with the soil and adds to their development and their influence. Much that could perhaps still happen today, if a real effort were made, will no longer be possible by even next year. And I am in a responsible position, watch the days passing one by one and continually ask myself all over again: how much longer are you going to wait? Surely by now the time has come to admit defeat, instead of expecting from each new day what the previous one has failed to bring? Repeatedly I console myself, look at the many beginnings of enterprises – at least some of which will surely bear fruit – and tell myself that I am too impatient, that time is needed to produce anything of importance. And then again I rack my brains to find a way out of the labyrinth of difficulties – the shortage of money, the lack of understanding from the European leaders, the opposition of the Turkish authorities – and discover, in spite of all this, a way to achieve something of importance before long. So far in vain. Will it one day be said of me that I occupied a high position during an important period and failed to understand the times and what was demanded of me? That I failed to seize the last moment during which there was still a hope of creating a national Jewish community in Palestine, while someone else in my place might have made good use of it?

I am very depressed by these questions. I think that I no longer have the vigour which I had in my twenties; that if Zionism should suffer shipwreck, I would hardly be able to find some other ideal to which to dedicate my life. This means that the failure of Zionism would also wreck my own life. That is why I feel that this is a time that will decide my whole future; that is why today seems a cross-roads to me. Two possible ways of life are meeting – one leading upwards and one leading down. On which will I set foot?

Jaffa, 31 December 1910, 10.40 p.m.

I have just read through what I wrote a year ago. At that time I believed that 1910 would be a decisive year for Zionism and for my life's work. Things have turned out differently. There has been little change in the course of the year, either for better or for worse, and everything I wrote a year ago about 1910 now applies to 1911. Apparently not one year but a decade, and perhaps several decades, will pass before it will be possible to talk about a definite success or failure of Zionist activities in Palestine. In the meantime, every year will bring work and some suc-

cesses, which will sow the seeds of larger enterprises and wait for the following year to bring results.

So be it, if every year will bring at least some successes and allow us to continue to hope for greater ones! This year has not been without some such successes. In the most important sphere of development, the acquisition of land, we have not attained a single definite result, but in several cases negotiations have progressed so far that, unless I am very much mistaken, they are bound to be concluded in the very near future.

I have completely rewritten my book *The Jews of Today*. The second edition is to be published shortly by the Jüdische Verlag. It is intended to be the theoretical foundation of my practical work, and I hope that it will help to clarify opinions on the Jewish question and on Zionism. I think that in this second edition I have reached my definite conclusions on the Jewish question and that I am hardly likely to change my opinions now. But as I have to have some theoretical pursuit – if only because it provides me with the necessary relaxation when I get thoroughly fed up with the practical work – I am now going to turn my attention to biological problems, especially to the question of heredity and cross-breeding. This theoretical pursuit will, after all, bring me back to the Jewish question – racial values, mixed marriage.

Jaffa, 10 March 1911

I meant to write a few lines ten days ago, on my thirty-fifth birthday, in order to distinguish the day on which I completed half the span of a human life from the sequence of other days by means of a few words. I did not get the chance to write anything because on 1 March I was not in Jaffa at all, but on some newly acquired Jewish land – the first I have bought – in Fule. I still feel young; I am still not at all aware that I am already a mature man. It seems to me that I am still so close to my childhood that I am often surprised to find myself surrounded by adults and wonder how I came to be where I am. Nevertheless, my thirty-fifth birthday served as a reminder that life moves on and youth does not last for ever.

31 December 1911

A whole year in which I did not leave the soil of Palestine! A difficult year, especially the first half, during which there was continuous excitement for me over the purchase of Merhavyah (Fule) and the subsequent killing of an Arab, which left me physically and mentally exhausted. During the second half I had time to recover, and although today I cannot look back upon the year as a whole with satisfaction, I am also not exactly dissatisfied. Apart from the land at Merhavyah (about 9,500 dunams), we also bought about 6,000 dunams in Jemama (southern Palestine). Further purchases are being negotiated, and I hope that they will soon be carried through. In Haifa, land is about to be bought for a Jewish district; the Bezalel School for arts and crafts has grown; the development of our farms has been quite good. That is roughly what the year looks like. Nothing compared with what remains to be done, but nevertheless, only tremendous effort and work have made these small results possible. Now I dream of creating a Jewish centre by Lake Kinneret, of making Lake Kinneret 'Jewish'. Actually, this is not such a difficult problem, as the two larger towns, Tiberias and Safed, are already Jewish.

It would be enough to establish ten to twenty settlements on 100,000 to 200,000 dunams near Tiberias and provide the Jews of Tiberias and Safed with an assured income by introducing arts and crafts in order for them to gain the upper hand. I would like to live to see at least that much, even if I am resigned to not seeing the whole of Palestine as a Jewish land. That task will remain for our children and grandchildren!

The second edition of my book *The Jews of Today* has been published. Strangely enough, it has found an apostle in Professor Werner Sombart in Berlin, who has given several lectures following very similar lines. The book still has some faults, but it is the first attempt to assess the Jewish problem sociologically and the first scientific exposition of Zionism. It is now to be translated into English and Hebrew.

Since I have completed the book I have had very little to do, apart from my work at the Palestine Office. I made use of the time to read a few new books on the subject of heredity and to learn Hebrew. At last – with a great deal of trouble – I have reached the stage of speaking and understanding the language. I have even recently dictated an article in Hebrew on the question of farm labourers in Palestine which has been published in the newspaper *Ha-Po'el ha-Tza'ir*.

1 January 1912, 12.30 p.m.

My wife has opened a school of music in Jerusalem, in addition to the school of music in Jaffa which was established last year: the first beginnings of bringing music to the Palestinian Jews.

14 June 1912

Anything that people do and everything that happens on earth can be judged from three points of view: the cosmic, the historic, and the personal. The cosmic evaluates everything relative to infinity (cf. Schopenhauer: In infinite space 'innumerable bright spheres . . . which are hot within and covered with a hardened cold crust, upon which a layer of mould has created living, perceiving beings – this is empirical truth, reality, the world'). The historic point of view considers everything in the light of its influence on the development of mankind. The personal, on the other hand, sees things only in relation to the individual fate. There is nothing so comforting in misfortune as to rise, if one can, from personal considerations to the historical or even to the cosmic point of view; it makes the misfortune look small, like things in the valley below when viewed from the top of Mont Blanc. In the same way, the scholar, the politician or the stateman who is contributing to the development of mankind would do well to consider his activities from time to time not merely from the historic, but from the cosmic point of view. It will teach him to be modest, comfort him in misfortune and save him from becoming permanently embittered about mankind.

15 Palestine in 1912

In 1912 I wrote some reports for the *Berliner Tageblatt* about the general situation in Palestine. I intended to draw the attention of the Jewish and non-Jewish readers of the newspaper to Palestine. The reports illuminate different aspects of the political and economic life of those times, and I am therefore quoting excerpts from them here.

Jerusalem, 17 June 1912
From Asiatic Turkey
(From our own correspondent)
BUILDING A NEW RAILWAY, EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM, SANITATION, ADMINISTRATION
Progress in the construction of the Baghdad railway line is followed here by everybody with great interest. The fact that work on it is continuing briskly in spite of the war is seen as a guarantee that within two or three years at most, the link missing in the connection between Constantinople and Syria, namely the section through the Taurus Mountains, will be completed. Together with the Haifa – Nablus – Jerusalem line, which is already under construction, it will then provide a direct railway service from Constantinople, via Aleppo, Damascus and Haifa, to Jerusalem. The journey from Constantinople to Jerusalem, which now takes at least eight days under favourable circumstances, will then require no more than two or three days.

In this way, we are moving closer to Europe in *time*; it may be hoped that it will also bring us closer to European *cultural* conditions. This is especially necessary in the fields of education, sanitation and administration. The educational system is in very poor condition. Actually, until now the Turkish authorities have not concerned themselves with it at all, but left it to the spiritual leaders of the several denominations (or, what amounts to the same thing in Turkey, the several nationalities). As far as these nationalities were organized, they created a passable or even satisfactory educational system on their own account. This was done, for example, by the Greeks, the Jews and the Armenians. The Jews, in particular, were very well off in the matter of schools as a result of the work of the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, which had been going on for many years.

Frequently, a large Arab village contains only one single man – the village mayor (*mukhtar*) – who is capable of writing after a fashion. It follows as a matter of course that a people with such a low degree of culture are politically immature and during parliamentary elections blindly follow the instructions of a few influential

people. Even if a supreme effort is made, it will take at least a generation before a constitutional government will have made up for the sins of omission of the Abdul-Hamid regime in the field of education. Therefore, it will also take at least a generation before the population will have acquired the political insight necessary in a constitutional state if the people are indeed to be masters of their fate and not playthings in the hands of ambitious politicians. If the people were more aware of their rights, the administration would not be what it is. There is still a lot of despotism and corruption among the officials, at least in the smaller places.

Present conditions may best be illustrated by a story about 'King Baksheesh' which happened recently. It concerns a lawsuit brought before the *kadi*. The plaintiff, who was quite obviously in the right, nevertheless thought it best to promise the *kadi* baksheesh, Whereupon the *kadi* reassured him about the outcome of the suit. Suddenly he found out that his opponent had also given the *kadi* baksheesh and been similarly reassured. He ran to the *kadi* and took him to task. The *kadi* explained the matter as follows. The plaintiff had the law on his side and he (the *kadi*) would keep strictly to the law. But so that the accused might not think that he would pronounce the plaintiff in the right because he had received baksheesh, he thought it best to accept baksheesh from the accused too. If he were now to pass judgement in favour of the plaintiff, the defendant would assume that his case had been *so* bad that he could not win it in spite of his baksheesh. He would, of course, return his baksheesh to the defendant. And that is just what happened: the plaintiff obtained judgement in his favour, and the defendant got his baksheesh back . . . Such conditions among the officials and in the administration of justice naturally mitigate against economic progress. Many business enterprises simply fail to thrive because the authorities will not help the person concerned, and the least official progress has to be paid for with good money.

At the time I was writing these reports for the *Berliner Tageblatt*, I tried to evaluate for my own benefit what had been achieved in Palestine in the field of agricultural settlement during four years I had been working there. I recorded the following conclusions in my diary:

15 July 1912

A REVIEW OF THE PAST AND THE FUTURE OUTLOOK

Five years have gone by since the Eighth Zionist Congress decided that so-called practical work should be undertaken in Palestine. What is the purpose of this practical work? The strengthening of the Jewish elements. This strengthening may be quantitative, in that Jews are brought to Palestine from the rest of Turkey and from other countries, and it may also be qualitative, in that the Jews in Palestine become more firmly established economically, culturally, nationally and politically.

THE PAST WORK AND ITS RESULTS

The main support of the Palestinian economy is *agriculture*. Therefore, we are concerned primarily with consolidating existing agricultural settlements and with establishing new ones. Although five years ago the development of Palestine had

already been going on for a quarter of a century, there was as yet no tradition which might have served as a reliable indication to the future. Complaints were being voiced on all sides; there was not one single village in which conditions encouraged the establishment of settlements based upon its example. Although in the meantime the wine crisis has been overcome, capital has been invested in Petah Tikvah, the harvests in the Galilee have been satisfactory and conditions in the *moshavot* [villages] have improved, these settlements still have not reached the stage at which their technical and economic levels guarantee their continued existence and all we have to do is establish new *moshavot* based upon their pattern. In short there does not yet exist the type of economically secure settlement that can serve as a model for future settlement. First of all, we must discover this type.

These are the principles on which farm management must be based: the settler must have work with his animals all the year round; he must not impoverish the land but return to the soil (by means of stock farming) what he takes out of it (through growing grain); the food for his family and the fodder for his livestock must, to a large extent, be produced by the settler himself, and as he pursues various branches of farming he will be able to balance a deficit in one branch with a surplus in another.

Because it is so difficult to buy land in Palestine, it is generally not possible to establish Jewish agricultural settlements in or near the old *moshavot*, and they can be built only in newly acquired areas. This demands tremendous physical endurance and a thorough knowledge of farming.

Those who are already too old or are unwilling to undergo hardship to prepare themselves by means of several years of hard work cannot hope to succeed in becoming settlers, unless they have sufficient money to take over a farm which *has already been established* and already yields a profit.

It is a serious mistake, and frequently the reason why a settler fails is that his wife and children ignore the subsidiary branches of agriculture (dairy farming, poultry farming, vegetable gardening).

16 To the Memory of My Wife Selma

I saw Selma Lewek, my cousin (her mother was my father's sister) for the first time in the summer of 1899 at the house of my relatives Wiesner in Berlin. I was at that time a student in my first semester – in excellent spirits, telling funny stories from the Tel Amarna letters, about which I was attending some lectures just then – and I very much impressed both Selma and Clara Wiesner. I did not know this, however, until much later. I was not used to associating with girls, believing that I was ugly, and it never occurred to me that girls might be interested in me.

At that time Selma taught singing at a school of music. She was three years older than I, but very young and very feminine. She had been unable to bear the narrowness of her home town, Bromberg. Her brother Erich was a doctor in Berlin, and, to the great sorrow of her anxious parents, she had gone there to study music and singing. Thanks to tremendous perseverance and a talent for music, she had succeeded in establishing herself by taking a job, which, together with the income from private singing lessons, left her financially independent. She was of medium height, her face was pleasant and she had abundant chestnut-brown hair, which I liked very much. She was much more experienced in the ways of the world than I and was well educated in other fields besides music, which enabled her to respond intelligently on subjects particularly close to me.

At the time I met Selma, she had already had a romance with Ludwig Danziger, who was her cousin as well as mine; but they had separated, and Ludwig had left for Dresden to attend the art school there. When he returned to Berlin in the autumn of 1899 and shared a room with me, we saw quite a lot of Selma and went for walks with her in and around Berlin; at Whitsun we made an excursion to his parents in Lauban. In the beginning I knew nothing about her previous romance with Ludwig and was extremely surprised when he told me about it. I was even more surprised when Selma talked to me about it and, though she had much affection for Ludwig, gave me to understand more than once that she would prefer him to be more like me. I realized only much later that even at that time she had already developed a deep affection towards me. Until then I had believed that she regardered me merely as a close friend who had a good influence on Ludwig.

After Ludwig went to Dusseldorf and I went to Halle in 1900, Selma and I began to correspond, and her affection for me became apparent from her letters. I had never before known a girl to be in love with me, and my response was probably very awkward and sceptical. Only when I returned to Berlin as a barrister in 1904 and spent a lot of time with Selma did I finally relinquish my last doubts and realize that she loved me very much. I underwent a long struggle, as I was not sure about the extent of my affection for her; but apparently I respond with love when I know that a girl loves me, and so she became in fact my 'first love' (apart from the playful affection which I had at the age of eight for the pretty six-year-old daughter of the pastry-cook in Rawitsch, and at the age of eighteen for a teenager in Magdeburg).

Until I went to Palestine in 1907, I was not sure whether or not to marry Selma because I did not have an assured income. When I returned from Palestine and realized how much I meant to her, however, I made my decision. We were married in Berlin on 22 March 1908, and on the following day we left for Palestine. Jacob Thon and his wife, who had already been in Jaffa since December 1907, had found a flat for us on the road to Sarona in a house belonging to a German farmer called Kappus. It was an extremely primitive flat: two attic rooms and three other small rooms without any hall; the stairs led straight into the largest room, which we used as a dining-room. It had one great advantage, however, which all other flats lacked: there was a well in the yard from which water was pumped into a tank on the roof by means of an installation worked by a donkey, and this water was available for a shower or even a bath – and that was decisive. Selma arranged the furniture which we had bought in Berlin and decorated the flat very nicely; people in Jaffa, with their primitive standard of housing, even considered it smart.

Selma longed for a child and was happy when she became pregnant. In view of her age (thirty-six) and the poor conditions of medical services in Palestine, I was afraid of letting the confinement take place there, and three months before the baby was due, in May 1909, we travelled via Trieste to Berlin. At Selma's request I had engaged a well-known obstetrician for the confinement. Labour was well advanced when the professor arrived (it was midnight and he had apparently just eaten a good meal). If he had waited a little, everything would probably have been all right; but he was impatient, used forceps, and Selma suffered a tear, which was inadequately stitched. A month later it appeared that there was a *prolapsus* of the womb We went from one doctor to another and were finally obliged to agree to an operation, to have the womb 'fixed'.

In November 1909 I returned to Palestine, while Selma and little Ruth remained in Berlin, living in the Grünewald. I brought them back to Jaffa in the summer of 1910. The two years from the autumn of 1910 until her

death were probably the happiest time of her life. She was delighted with the child and achieved her ambition of establishing a school of music in Palestine. A patron appeared (the son of a rabbi in Kiev, son-in-law of the rich sugar-refiner Halperin) and supported the school financially. On the recommendation of Professor Marteau of Geneva, Selma appointed his pupil M. Hopenko as director of the school. It was the first institute of its kind in Palestine; before long there were thirty to forty students who gave concerts which were at that time the height of culture in Palestine. Selma took endless trouble over the management of the school and gave lessons in singing to some of the boys and girls.

When Selma became pregnant for the second time in 1912 we went with Ruth to Jerusalem and stayed for a month at the Augusta Victoria Sanatorium on the Mount of Olives. At the end of August we returned to Jaffa, and then came the catastrophe. Because of the operation which had been performed after the first confinement, when labour began there were no proper contractions; doctor and midwife did not realize that the baby within the womb was already dead, and after they had removed the child artificially, blood-poisoning set in. I took Selma in a special train which stopped beside our house (where Ruth said good-bye to her) to the Wallach Hospital in Jerusalem, and there she died on 15 October 1912. She was buried on the Mount of Olives. It was the first great sorrow of my life.

When the shock of her death was still fresh in my mind I tried to capture her image, and a few days after she died I made the following notes about her and her illness:

18 October 1912
Selma
Her love for little Ruth and myself was like a well: the more use made of it, the more abundantly it flowed.

Her great love for me raised me up. Because she valued me so highly, I valued myself.

Her most outstanding characteristics were, besides kind-heartedness and charm, that she was extremely conscientious in the fulfilment of her duties, the least no less than the most important ones, and was naturally moral. She was incapable of doing wrong, and she could not bear wrong to be done to herself or to others. She rebelled with all her might against any event that seemed to be out of place in a moral world order. She carried this attitude so far that even when it was a question of natural processes – for instance, an illness or an accident which hurt her or made her feel sorry – she was unwilling to accept a natural cause for them and looked for guilt. But she was not a Pharisee. She was always ready to forgive and to ask for forgiveness if she thought that there was the slightest reason for it.

She could be gay, but she had a very sensitive nature and was particularly affected by life's large and small vexations and griefs. Actually, what she experienced within was more important to her than what went on around her. She lacked a real knowledge of people and faced their malice and the fortuitousness of life with a certain

anxiety. She was anxious about the happiness for which she had struggled so hard and waited so long, and for this very reason she was rarely completely happy.

She herself made all the necessary arrangements for the operation on 4 October with an almost sinister calm. When they put the chloroform mask over her face, her last words were: 'Doctor, doctor, spare the child.' While she was ill, when the doctor told her reassuringly that she was recovering satisfactorily, she answered: 'Yes, indeed, one day you will able to say triumphantly that she recovered and she died.'

One night during her illness, as I was keeping watch beside her, she sat up and asked me to sit next to her: 'Perhaps this is the last time that we can sit together.' Unfortunately, she was right.

Sometimes she stood beside Ruth and said: 'I want to take her in my arms and all her life keep all trouble away from her. I want to bless her so that nothing bad will happen to her. It is a heavy responsibility to bear children into this world; really we have no right to do it.'

Sometimes when I stroked her she said: 'Ah, that is nice; you have no idea how much love I can stand.'

After the operation, when I told her that the child of some people we knew had also died soon after it was born, because I wanted to comfort her over the loss of the child, she did not consider it comforting that the same thing had happened to someone else but thought of the other mother's sorrow and said: 'Ah, how unhappy mothers are.'

17 The Zionist Congress in Vienna (1913)

While I was in Palestine before the Great War, two Zionist congresses took place: one in 1909 in Hamburg [the Ninth Zionist Congress], during which it was decided to establish a cooperative settlement in Merhavyah, and the second in 1911 in Basle [the Tenth Zionist Congress], at which Professor Warburg was elected to replace David Wolffsohn as president of the Zionist Organization. I did not take part in these congresses for I felt that I would first have to become thoroughly familiar with Palestine and have achievements to show. Moreover, I had attended the congress in Basle in 1905 as a visitor, and this experience had left me with an aversion to its bustle; I was therefore afraid that the congress would dampen my enthusiasm for my work rather than encourage it.

Only in 1913 did I decide to go to the [Eleventh Zionist] Congress, in Vienna, and give an account of my five years' activity. Before the congress, I spent some weeks with my daughter Ruth at a Baltic spa, where I had the leisure to compose my account carefully. (I never again managed to prepare my congress speeches with such care, and on occasions I have reported without any preparation.) To this day I consider that talk the best I ever gave. Most of the criticism of the work done in Palestine came from amateurs who had either visited as tourists or had not been to Palestine at all, and it is hardly surprising that I felt myself to be far better informed than they. Although I did not speak arrogantly, I spoke out of the conviction that I had done my best and that considerable progress had been made. I reported about the difficulties of establishing settlements, the shortage of people trained and experienced in agriculture, the lack of money, and said:

These were the facts, and more than once I thought that it was presumptuous to tackle all these problems with the tiny bit of money, to expect to do something lasting with 300,000 marks for the development of Palestine, on which Baron Rothschild, people say, has already spent more than 50 million marks. But finally optimism won; I told myself: in the beginning is the deed. The deed was called Kinneret.

The demand is frequently made that we should be business-like in our work; this does not apply to the work of development which is now in its early stages in Palestine. If we wished to be business-like, our work would have to be exclusively adapted to the purpose of obtaining the highest possible profit from every under-

taking at the end of each year. This would make of the Zionist Organization and its institutions a sort of joint-stock company for obtaining the highest possible dividends. Well, I myself have been a businessman for many years, and my business instinct is probably as well developed as that of most Jews. But I consider it in fact a virtue that I am capable of subordinating these business instincts completely to the more important requirements of our national movement. This I can say with absolute certainty: those enterprises in Palestine which are most profitable to the businessman are frequently of least benefit to our national task; and *vice versa*, many enterprises which are unprofitable from a business point of view are of supreme national value.

I spoke against those who considered the provision of agrarian credit as a sovereign remedy:

It is true that there can be no large-scale development without agrarian credit, but without previous experiments in settling the country, agrarian credit is also not feasible. Lending money is a business in which we Jews have unfortunately had more than enough experience over two thousand years. It would therefore be extraordinary if we could not achieve success in Palestine in the field in which we are outstanding all over the world. But where in the world can you find Jews cultivating the land? Where can you find experts, managers and workers in this field? Where can you find a scheme for such work or an example of it? *Here* we will first have to blaze our trail with sweat and blood through the thickest undergrowth; *there* we find a wide, well-trodden path. Is it reasonable to compare the people on the one trail who have to fight their way forward step by step with those who have no obstacle to overcome on the other?

Some people believe that we have already done tremendous work in developing Palestine. It seems to me that compared with what remains to be done, we have unfortunately, achieved very little. In fact the small scale of it all is my greatest worry. Whatever the difficulties of our work, I shall not be discouraged as long as this work has good prospects and I can see it as the beginning of something more important. But I and all of us will have to lose hope if ever this prospect should disappear. This is what makes it necessary that the beginnings should not be too small, that the foundations of our work should not be too narrow, because the beginning determines the possibilities of future developments.

I would therefore consider it completely wrong if we were excessively cautious and made it our principle to accumulate reserves instead of doing the little we can with the means at our disposal. In my work, I have always used up the funds to the last penny. We do not have time to pursue a money-box policy; our work is too urgent. Palestine is being developed, and even if we collect millions, they will not suffice to make up later for opportunities missed now. What we can now do with hundreds of thousands, we may later no longer be able to do with millions.

I defended the principle of employing Jewish workers:

Only if we create 'a work of our own hands' in Palestine and not by the exploitation of alien labour will we earn for ourselves a moral right to the land which we have

legally acquired. This makes it clear that the employment of Jewish workers does not in any way indicate hostility towards the Arabs, but is brought about by our endeavour to train ourselves to work and to fertilize our land with our own sweat. It goes without saying that we can and shall employ Arab workers wherever the work demands it and where we cannot command equivalent Jewish labour.

The congress responded to my report with enthusiastic applause. During the debate I made short work of my opponents, especially Davis Trietsch, who considered my work insufficient, and Jacobus Kann, who thought that we were doing too much. Harry Friedenwald (of Baltimore), then the leader of the American Zionists, expressed his appreciation in a letter to me.

The confidence which the congress expressed in me and my personal contact with the Zionist leaders of many countries enhanced my prestige in Palestine and enabled me to persuade rich Zionists outside Palestine to invest more money in the country. Towards the end of 1913, I twice went to Russia (once with Dr Victor Jacobson). As I have already mentioned, on this journey I sold many plots of land in Tel Aviv and Haifa and became more familiar with the Russian Jews and Zionists. On my return journey to Palestine at the beginning of 1914 and soon thereafter, it seemed very likely that I would be able to continue my work in a wider frame.

Paris, 1 January 1914

In order not to break my old habit, I want to put down at least a few words on New Year's Eve, although I am dead tired and it is already a quarter to two in the morning.

It seems to me that the significance of the year 1913 for the record of my life is this: in the past, my personality has been concealed behind my work; now it has against my will been pushed into the limelight and become, so to speak, a factor in the Zionist Organization. Suddenly people are for or against me, seeing me as a personification of the good or the bad principle of our activities in Palestine. This became particularly apparent at the [Eleventh] Zionist Congress in Vienna, when I gave an account of the work in Palestine. I would have preferred to stay away from the congress altogether, but this was impossible. The Zionist Organization is still too small and intimate to allow a leading official in a key position to remain anonymous and unknown, so to speak. People wanted to see and to hear the director of the Palestine Office in person, and I realized that it might be bad for my work if I did not satisfy this demand and refute the attacks on our work personally, to the best of my abilities. I was able to do this with a clear conscience, as it was obvious that all my opponents were more or less unfamiliar with the entire problem of settlement.

This criticism of our past activities worries me much less than the future development of our work. We want to create in Palestine a Jewish community with its own culture. To do this, the Jewish population will have to be in the majority, and its economic circumstances will have to be sound. For the time being and in the foreseeable future, sound economic circumstances in Palestine will require

an agricultural foundation. We will therefore have to acquire the greater part of the land in Palestine and direct our immigrants into agriculture. This is very difficult and will take a long time even if all goes well; on the other hand, we do not have much time. Now that the war between Turkey and its neighbours is over, Asiatic Turkey will gradually become European – either with the help of the Turkish government or with the help of the European Great Powers – and it will then be much more difficult for us to gain economic and cultural ascendancy. We should work with great energy now in order to make full use of the present transitional period. For this reason, I have twice gone to Russia, preaching the need for quick and generous action. Although I found people everywhere ready to listen, I did not find anyone ready to reach into his pocket (apart from some who bought building sites). The only person prepared to spend substantial amounts of money on Palestine is Baron Edmond de Rothschild, with whom I had another conversation in Paris only four days ago. Even he is hampered in his actions by his surroundings. Because I cannot raise the money necessary for energetic and generous activities, I am very worried about the discrepancy between our aim and the means at our disposal, which can no longer be ignored.

S.S. *Goritia,* Haifa, 1 March 1914

On Wednesday and Thursday I had several conversations with Baron Edmond de Rothschild and obtained important promises for his future work in Palestine. To some extent, this was the climax of my six years' work in Palestine, during which I have always aimed at a closer contact with the Baron and ICA so that their capital might become available for our work. It may now be said that I have succeeded. The Baron has expressed his deep appreciation of Zionist activities in Palestine and will help us with his millions. That is an enormous step forward for our work.

We have also made good progress these days in another field. A few months ago, German was proclaimed to be the language of instruction in the Technion in Haifa; after a hard struggle it has now been defeated by Hebrew. Dr Finkelstein, the director of the Technion, is sitting next to me in the ship's saloon, returning to Berlin after his defeat.

Jerusalem, 9 March 1914

Today I succeeded in buying from Sir John Gray Hill his large and magnificently situated property on Mount Scopus, thus acquiring the first piece of ground for the Jewish university in Jerusalem.

On Passover 1914 many rich Zionists visited the country as tourists. They were prepared to invest money, and the Palestine Office had already acquired such a good reputation that the tourists turned to it on all occasions as a matter of course. Our work was increasing from day to day. But then, at the end of July 1914, the Great War broke out and settled like a blight on our work and our hopes.

18 The First Two Years of the Great War

As I have already mentioned, there were no cars in Palestine before the war; the bad condition of the roads ruled them out. The first car, which was acquired in 1912 by Aaron Aaronson in Zikhron Ya'acov, did not function for long; but in the spring of 1914 the Wagner Engineering Works in Jaffa produced a car. Actually it resembled an old hackney-carriage, except that it had a motor instead of horses. Towards the end of July 1914, I hired this vehicle for 105 gold francs (more than £4) to travel to Haifa, and it made the journey from Jaffa, which took horses fifteen hours, in a mere five hours. I had decided to spend such a sum because it was already rumoured that war was about to break out, and I wanted to complete some urgent business in Haifa before then (I believe that it was a question of negotiating the purchase of Mizra in the Jezreel Valley). As a matter of fact, while I was staying in Haifa war was declared in Europe.

Soon after war broke out it became apparent to what an extent the *yishuv* was dependent upon money from abroad. The *halukah* funds dried up, as did the private money coming in from relations or businesses in Russia, the remittances for the children of Russian parents in Palestinian schools, money for the maintenance of the orange plantations in which Russian Jews had invested, and so forth. It became apparent that the *yishuv* would founder economically if help did not come quickly. S.O.S. calls went out by telegraph in all directions (during the first few months of the war, Turkey remained neutral and therefore continued to maintain telegraphic communication with the rest of the world). The call addressed to the American ambassador in Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau, received a response. In the spring of 1914, Morgenthau had come from Constantinople on a visit. Richard Lichtheim, our representative there, had referred him to me. Morgenthau asked for me as soon as he landed at Jaffa, and I took him to visit some settlements. Although he was an opponent of Zionism, he was very much impressed by what he saw. Moreover, he was a man with a large vision and a kind heart, and my call for help evoked a response in him. He cabled the Jewish relief organizations which had been established in the United States as soon as war had broken out, and they were ready to help. It is difficult to describe my joy and that of the entire *yishuv* when Morgenthau informed me towards the end of September 1914 (through

the American consul general in Jerusalem, Otis Glazebrook) that his son-in-law, M. Wertheim, would shortly be arriving at Jaffa on the American warship *North Carolina* to hand us 250,000 francs for emergency purposes. We had not been forsaken after all! Our brothers in the United States were influential enough to send not only money, but even a warship to Jaffa! The news made a tremendous impression not only on the Jews, but also on the Arabs, among whom our prestige rose enormously.

The 250,000 francs in gold (£10,000), which arrived on the *North Carolina* on 6 October 1914, seemed such a large sum at that time that we expected it to last for an unlimited period. In conformity with the instructions from America, the distribution of the money was placed in the hands of a committee consisting of myself as chairman, Aaron Aaronson, and Ephraim Cohen, the director of the Hilfsverein schools. Each of us was responsible for a certain district: I was in charge of Jaffa and Judea, Aaronson of Samaria and the Galilee, Cohen of Jerusalem. The first remittance lasted for only a few months. I wrote to Morgenthau and Jacob Schiff* thanking them for their help. In reply, Henry Morgenthau wrote, among other things:

> I do not know whether you and your friends or I have to be grateful for the fact that I am ambassador. It makes me feel that I have been the chosen weapon to take up the defence of my co-religionists, and that I have been blessed with the opportunity to render them some service. So I really believe that I am the one who should be the most thankful and not the beneficiaries.

The American Jews continued to remember us and sent more money. As the war went on and conditions in Palestine became worse, they continued to send more. Once they even sent an entire ship, the S.S. *Vulcan*, with provisions, which were distributed by an American Jew named Levin who had come on the ship. Thanks to this help, the Jewish population was at least spared the worst.

In order to distribute the emergency funds, I had established local committees in every town. They were working satisfactorily in all the locations except Safed, where many complained that the committee members were concerned only with looking after their friends and relations. I appointed a new committee, but the result was the same, except that the complaints were now coming from the other side. One day an ICA official who knew Safed well was in my office and I put the problem to him: Was it really impossible to find five decent people to serve on the committee? Perhaps he could suggest some names to me? He agreed with pleasure. I gave him a

* Jacob Schiff (1847–1920), American banker and philanthropist who contributed generously to projects in Palestine.

pencil and paper and he was about to write, changed his mind, thought hard for a while and finally asked: 'Do they actually have to be from Safed?'

The Commander of the Navy, Jemal Pasha, who came to Syria and Palestine in 1914 as commander-in-chief, was preceeded by his reputation as an iron-fisted tyrant. The Jews did not expect anything good from him, as he was well known to be opposed to Zionism. Not long after he had arrived in Syria, he issued a regulation that enemy aliens in Palestine (mostly Russian Jews) would either have to become Ottoman subjects (at the cost of one Turkish pound) or leave the country immediately. This was, of course, a heavy blow to the Jewish population. Many did not dare to renounce their present nationality because according to the laws of their country they would be committing high treason, for which they would be called to account once the Allies had won their expected victory. They were therefore obliged to emigrate. Old men and women from Jerusalem refused to comply because they believed that the naturalization was equivalent to baptism; it took a great deal of trouble to convince them of the truth. Many others were willing to become Ottoman subjects but did not have the gold pound needed for the document. As I was a German subject, and, after all, had not much to fear from Jemal Pasha, I decided to go to Damascus and ask him to rescind the regulation.

The first day of the journey took me as far as Nablus (where my horses were requisitioned and were released only after I procured, with a great deal of trouble, the intervention of a German officer from the division stationed there under a general known as the 'Little' Jemal Pasha). On the second day I reached Merhavyah, on the third Rosh Pinah, and on the fifth Damascus. Although it was Christmas Eve, I immediately went to the German field-officer and explained why I wanted to talk to Jemal Pasha. He listened attentively and then said: 'Very well, I will go to the "fellow" and see what can be done.' After a short time he returned with the message:

1 The Pasha would not be able to receive me.

2 The regulation could not be rescinded (the matter would have to be seen through, the Pasha had said).

3 Those acquiring Ottoman nationality were excused from paying the pound.

With this information, I then had to begin the journey back.

The following incident was characteristic of both Jemal Pasha and Albert Antebi. At the beginning of 1915, Jemal Pasha came from Damascus to Jerusalem. Immediately upon his arrival he summoned about thirty Jewish 'notables' to his hotel. When we arrived at the appointed time, we were told that the Pasha was still taking a bath (at four o'clock in the afternoon). After keeping everyone waiting for an hour, he came in, cast a quick glance over the notables standing in rank and file, said quite un-

equivocally, 'You will all be deported to Brussa' and left the scene. Naturally, the notables were quite shaken. Deportation to Brussa in the winter, probably making most of the journey on foot, with typhoid everywhere, meant almost certain death. There was a long consultation. Antebi, the director of the Alliance school, who spoke Turkish and French and was one of the cleverest and most energetic people I have ever known, was asked to talk to Jemal and convince him to rescind or to moderate his command. Antebi agreed and had a two-hour conversation with Jemal Pasha, the contents of which have never been made known. Perhaps as a Frenchman he made an impresssion on Jemal, who was favourably disposed towards the French. While the notables fearfully awaited the result, Antebi returned with a serious expression on his face and solemnly announced: 'Unfortunately I did not succeed in obtaining a cancellation of the order. An order which Jemal Pasha has given remains in force for ever. On a few minor points, however, the Pasha has changed the order:

1 You will be deported not to Brussa, but to Tiberias.
2 Not for ever, but for a fortnight.
3 Not all of you, but only half of you.'

So a few of the notables took a holiday in Tiberias, and the Children of Israel were once more spared the decree.

The following diary entries date from the first six months after Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. They provide an impressionistic picture of that period and to some extent supplement the account of the events.

Damascus, 25 December 1914

During these days, while I have been travelling in a hackney-carriage from Jaffa to Jerusalem and from there via Nablus to Damascus, my mind has continuously been occupied with speculations on the consequences of the war for the Jewish efforts to settle and develop Palestine. Most of the Jews in Palestine are Russian subjects, and while we were still negotiating with the authorities in Constantinople about the naturalization of these Jews, on Thursday, 17 December, 500 Russian Jews were suddenly rounded up by the *kaimakam* in Jaffa and deported to Egypt by sea. In vain I lodged a complaint with the *kaimakam* about this measure; I had no success whatever in getting it cancelled, and at the harbour that evening I had to watch whole families with their hurriedly collected belongings – old people, mothers with babies – being driven on to the boat in infinite disorder. That one *kaimakam* is able to destroy the work of many years in a single day made me realize on what weak foundations all our efforts at settlement rest.

Thursday, 31 December 1914

Yesterday evening I returned from Damascus, where I went to see Jemal Pasha, and today I have had to witness the deportation of additional hundreds of Russian Jews. Although these expulsions are no worse than the things being done by all

the European nations now at war, and they may even be carried out with greater moderation and more decency, the authorities here are particularly incompetent, and this causes much hardship and anger. Moreover, we are now losing within a few days more people than we gained during years of immigration, and who knows what else the immediate future may hold?

Jerusalem, 18 January 1915

I am sitting in the German hotel in Jerusalem. Supper is over and the band of the Smyrna regiment is playing in the foyer below. At the dinner table, German officers, with General Back Pasha at their head, sat together with the Turkish officers who had just arrived and drank to each other's health. The Turkish commander-in chief, Jemal Pasha, whom I saw at dinner in the hotel only a few days ago, left with his staff yesterday for Beersheba. The Turks are now supposed to begin their attack on Egypt. Life at the hotel and in the streets of Jerusalem has a kaleidoscopic sense of variety, and I sit in the midst of all this colourful activity and consider what is to become of our work in Palestine after it has suffered the present convulsions. I came to Jerusalem partly in order to distribute emergency funds which I have received from America and partly because I wanted to make another effort to contact Jemal Pasha and convince him to think more favourably of the Jewish settlement efforts. Up to now his attitude has been thoroughly hostile. The central government has apparently invested him with supreme military and civilian authority, and since his arrival in Palestine its opposition to Jewish national aspirations has relentlessly been made apparent. Our work has already suffered seriously. Nearly 4,000 Russian, French and English Jews who did not want to become naturalized have been forced to leave Palestine (15–18,000 have accepted naturalization). All Zionist emblems (the Star of David, flags, even the innocent stamps to collect money for the JNF, etc.) have been prohibited, and anyone displaying them is to be punished. The Anglo-Palestine Company has been closed and is to be liquidated altogether. In a conversation with the Jerusalem *mutesarif* [district governor], Jemal Pasha has expressed his particular objections to me. He is annoyed that I have twice sought out his chief of staff, Colonel von Frankenberg, and tried to make him favourably disposed towards the Jews. He asked Antebi: 'Who is actually the leader of the Zionists here?' And when Antebi did not answer at once, he continued: 'I will tell you who it is; it is Dr Ruppin. Why do you need him here? Certainly, he is a German, but this will not protect him if he continues to embarrass us. The best thing for him would be to leave at once for Berlin; otherwise it may still be the worse for him.' In all his words and deeds, it is clear that he does not wish to have anything to do with the alien Jews and wants to counteract their influence by every possible means. Above all, he hates Zionism, which he regards as the seed of future separatist tendencies, and so far it has been impossible to convince him otherwise.

Since that evening of 17 December 1914, when I watched the compulsory embarkation of hundreds of Jews from the gloomy custom-house in Jaffa, I have sometimes felt very pessimistic. Perhaps we are not strong enough for the gigantic task we have undertaken? Will we be able to hold our own in the storms now shaking the country?

. . . In spite of the alliance, the relationship between the Palestinian Germans and

the Turks is not at all good. By their rash and immature laws and regulations, the Young Turks are showing that they are not true statesmen. They offend everybody. I am, of course, particularly hurt by their behaviour towards the Jews, against whom they are now conducting a real campaign. It originated with the former *kaimakam* of Jaffa, Beha A-Din, who is now adjutant and political advisor to Jemal Pasha. A few days ago the Jerusalem Hebrew newspaper *Ha-Herut* published an article by him declaring war on the 'seditious' Zionists, who want to establish their own government and are already issuing stamps (meaning the innocent stamps of the JNF) and bank notes (my creations, the registered cheques of the Anglo-Palestine Bank). What is worse, he himself actually believes all this nonsense and has told other officials, in all seriousness, that the Zionists have already secretly formed their own government – I have the honour of being the prime minister, Dizengoff has the Home Office and so on – and that we are only waiting for the arrival of the British before openly acknowledging its existence.

Tel Aviv, 15 February 1915

I suddenly find myself in the midst of high-level politics, very much against my will. Some Palestinian Jews now in Egypt have sent a telegram to President Wilson informing him of the various persecutions by the local Turkish authorities against the Jews, and especially the Zionists, in Palestine and asking the United States for protection. In consequence, the captain of the American warship *Tennessee*, which was anchored off Egypt, was instructed to proceed to Palestine and obtain first-hand information. When the *Tenessee* arrived at Jaffa, the captain asked for me. I went to him, together with Mr Hoofien,* and provided all the desired explanations about Zionism in general and the present circumstances in particular. Both he and Consul General Glazebrook, who was present during the conversation, were quite ready to do anything in their power to help. I asked them to telegraph President Wilson and request him to intervene directly with the sultan to stop the persecution of the Jews and Zionists in Palestine. The captain promised to relay this request on to Washington and to give me the answer the next time he called at Jaffa. I am also in constant touch with the American ambassador in Constantinople, Mr Morgenthau, and, through the good offices of the German embassy in Constantinople, with Lichtheim. The reason for engaging in high-level politics is the arrest, of a number of Zionists during the last few days; others have been sent to the Galilee, and the local authorities have begun a major campaign against the Zionists. My arrest is also believed to be imminent. Apparently they are hesistant to touch me, however, because I am a German.

3 March 1915

Until now, Jemal Pasha has proved to be hostile to the Jews – and especially to the Zionists – and has instituted legal investigations against them (house searches and arrests). I, too, was summoned before the examining magistrate last week, but as there was no interpreter, I have, for the time being, not been interrogated.

* Siegfried Hoofien (1881–1957), then assistant director (from 1924 director) of the Anglo-Palestine Bank.

Yesterday afternoon Jemal Pasha came to Jaffa, spent most of his time visiting Tel Aviv and the grammar-school, and not only made a speech to the Jews expressing his goodwill and promising them his protection, but also distributed printed proclamations defending the Jews against the accusation of holding unpatriotic views and threatening that anyone making an accusation of this sort will be punished. I am still baffled by this sudden and blatant change in Jemal Pasha's attitude, but it has certainly raised the spirits of the Jews in Jaffa, who have been very pessimistic until now. The visit happened to have taken place on Purim and turned this day, which would otherwise have passed very sadly, into one of real rejoicing.

After the Jewish population had somewhat re-established itself on new political and economic foundations, new dangers arose: a shortage of grain; the mobilization of Ottoman or naturalized Ottoman Jews for military or labour service under degrading sanitary conditions; political persecutions; the requisitioning of all sorts of agricultural implements, draught animals, provisions; and, worst of all, the plague of locusts in the spring of 1915. Airborne swarms of locusts darkened the sky; the young ones, still unable to fly, crawled out of their eggs and formed processions thirty to fifty metres wide and several kilometres long and devoured the corn and the greenery on the trees. The branches in the orange groves, eaten away down to the white wood, stretched like skeletons into the air. With only the inadequate means available in the country, all countermeasures were in vain; we had to sit back and watch as the fruit of many years' labour fell victim to the indefatigably grinding jaws. It was worst for the orange growers, because they were threatened not only by locusts but also by the shortage of fuel to run the pumps on which irrigation depended. Many orange groves perished because they lacked water, while most of those which had suffered only the greed of the locusts recovered after a year or two.

A plague of typhoid was added to the locusts. During the first year of the war, health conditions in the country were not so bad; the workers lived on bread, oranges, grape marmalade (instead of sugar), tomatoes and so forth, and it became apparent that these foods were more suitable for them than salt herring, which had previously been an important part of their diet. But then typhoid was brought into the country. In light of a lack of medicines, doctors and facilities for hospitalization (many of the doctors and the hospital personnel had been mobilized), the disease spread like wildfire. In many Arab villages, the majority of the inhabitants died, and the plague also found thousands of victims among the Jews. Moreover, old people who could no longer adjust to the privations of war died in large numbers. During the war, the *yishuv* lost approximately 5,000 people through expulsions, and deaths exceeded births by about 15,000; the Jewish population sank from 85,000 to 65,000.

At about this time (autumn 1915), Jemal Pasha convened a conference

in Damascus to discuss the question of providing Syria with grain. An Arab and I were invited to attend from Jerusalem. Typhoid was rampant in the country, and the railway carriages were particularly infected. My friends, and especially Mrs Thon, tried to persuade me not to go to Damascus. When I remained firm, they implored me at least to take every possible precaution against infection; for instance, rub essences into my skin, travel wrapped in a white sheet so that the louse carrying the infection might be detected immediately, and so forth. I promised everything and did nothing, while the Arab travelling with me was constantly busy with embrocations. The result was that only one of us lived to return to Jerusalem; the other died of typhoid.

At the beginning of 1916, Jemal Pasha sought to intimidate me by arranging to have me accused of high treason and have my case heard before a Turkish court martial in Jerusalem. The accusation was based upon the fact that the Palestine Office, under my direction, had sold the stamps of the JNF. As the JNF was part of the Zionist Organization, which aspired to create a Jewish National Home in Palestine, i.e., it wanted to make Palestine independent of Turkey, it was committing high treason, and through aiding it (by selling its stamps) I had become an accessory. Although the whole accusation was obviously ridiculous, who was to know how a Turkish court martial would regard the matter? I relied mainly on the fact that I was a German and that Jemal would therefore not dare to prosecute me in earnest. The 'Austrians' Dr Thon, Radler-Feldmann and the labour leader Blumenfeld were arraigned with me on the same charge.

I was just returning from Medaba (Trans-Jordan), where I had spent some time buying grain for the Jews in Jerusalem, and had dismounted in front of my home in Jerusalem, when I was handed the summons to appear before the court. It took me completely by surprise, as I had thought the matter had long been forgotten. The hearing lasted five days. At one point, Thon asked to have it adjourned for a few days, as his wife had given birth to a son in Tel Aviv and he wanted to go home. The lawyer Frumkin conducted our defence; I still remember the word '*peki*' (good), which he used all the time. The judges regarded the Star of David on the JNF stamps as a secret sign and were extremely surprised when I told them that they could find this symbol on the wall of the Old City of Jerusalem near the Damascus Gate. In the end, all four of us were acquitted, and I was even allowed to emphasize once more, in a final speech, that the attitude of Zionism towards Turkey was thoroughly loyal. We did not lose our sense of humour during the proceedings. During the hours we spent waiting on the days of the hearing, Blumenfeld and Radler-Feldmann told more jokes about Jewish life than I have ever heard or laughed about at any other time in my life.

Jerusalem, 17 February 1916

People in Palestine call me an optimist, and they are probably right. I remember that as early as my days in business, my boss, Richard Nathan, used to tell me: 'Ruppin, you are an optimist!' Far be it from me to regret it; I think that it is the most valuable gift which nature has bestowed upon me. It enables me to derive some benefit from even the most unpleasant situation and look forward to the future. Without optimism, I would not be able to devote myself so enthusiastically to my work in Palestine, whose success is so dependent upon favourable circumstances. Generally speaking, I am extremely healthy – I have never suffered physical pain, and typhoid and malaria have been my only illnesses – so perhaps my optimism arises out of my good health. Or perhaps I have inherited it from my parents, as my father always expected to meet luck around every corner in the shape of a first prize in the lottery, and my mother, whatever the circumstances, takes comfort from her religious beliefs. I cannot remember ever having been depressed by any sad event for any length of time; one night's sleep is usually enough for me to recover and all but forget the sadness. It is probably because of this optimism that I am able to go on appreciating simple pleasures which recur every day, like my morning cold shower and breakfast of coffee, soft-boiled eggs and tomatoes.

I wonder if this optimism will continue, as I would like it to, or whether it is only a manifestation of one's youth. I realize with a certain anxiety that I shall be forty years old within a few days. I remember celebrating my thirtieth birthday in Naumburg and how unpleasant I found it at the time. And what is thirty compared with forty! Now I will really only be going down. When I recently complained about this to a friend, he cited many important people who had achieved something only after they had already passed the age of forty. I did not find this very comforting, because what matters is not only the ability to achieve but the *feeling* of being young, which reassures us that we still have time to correct all our mistakes, that we still have a future before us with many pleasant surprises. Certainly, I still feel young. I recently read a passage in Schnitzler in which a forty-five-year-old actor says that he still thinks of himself as a child and is surprised when other people treat him as an adult. I used to say exactly the same thing about myself before Selma's death. For a time, Selma's death had the effect of making me feel older within; but now I have regained my previous resilience, and I could almost say the same thing again today. But for how much longer?

Before the war, as a German national I was on excellent terms with the German consul general in Jerusalem and the German consul in Jaffa, and our good relations continued after war broke out. This proved to be very useful to us. Although the Turks were very jealous of their independence and were reluctant to allow their German allies to interfere in their affairs, through the unofficial intervention of the German consulates, I succeeded in preventing some cases of particularly harsh Turkish injustice and abuse of power. The Austrian and Spanish consuls were known to Dr Thon and Hoofien, and they also showed themselves to be of aid. Most helpful of all was the consul general of the United States in Jerusalem, Glazebrook. He was already almost seventy years old, had once been in the Church,

was a thoroughly decent man and was averse to all bureacratic measures. He was always ready to listen to our requests and complaints and do everything possible to help us.

Sometimes help also came from high-ranking German officers who came to Jerusalem while serving in the German or the Turkish army. I came to meet them at the German consulate or in the Hotel Fast. General Kress, then Jemal Pasha's chief of staff, showed particular understanding for our position. Thanks to him, many of Jemal's harsh measures were modified in our favour, although it can certainly not have been easy for him to deal with the Pasha.

As I was the leading Zionist in Palestine, Jemal Pasha's attitude towards me continued to be hostile. He tried to intimidate me by all sorts of threats (indirectly, for instance, through the military commandant of Jaffa or through remarks made to Antebi and Meirovitch of Rishon le-Zion) and cause me to leave Palestine. At the beginning of 1915, he sent a demand to the German embassy in Constantinople, through the German consul in Haifa, to have me recalled. Richard Lichtheim heard of this measure and managed to thwart it. Jemal did not dare to take any direct measures against me, as I was a German citizen and he knew that I was on good terms with the German embassy. I paid no attention to the threats and remained in the country, but when he told friends that if I did not leave he would take revenge on our settlements and schools, I decided to go and talk to him.

Jemal Pasha received me and informed me that he could not allow the Zionists to form a 'state within the state' under my leadership. There could be only one supreme authority in the country, namely his own. Finally, I suggested to him that I would hand the direction of the Palestine Office over to Dr Thon, who was prepared to become an Ottoman subject; would withdraw from affairs; move to Jerusalem; and write a book on the political economy of Syria. To my surprise, he immediately agreed to this. Later on, when the book had already been published under the title *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet* ['Syria, an Economic Survey'], I learned that Jemal had assumed that I would pay special attention to his achievements in Syria, which did not even occur to me. I wanted to write an objective book on economics. I found it a thoroughly attractive task and devoted myself to it very seriously. I moved to Jerusalem; lived in a flat in the library building of the American Archaeological Institute, which the American consul put at my disposal; and worked very hard on the book. I even went to Syria (Beirut, Damascus, Aleppo, Homs, Hama) and, armed with a letter of recommendation from Jemal Pasha himself, asked the authorities for information. On this journey, I saw many Armenians wandering about exhausted and half-starved, and reminders of the terrible massacres of the Armenians were still noticeable everywhere I went.

Within about nine months I had completed the manuscript of the book.

I mobilized all my friends in Tel Aviv who knew French, had the manuscript translated, and sent the French translation to Jemal Pasha. I had no response from him for several months. Then, one day he summoned me. I had a feeling that all was not well. Miss Hanna Kahn, who was to become my wife, accompanied me to the Augusta Victoria Sanatorium on the Mount of Olives, where Jemal had his headquarters. Without even mentioning the book, he told me that he expected me to leave Palestine within eight days, i.e., by 21 September 1916. When I asked why I was being ordered to leave, he answered that he could not enter into a discussion with me. He was the representative of the sultan and his will was law. I ought to know that I would *never* return to Palestine.

Some time later, when Jemal came to Constantinople and happened to see me in the Pera Palace Hotel, he wrote to the German embassy and asked why I was still in Constantinople and had not been called up for military service. Through the intervention of the Zionist Office in Berlin, however, I was allowed to remain in the city.

After an absence of four years, I returned to Palestine in the spring of 1920. On 1 July 1920, Sir Herbert Samuel arrived as the British High Commissioner for Palestine. Chaim Weizmann had already introduced me to him in London. When I called on him to pay my respects, he was sitting in the same room where four years before Jemal Pasha had called out his 'never'. Samuel's adjutant (a non-Jewish officer) received me; he happened to be studying a Hebrew textbook and asked me about some words. Sir Herbert took a kind interest, inviting me to call on him whenever I wished and offering his help. September 1916 and July 1920: the change was greater than the boldest fantasy could have imagined!

I had considered my book on Syria and Palestine as an occasional work which I had come to write only through force of circumstances. It was unexpectedly well received. The book was published in 1917 by the Committee for Colonial Economy in Berlin as a special number of the journal *Der Tropenpflanzer* ['The Tropical Planter'], and in 1918 it was also published in English, very much abridged, by the Provisional Zionist Committee in New York, under the title *Syria, an Economic Survey*. To my own great surprise, it was received very favourably by the specialist press as the first basic work on the Syrian economy. The Allied military forces operating in Egypt considered it so important that they had photostat copies made of the single copy which reached their hands. Reinhard Junge, author of *Die Europäisierung der orientalischen Wirtschaft*, wrote in the *Frankfurter Zeitung* of 28 April 1917:

> The study of the economy of Syria and Palestine is much facilitated by the book which A. Ruppin has just presented to us after ten years' practical work. It is the first large, systematic compilation on the economy of Syria (including Palestine). Among

the quantity of superficial accounts written at present about Turkey, this book is noteworthy as a brilliant exception. It provides a first foundation for future economic research.

In the *Neue Orient* (no. 4/5, 1917), the book was praised as 'an excellent standard work'. There were similar reviews in other leading journals.

19 Exile in Constantinople

Perhaps Jemal Pasha was, after all, a little afraid when he expelled me, a German subject, from Palestine. He provided me with a letter saying that I was going to Constantinople of my own free will and that the authorities should be helpful during the journey. I left Jerusalem on 20 September 1916, accompanied by Hanna Kahn, Bella Berligne, Dr Helene Kagan, Mrs Moscowitz and Dr Thon (I think Bezalel Jaffe came too). Thon remained with me as far as Damascus, where we stayed for a few days, visited the German consul, and were still hoping that an intervention by the German embassy in Constantinople would enable me to remain in Palestine. Nothing was achieved, however, and in the end I had to continue on to Constantinople.

My first duty in Constantinople was transmitting news and information between Palestine and the Central Zionist Office in Berlin. I was the only channel through which messages and funds from abroad could reach Palestine. (There was no connection between southern Palestine and Egypt until after Allenby's entry in November 1917.) I also passed on all the messages from Palestine to other countries. As I corresponded at length with Dr Thon and many other friends, I was very well informed about the situation there.

My second duty consisted of seeing that the money being collected for Palestine throughout the world was worth as much as possible when it reached its destination. When I arrived in Constantinople, I found a very strange state of affairs. Money transferred to Turkey (therefore also to Palestine) from Germany or neutral countries through the banks in the usual way was exchanged at the official pre-war rate, which bore no relation at all to its real value. Although the paper pound was officially legal tender in Turkey, in reality the price of goods in Palestine depended on the gold pound. If, instead of transferring the money from abroad through the banks, we could arrange for it to arrive in Jerusalem as gold (which was available in large quatities in the neutral countries, where its value was equal to that of the paper money), the money would have six times as much purchasing power. As soon as I arrived in Constantinople, I began to attack this problem, but no one believed it could be solved. How would it be possible to transfer gold from Copenhagen or Holland to Constantinople in time

of war? My explanations and suggestions were met with understanding by Dr Victor Jacobson, who was at that time the representative of the Zionist Organization in Copenhagen, and thanks to him a positive solution was found. He negotiated with the Danish government and in the spring of 1917 was granted permission to buy gold with the cheques for Palestine received by the Zionist Organization from all over the world (especially from the United States). In the spring of 1918, when the Copenhagen bank refused to continue to sell gold, Dr Jacobson, at my request, negotiated with Swedish banks, and within a few months we were able to continue the transaction via Stockholm. The Zionist Organization in Berlin negotiated with the German government, which permitted the import of gold from Copenhagen and the dispatch to Constantinople. It even put its couriers at out disposal for this purpose. The American ambassador in Constantinople, Elkus, was also the representative of the American Relief Committee. I arranged with him and with the JNF in The Hague to have money they received for Palestine transferred to the Zionist Office in Copenhagen, instead of being sent to me, in order to pay for the gold.

Everything seemed to be arranged, but at the last moment the entire transaction was threatened with failure. At the beginning of the war, the head office of the JNF had been transferred to The Hague, and now, afraid of the possible consequences, it refused to transfer the money to Copenhagen. I telegraphed the office in Copenhagen and instructed it to try to manage without the JNF funds and to buy a correspondingly smaller amount of gold. The office answered that this was impossible; as it had already made the arrangements for the transaction with the bank in Copenhagen and was committed to accepting a certain sum in gold, it was dangerous to modify the agreement. After it had taken so much trouble to prepare the transaction, the thought that it should come to naught because of this opposition drove me to despair.

The situation was saved by a stroke of luck. The American ambassador in Constantinople received another sum of money for Palestine from America (shortly before it entered the war) and was prepared to transfer it to Copenhagen. We were still about $ 6,000 short of the amount required for the bank in Copenhagen, but I succeeded in raising this sum by taking a personal loan and using some of my own money. This made it possible to transfer the first sum in gold from Copenhagen and prepare the way for all the subsequent transfers. In May 1917, the first consignment – six boxes each containing 1,000 gold pieces – arrived in Constantinople. After I had succeeded in forwarding it to Palestine, the tremendous advantage and reliability of the new method of transfer had been demonstrated, and even the JNF was now prepared to use it.

This new method of transfer was like a miracle to us. In Constantinople gold was worth two, three, and finally four and five times as much as its

nominal value; in Palestine it was worth even six times as much, while we received gold at a premium of only between fifty and one hundred per cent. All the educational and relief activities would have collapsed but for this possibility of obtaining gold at no great loss and sending large amounts to Palestine, where gold had become the only tender. Naturally, I tried to take as much advantage as possible of this exceptional opportunity. The bank in Copenhagen was prepared to sell us large amounts of gold; it was only a question of procuring its equivalent. I directed all the money for Palestine which came in from other countries to Copenhagen. It was not enough to meet the constant need, however, especially as the relief money from America, which had made up most of the sum, ceased after America's entry into the war (spring 1917). At the same time, increasingly urgent appeals for help reached me from the Jewish population of Palestine. Not a day passed on which I was not beseeched for money to alleviate the most urgent needs.

The situation in Palestine was particularly desperate in the spring and summer of 1917. In the spring Jemal Pasha ordered the immediate evacuation of the entire population of Jaffa and Tel Aviv, which was then 40,000 people, of whom about 9,000 were Jews. Owing to the lack of transportation facilities, it was tremendously difficult to evacuate the inhabitants of Tel Aviv, although the Jewish settlements in the Galilee put their horse-drawn vehicles at the disposal of the evacuees. Most people went on foot to the neighbouring settlements, especially Petah Tikvah and Kfar Saba. A special committee (Va'ad ha-Hagirah, led by Meir Dizengoff, Abraham Lev and Bezalel Jaffe) was formed to care for the Jewish refugees, but although it worked with great devotion, it had no means and had to rely on the money which the Palestine Office put at its disposal from the funds transferred from Constantinople. The number of refugees grew when the British occupied southern Palestine (up to about twenty kilometres north of Tel Aviv) in the autumn of 1917. All the Jewish inhabitants of Judea who happened to be outside the occupied territory at the time of the conquest were unable to return to their homes and had to find emergency accommodation in the unoccupied regions, especially in Haifa, Tiberias and the settlements in the Galilee. When the refugees were dispersed, some, including Dizengoff, went as far as Damascus. As the refugees in the unoccupied territories were no longer in touch with the Palestine Office (Dr Thon) in Jerusalem, Dizengoff, as chairman of the Va'ad ha-Hagirah, organized special relief measures for them and turned to me for the necessary funds. I, in turn, passed the request for money on to Europe, but the sums I received were minute, and our American friends were unable to send money to Turkey for political reasons.

As the situation became desperate, I decided to act on my own initiative to procure help for Palestine. I borrowed money on my personal account

in Turkish bank notes from the German Oriental Bank in Constantinople. Then I telegraphed Dr Thon to send me from Palestine as much paper money as possible (it was of little value there). I used the paper money to buy cheques drawn on neutral countries, at almost no loss. Then I sent these cheques to Copenhagen, whence I received their value in gold. Thus it was possible for me to send the necessary money to Palestine, pay back the money I had borrowed at the bank, and even hold an amount in reserve in Palestine against some unforeseen emergency.

My third duty was to do as much as possible to thwart the measures Jemal Pasha had taken against the Jews in Palestine. I was helped here by the German embassy, which wanted to gain the goodwill of world Jewry. After Jemal Pasha had ordered the evacuation of Tel Aviv, the press in the neutral countries carried reports which emphasized the brutality of the measure, and one day the German ambassador, Baron Kühlmann, asked me to call on him. He showed me the accounts in the newspapers and demanded that I issue a correction. I told him that I was not in a position to do so, as the German embassy was no longer allowing me to use its code and I was therefore no longer able to obtain reliable information from Palestine, as all the accounts were subjected to Turkish censorship. If permission to use the code were renewed, I could make enquiries in Palestine. I was immediately granted permission, and I later issued a correction without glossing over the true facts of the case. Perhaps Jemal Pasha was prevented from taking some of the measures he had planned by his knowledge that Jewish sources steadily informed the German embassy about his attitude towards the Jews. Although he was well disposed towards the French and hated the Germans, he was nonetheless afraid of them and wished to avoid conflict with them.

My fourth duty consisted of protecting Palestinian Jews who came to Constantinople or anywhere else in Turkey. For instance, Yehoshua Hankin was exiled to Brussa and I regularly supplied him with money, as I did David Yellin in Damascus. I also provided regular monthly financial assistance to young people sent to attend the military academy in Constantinople. At one point, these youth were to be sent to the (dangerous) Dobruja front, but I was able to save them by means of the good offices of Dr Zlocisti, the director of the Red Cross hospital, who drew the attention of their (German) colonel to the fact that they were Russians by birth and would be considered traitors if they had to fight against the Russians.

I also concerned myself with the Palestinian Jews who were exiled to Constantinople by Jemal Pasha. In the spring of 1918, I received a coded message from Damascus, via the German embassy, informing me that Jemal Pasha had deported twenty-six Palestinian Jews of rank from Tiberias (southern Palestine and Jerusalem were already occupied by the British)

to Constantinople and nothing had been heard of them since. I was to uncover their whereabouts as quickly as possible and look after them. I was very much afraid that they might have died of the hardships or of typhoid on the way. I ran to the German embassy, which had always been willing to help me, and requested they ask the Turkish authorities for information on whereabouts of the twenty-six dignitaries. On this occasion, however, as my request concerned a military matter, the embassy was unable to help me. In desperation I decided to go straight to Enver Pasha, the Turkish secretary of state for war. I would not have been surprised in the least if they had simply shown me the door, as I had no right whatsoever to take an interest in the matter; but I had no choice. I went to the War Office, handed over my card and asked to see Enver. After a quarter of an hour, a German general entered, introduced himself as Enver's representative, stated that Enver was not there and asked what I wanted. He listened attentively to my story, and when I finished he asked: 'Well, for God's sake, how do your *friends* come to fall into the hands of these pigs?' He promised to make enquiries concerning their whereabouts, and the next day I received the information that they were imprisoned. I was able to get in touch with them and found that they were all in good health. A Christian missionary who had joined them in Tiberias (in order to convert them), and had, in spite of his protests, been arrested and deported with them, died meanwhile of typhoid. In the miserable Turkish prisons they were obviously in danger of meeting the same fate. With the help of Dr Zlocisti and a great deal of baksheesh, we succeeded in having the twenty-six Jews transferred to the Red Cross hospital, where they were looked after extremely well. Although they were in good health, they had to pretend they were ill and were confined to bed. As a result they gradually came to look like walking barrels. When the Allies took Constantinople a miracle happened: all twenty-six recovered simultaneously.

Last, but by no means least, my fifth duty was to encourage and comfort the people in Palestine by sending them innumerable private letters and by keeping Thon informed. I frequently sent money and medicines which had become unobtainable in Palestine, cloth and so forth. I also transmitted messages between people living in Palestine and their relations abroad. This became particularly important after December 1917, when the country was divided into southern Palestine (including Tel Aviv and Jerusalem), occupied by the English, and northern Palestine, which remained under Turkish rule. Inhabitants of the two parts were no longer able to correspond with each other, so I established the connection. People in the north sent their letters to me, and I passed them on to the south via our office in Copenhagen, and *vice versa*. Althought a letter from Tel Aviv to Haifa, for example, had to travel many thousands of miles, instead of the actual distance of 100 kilometres, at least it arrived, and as a rule the sender received his

answer in about a month. Later, I was often assured that my comforting letters played an important part in preserving the courage of the people in Palestine. The Jews knew that there was someone in Constantinople, out of reach of Jemal's persecutions, who tried to help them in all their difficulties. Equally important, the consignments of gold which I sent to Thon helped the Jewish population to survive the critical period.

Foreign, and certainly 'hostile', newspapers were unobtainable in Constantinople. I therefore did not read about the Balfour Declaration in the press but was informed of it only three or four weeks later in a letter from the Zionist Office in Berlin. I read the letter in the street and danced for joy, believing that we were about to see all our dreams fulfilled. The Germans urged Turkish Prime Minister Talaat Pasha to follow the British and issue a similar declaration, in order to gain the goodwill of Jews the world over. Talaat reluctantly agreed, and after arranging for the German government to make a similar promise to the Jews through Under-Secretary of State von dem Busche, he received a delegation composed of Dr Alfred Nossig, Dr Julius Becker and myself. I am sure that Talaat was inwardly furious, but he tried to remain courteous towards us and made us vague promises.

Among my circle of acquaintances in Constantinople was Henry Alsberg, the secretary to the American ambassador. He was an intelligent and very prudent man who left Constantinople as soon as the United States showed signs of entering the war. Shortly before this happened, Lichtheim and I received an invitation to dine with Ambassador Elkus. We accepted the invitation after some hesitation, but Lichtheim's visit to Elkus was apparently noticed by a spy (perhaps I, as a newcomer, was not yet known to him), and shortly afterwards he was called up for military service in Germany. All representations at the German embassy were in vain; he was suspected of consorting with the 'enemy' and had to leave for Berlin. This is how I came to take over the position of representing the Zionist Organization in Constantinople.

Except for the news of catastrophes in Palestine, life in Constantinople was not at all bad. I lived at the Pera Palace, a very good hotel; was a member of the club next door, where one could read a great many newspapers and drink coffee seated in comfortable armchairs; and for a time I was also a member of the Prinkipo Club, which had its own hotel with a private beach. I frequently took the steamer to the islands of Prinkipo and Chalki and remained there over the week-end. I went for walks with Mrs Lichtheim and a few other friends. We also made excursions, for example, to the sweet waters, the Black Sea or to Therapia, where I once spent a few weeks in a villa rented by Zlocisti. Once, when we were already engaged, Hanna and I joined a group on an excursion to the Jewish colony of Mesilah Hadashah, where the cherry trees were magnificent. I remember that on this excursion, during which we ate wonderful cherries picked from the trees,

Hanna gave me such an attractive description of her parents' summer villa in Tshonki, near Homel, that I resolved to visit this paradise one day. Unfortunately, the opportunity to do so has never arisen. Through a young Palestinian grocer, who was employed by the German pilots as an interpreter, I was given the opportunity to make an hour-long flight in a military airplane. This was my first experience of flying, and I did not fly again until ten years later.

Hanna Kahn (the daughter of Mordechai ben Hillel Hacohen) and I had been good friends for a number of years, during which we had continued to draw closer together. While I was in Constantinople, I corresponded with her regularly. When Jerusalem and Tel Aviv were occupied by the British in December 1917, she remained in Haifa, which was unoccupied, because she did not want to abandon our correspondence. She succeeded in coming to Constantinople as a 'nurse' with a German military transport, via Damascus and Aleppo, in February 1918. It was an extremely exhausting journey for her, almost a martyrdom, as she had to travel in an unheated van through the freezing cold (Taurus!), the only woman among soldiers of all ranks. She was unable to undress or wash properly and was constantly afraid that someone might discover she was not really a nurse and that she would be arrested or sent back. The journey lasted for many days. When the train stood for several hours in some station in Asia Minor, not far from Constantinople, she became so impatient that she could not bear it any longer and pulled the departure bell, which could easily have gotten her into serious trouble.

I waited the entire afternoon for her at the station in Heidarpasha, but by six o'clock, the train, which had been due at three o'clock, had not yet arrived. I had to leave at eight o'clock that evening for Berlin. After endless trouble I succeeded in obtaining a ticket on the 'Balkan train' (the only connection with Berlin) and was to see my daughter, mother, brothers and sisters again for the first time in four years. I remained in Heiderpasha until the last possible moment, but then I had to return to town to catch my own train. I left a note explaining matters and promising to return within three weeks and left instructions to meet at the Rubin restaurant. Naturally, she was extremely disappointed when she found no one waiting for her at the station. Fortunately, a German officer took her across the Bosporus in a military boat, otherwise she would have had to spend the night in Heidarpasha, as the public ferries were no longer running. It was raining hard and there was hardly any transport; it took her hours to find the rather obscure Jewish restaurant, Rubin, and to discover through my note, and later through Zlocisti, how things stood.

In Constantinople, she lived together with Hanna Shochat-Meisel and mostly lunched with me at Rubin's. We became engaged before long and were married in May, first by the German consul and on the following day

by the two highest Jewish officials, the Sephardi chief rabbi, Haim Nahum, and the Ashkenazi chief rabbi, Marcus, in the flat I was sharing with Zlocisti (it had previously been Lichtheim's flat). After the ceremony, Hanna joined me there, and we continued to share the flat with Zlocisti.

To my disgrace, I must mention an episode which occurred after the wedding ceremony at the German consulate. Hanna and I went on to the Dutch embassy, where I had some business. I had hoped that it would take only a few minutes, and I asked Hanna to wait for me in the garden, but the business took me more than an hour. I completely forgot that I was married and that my wife was waiting outside, where it had begun to rain. I hope that I was a better husband during our marriage than at its outset.

When the Allies occupied Constantinople in November 1918, all the Germans there (about 800) were expelled. They had to leave Constantinople on the steamer *Corcovado*, which had been chartered specially for this purpose. On Weizmann's recommendation, I, as a Palestinian, was allowed to remain in Constantinople, and perhaps I could have managed to return to Palestine on some cargo boat, as Dr Ticho and his wife did. Such a journey would have been so difficult, however, that I did not want to ask Hanna to make it, as she was more than six months pregnant. I therefore decided in favour of the *Corcovado*, which remained in Constantinople for ten days before finally leaving on 15 December.

The *Corcovado* was, of course, terribly overcrowded, but the morale was high, especially as we were receiving rather good food, for which we each had to pay seven Turkish paper pounds per day. We sailed to Tarent but were not allowed ashore there; nor were we allowed ashore at Ancona. We then lay at anchor off Venice for five days. Meanwhile, food was running short and the meals had become bad, as the ship had been provisioned for only seven days; only beer was ample and was consumed freely on New Year's Eve. As a result of both the food shortage and the uncertainty of our position, the morale deteriorated considerably. Finally, the Italians decided to allow us to disembark at Venice – surreptitiously, during the night – and to transport us further by special train. We only got as far as Piacenza; a landslide left the line to Verona impassable. The train therefore took us to a military camp, where we were confined for several days. We slept in our seats in the train, but at least we were able to buy food in the military canteen. I lived mainly on bread and pickled eel. In the morning, the gentlemen stood along both sides of the train and shaved in the open air; at night, certain places nearby were designated 'for gentlemen' and 'for ladies', as there were insufficient lavatories on the train. At last we moved on and a hospital carriage for the sick was added. Hanna received a place in it as an expectant mother, and I joined her, as an 'expectant father', as she was unwilling to be separated from me. At the German

border we were given hot coffee. I read the posters of the workers' and soldiers' councils with amazement, as we had no idea of what had been happening in Germany recently.

The German Zionists, who had remained without news of me for two months and thought that I must be dead, were delighted to have me with them and to be given news of 'down there'. At a mass meeting held in Munich, Zlocisti and I made speeches which were greeted with tremendous applause. Afterwards I shook hands with hundreds of people, including many old friends. When I gave a lecture in Vienna, I had the impression that the audience was the most attentive one I had ever had. All their eyes were directed at me with complete absorption. I ascribed it to the fact that they had probably not heard any other first-hand account of events in Palestine throughout the Great War and therefore eagerly took in the information I was able to give them. But this was an illusion. When I had finished my lecture, those present rushed towards me, not in order to thank me but in order to feel the cowhide of the yellow briefcase (purchased in London) placed on the lectern beside me. The Viennese had been unable to indulge their love for fine leather throughout the war and now gave vent to their passion by stroking my – in fact very handsome – briefcase.

My work for the development of Palestine had been repeatedly handicapped by the fact that the rural and urban workers had no means of their own and therefore could not work on their own account, as the existing banks would not give credit to rural or urban workers without means. The few *kvutzot* founded before the Great War with the help of the JNF and other donations were a drop in the ocean and were quite unable to absorb all the many hired labourers working in the Jewish vineyards and orange plantations, who longed to be able to work on their own account. They were discouraged by the prospect of having to remain hired labourers, competing with cheap Arab labour for the rest of their lives. I believed that if the workers could combine in groups (cooperatives) and obtain credit to acquire livestock or improve the land, they would achieve an additional income from their own smallholding and would gradually be able to achieve a certain degree of independence. I also thought that if they could obtain credit, labourers employed on piece-work in the towns, especially in the building trade, would be able to form themselves into groups and, without a contractor, undertake certain work at a fixed price.

I did not think that it would be possible to persuade the Anglo-Palestine Company to grand such credit. The attitude of its director, Z. D. Levontin, and all its functions were thoroughly commercial; it granted only short-term loans against the usual securities. I believed the loans which would be out of the question from a commercial bank could be granted by a special institution that had a particular concern for the workers. It could extend credit after examining the personal reliability of the recipients

and the prospects of their intended enterprises. I also considered the fact that the workers would feel a much stronger moral obligation to repay a loan to a bank affiliated to their own organization than to a '*bourgeois*' bank.

Towards the end of 1918, it seemed to me that the time had come to establish such a workers' bank. I brought approximately £150,000 with me from Constantinople and put it at the disposal of the Zionist Organization. Of course, some critics were beside themselves when they heard of this plan. How could the management of such a large sum be entrusted to workers, who had no banking experience and would naturally not be able to be strictly business-like with their companions? The money would have to be regarded as a loss from the start. I was not oblivious to these objections, but I nevertheless thought that the experiment had a chance of succeeding if the management of the bank were handed over to the workers gradually and they had time to become familiar with the business. The person initially appointed as director of the bank was Eliyahu Berligne, who was not a worker. A labour leader, Yosef Aharonowitz, was appointed as his deputy and quickly developed a thorough understanding of the business of the bank. I was appointed governor with the right to a veto, until the workers had acquired and paid for the agreed number of shares. I then resigned from my post, as did Berligne from his, but we both remained on the board of the bank, together with three or four workers.

The bank weathered the crises of the years 1936–41; since 1935 it has been paying a regular dividend of four per cent on its shares, and in 1938 deposits amounted to about 500,000 Palestine pounds. Its loans were extremely valuable in establishing and developing workers' loan co-operatives (*kuput milveh*) and urban and rural cooperative associations of producers.

20 Exile and Return (1916–1919)

Constantinople, 31 December 1916

Apparently the war is gradually drawing to a close, with the peace manifesto and then Wilson's peace note. Probably, it will still take some time, but 1917 will bring us peace. How much the world will have changed! But what will we then achieve in Palestine? I have drawn up a settlement programme for the next thirty years, regardless of whether future conditions will allow us to continue our work or not. American Ambassador Elkus is very interested in it, and through him I hope to gain the support of the rich American Jews. The sums I outline in this programme would have seemed ridiculously high before the war, but the milliards which have been expended on the war have changed our attitude to figures, and I find it no more difficult to ask for millions today than I used to to ask for thousands. I want to settle about one million Jews in Palestine within thirty years and ask for 130 million francs for the first decade, during which 140,000 Jews are to be settled.

6 April 1917

Rumours are current here that Jaffa and the settlements are to be evacuated because of an imminent landing by the British. For days I have been obsessed by fears of what will then become of the Jews there and all the plantations. And despite all efforts, almost nothing can be done here against this danger. People in Jaffa will be desperate!

25 April 1917

Today the settler Treidel from Kinneret arrived here and told us about the evacuation of Jaffa, which has already taken place, and the imminent evacuation of Jerusalem. He also brought me a very sad letter from David Yellin, who has lost a son in exile in Damascus. I am in despair. Are a few days going to destroy everything we have created during years and decades? For the past few days, a second fierce battle has been going on near Gaza. The British are making great efforts to conquer Palestine. It is said that three of our Jaffa students from the military academy fell in the first battle at Gaza a month ago.

11 July 1917

. . . Now it is clearly apparent that Zionism has gained in influence and importance during the war. Jacob Schiff and Lord Rothschild have become supporters of Zionism. All the Allied governments, as well as Germany, are favourably disposed towards us. I see the future in the rosiest light. All things – even a war and the suffering it brings – must serve a righteous cause.

12 November 1917

The British are advancing on Jerusalem. It seems that they have already reached Hebron and that the Turks will be unable to hold Jerusalem. This is indeed fateful news! I have already been excited for a week because of an incident of Jewish espionage in Palestine which led to a threat of pogroms there. Violence was averted only through the intervention of the German embassy with the German supreme commander, von Falkenhayn. I spoke to the German ambassador, Count Bernstorff, about the danger several times, and he acted energetically.

14 November 1917

Lord Balfour, the British foreign minister, is said to have sent Lord Rothschild a letter containing the official declaration that the British government has decided to establish a Jewish state in Palestine, without prejudice to the rights of the non-Jewish inhabitants!

18 November 1917

According to reliable information, the British forces have already advanced as far as Hebron and Ramle; they have also occupied Jaffa. All settlements south of the Jaffa–Jerusalem railway line are in British hands. What a turn of events!

It is really true about the letter from Balfour to Rothschild. I have now read it with my own eyes in the *Pester Lloyd*, and it bears the stamp of truth.

20 November 1917

As I was eating supper with Dr Becker in the Central restaurant tonight, my nephew Fritz Prager, who is a non-commissioned officer with the military mission here, came to tell us that Jerusalem had been captured by the British the day before yesterday. Events are following hard upon each other!

22 November 1917

The information about the capture of Jerusalem by the British has proven to be false. On the other hand, Jaffa really has been occupied by the British, who are said to be advancing along the coast to Haifa. I have had no news whatever from Thon and do not know where he is.

During a recent conversation with Dr Ludwig* about anti-Semitism in Germany, I realized that there are actually three sorts of anti-Semitism there. The first is that of the *junkers*, i.e., the old aristocracy and the established and distinguished middle class. It regards the Jew as one of alien blood – a man with inferior manners, the prototype of the parvenu – and rejects social contact with this disagreeable element. This anti-Semitism is not explicit or loud, but passive and reserved, the anti-Semitism of the nobleman, who, by the way, is always prepared to make an exception in the case of individual distinguished Jews and is not afraid of compromising himself socially by having contact with a Jew.

The second sort of anti-Semitism is that of the official, intellectual and businessman who has risen from the working or lower-middle classes and wishes to imitate

* Emil Ludwig (1881–1948), the well-known German-Jewish author, then in Constantinople as a correspondent for German newspapers.

the aristocracy and the old-established middle class. He therefore assumes their antipathy to the Jews and exaggerates it, although his natural inclination is not nearly as strong. This group, in contrast to the first, publicly demonstrates its anti-Semitism. The less secure its own social position, the more it demonstrates its anti-Semitism, believing that it can consolidate its status by drawing away from the Jews. An example of the second sort of anti-Semitism is that displayed by the German Students' Union. It is kept alive partly by the ability, industry and commercial success of the Jews, who are regarded as annoying competitors, arousing envy and hatred. This anti-Semitism is the most objectionable because it is egoistic, a matter of the head, not of the heart. One might regard these two sorts of anti-Semitism as the reactions of two different races: the first characterizes the descendant of the Prussian conquerors, the 'master' (it is noteworthy that southern Germany, in which there is no such master class, has never known the Prussian sort of anti-Semitism); the second characterizes the servant descending from the conquered Slavs. In the first group, anti-Semitism is determined by race, that is, what is experienced naturally and take for granted; in the second it is cultivated by social circumstances.

The third sort is the anti-Semitism of the broad masses, who sometimes feel economically oppressed by the Jews: the antagonism of the workman and the small shopkeeper against department stores and junk-shops; of the Hessian farmer against the Jewish wholesaler of meat. No racial antipathy towards the Jews exists in this case, and neither is there any social discrimination. This anti-Semitism is a hatred which flares up from time to time and place to place and then bursts into flames. It is the most fertile ground for agitators.

27 November 1917

The passage given below was brought to me today. A Jewish Palestine under English and American protection – what a prospect!

THE QUESTION OF PALESTINE

(Cable from *Pester Lloyd*)

Berlin, 19 November

News has been received from London that since the beginning of October, negotiations have been pending between Britain and the other Allied Powers concerning the final form of the Jewish state to be established in Palestine. All the Powers have already agreed on the basic idea. The Americans have already made huge sums available to carry out this plan. American agents authorized to complete the negotiations have left for London and Petrograd.

11 December 1917

During the last few weeks, the recurrent announcement that Jerusalem has been captured by the British has turned out to be false, but today it is finally true. The German ambassador, Count Bernstorff, whom I visited this morning, confirmed the news to me. The situation in Palestine has therefore changed fundamentally. All my friends, with the exception of Thon, have remained in Jerusalem.

The ambassador, by the way, was completely outspoken when discussing political questions with me. The main purpose of today's visit was to ask him to arrange an

interview for Dr Becker with the Grand Vizir. At this interview the Grand Vizir is to comment favourably on Zionist aspirations. After Balfour (and recently also Count Czernin in a conversation with Dr Hantke) had expressed their goodwill towards Zionism, Turkey and Germany are to do the same. Count Bernstorff approved of the suggestion and promised to talk to the Grand Vizir. In fact, I have already received a phone message to say that the Grand Vizir is expecting Dr Becker tomorrow afternoon.

12 December 1917

On the whole, the Grand Vizir gave all the desired answers to Becker's questions.

30 December 1917

Thon and Hoofien have remained in Jerusalem after all; the news of their evacuation to Kerak was untrue. They were supposed to have been taken to Kerak or Damascus, but their departure was postponed until 9 December, and as the British occupied the town unexpectedly swiftly on 8 December, they were not evacuated at all. Thus the good Dr Thon will at last have peace.

31 December 1917

At last objective circumstances (for which we strove for so long in vain) will make it possible to work for the large-scale settlement of Palestine. Now it is a question of exploiting them properly. The work will not be easy. First of all, there is the Arab question; then there is the difficulty of convincing Jewish townsmen to develop the country agriculturally; finally, there are internal oppositions: the religious against the irreligious, the capitalists against the workers, the East Europeans against the West Europeans, those who looked to England for support against those who looked to Germany and so forth. It will be a huge task to ensure the progress of settling and developing the country in spite of all these difficulties. The first twenty to thirty years will be the most difficult because the composition of the immigrants will be so heterogeneous. Only when the generation born in Palestine will have matured and developed a sense of community through the land and its its schools, will things become easier.

Whatever the future may hold, however, this much is certain: in our wildest dreams we did not imagine that the Great War would leave us with so much. My old conviction that every honest effort will eventually receive its reward has once more been proven true. I think that I am not being immodest when I say that the practical work done in Palestine under my direction has contributed a great deal to our accomplishments.

19 September 1918

. . . I have engaged a stenographer to come three times a week and take down my correspondence, so I am now free of the enormous inconvenience of writing letters by hand. I have balanced my books with endless trouble for 31 August, and will now also pass on the task of keeping the books to him, so that I will be rid of this tedious work to a large extent. The donations from abroad have begun to arrive again, and I will have no difficulties in meeting the demands of the relief work in Palestine. During the last few months, all my time has been taken up by minor

practical matters, but now I shall be less involved and until 31 December shall use my spare time in the following manner:

1 Writing a book to be called *Ziele und Wege der jüdischen Kolonisation in Palestine* [Aims and Methods of Jewish Colonisation in Palestine]. During the past year, I have been writing down my thoughts on a number of questions concerning settlement. It does not seem suitable to publish them, however. It will be much better to produce a coherent and complete book about future settlement, to be directed at a large audience. The value of such a book cannot be questioned. No one else has collected such an abundance of experience in this field over the past ten years. The book will form, so to speak, the theoretical basis for the constructive work of the future.

2 Learning Hebrew. Until now I have confined myself to talking Hebrew with Hanna on our walks. Now I also want to read and write.

3 To continue with English. I have two English lessons a week with a very nice elderly (Scottish) lady.

4 To increase the fund for the settlement of Palestine, which now amounts to approximately 5 to 10 million marks.

1 October 1918

The last week was one of the most eventful of my life. The British have had colossal successes in Palestine and Syria. Within little more than a week they have advanced from Tul Karm to the vicinity of Rajak and Damascus. The whole of Palestine, with perhaps the exception of Metulah, has been occupied by British forces, and the conquest was achieved so quickly that none of our settlements has suffered apparent damage. What a change in such a short time! According to the British military *communiqué*, the Jewish regiments also took part in the fighting. All this is of tremendous significance for our cause. It will require generations to consolidate the achievements of a few days.

14 October 1918

Germany has accepted Wilson's conditions. After I heard this news yesterday I went for a long walk and continuously repeated to myself the one word: Peace! How much this means! It is almost no longer possible to imagine a return to normal conditions! Hanna is already dreaming of the moment when we will leave for Berlin.

4 November 1918

. . . The former Turkish rulers Talaat, Jemal and Enver have disappeared overnight; nobody knows where they are. A motion to summon them before a Supreme Court of Judicature was placed before Parliament. When Jemal Pasha told me two years ago that I would *never* return to Palestine, could he have imagined that he would now be fleeing from Turkey, cursed and hated by all, and that the Jews would have been assured of Palestine under the protection of the Allies?

7 December 1918

Ebert is chancellor in Germany. The people, who had for so long been promised certain victory, so far seem quite unable to grasp the turn of events. Indeed, never in the history of the world has a people been confronted with such terrible armistice

terms and admitted its complete defeat, although no enemy has yet set foot on its soil and, on the contrary, its armies are still deep within the territories of its enemies. The simple man in the street cannot understand what has happened so suddenly and feels completely lost. In addition, reactionary influences are probably also at work, attempting to resurrect the old military government and, if possible, even renew the hostilities, although such an attempt would not have the slightest prospect of success.

. . . Professor Weizmann in Manchester sent a telegram to the local Allied authorities recommending they grant me permission to remain in Constantinople, which they have done. I want to leave, however, as my work here is completed. Until now I still had a reason to remain here, first because I wanted to finish writing my book on Jewish settlement in Palestine, and second because I wanted to arrange for the return of the Palestinians who have been living here and in Anatolia. Well, yesterday I completed the book, which amounts to about 250 typewritten pages, and three days ago 410 of the Palestinians, including Dr Ticho and his wife, left for Palestine on board the coal barge *La Gaule*, which was put at their disposal by the French naval authorities. The question now is where am I to go from here? If I alone were concerned, I would now go to Jaffa, spend a few weeks enquiring into the situation there and then go to Europe to attend the peace conference with Sokolow and Weizmann. But I cannot travel this way with Hanna, who is now in her seventh month, and to leave her alone in Palestine when she is expecting the child is also unthinkable. The duties to one's work and to one's family do after all conflict. I have therefore now decided on the following plan: if the *Corcovado* or another boat leaves from here for Trieste or Genoa by 20 December, I will go to Germany and thence to the peace conference, while Hanna will remain in Berlin. I will then see to it that Thon also attends the peace conference, bringing the latest news from Palestine. If no such boat leaves by 20 December, I will go to Jaffa with Hanna and will then decide whether and when I (alone) will go to Europe.

12 January 1919

. . . The Munich Zionists (Dr Strauss, Reich) persuaded me to give a talk on Jewish Palestine, which was advertised with enormous placards and attended by more than 1,000 people. The party secretary, Julius Berger, who was staying in Munich for a few days, and Dr Zlocisti also spoke at the meeting. In Munich I started reading the *Jüdische Rundschau* again and saw that Lichtheim recently presented my 'programme for colonization' to a meeting of German Zionist delegates, where it met with a great deal of criticism because the number of settlers (one-and-a-half million in thirty years) did not satisfy the firebrands around Trietsch. In any case, it is clear that everybody is occupied with the pace of our future work in Palestine and that I will have to do my best to publish my book soon. I hope that it will clarify the situation.

I remained in Berlin for no more than ten days, during which I tried to bring myself up to date on German and Zionist affairs. It is an interesting time, for everything is in flux. The elections to the National Assembly are over. I did not vote, for I feel that I am no longer entitled to have a say in German affairs. I have, after all, become a stranger, although I watch developments with a great deal of interest. It is very strange that the socialist government proceeds with the 'nationalization

of the means of production' with such restraint and circumspection. I strongly approve of this, but I am more critical of their foreign policy and weakness towards the old militarism.

1 March 1919

The day before yesterday Sokolow and Weizmann presented our demands concerning a Jewish Palestine to the peace conference in Paris. The outcome of their presentation is not yet known, but it can hardly be doubted that the essence of our demands will be granted. Then we will face an enormous amount of work in order to develop Palestine into a true Jewish National Home. Sometimes I dread the amount of work. In a pamphlet printed for private circulation only [*Jüdische Zukunftsarbeit in Palästina*], I wrote that we would have to settle 20,000 people a year during the first decade, 40,000 a year during the second and 60,000 a year during the third. I thought that even these numbers would be very difficult to achieve, but now I am being attacked by Trietsch and others who say that this is not nearly enough, that we must immediately begin to settle 100,000 people a year. Many believe that a mass exodus of Jews from Eastern Europe to Palestine is imminent, so that the immigrants will arrive whether we can prepare suitable conditions for them or not. It is important for us not to lose immigrants, to make it really possible for them all to live in Palestine. The question is how. Until now there have been only 60–70,000 Jews in the country. How can we accomodate five times this number within a few years? It is an extremely difficult problem.

I found it rather difficult to write my book on Jewish settlement in Palestine. The chapter concerning the new social order held me up for a long time, but I have now finished it and the first part is already being printed.

17 June 1919

It is as if I were in a dream. Since 13 June I have been in Holte, near Copenhagen, and I am writing these lines on the terrace of my flat (in the Villa Tyrol in Morlenesvej) overlooking the garden. The sun flashes through the vines covering the terrace, a wood of dark green beech trees is opposite me and I am surrounded by fresh and fragrant air. Every day I go for walks, almost always through the beech wood, which I love and longed for during all my years in Palestine. It gave me more pleasure than any aspect of the German landscape, and here in Denmark it is truly at home and more beautiful than anywhere else. Yesterday it occurred to me that true mysticism must have originated in beech woods, and as far as my knowledge of mysticism goes, it almost seems that it has never developed beyond the sphere of the beech woods.

What am I – of all people – doing in this idyllic setting? I have become responsible for organizing an office for immigration and settlement in Copenhagen as a branch of the London Zionist Office. I have not read a newspaper for four days and am all the happier for it, although right now the most important questions are being discussed during the negotiations for a peace treaty in Paris. I have become disgusted with newspapers because the German papers contain such blatant lies and are so completely incapable of viewing things objectively (the only exceptions being Harden's *Die Zukunft* and *Freiheit*, the paper of the Independent Social Democrats). I also must admit that I am not particularly interested whether or not this or that

part of the Baltic provinces will remain a part of Germany. It seems to me that the whole peace treaty will not remain valid for long. If the German people can rid themselves of the rule of the formerly privileged classes, they will go far, and inasmuch as it will hinder Germany's development in this direction, the treaty will be blown away like cobwebs. On the other hand, if Germany should remain a military and *junker* state, I should not like to see it treated particularly gently in the peace treaty.

Charlottenburg, 24 October 1919

More than three months have passed since my last entry in this journal, primarily because I have been travelling almost continuously. First of all, on 23 July, I went from Holte to Berlin, and on 28 July I went on to Switzerland, together with Professor Warburg and Dr Hantke. In Engelberg we met Dr Weizmann and remained with him for a week (in the Grand Hotel). I hardly knew Weizmann before, but I liked him very much, and apparently he liked me too. I was even more impressed when he told me what difficulties he had to overcome in order to achieve the Balfour Declaration. I could see that he was indeed the supreme politician we needed at that moment.

8 November 1919

. . . At the meetings in London it has been decided that a commission of eleven members, to be lead by Ussishkin and myself, is to direct all Zionist affairs in Palestine. I said that I did not know whether it would be possible for me to work as a member of such a commission, as I had been used to making my own decisions until now; but I provisionally accepted the arrangement until the next Zionist Congress and said that I would like to leave for Palestine as soon as I received an entry permit. Weizmann then contacted the British Foreign Office and Field Marshal Allenby in connection with my entry permit, and at a celebration of Jacobson's fiftieth birthday he announced that he had succeeded in securing my entry into Palestine. Although it is already the beginning of November, however, I still have not received my entry permit. On the contrary, I have learned indirectly that for the time being my journey is still being prevented by difficulties, which Weizmann is hoping to overcome soon. But what does 'soon' mean? And what does 'hope' mean? It may mean that I will have to sit here for another few weeks, months or even a year without being able to do any reasonable work. A very unpleasant state of affairs. I find it depressing that I am constantly growing older and no longer have an unlimited number of years of work at my disposal. I am also finding my stay in Berlin unpleasant because I am obliged to carry on a written and verbal feud with Davis Trietsch and his adherents. Trietsch is dissatisfied with the programme of settlement I have described in my book *Der Aufbau des Landes Israel* ['The Colonization of Palestine']. Not 30,000 Jews as I have suggested, but 300,000, they claim, should immigrate into Palestine every year. I consider this demand utopian, because economic considerations make it impossible to absorb this number of immigrants. So I must reject this claim, though my heart does not agree with my head. I want large immigration no less than the others, so I carry on the controversy – for rational reasons – against my own desire. Of course, I get no satisfaction out of this debate, and anyway, I dislike the polemics of national assemblies.

24 November 1919

Last week I received a telegram from Weizmann (who is in Jerusalem) saying that the British authorities in Palestine have granted entry visas to me and my family, including my sister Lisa.

17 December 1919

The entry permit for Palestine has still not arrived here. It is therefore already out of the question that we will leave on 1 January; I shall be glad if we get away on 29 January. In the meantime, Weizmann has sent me a telegram from Jerusalem stating that he will arrive in Trieste on 28 December and would like me to meet him there.

The London Office wrote and asked me to prepare a memorandum on the organization of the Faculty of Political Economy and Social Science for the conference on the university. Consequently, I had a discussion with the local economic committee, which is composed of young Zionist political economists, and have sent an exposition to London. I wonder if I will finish my life as a lecturer in this faculty.

(Evening) A long letter from Weizmann which arrived today has put me into a very pessimistic frame of mind. He makes it apparent that the British officials in Palestine are indifferent or even hostile to our aspirations, that the opposition of the Arabs is growing, that strong economic pressure (the purchase of land) is threatening from Egypt and the Jews in Palestine are rather confused and without leadership. Now that Balfour has been replaced by Lord Curzon, it seems that the British government cannot be expected to come out energetically in our favour and encourage large-scale immigration. For the moment, we must beg for months for the smallest economic concessions (leasing land or factories, entry permits for 6–700 workmen). Added to these difficulties is the devaluation in Eastern Europe; as £1 is today worth almost 1,000 rubels, ninety per cent of the Russian Zionists have next to no money to bring with them to Palestine. Therefore, if the economic situation of the immigrants is to be consolidated, it will have to be done through the general Zionist funds. Where is the money to come from? Only the American Zionists might be able to raise it, but the key to the American coffers has not yet been found. The relationship between the Americans and the other Zionists is very tenuous, and it seems that the Americans are aiming at breaking away completely. It is a mystery to me how, under the circumstances, the annual conference can be expected to produce useful results. I am afraid that we will be confronted with a period of black depression, for which our Zionists, after the preceding period of rejoicing, are not at all prepared. In any case, Trietsch's illusion that we will be able to bring hundreds of thousands of Jews to Palestine from the start cannot even be discussed. I am afraid that it will be extremely difficult to bring even tens of thousands into the country each year.

Trieste, 31 December 1919

I have just been attending a reception given for Weizmann by the local Zionists. He gave a favourable account of his impressions of Palestine. Afterwards I sat with him, his brother Yehiel and an American Zionist named Mohl in the lobby of the Savoy Hotel. It is now 11.30 p.m. I am sitting in my hotel room and want to follow the old custom of balancing the accounts of the past year. As far as my

work is concerned, it has not been a satisfying year. I wrote *Der Aufbau des Landes Israel*, which may indeed represent a landmark, but it is the only one. The rest of my work has been minor, disjointed and unsatisfactory. Much time was wasted in travelling. I went to The Hague, Denmark several times, England and now finally Italy and Trieste, not to mention shorter journeys to Frankfurt, Magdeburg and Wickersdorf. Just as there has been no satisfaction for me in my personal work, no progress has been made in Zionist work as a whole. Quite the contrary: after the Balfour Declaration, the entry of the British into Palestine and the actual end of the war, one would have thought that major Zionist activity in Palestine would begin at once, but the British authorities in Palestine have obstructed even minor activity. Only during very recent weeks has the negative attitude of the authorities apparently changed for the better. So I am hoping that if I leave for Palestine with my family on 29 January, as intended, I will be able to do some real work there.

PART TWO

Selected Diaries and Letters

(1920–1942)

Berlin, 28 February 1920

On 28 February I was surprised by a telegram from London stating that the British government has, after all, granted me and my family permission to travel to Palestine. My sister Lisa has also been included in the permit. At the same time, I was invited to attend the meeting of the Zionist General Council, which opened in London on 10 February.

S.S. *Helouan*, 11 March 1920

Three hours ago we (i.e., Hanna, the two children, Lisa and I) left Trieste. The sea is calm and the boat excellent. Travelling with us are Weizmann and his son, Dr Bruenn and his family and a few other Zionists. At last I am again on my way to Palestine!

Although we have achieved important things politically – thanks to Weizmann and Sokolow – I had the impression that financially we are still ill prepared for the great task ahead. The speech on settlement and finance made by Simon on behalf of the Executive was tailored to suggest that we should expand the Jewish Colonial Trust as a holding company and raise £2 million for it. This seemed to me entirely unsatisfactory. We need not only bank and business capital, we need enterprises to settle and develop the country. To finance is not the same as to settle. A lot of the settlement expenditure cannot be repaid, nor will it yield interest. As the second expert, I had to contradict Simon's suggestion. It was decided to set £25 million as a national target and send our best people to America to raise funds there. Apparently the American Zionist leadership is not yet ready for such large-scale plans, and I very much doubt whether we will even come anywhere near this sum. Furthermore, I do not know how we are to make it possible for tens or even hundreds of thousands of Jews to immigrate if we lack the necessary means. £30,000 of the money I had earned for the organization in Constantinople was put at my disposal for cooperative loans. This will be enough for a few months and will enable me to get the work going again, but what will happen in the future? I am full of ideas, but without money settlement is not possible. My main idea now is to enable the Jewish workers to compete with the Arab workers by means of cooperatives (Workers' Bank), contracts with groups of workers at fixed prices and the acquisition of the best machines, so that people will employ them because it will be an economic advantage to do so, not, as has been true until now, out of a sense of national obligation. Large builders' and planters' cooperatives are to be established in order to create new opportunities for work.

It seems that the most difficult problem before us is our relationship with the Arabs. Without a friendly arrangement with them, all our work in Palestine is built

on sand, and this continues to cause me nightmares. On the other hand, we are not at all sure that such an arrangement is possible or how it is to be achieved.

Jerusalem, 2 July 1920

Today the members of the Zionist Commission* (Eder, Leib Jaffe and I) were received by Herbert Samuel at his headquarters in the Augusta Victoria Sanatorium on the Mount of Olives. For more than an hour, we discussed all the topical questions and the future work in Palestine and found that Samuel thoroughly appreciated all we wanted. He thinks of himself as a Jew and a Zionist and – with all due respect to the Arabs – wants to establish the National Home of the Jews in Palestine. The reception made a particularly strong impression upon me because Jemal Pasha exiled me from Palestine on 11 September 1916 in the same place (I had not been on the Mount of Olives since then). At the time Jemal told me that I would *never* be allowed to return to Palestine. Today he has been sentenced to death and is in exile; as a member of the Zionist Commission, recognised by the British government, I have been received by the High Commissioner, who is himself a Jew and a Zionist! Indeed, the most vivid fantasy could not have imagined a greater change! Although we have not yet reached the goal, and our work is only just beginning, this very beginning signifies colossal progress!

Jerusalem, 10 July 1920

On 7 July I was one of 300 people invited to the Mount of Olives where High Commissioner Herbert Samuel read a message from the king concerning the British administration of Palestine and a statement on the policies he is to pursue. Samuel, with his fine Sephardi face, looked very handsome in his white uniform (only the *pince-nez* he put on for the reading spoilt the total impression). He read the English text, which was then translated into Arabic and Hebrew. The scene, which lasted from four until about five o'clock, made a deep impression on all the Jews, including even myself, though generally I am not as impressionable as other Jews. Until now, pronouncements about a Jewish National Home and the decisions at San Remo** had been only words on paper; but now they rose before us embodied in the person of a Jewish High Commissioner. The king's message that the Jewish National Home was to be established by stages in Palestine, delivered by Samuel in this banquet hall in the presence of the highest officials and dignitaries from all ranks of the population, sounded like a fanfare to wake the dead. Many of the Jews present had tears in their eyes. After the ceremony, tea was served in the yard of the sanatorium (where eight years ago I spent time with Selma and Ruth and which arouses so many memories). Samuel exchanged a few friendly words with everyone. I had the impression that even the non-Jews were pleased with him. I hope that we may one day be able to say of this day what Goethe said in 1792: today is the beginning of a new epoch (if not of world history, at least of Jewish history).

* Name of the Zionist Executive in Palestine from 1918 to 1921.

** To include the Balfour Declaration as an article of the peace treaty with Turkey and to grant Great Britain a Mandate over Palestine.

Jerusalem, 14 August 1920

I have been on the Carmel together with Professor Geddes, who is known in England and India as a town planner, the engineer Hecker and the agronomist Ettinger from our office. Before us is the question of allotting large tracts of land, which I purchased before and during the war, for agricultural purposes and for a garden city. I want to turn this into a large-scale project (with a funicular railway from the town to the Carmel etc.). During my walks there I grew to like the Carmel very much, and my interest increased still further when I read Oliphant's book on Haifa*. The landscape really is very beautiful. When a funicular railway has been built and the Carmel will practically be in the town itself, perhaps I shall build a house there.

In the office, nothing has changed: no money. The annual conference in London closed on a note of shrill discord. No agreement between the American Zionists and the London leadership, and consequently rather poor prospects of collecting the many millions we need. I am at a loss about what to do under the circumstances, and I am seriously considering resigning from the Zionist Commission and working on my own. How to do so, however, is not yet clear to me.

Jerusalem, 11 September 1920

On 18 August Ussishkin returned from London, and his account is very depressing. It shows that the Zionist Organization is incapable of action for its leaders are largely influenced by vanity and personal friendships and enmities. The American Zionists, who are almost the only ones to give money and therefore have the last say, expressed strong opposition to Ussishkin and, according to Ussishkin's report to me, I was too much of a 'theorist' and 'sold on the workers'. In spite of this opposition, Ussishkin was elected to the Executive; but it was a Pyrrhic victory. In my opinion, Ussishkin ought to have resigned at once, and I asked him to resign now together with me. Although he does not want to, I have remained firm in my decision: a few days ago I informed the Executive in London of my resignation. For the time being, I am continuing to work until Weizmann and Simon arrive here in October. Then I shall have two alternatives: either I shall continue, with the approval of the Executive, to direct those companies (PLDC, Palestine Real Estate company, industrial syndicate, etc.) which I have developed until now, expand them and thus create a sort of economic section of the Zionist Organization; or if understanding is lacking and I do not get sufficient support, I may go to Australia and America for six to nine months – in other words, begin my long-planned journey around the world and wait to see what the situation is like on my return. The present situation cannot last long. Ussishkin wants to fight for his position, but I do not like fights in which one must flaunt his achievements. I believe that my time will come of its own accord.

Jerusalem, 15 October 1920

Lisa, Ruth and I have just visited Selma's grave. This is the first time I have been in Jerusalem on the anniversary of her death. Although eight years have already

* *Haifa or Life in Modern Palestine* (1887) by Laurence Oliphant (1829–1888), a British writer and Christian supporter of Zionist ideas before the crystallization of the Zionist movement.

passed since then, the day of her death affects me as strongly as if it had been yesterday. Tonight the moon hangs in the sky just as it did then, when it shone on the open grave.

Simon and Weizmann have written from London that they cannot accept my resignation and will arrange everything to my satisfaction when they arrive. So I sit here waiting. They are supposed to come at the beginning of November.

I am in a slightly better frame of mind as I am negotiating for the purchase of land and am also kept fairly busy finding work for the new immigrants, most of whom are employed in road building. Lately, I have been meeting Herbert Samuel frequently. A few days ago, Hanna and I attended an official dinner at his house; we have invited him to dine with us on 19 of this month. There is no doubt that he is an exceptionally capable man.

A week ago we held the inaugural meeting of the Asefat ha-Nivharim [Elected Assembly] of the Jews of Palestine. It was a very dignified occasion. The value of this body lies not so much in its speeches and resolutions as in the fact that after 2,000 years the Jews in Palestine again have a central agency. Lisa was the one who was most impressed by the meeting; she thought it extremely important.

Jerusalem, 11 December 1920

The Commission for Reorganization* from London, consisting of Simon, de Lieme, and Szold, left yesterday after spending a month in Palestine. I told the commission right at the start that I would not remain on the Zionist Commission, and I explained how I imagined its general reorganization. The commission accepted all my suggestions, and we finally arrived at a compromise: for the time being, I alone shall be responsible for the management of economic affairs (especially the PLDC, trade and industry, Workers' Bank). The Zionist General Council will decide on a permanent arrangement at its meeting next spring.

Jerusalem, 12 December 1920 **

With reference to your letter of 6 December, in which you recapitulate the arrangements agreed upon concerning the reorganization of the Zionist Commission, there are a few minor points which I should like to clarify.

With regard to the Workers' Bank, you state that for the time being I am to manage its affairs, but that on his return Mr de Lieme will become the bank's governor. No mention is made of the position which I myself am then to occupy in the Workers' Bank. Therefore, I should like to stress that I have expressly stated during the discussions we have just held here that I wish to continue to maintain my connection with the Workers' Bank, which was established at my suggestion and according to my advice.

In your instructions concerning the Workers' Bank, you mention that, for the time being, I will be able to issue loans on its behalf only against government securities. This would limit enormously the activity of the Workers' Bank at a time when the full burden of providing work for the immigrants falls upon this institution,

* Sent to Palestine by the Zionist Executive in London to survey the activities of the Zionist Organization and take steps necessary for fruitful work under the existing conditions.

** From a letter to Julius Simon.

for lack of an equipment fund. I am therefore emphatically against handicapping the Workers' Bank by means of such official regulations.

Again, the ruling with regard to immigration arises out of a decision made by a committee. As I have told you repeatedly, I consider the principle of committee decision wrong and wish to replace it by the principle of a responsible director taking decisions on his own, although he would have the *right* (but not the duty) to ask the committee for a decision.

Deganyah, 31 December 1920

The new year confronts me like an obscure conundrum. I feel rather dissatisfied with the sort of work I am now doing in Palestine, but on the other hand, I am so bound up with it that I cannot tear myself away. I would like to go away for at least six to nine months in order to gather a store of new impressions. I wonder whether I shall be able to carry out this intention?

21 January 1921

I am depressed by the fact that ever since my return to Palestine I have had no real work and am in danger of losing my ability to work with pleasure and confidence. In December I had believed that my work had been put on a better footing through my agreement with the Commission for Reorganization. Instead, two members of the commission, Simon and de Lieme, resigned as soon as they returned to London, and so far nothing has come of any of the agreements. At the moment Weizmann and Alfred Mond* are in Palestine. It is hoped that Mond will help us to raise the money necessary for the development of the country. Weizmann wants to go to America in February. At the moment there is a terrible financial crisis in Palestine and in the Zionist Organization. We are not receiving enough money to pay the officials, teachers and so forth on time, to say nothing of new enterprises.

Within a few weeks I shall be forty-five years old. How much time do I still have to do my work and to see its results? The lack of work brings about a lack of confidence. I am frequently beset by doubts whether Zionism is in fact viable, now that it has lost the support of East European Jewry, which has been ruined economically. Financially, we are now entirely dependent on America, and the Americans give the impression that their Zionism is still very crude and superficial. I am also depressed by the fact that the Arabs of Palestine continue to be hostile to Zionism, in spite of Herbert Samuel's policy of appeasement. Without a better understanding with the Arabs, I foresee tremendous, almost insuperable, difficulties.

Jerusalem, 8 March 1921

When I returned yesterday from a short journey to Haifa, I found a telegram from Ussishkin (in Paris) informing me that Simon and de Lieme have definitely left the Zionist Executive and Jabotinsky, Joseph Cowen and Lichtheim are to be appointed provisionally in their stead. I am not at all sure why these appointments are being made and what the consequences may be. In addition, the following telegram from Weizmann was waiting for me:

* Then British health secretary, a supporter of Zionism and the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine; from 1928 Lord Melchett.

CONFIDENTIAL. EXECUTIVE AFTER RESIGNATION J. SIMON DE LIEME DECIDED CONSTITUTE PROVISIONAL FOR DIRECTION AFFAIRS TILL CONGRESS. APPOINTED MEMBERS JOSEPH COWEN JABOTINSKY LICHTHEIM FOR LONDON. INTEND APPOINT SIMILAR BODY PALESTINE CONSISTING OF USSISHKIN EDER RUPPIN. REQUEST URGENTLY YOUR CONSENT. PLEASE CABLE.

I sent this answer to it today:

AGREED ON CONDITION THREE INDEPENDENT DEPARTMENTS WITH COMMITTEE CONSULTATION BUT INDIVIDUAL DECISION MAKING AND RESPONSIBILITY. FURTHER REINSTATEMENT OF COMMISSION TO INDEPENDENT MANAGEMENT OF FINANCES WITHIN BUDGET.

Jerusalem, 28 March 1921

We have a number of guests: Nahum Sokolow, Baron James de Rothschild and Winston Churchill, the British colonial secretary. Yesterday I welcomed Sokolow and Baron Rothschild at our offices with a speech in Hebrew. Today I went with a large Jewish delegation (ten people) to Churchill at Government House. Herbert Samuel and Baron Rothschild were also present. Greetings were offered by Chief Rabbi Jacob Meir and David Yellin. Churchill responded with a long speech, stating that he would keep firmly to the Balfour Declaration and that he had just informed an Arab delegation of this intention. He would sincerely try to bring about a Jewish National Home in Palestine. I thanked him (in Hebrew). His remarks had made a great impression on all present, as we had been afraid that he had been influenced against us by the Arabs.

18 April 1921

Dr Eder arrived here three days ago in order to take over the Political Department of the Zionist Commission. The information sent by Weizmann and Ussishkin from America makes it apparent that the Zionist leaders there have not yet made peace with each other, and it seems that they are facing a time of serious internal conflict.

1 May 1921

In order to celebrate 1 May, I allowed myself the luxury of making an excursion to Wadi Kelt today with Natalie, Ruth, Hillel and Minnie Kahn and a few other friends. We walked for five hours and rested in the enchanting valley in the midst of the grey, bare chalk hills. . . We drove back and got home at 8.30 p.m. As I was getting out of the automobile, a passing Jew asked me if I had been to Jaffa.

Full of dark forebodings, I went home and learnt that a street demonstration by Jewish workers celebrating 1 May had led to clashes between Jews and Arabs in which more than twenty Jews had been killed and nearly 100 wounded. What I find particularly depressing is that these incidents indicate such a hostile attitude on the part of the Arabs towards the Jews that there can be no hope of a genuine reconciliation between the two peoples.

Jerusalem, 2 May 1921

The number of dead in Jaffa has risen to thirty. Among them is the writer Brenner, who was murdered at night in his home. Thirteen Arabs are also said to have been killed.

At noon I called on Herbert Samuel. He appeared outwardly very calm and talked to me – intentionally, I thought – about many other, unimportant things. For the first time, he criticized the Zionist Organization for talking a lot and doing very little. The situation in Palestine would be much better if the Zionists were developing the country.

Jerusalem, 5 May 1921

The excitement and the disturbances in the country are continuing. Today the Arabs attacked Petah Tikvah, and three Jews and eleven Arabs were killed.

This afternoon and evening I talked to Herbert Samuel. The Arab nationalist group has handed him a number of demands, including the temporary suspension of Jewish immigration. He has been frightened by the events in the country and is inclined to acquiesce, whereas we argue that by yielding he would not appease the Arabs but only incite them to further demands, while dealing Zionism a deadly blow. Apparently our arguments have convinced him.

Until now, Herbert Samuel has been the idol of the *yishuv*. Now, however, it is incensed against him and accuses him of weakness. It is true that his policy towards the Arabs has been one of consistent appeasement and that he has hoped to win them over by means of appointments and amiability. Many experts on the country say that this is the wrong policy to take towards the Palestinian Arabs, who can be convinced only by means of a 'strong hand'. It is possible that these people are right and that a strong regime would have prevented the present incidents. But I can well understand that such a regime – such a policy of fear and force – is impossible for Samuel, who is a liberal, a European and a very pure man. I feel thoroughly in sympathy with him in this matter. Perhaps for this reason both of us are unsuited to Palestinian politics.

S.S *Vienna*, 4 June 1921

After long hesitation, I have decided to go to Europe, mainly because I simply can no longer bear to sit in Palestine and be idle for lack of funds – especially as it is absolutely clear to me that Zionism will perish altogether if we do not soon make a start on developing Palestine agriculturally. When the Zionist General Council meets in Prague on 29 June, I shall want to shout this for all the world to hear, because our people, continuing to rely on the Balfour Declaration, apparently still do not understand the gravity of the situation. The declaration will not be worth the paper it is written on if we do not infuse it with life and strength by practical accomplishments in Palestine.

Since 1 May our situation in Palestine has grown very much worse. Herbert Samuel, who used to be so calm and self-assured, is no longer the same. He has lost his confidence and, I fear, his belief in the possibility of realizing the Zionist idea. While he used to believe that Arab opposition to Zionism was limited to the small upper class, he now believes that the entire Arab people is hostile to Zionism. He has been particularly alarmed by the fact that at the beginning of May the Arabs were not even deterred when threatened by British officials and, apparently, even assaulted some of them. He now believes that he can calm the Arabs by making concessions to them, and he offered them the prospect of enlarging the advisory council and restricting Jewish immigration. While this did not appease the Arabs, it allowed them to see his weakness and encouraged them to make further demands.

They are now quite openly demanding his resignation. On the other hand, the Jews have been extremely embittered by the prohibition on immigration, which has so far resulted in many hundreds of Jewish immigrants being sent back from Palestine to Trieste. Herbert Samuel, who was a sort of God to the Jews in Palestine only yesterday, has now become a traitor to the Jewish cause in their eyes. I do not think that he will be able to hold out much longer between Scylla and Charybdis. He will have to go, and the Jewish High Commissioner of Palestine will soon belong to history 'and legend'. Most certainly, the new High Commissioner will not be a Jew; I do not even think it necessary that he should be. It is too difficult for a Jew to hold this office. A truly British High Commissioner with a Jewish under-secretary of state for Jewish affairs seems to be a far better solution.

Berlin-Charlottenburg, 20 June 1921

. . . On the whole, life in Germany gives the impression of being much healthier than it was a year and a quarter ago. The trains run punctually; the railway and the post-office officials are polite and wear neat uniforms; the trains, streets and public buildings are clean. It is indeed surprising how the German people manages to keep going. Once more I had the impression that this people can be divided into two groups: the rulers and slaves. The large majority tend to be orderly, disciplined and submissive, and this explains the industry of the people and why they are so easily organized.

Prague, 17 July 1921

Today the meetings of the Zionist General Council have at last come to an end. The week has been extremely tiring; I cannot bear to sit for a long time in a closed room listening to long speeches. I myself had to talk for one-and-a-half hours on the work in Palestine. Trietsch opposed the suggestion that I (and Jabotinsky and Lichtheim) be included on the Executive. I demanded that this be voted on, but no vote took place at the time, and today our membership on the Executive was confirmed, during my absence, without debate.

Most exciting was the debate on Jabotinsky's proposal to establish new Jewish battalions in Palestine. Ussishkin and I spoke against it, the other members of the Executive were in favour and finally the proposal was adopted by a large majority. I doubt if it will be to our advantage, however. I am afraid that it may be the beginning of militarism and power politics. For the time being, I take comfort in the thought that the decision will most probably remain on paper, as the British government will not give its consent.

London, 11 August 1921

In Harzburg I suddenly received a telegram from Weizmann stating that I should come to London at once to attend a conference on settlement.

On Mount Brocken, 18 August 1921

The conference in London concluded with the decision to establish a settlement of 500 people on irrigated soil with intense farming (five dunams per settler). I think it probable that such a settlement near Haifa will succeed, but I doubt whether many such settlements will be possible as it still seems uncertain that they will be able to dispose of their produce.

Nuremberg, 26 August 1921

I arrived in Nuremberg at 3.45 p.m., found a hotel room with difficulty and went out at four o'clock to visit the church of Sebaldus, the castle, the Bratwurstgloeckle and in the evening attended a service at the synagogue (organ and choir). The tomb of Sebaldus and the fountain in the market place are choice works of art. I am not deeply affected by them, but I feel that the level of craftsmanship is exceptional. I found the torture chamber in the castle interesting (with old instruments of torture and illustrations). It is incredible what the human mind has invented in order to torture human beings. By the way, I would like to know if torture was used exclusively in Germany or whether it was also used elsewhere. How could men commit such sins against other men at a time when they also showed so much artistic good taste? It would be very interesting to investigate the connection between Christianity, superstition and torture. I am sure that no other framework of religion (Islam, Buddhism) employed torture as a means of discovering the truth or as an additional punishment.

Karlsbad, 12 September 1921

The [Twelfth] Zionist Congress is still in session. I found the first few days of it very depressing. Simon and de Lieme attacked the leadership, especially myself, and the very unpleasant debate which followed lasted for days. I also spoke, expressing my annoyance at the low level of the discussion and the lack of a constructive frame of mind. Many delegates told me that the effect of this speech was excellent. On Monday I made my speech, which lasted for almost two hours, on the development of agriculture in Palestine. Apparently the speech also met with approval, as the opposition of the first few days has fallen silent. I am treated with the utmost respect, and opinion is almost unanimous that I should continue to direct the development of agriculture in Palestine. I am half glad and half sad abut it. There is still no money for large-scale development, and to return to Palestine now without money is like entering a cage of wild animals. I am completely undecided about what to do and am waiting for some sort of miracle. My proposals for reforming the Palestine administration (departmental management, etc.) are apparently meeting with general approval.

Magdeburg, 24 September 1921

It suits me very well to have time at the station in order to record briefly what else happened in Karlsbad and since then. At a meeting of the new Executive after the congress, my suggestion that every member of the Executive should manage his department in Palestine independently was accepted. In order to propitiate Ussishkin, who protested against this, I agreed to the additional clause that every member should ask the board to decide on those issues which, *in his opinion,* are of fundamental importance. I also proposed that the Executive should decide which department should be assigned to each member of the Palestine Executive. At Ussishkin's request, the members of the Palestine Executive first discussed this among themselves. During this discussion, it was agreed that Ussishkin should be made responsible for education, Eder for politics, Pick and Sprinzak for immigration and social welfare, and I for urban and rural development. Ussishkin then demanded that we also choose the chairman of the Palestine Executive. I told him that I would vote for him and that I would urge the other members of the Palestine Execu-

tive to follow suit, but that this would happen only after our arrival in Palestine. I felt instinctively that if we were to choose Ussishkin as chairman in Karlsbad and he would enter Palestine as chairman, it would make the impression that everything remained as it had been before. I was particularly anxious that there should be a clear and visible break between the old Zionist Commission and the new Palestine Executive, and it seemed to me that this could best be expressed by the 'interregnum'. Ussishkin was very much annoyed by this attitude, and in my good-natured way I might have given in to him, but Eder declared categorically that he would not vote for Ussishkin in Karlsbad. So the matter remained unsettled, as we did not manage another meeting of the whole Executive. Since Eder, Pick and Sprinzak share my view, I think that it will be possible to arrange the matter in Palestine without difficulties.

Jerusalem, 3 November 1921

We had another small pogrom here yesterday. As they had announced beforehand, the Arabs demonstrated against the Balfour Declaration with the result being four Jews dead and more than ten wounded. The Jewish population is once more terribly upset, and quite rightly so, as with a little more circumspection peace could have been maintained. There is a demand for the immediate dismissal of Storrs, the governor of Jerusalem. Dr Eder wanted to have the four dead buried quietly this evening, in order not to provoke new disturbances. I was against it and demanded a public and dignified funeral by daylight; it seems to me that we owe this to our national dignity. My demand has been accepted.

Jerusalem, 19 November 1921

The former Zionist Commission is now called the Palestine Zionist Executive and has been divided into independent departments. Ussishkin has been elected chairman and has the Education Department; I have Urban and Rural Development. The new machinery functions visibly better than the old. The only disturbing thing is that there is still something wrong with our finances, and instead of giving people money, we can offer only promises.

Jerusalem, 26 November 1921

I have again been away, from 20 to 23 November. From the business point of view my journey has been unsuccessful, but otherwise it was very interesting. On Sunday, 20 November, Ussishkin and I went by car to Beisan, via Nablus and Jenin, where we looked at the excavations recently undertaken by Harvard University. . . We reached Tiberias at seven o'clock. Nowadays, one comes across many camps of the *halutzim* [pioneers] who are working on building roads; they make a deep impression. At last, a Jewish generation which is used to physical labour and does not mind hardships. Actually, I had intended staying in the Galilee for another few days to visit our farms there, but, much to my regret, I was obliged to abandon my intention when I received word that I had to be in Petah Tikvah on Tuesday to mediate in a dispute between the villagers and the workers there. On Tuesday morning we drove from Nazareth, via Jenin and Tul Karm, to Petah Tikvah, where we arrived at 2.30 p.m. We held fruitless discussions with the representatives of the two sides which lasted until 2.30 in the morning. I was so tired that I could hardly stop myself from falling asleep, especially as I was convinced before I had begun

that the discussion would not achieve anything. From the national point of view, the workers are in the right, but from the economic point of view, the villagers are in the right, and there is no way for them to reach a permanent agreement.

Jerusalem, 1 December 1921

Yesterday afternoon I drove to Jaffa for the inauguration of the Workers' Bank, and I returned to Jerusalem this evening at six o'clock. The weather was astonishingly mild. As I was getting out of the car, without suspecting a thing, my mother-in-law came out of the house and said, '*Mazel tov!* Your daughter has been born.' I thought she was joking, but I hurried up the stairs. Indeed, there was the midwife, Hanna was lying in bed feeling happy, and next to her in a cradle was the baby, with lots of black hair, a broad snub nose just like Rafi's* and the high forehead of the Ruppins . . . We will probably call her Carmella, because of my connection with the Carmel and Haifa.

Tel Aviv, 31 December 1921

It is 10.30 in the evening, I am sitting alone in my room in the Pension Moscowitz and according to old custom I want to balance the account of the past year. I have to admit that I do not feel in the least in a New Year's mood. . . .

Most certainly, 1921 has not been an important year for the world, for Zionism, or for myself. After the enormous convulsions of the war, the world has still not returned to normality, and I doubt whether it will be able to do so soon. Apparently, the Bolshevik government in Russia has become less radical than it used to be. In any case, present-day Russia still harbours a lot of leaven which could spread to the rest of Europe. I am not at all sure what I ought to wish for. I do not approve of the thousands of executions which are said to have been the consequence of the dictatorship of the proletariat; nevertheless, I very much respect the magnificent idea inherent in Bolshevism, and I very much hope that it will survive and contribute to the development of the world. If I were not a captive of Zionism, I could not imagine a higher aim in life than to be working in Russia now on a peaceful reorganization of that country. What is happening elsewhere in the world is neither new nor interesting. The old politics and the old aims.

Tiberias, 3 January 1922

I have certainly had plenty of proof on this journey that Zionism is in a bad way. Everywhere there were outstretched hands demanding money for something or other: loans to provide work for the unemployed, to continue existing farms, for workmen and small industrial enterprises, for the purchase of important tracts of land. We ought to have money for all these things, but we simply don't. . . All our hopes are resting on America. For the past two months, Sokolow and Warburg, among others, have been working there in order to obtain money, but so far without much success. A catastrophe is bound to befall our work in Palestine if they do not eventually succeed in raising large sums.

* Dr Ruppin's son.

13 January 1922

We have visited Kinneret that is, the three farms at Deganyah and the Kinneret farm, where I spent the night. Progress is apparent everywhere. The trees have grown, there is much more order and cleanliness than there used to be, the workers are more experienced and their ties with the soil have grown stronger. Although I did not think that very much progress had been made, considering that it amounted to fourteen years' work, when Natalie saw Deganyah she thought that it was an astonishing achievement.

Nazareth, 21 January 1922

Last night we stayed in Nazareth, after a fairly adventurous ride in the pitch darkness on roads made slippery by the rain. This morning we drove to Malul in heavy rain. The car had to be left on the road and we walked for an hour across soft clay. Terrible mud. In Malul our architect, Richard Kauffmann, explained to the workers his plan for building the settlement.*

22 February 1922**

The weakest point in all the work we are doing in Palestine is our relationship with the Arabs. The Arab policy we have here is less than nothing. When Dr Eder was here he took a lot of trouble over this problem, but he cannot change his point of view to that of an oriental, and I have the feeling that the work does not suit him. Kalvariski*** is also very active, but I am not at all sure he is doing the right thing, and perhaps we will have to pay heavily in the future for the temporary advantages he is striving for. It might be a good thing if Sokolow came here and took charge of this important branch of our work. Apart from Sokolow, I cannot think of anyone who would have sufficient authority and ability to bring about a change here, unless it would be possible to consider you yourself. Furthermore, I should like to emphasize what we have until now called our Arab policy does not at all deserve the name. It is only a local section of a much larger problem, which is to make contact with the entire Arab world. It is not possible to pursue this Arab policy in Palestine; it must be pursued in the real centres of Arab politics, that is, in Baghdad, Cairo and Damascus. Unfortunately, very few of us have familiarized ourselves with the Arab problem in the wider sense and have enough vision to imagine the awakening of the Arab world. I have become more and more convinced that we will not be able to maintain our position in Palestine if we cannot secure friends and an understanding of our cause in the Arab world.

25 February 1922

Tel Aviv is still enjoying its Saturday sleep; hardly anyone is about in the streets. The town has grown enormously during the past year; it now consists of almost 400 houses and 5,000 inhabitants. Allenby Road has by now been paved down to the sea, and the walk to the beach, which used to take three-quarters of an hour

* Nahalal, the first *moshav ovdim*, was established at Ma'lul according to the plan drawn by the architect Richard Kaufmann (1887–1958).

** From a letter to Victor Jacobson.

*** Haim Margalit Kalvariski (1867–1947), who purchased large tracts of land for ICA, then directed the Arab office of the Executive in the spirit of cooperation with the Arabs.

across deep sand and demanded good legs, can now be made comfortably in fifteen minutes on an asphalt road. With its clean streets and green front gardens, Tel Aviv gives the impression of being a residential suburb with a well-to-do population. Actually, the situation of the inhabitants is not bad, but their existence has no secure foundation. 'They are living off one another.'

The population is composed of a large number of small shopkeepers who exploit the consumer; small capitalists, who pay twenty percent of their income as rent for their houses; teachers and officials, whose salaries are paid out of Zionist funds. If this source should ever run dry, who knows what would happen? There are no industrial or other productive undertakings of any kind, apart from a small building industry (silicate tiles, carpentry, cement bricks). People are building and building – but, after all, rent can be collected from houses only if the tenants themselves have an income. Where is the money for productive enterprises to come from? That is the question which constantly recurs.

Jerusalem, 1 March 1922

The day before yesterday we gave a 'dinner' for Mr Adolph Ochs, the editor of *The New York Times,* which is the most widely read newspaper in America. He is very much prejudiced against 'extreme' Zionism, which he claims to know from America, and very pleased to find people here taking a 'moderate' line.

Jerusalem, 29 March 1922

During the past week, Dr Eder has held discussions with the committee of the Pan-Arab Congress in Cairo. The discussions are intended to serve the general understanding between Jews and Arabs in the hope that this will bring about a new flowering in the entire Middle East through common cultural work. To me, these discussions have been a light in the darkness. I have been aware for some time that discussion is the only solution to the otherwise insoluble Arab-Jewish conflict. Only in this way will Zionism cease to be the nationalist movement of a few hundred thousand Jews and become a power with a role in the development of the culture of mankind. A few hundred thousand Jews together with thirty million Arabs represent a population large enough to influence the culture of mankind. The discussions which have been begun can succeed only if the two sides take part in them with absolute honesty and if they are not expected to produce results until the two sides no longer confront each other with suspicion. That may take years, but in the end something of real importance may result.

13 April 1922

Yesterday I bought most of the land and the houses of the German Colony on the Carmel. Extensive tracts of land in the area have belonged to us for a long time. Now we have also acquired the centre, including a magnificent grove of trees planted by Consul Keller forty years ago, which I want to buy privately for myself; I shall build a summer house there.

Jerusalem, 2 June 1922

Today Kurt* told me, half in surprise and half reproachfully, that my work absorbs me to such an extent that I am no longer interested in people, only in facts. Perhaps

* Dr Ruppin's brother.

I was not even aware of it, but I had certainly drawn away from people. I denied his evaluation, because at heart I have continued to be very interested in people and their concerns. However, it may be true that I am so engrossed in my work that I am no longer able to give my undivided attention even to conversations with relations and others close to me, but often regard them as an interruption and a waste of time.

Jerusalem, 11 June 1922

In spite of everything, occasionally it seems to me that my life contains rousing chords, a wealth of sensations, that I live at a quick pace and in all this I am exceptionally privileged.

Jerusalem, 13 June 1922

Yesterday morning I went to the Greek patriarchate to witness the transfer of the land we have bought to the PLDC. When I returned to my office at noon, I was handed a telegram from Charlottenburg dated 11 June: TODAY MOTHER PASSED GENTLY AWAY. Thus my worst fears were after all justified. I knew that she had not been feeling well for the past two months and that the doctor had diagnosed a weakness of her heart and the beginnings of arteriosclerosis. Since then she had been feeling depressed. Two weeks ago I received a telegram from Berlin stating that she had become bedridden, but as she had never really been ill, and during the past few years had become livelier and more light-hearted, I continued to hope that she would not succumb to the first attack. On 20 June she would have been sixty-eight years old. A changeable life has drawn to a close. It was characterised by a deep sense of religion, a great ability to adapt to the vicissitudes of life and a profound love of her family. If my mother had not preserved vestiges of Jewish tradition in our family life, I might never have become a Zionist or settled in Palestine.

Jerusalem, 1 July 1922

The House of Lords has passed a resolution against England's acceptance of the Palestine Mandate. This was completely unexpected and had a very depressing effect on people here. Now the League of Nations is to decide about the Mandate on 15 July. Tension here is high. Whether it will be confirmed or not is the puzzle with which everyone here is now occupied. There is a general feeling that once the Mandate has been given out, everything here will be all right. I am the only one who doubts it. Certainly the Mandate will help our financial position; but will it not spoil our relations with the Arabs for ever?

Jerusalem, 8 July 1922

Rathenau, the Jew and German secretary of state for foreign affairs, has been assassinated in Berlin by monarchists. He was undoubtedly the most gifted among the German statesmen, and his assassination will do Germany harm both internally and in the eyes of the world. On the day before, the mark stood at 13.00; after the assassination it fell to 19.50 to £1! At the most difficult time, Rathenau had taken over a task from which anyone else would have shrunk. Undoubtedly he did it out of pure patriotism, disregarding all personal considerations. Nevertheless,

from the very beginning the German press insulted him in the most vulgar manner – because he was a Jew. Even the best Jew is apparently unable to work in Germany. Indirectly, this is the best justification of Zionism.

Contrary to the resolution of the House of Lords, Parliament has accepted the Palestine Mandate (with 290 votes for and thirty-five against it). It is believed that the League of Nations will now definitely ratify the Mandate in the middle of July.

Jerusalem, 11 July 1922

Yesterday, Mr Ettinger and I made an interesting excursion to Tel Arad, which lies between Beersheba and the Dead Sea. It took us less than three hours on Sunday afternoon to drive to Beersheba, where we spent the night in a tent with some Jewish pioneers who are constructing the military cemetery. Magnificent, contented young men and women. I have had another new idea. If possible, I would like to leave the Zionist Executive and dedicate myself to the task of advancing the economic institutions of the workers (trade unions, Workers' Bank, cooperatives). I am becoming more and more dissatisfied with the 'contemporary', 'political' Zionism and continually more interested in achieving, something of lasting value, even on a small scale. I have always felt particularly close to the Jewish workers in Palestine.

Jerusalem, 22 July 1922

(Evening) Mr and Mrs Ben Yehuda have just brought me the news that according to a telegram which has just arrived from London the League of Nations has confirmed the British Mandate over Palestine. The Ben Yehudas were elated. *'Akhshav anachnu be-arzenu'* [now we are in our own country]. I could not share their enthusiasm. One is not allocated a fatherland by means of diplomatic resolutions. If we do not acquire Palestine economically by means of work and if we do not win the friendship of the Arabs, our position under the Mandate will be no better than it was before. The only positive advantage I can see is that the rich Jews may now be more ready to donate money for Palestine.

Naples, 31 July 1922

I read in the newspapers that Jemal Pasha has been assassinated in Tiflis. Only a few weeks ago it was announced that he was highly regarded by the Soviet government and had been charged with a mission to his former colleague Enver Pasha, who has been agitating against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, to calm him down. But now the Armenians, of whom he murdered so many, have finally taken their revenge on him, as they did on his colleague Talaat Pasha. He was undoubtedly a gifted man and a personality, but his hands were stained with the blood of many innocent people, and the Armenians were entitled to their revenge.

Rome, 3 August 1922

I am growing more and more interested in the Jewish racial question. I would like to photograph the Jews not only in Italy, but also in Corfu, Crete, and Rhodes. On the other hand, I would also have to collect the non-Jewish types in these countries I wish to prove that one of the factors contained in the Jewish race is the South European type (Greek, south Italian).

Karlsbad, 31 August 1922

The Annual [Zionist] Conference is still continuing. There is a terrible degree of disagreement within the Executive. Jabotinsky, Soloveichik, Motzkin and Lichtheim resigned. The future situation is not at all clear.

Karlsbad, 10 September 1922

The Annual Conference finally closed, if not exactly impressively, at least in peace. For the time being, nothing is going to change, until next year's congress passes new resolutions.

The American Zionists (Schweizer, Goldberg) have invited me to go to America and sell bonds, if possible as early as October. They think that tracts of land and shares of the PLDC will also find buyers in America.

Brünn, 17 September 1922

The Gregor Mendel Congress is taking place in Brünn on 23 September, and I would very much like to attend. Perhaps it will stimulate my mind. Many geneticists from all over the world will come here for it.

London, 25 October 1922

I am sitting in the Russell Hotel in London and want to make use of a free evening in order to review the past month in brief. First of all chronologically:

On 3 and 4 October I went to Essen with Richard Kauffmann to inspect the workers' settlements at Krupps; on the return journey I visited Hildesheim, Salze and Magdeburg.

On 10 – 12 October I went to Warsaw to advertise the PLDC and industrial enterprises. Not much success. Altogether, I spent only thirty-six hours in Warsaw, gave two talks, visited small Jewish factories in the Nalewka and stayed with Levite.

On 14 October, there was a family gathering of all the Ruppins at Martha's house. About seventy people were present, and we had a magic lantern showing of the photographs of the grandparents Simon and Pauline and their fourteen children. The atmosphere was very good; a very successful event. The cost of the very ample hospitality about 35,000 marks, that is, less than £3.

On 18 October, noon, I left Berlin for Paris, where I stayed for three days, met Louis and Dinah Brochet, held discussions with Baron Edmond de Rothschild and Meyerson. I stayed at the MacMahon Hotel near the Arc de Triomphe, which made a particularly deep impression on me this time.

On 22 October I left Paris early for London via Bologne-Dover. It was a bad crossing, and I almost became seasick.

On Saturday, 28 October, Shmaryahu Levin and I are to leave for New York on the *Mauretania*. America is the only source of money, and the attempt to tap it must definitely be made.

S.S. *Mauretania,* 30 October 1922

We reached the quay at Southampton at twelve o'clock and boarded the *Mauretania,* which was sailing by one o'clock. We have a small, not very comfortable cabin. I sleep on top, Shmaryahu below. In the evening, the *Mauretania* docked for a short time at Cherbourg; since then there has been nothing but sky and water. Shmaryahu and I get on very well together. Other Zionists on board

are Dr Benderly and a certain Lubarsky. Otherwise the people are not particularly interesting. Few good-looking women, and those few heavily made-up.

New York, 7 November 1922

In the evening I went to the Yiddish Art Theatre, where there was an excellent performance of Gogol's *Inspector,* but I found it rather hard to accept the fact that the Russian officials, the *'goyim',* in it also speak Yiddish. The mayor, his wife and Dubchinski were all magnificent types.

New York, 8 November 1922

In the morning I worked in the office of the Zionist Organization. The same in the afternoon. In the evening, there was a reception at the Astor Hotel for Shmaryahu Levin and me. Beautiful hall, full, more than 1,000 people. I spoke in German for about thirty-five minutes; Levin spoke after me in Yiddish. After the reception we went to a café and did not get home until 12.30.

New York, 11 November 1922

In the morning I visited the Aquarium and Wall Street. Unfortunately, the Stock Exchange was closed. Armistice Day: all the houses were decked with flags. I lunched with Sydney Rosenzweig, who afterwards took me for a ride in his car through New York, as far as Yonkers, until five o'clock. In the evening I went to a cinema-cum-theatre. Once again I was amazed by the magnificent interior. They played scenes from Faust with first-class vocalists and orchestra. There was dancing and also a film. In this way the cinema really does seem to be coming closer to the arts.

New York, 14 November 1922

At noon I visited Adolph Ochs, the editor of *The New York Times,* in the Times Building and lunched with him and a few other people. I talked about Zionism and tried to interest him in the practical agricultural development of Palestine. He was not against it, but he was against the nationalism inherent in Zionism. 'The Jews are not a nation, they only share a religion.' He wants to be 100 percent American. He told his neighbours at table that what had surprised him most in Palestine were the people (meaning me) who could earn $100,000 a year and were satisfied with a few thousand dollars. In the end, Ochs himself suggested that he would invite to his home a number of influential Jews whom I might otherwise not manage to meet and introduce me to them. He asked me to send him a list of the people with whom I wished to talk. He then arranged to have me shown over the Times Building (printing works etc.) and presented me with a book on the history of *The New York Times,* with a dedication. He has an interesting mind and is not without noble human impulses, but he is already rather old, talkative and vain.

New York, 16 November 1922

In the morning I paid a visit to Morgenthau.* He is a passionate anti-Zionist and complained that the Zionists had treated him unfairly. I told him that the

* Henry Morgenthau (1856–1946), American businessman and politician, was ambassador to Turkey in 1913–6 and aided the Palestine Jewish community during the war.

quarrel between Zionists and non-Zionists resembled the quarrel of the two women before Solomon: the child (Palestine) had to suffer. But he replied: 'Palestine is not our child. It is the child of the Zionists. They have claimed it for themselves.'

New York, 29 November 1922*

I am endeavouring to organize the purchase of land and hope to be successful. I would also like to establish a large bank – with the help of the 'German' Jews – to finance all our agricultural enterprises. This is a tremendously difficult thing to do, but it seems to be our only salvation. Ochs has printed my article in his paper; now it is a question of how far he will be prepared to support me in my appeal to the German Jews.

Boston, 7 December 1922

Yesterday and today I met a great many Zionists and gave them a good talking to. I hope that it will have done some good. People are surprised that there should suddenly appear a man from Palestine who discusses business with them in a business-like manner. They have never come across such a creature before. Today we have an important lunch, tonight a big meeting. I shall have to make a speech on both occasions. . . .

On Saturday evening (today is Thursday) Shmaryahu and I will be returning to New York. Before then, I am giving a talk at Harvard University to a Jewish students' association. I am looking forward to having a young audience for a change. After all the business talk with adults, it is nice for once to talk to young people, whose enthusiasm, I hope, has not yet been devoured by business.

Boston, 10 December 1922

I have managed to interest a few of the non-Zionists in Boston in the agricultural development of Palestine, and it is possible that this will have important consequences. It required much time and patience, however. Everyone agrees that my plans and suggestions are sound, and in Boston they regarded me as some sort of strange animal because of the speed with which I develop my plans and the way in which I talk to the non-Zionists. On the other hand, the enthusiasm necessary to turn my plans into reality is lacking.

Chicago, 31 December 1922

(Shortly after midnight) Shortly before its departure – on 29 and 30 December, the old year provided me with a great treat: the sight of Niagara Falls. It has been one of the most impressive sights of my life, together with Vesuvius, Pompeii and the Blue Grotto at Capri. I found it very refreshing, and I very much needed to be refreshed. I have been completely exhausted by the past week in Montreal and Toronto. Not only do I find it very tiring to talk business in English with individuals all day long and lecture in English in the evenings, I also frequently have to repeat myself, which is something I have always particularly disliked. When I appear in public I am always, so to speak, in the position of a prize fighter at the

* The next three entries are from letters to Dr Ruppin's wife.

ready, one who must be prepared at any moment to set to, that is, to talk about Palestine. Finally – and this is the worst – although my work provides expectations for the future, it does not produce any immediate results, that is, money, which is needed urgently by the PLDC in Jerusalem to meet its liabilities. People here are very nice to me – especially in Canada, where they were so kind it was moving – and they will give money for Palestine in the end, but everything moves at a snail's pace. American quickness may apply to business matters; with regard to Zionism it certainly does not exist.

6 January 1923*

The day before yesterday I wrote you a few lines from Milwaukee. In the evening Rosenblatt,** Sheinkin and I returned to Chicago and later that night we went on to Detroit. There Rosenblatt and I attended a luncheon similar to the one in Milwaukee. We held forth (in English) before about twenty luncheon guests, received similar compliments for our 'wonderful speeches', and that was the end of the matter. No one lifted a finger to subscribe to the Tel Aviv loan or the PLDC shares.

In the evening I went to supper with the rabbi, who is a Zionist, and then went with him to the synagogue. There Mr Brown, who organized the $17 million drive for the Joint Distribution Committee and has the reputation of being the most successful fund raiser, gave an account of his impressions of Russia. He said that the Zionists should not 'demand a Jewish state', they should adapt their programme to 'spiritual Judaism', and then the rich American Jews would agree with them and give them money.

New York, 20 February 1923

It is not possible to extract money from the hard-boiled American Jews by letter or through a third person, but I personally may yet be able to achieve something. I now sometimes 'shout to the skies with delight, sometimes am grieved to death', depending on whatever my prospects appear to be. It is a pitiful state of affairs, and I know that I shall never again take such a job upon myself. . . If I were only already through with the present job and could board the ship.

. . . *Please, please,* do not become impatient during these last few weeks before my return and make my stay here even more difficult by making me think that you find it hard to bear.

Washington, 1 March 1923

The worst thing is that the indifference of the vast majority of the American Jews towards Zionism has made me doubt that we can ever achieve our aim in Palestine. Today, only the Jews in America have money and political influence; only with their help can the National Home for the Jews be built in Palestine. Yet for the time being they do not appear willing to provide this help. Weizmann will be arriving in New York the day after tomorrow. I want to explain my outlook

* The next two entries are from letters to Dr Ruppin's wife.

** Bernard Rosenblatt, then representative of the American Zionists on the Executive and vice-president of the Federation of American Zionists.

on the matter and persuade him to make one final effort to interest the rich (German) Jews in America. They will have to establish a bank with a capital of at least $5 million for the development of Palestine. Then we might be able to overcome the deadlock in Palestine. . . .

New York, 22 March 1923

(11.30 p.m.) I have just had a discussion with Louis Marshall, from 8.30 until 10.30 p.m., which may after all turn my American journey, which has so far been a failure, into a success. During the first few weeks of my stay here I realized that the only means of obtaining large sums of money for investment in Palestine would be the establishment of a large investment company in America, and I also realized that it would be possible to establish such a company only if one of the leading 'German' Jews would take the initiative to do so. Everybody I asked at that time referred me to Louis Marshall as the only suitable person. While I was talking to S.C. Lampert and Sam Rothenberg it occurred to me that it might be possible to interest these people in my plan for a bank, and I explained it to them. They took the matter up with enthusiasm. Lampert appealed to Louis Marshall, who is the lawyer of their company, and asked him to see me. The result was today's conversation. Marshall had spoken at the banquet which was given in Weizmann's honour when he arrived, and Weizmann had already mentioned the plan for a bank to him and suggested that he talk to me; this also helped.

As I am writing I am both impatient and hopeful. If the bank project can be realized, it will automatically create a united Jewish front for Palestine in America, as the Brandeis group* cannot reject an invitation from Marshall to participate.

New York, 23 March 1923**

For the first time during my stay here, I am writing to you in a good humour. Apparently, the ice has at last been broken and my journey will after all not have been in vain. Of course, all sorts of things might still go wrong, but meanwhile there is quite a good prospect of my being able to bring about the establishment of a bank with $5 million. Last night I discussed it for two hours with Louis Marshall, the leading Jew in America, and I have won him over completely to the idea. Other non-Zionists are also enthusiastic about the matter and will work towards it.

New York, 26 March 1923

So far, the bank project is making good progress. I have had several meetings with Lampert and some of his friends from the Brandeis group. As he had promised, Marshall had spoken to the influential local banker Herbert Lehman about the bank project, and in consequence Lehman and Lampert discussed it with Weizmann this evening. I am, of course, very pleased! Perhaps, after all, I will be able to leave here in a few weeks with the feeling that I have achieved something.

* A group of Zionists (centered around Judge Louis Brandeis) who opposed the official line of the Zionist Organization and sought to restrict Zionist efforts in Palestine to economic development.

** From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

New York, 30 March 1923

Today (Good Friday) I attended at the Metropolitan Opera a matinée performance (one o'clock) of *Parsifal,* with Arthur Bodansky as conductor, Barbara Kemp as Kundry and Orville Harrold as Parsifal. During the performance, I thought much less about the music than about the Jewish profile of the conductor, the mediaeval idea of chivalry, the meaning of the Last Supper, *Blutschande* [miscegenation] and Jesus as a Jew. I became particularly engrossed with the idea of describing twenty-four hours in the life of a person to whom 100 years are like one hour. What would such a person have seen at a certain place on earth?

S.S. *Aquitania,* 11 April 1923

The S.S. *Aquitania* is perhaps even more magnificent than the *Mauretania.* I am leaving America in a much happier mood than I would have thought possible a month ago. There is a good chance that the bank project will succeed. I was already on board when Shmaryahu brought me the news that the day before yesterday, in the evening, Louis Marshall made an enthusiastic speech in favour of the bank project in a private home, in the presence of Weizmann and many non-Zionist millionaires.

S.S. *Aquitania,* 13 April 1923

I wrote to Schocken* saying that he should come to Palestine in the autumn and take over my work. If I am not to wither intellectually, I will have to get away from the Zionist Office and routine work. I must have time once more to absorb spiritual nourishment; I must get back into a scientific atmosphere. I think that Zionism is tenable only if it is provided with a completely different scientific foundation. Herzl's view was naïve and only makes sense in the light of his complete ignorance of the conditions in Palestine. We will once more have to take our place among the oriental peoples and create a new cultural community in the Near East, together with our racial cousins, the Arabs (and the Armenians). I think that Zionism is less than ever justifiable now except by the fact that the Jews belong racially to the peoples of the Near East. I am now collecting material for a book on the Jews to be based on the problem of race. I want to include illustrations showing the ancient peoples of the Orient and the contemporary population and describe the types which used to and still predominate among the peoples living in Syria and Asia Minor. I want to demonstrate that these same types still exist among the Jews of today.

Helene Hanna Cohn (now Thon) once wrote in an article published in *Der Jude* that I was afraid of examining myself too closely and of calling myself to account. It is true; on principle I hardly ever become 'introspective', and I gain insight into myself only occasionally, and then by chance. A great deal remains rather vague to me. What is my aim in life? What is my view of the world? I remember that when I was seventeen years old I wrote in my diary that I must never lose faith in God and his authority. It was useless. Even my belief in the inevitable progress of mankind has disintegrated. General and lasting progress has been much too

* Shlomo Zalman Schocken (1877–1959), German businessman, Zionist industrialist and from 1929 publisher; settled in Jerusalem in 1933.

crassly contradicted by the Great War and the hopeless state of the world, which has not learned anything from the experiences of the war and is morally worse off than it was before. In spite of all this however, I cannot subscribe to the view that life itself is without purpose or design. To believe that life has a purpose is quite simply an essential part of self-preservation. But what is this purpose? So many philosophers have provided answers, but I do not find any of them satisfactory. Probably everyone has to provide his own answer.

Considering Sirius and the facts of astronomy and palaeontology, it seems completely nonsensical to attribute a metaphysical future to every individual on earth. The purpose of life has to be found here on earth. Life itself must make living worth while for the individual. The world would be perfect if everybody were able to say on his deathbed: my life has been worth while. In order to achieve this, however, the sum of pleasurable sensations in life must outweigh the sum of the feelings of displeasure. This may be brought about in two ways: by changing our evaluation of pleasure and displeasure and by altering the circumstances by which pleasure and displeasure are produced. Many things which now arouse displeasure in the majority of people are based on wrong social assumption: the awareness of class distinction, social ambition, outward appearance and so forth. The main reason for such misery and want in life, however, is the incorrect organization of society, which provides the one with too many earthly possessions and takes away from the other even the little he has.

The revolution now taking place in Russia, the extent of which leaves the great French Revolution far behind, is an attempt to alter the organization of society. But it seems to be doubtful that it will succeed for two reasons: in order to maintain its new organization it uses the violent means of the old totalitarian state – the army, prison, execution, deportation – and it creates new social conditions much more quickly than the people are able to adapt their ideas. This results in the economic collapse of the new order and the partial return to the old ways, after a tremendous amount of property has already been destroyed. Nevertheless, it is to be hoped that the Russian Revolution will finally result in a better social order than the czarist regime, in spite of its zigzag course and political violence. Its success is by no means assured, however. I would like to attempt a new social order in Palestine without sudden changes or the use of force. Capitalism in the European sense does not yet exist in Palestine, nor are there large industrial enterprises, syndicates, trusts and so forth. It will not be necessary to destroy before one can build. It is up to the Jews who are coming to the country with modern technology to determine the social order. Many of the institutions which have been established in Palestine already indicate a new order; for instance, the agricultural and the industrial cooperatives and the Workers' Bank. To develop them, exclude the profiteer and the speculator from economic life in Palestine and provide everyone with possessions according to his work would be a worth while experiment in which I would be very much tempted to take part. Perhaps Palestine would then realize the teachings of the prophets and of Jesus – which are distorted and debased in the religions of today – and serve as an example to all the world.

S.S. *Aquitania,* 16 April 1923

I suppose it is really my duty to write a summary of my impressions of America. Actually, I did not really get to know the Americans, only a small section – the Jews,

and especially the Zionists – and they cannot exactly be considered as typical representatives of America. . . To single out a few main points:

1 I have gained nothing new from the American way of life and American culture. They are modelled on the European pattern, even if the dimensions are different.

2 In intellectual life, high-grade standardization and uniformity. It seems to me that the country does not encourage individuality, but kills it. (The book *Babbit* by Sinclair Lewis which I read in America, is a brilliant satire.)

3 There is little interest in theories or in the objective representation of a plan. People want the actual thing; they do not look at the plan, but at the planner. The country is personal in the sense of paying attention to people; charm plays an important part in business and social life.

4 No inclination to be concerned with the more profound philosophic problems. Very few are troubled by doubts about the meaning and purpose of life. A 'healthy' but superficial optimism prevails.

5 The daily press has a very low standard. The funny-page (jokes with illustrations) lacks spice and true humour. Some monthly magazines are good.

6 I see no evidence of the famous efficiency of the American businessman. He is in no way superior to the average German businessman. But the standardization of all concerns is an advantage (every drug-store and every draper's shop carries the same stock), as is the specialization within every large concern, which makes it easy for even the less intelligent employee to gain a complete command of his field. The original standardization and departmentalization of a large concern are undertaken by a few organizational 'master-minds'.

7 As examples of supreme American efficiency I would cite the large hotels, the large business (office) concerns in New York, the production of newspapers (the Sunday issue of *The New York Times* is a technical miracle), the department stores and enterprises like Sears, Roebuck & Co. (Rosenwald) and Ford's motor works.

Helouan, 29 April 1923

I shall need strength. The next three months in Palestine will be terribly difficult, as people will be demanding money from me on all sides and I do not have any. In the meantime, however, I have become a little less worried. For one thing, I have a plan in mind which may enable the PLDC to get money from the Anglo-Egyptian Bank in Jerusalem (a non-Jewish bank) through an issue of bonds. A second reason for my greater, I might almost say philosophical, calm is that after my lengthy absence from Palestine I am less inclined to take the daily needs there all too seriously, and it seems to me that I am gradually outgrowing Zionism altogether. I have the impression that Zionism has been only a stepping stone for me to a far more important task, the revival of culture in the Near East. I have always been opposed to 'political' Zionism.

I joined the Zionist movement under the slogan 'against political Zionism (i.e., Herzl's idea of a charter) and for practical work in Palestine'. I wanted to base the right of the Jews to come to Palestine not on some 'political' agreement or concession, but only on their historical and racial connection with Palestine, and I wanted them to earn the rights in Palestine for themselves through their work there. No charter can establish their rights or create new ones. What was true of Herzl's charter was actually also true of the Balfour Declaration. I have confronted it from the beginning

with mixed feelings, and at the Annual Zionist Conference in Prague (1921), when Jabotinsky demanded the formation of the Jewish Legion in order to safeguard the rights granted by the Balfour Declaration, if necessary by force, I spoke quite definitely against this idea. The Balfour Declaration will be a curse to us if we believe that it 'establishes' our right to Palestine. I believe it is only acceptable as an acknowledgement of the already existing historical right of the Jews to return to Palestine and to become again a part of the population of the Near East, where they originated.

I do not see this return as an end in itself, however. A 'Jewish state' of one or even several million Jews (within fifty years!) would be nothing more than another Montenegro or Lithuania. There are enough states in the world. If the Jews work only for the establishment of their own national state and do not achieve an organic relationship with the surrounding nations, they will provoke the hatred of their neighbours and within a short time will be defeated in their struggle with such an overwhelming majority. This must also be taken into consideration. Their function will have to be to raise the cultural level of the entire Near East, including Syria, Palestine and perhaps also Asia Minor, and establish a progressive cultural community together with their neighbours.

European capitalism has not yet arrived in Palestine; therefore, nothing will have to be destroyed before anything can be built (the Soviet system), and positive construction can begin at once. A new and more just social order will issue from Palestine. The three great revealed religions continue to survive only *per vim inertiae*. None of them is effectively energetic. Might not a new society in Palestine also be able to bring about a religious revival and a better relationship between the generations than the corroded and mendacious one of Europe?

Jerusalem, 22 May 1923

Today I have already been back in Palestine for twenty days. Because the Zionist Organization is so short of funds, I was afraid that I would return to an extraordinarily tense atmosphere and an enormous demand for money. I need not have worried; the demands for money are no greater and no more urgent than they used to be.

The local papers have already published a notice that I wish to resign. I am quite glad that the public is being prepared for my resignation in this way. Unfortunately, I have received a letter from Schocken stating that he does not want to come to Palestine, and so the question of who is to replace me still remains unsolved.

During my absence, the Görz telescope, which I bought in Germany last year, arrived. I have set it up on a terrace, and now I can again converse with Jupiter and Saturn in the evenings.

Jerusalem, 11 June 1923

The announcement of the treaty between Britain and King Hussein of Hejaz has provoked great excitement among the Jews and in the press. According to the treaty, Britain will help King Hussein to weld Hejaz, Mesopotamia, Trans-Jordan and Palestine into an Arab confederation, although the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate are to continue to apply to Palestine (of what importance will they be?). I am not really upset about it. It seems to me that political agreements are now being signed quite frivolously. They are as cheap as blackberries. Britain is still going to change its policy with regard to the Near East a good many times. I do not think that

the policy matters; what does matter is that we become firmly established in Palestine economically, and this, unfortunately, is the real difficulty. We will have £300,000 next year, but it is not enough for a large immigration and large-scale development.

Jerusalem, 4 July 1923

Two weeks ago I gave a talk to the economic society in Tel Aviv, making the point that we must not bring in more immigrants than can be absorbed here in productive employment. Approbation from the *bourgeois*, opposition among the workers, who will not consider putting a limit on immigration.

Alexandria, 21 July 1923

About ten days ago I received a letter from Weizmann which was sent shortly before he left America. He wrote that he had just had his final conversation with Louis Marshall, who said he felt certain that the investment company would be established in the autumn but insisted that I return to America in the autumn together with Weizmann.

Jutzing (by Lake Starnberger), 29 July 1923

On the last day of the sea voyage I had the idea of having an economic committee in Palestine composed of the directors of the Zionist banks and economic associations, as well as a number of members nominated by the Zionist Executive, to serve as the highest authority on economic questions. Once such authority would be transferred to Palestine and all the Zionist institutions would be coordinated, I would no longer be indispensable to the Executive.

Karlsbad, 10 August 1923

Almost the whole of Palestine is here: the Thons, Nina Berlin, Glikin, and of course all my Zionist friends from other countries. Until now, the [Thirteenth Zionist] Congress proceedings have been taken up with the question of forming the Jewish Agency and with speeches for and against Weizmann, which have been either boring or unpleasant. The first meetings, with their pedantic ceremonies (one of Herzl's legacies, I think), were particularly unbearable.

Franzenbad, 22 August 1923

The congress is over. It ended no better than it began. The personal quarrel between Weizmann and Ussishkin dominated it, and I had the impression that the dispute over the possible inclusion of non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency was merely a camouflage for the personal struggle. Neither Weizmann nor Ussishkin fought chivalrously. Gossip, talebearing and party politics all played important roles. I kept out of all this squabbling. The Standing Committee asked me if Ussishkin was responsible for the economic failure in Palestine, and I answered that I alone was responsible. I made use of the opportunity to tell the Standing Committee that I would have to be released from the Palestine Executive for a year or two. I told the same thing to the Executive. At Weizmann's insistence, we reached a 'gentlemen's agreement' to the effect that I will remain for the time being but will be able to leave after my journey to America. During the last hour of the congress, it seemed as if we might have found a successor for me in de Lieme. At the very beginning of the

congress, I had asked Hoofien to sound him out, he would not give a definite answer. I harangued him in my speech. On the last day of the congress, the American delegates discussed his candidature with me, and I discussed it with Weizmann, who agreed to it. For the time being he and I are to work together on the Executive and later he will continue on his own. But we could not get hold of de Lieme, and when he appeared in the evening Weizmann had just 'resigned' and was no longer available.

The final result is that the Palestine Executive will remain as before and that Ussishkin will withdraw. Weizmann finally managed this. In fact, Ussishkin's withdrawal is no great loss. We shall miss him only as a speaker on ceremonial occasions. He did nothing as the director of the Education Department, and his views on economics are backward. In one respect, however, he was more gifted than anyone else: he has a sure instinct about the emotions of the Jewish masses in Eastern Europe. At a banquet given in his honour in Jerusalem, I once said that he possesses all the good and all the bad qualities of the Jews magnified: tenacity, loyalty to tradition and enthusiasm, on the one hand, and vanity, suspicion of other people and self-confidence, on the other. One must either admire or smile at him, depending on which side is in evidence. Fortunately, he apparently does not intend to obstruct the new Executive in Palestine.

Lübeck, 21 September 1923

On Friday (21 September) at eight o'clock in the morning I went from Bremen to Hamburg. There was quite a lot of shipping traffic at the port. Hamburg is apparently awaking from its war-time sleep. I liked the Holsten Gate and the many narrow mediaeval streets very much indeed. Strange, that they arouse in me such a good mood. What connection is there between my Jewish soul and the German Middle Ages?

Berlin-Charlottenburg, 24 September 1923

The political situation in Germany is very unsettled. The government has given up its 'passive resistance' in the occupied Ruhr and is being violently attacked by the Communists and the nationalists. In Bavaria, a strong agitation for the monarchy is afoot. In Berlin there is talk of a pogrom against the Jews. The future is gloomy.

Charlottenburg, 25 September 1923

A military revolution has broken out in Spain and a military dictatorship is being established. Mussolini's example is catching. After the Great War we thought that militarism had been overcome!

The old slogans of progress and development are no longer meaningful. I very much doubt that humanity is more progressive or further developed than at the time of Ramses II or Pericles. Well, what is to be done about it? It is a long time since my mind has been in such an upheaval. Even the little I used to think I could rely on now seems hollow and futile to me. On the other hand, in order to give me satisfaction, my work must have a 'view' on to eternity and a connection with permanent values. If I do not succeed in re-establishing this connection, which has become rather vague, I will not be able to work for Zionism with any enthusiasm.

Paris, 30 September 1923

I visited Zlatopolski* in his office and at 2.30 p.m. saw Baron Edmond de Rothschild. I have never before seen him in such good spirits. When I told him of the proposed investment company in America, he became quite enthusiastic and said something like: *'Si vous réussirez à établir cette compagnie, vous serez pour moi le plus grand homme.'* Extraordinarily amiable, but he refused to make the PLDC a loan of £20,000 on the grounds that he needed all his money for his own enterprises in Palestine.

London, 4 October 1923

In the morning I went to the Ottoman Bank, then to the office of the Keren Hayesod to see Feiwel. Not much prospect of money. In the afternoon back to the office.

In the evening David and I visited Ahad Ha-Am, who is returning to Palestine at the beginning of November. I talked to him about the superficiality in Herzl's diaries, which I have just started to read. He agreed with me, but rightly commented, 'History has its own ways.'

Paris 19 October 1923

Weizmann and I have agreed to go to America together on 24 November, so I am presently no longer able to go to Palestine. I am quite glad, because the PLDC can deal with its lack of funds more easily when I am not there.

Paris again impressed me as being very gay, in spite of the bad weather. If only I could spend a few weeks there without having any business to attend to!

It is our 'sense of purpose' which is mainly responsible for the distorted view we have of the world. Because we behave purposefully, we believe that everything that happens in the world has a purpose and an aim (and, moreover, we relate it to our petty human purposes and to our shabby conception of 'good' and 'bad').

Munich, 30 October 1923

The Zionists in Munich were very depressed, as the nationalistic, anti-Semitic administration in Bavaria expelled about seventy of the 350 East European Jews from Bavaria during the past two weeks, and it is said that the rest will also be expelled before long. Apart from this, the Jews are afraid of pogroms. I visited Reich and Strauss and in the evening spoke at a meeting of East European Jews about the possibility of emigrating to Palestine.

I think that I shall not be able to continue working for the Zionist movement if Zionism does not acquire a new theoretical foundation. Herzl's conception of the Jewish state was possible only because he ignored the existence of the Arabs and believed that he could manipulate world history by means of the diplomatic methods of the Quai d'Orsay. Zionism has never been able to free itself entirely of this 'diplomatic', imperialistic conception. The rejoicing over the Balfour Declaration, as if the Jewish state had actually been definitely established, is only the latest manifestation of this erroneous conception.

* Hillel Zlatopolski (1868–1932), Russian Zionist leader then living in Paris.

S.S. *Aquitania,* 1 December 1923

(9.30 p.m.) We are already quite close to New York and will enter the harbour within a few hours. The voyage on the *Aquitania* has been much better than I had expected at this time of year. . . .

Weizmann and I are on excellent terms. What is so nice about him is that he does not put on airs but behaves simply and naturally. Apart from meeting at meals, we spend a few hours together daily and talk about all sorts of things, mostly Zionist concerns. Our basic conception of Zionism is the same.

New York, 5 December 1923*

Meanwhile we have happily weathered Weizmann's reception (by a delegation arriving in the mayor's boat, with blue and white flags and a crowd of reporters and photographers). I am again staying at the Hotel Commodore: the same room with the same bed, the same abundance of soap, water, towels. Nothing has changed, and sometimes it seems as if I have never been away. As you know, I was feeling rather anxious when I left for America, but now I find – much to my surprise – that I am glad to see New York and all our people here again. Therefore, I am in quite a good mood. Perhaps this is promoted by the fact that Zionists in America are generally in a good mood. Weizmann is being fêted tremendously and will no doubt be successful. I must say, he takes his work very seriously and is never tired. The relationship between us is excellent.

New York, 22 December 1923

At last my investment company and Zionism generally have taken a large step forward. The day before yesterday was the great day. Over lunch, we had a three-hour discussion with Marshall, Untermeyer and Felix Warburg and in the evening an equally long discussion at Marshall's house with Untermeyer and 'prominent Jews' from Philadelphia. As a result, all opposition seems to have been disposed of, and now the Jewish Agency and the investment company are really to be established. It looks as if not only the Beverly Company but also the Brandeis group and even the Joint Distribution Committee are going to hand all their work in Palestine over to the new investment company.

New York, 22 December 1923

News from Hanna is good, and the family in Jerusalem is fine. I am reading Sigmund Freud's *Introductory Lectures to Psychoanalysis*, and it is making an enormous impression on me. It opens up new perspectives on my own inner life, on that of friends and on religious attitudes and the significance of unconscious emotions generally. It is a pity that I did not study psychoanalysis before now. I think that it enlarges one's knowledge tremendously.

New York, 1 January 1924

(New Year's Eve). It seems obvious to me now that the Jewish National Home cannot be established in Palestine this year or next, as if it were a house that was being built, but that it must grow slowly, like a tree, and that it will require decades

* The next two entries are from letters to Dr Ruppin's wife.

before this tree will be strong enough to withstand the storms. I cannot cherish the hope of seeing this tree large and strong with my own eyes.

New York, 7 January 1924*

The days crawl past and we are not making any progress. Almost three weeks have already passed since Marshall took it upon himself to send out the invitations to the conference, and he still has not done so! He is continually travelling about, occupied with a thousand things which are more important than Palestine to him, and that is why it is so difficult to persuade him to sit down for a few hours and see something through.

New York, 11 January 1924

I have no news for you; Marshall still has not sent out the invitations. They are like the *bukra* of the Arabs, it is always 'tomorrow' and tomorrow becomes the day after tomorrow and so on. Nevertheless, it is almost certain that the thing will finally come off. Weizmann says that every Jew can become a millionaire; he just has to live long enough.

New York, 28 January 1924

Lenin has died and was buried in Moscow with tremendous pomp as the creator of a new humanity. It is strange that I lack any criterion for assessing Bolshevism. I doubt that what he has created stands on firm foundations, and I am also disturbed by the way in which he has created it; but I must admit that I do not really know enough about it to form an opinion. In 100 years' time, will Lenin be regarded as the creator of a new humanity, or as a half-forgotten social reformer?

New York, 18 February 1924

The conference of non-Zionists took place yesterday in the Hotel Astor from ten a.m. until six p.m. It was a complete success. Weizmann spoke twice, very impressively, in favour of the participation of the non-Zionists in the Jewish Agency; I made a half-hour speech on the economic situation in Palestine and the need for establishing an investment company. All the speakers expressed their support for both projects. The establishment of the investment company was decided upon in principle

New York, 6 March 1924*

Weizmann and I work together without friction. I have no reason whatever to complain about him; he does everything I ask. But we will never become *friends*, because we are too different in character.

New York, 28 March 1924

The day before yesterday (in the evening) I substituted for Weizmann, who was not feeling well, at a Keren Hayesod banquet and did not get home until two o'clock in the morning. Although it is moving that Jews who know almost nothing about

* The next two entries are from letters to Dr Ruppin's wife.

Palestine and will never see it are giving money to build up the country (and even relatively large amounts), the way in which the money is being collected here is not at all to my taste.

On the train from Turin to Paris, 22 July 1924

At the very first meeting of the Executive in Palestine I said that I would withdraw from the Executive at the annual conference (in the autumn) and that I was unwilling to resume responsibility for the current concerns of my department until then. Although this is what happened, I have nevertheless been very busy. The financial position of the PLDC has improved, and a long moratorium has been declared on the roughly £100,000 still owed to the Greek patriarch. Through Hankin, the PLDC was given an option to buy about 50,000 dunams in the Jezreel Valley. I am hoping to get the money for this in London with Weizmann's and Ussishkin's (JNF) help. This is actually the main reason for my journey. Another reason is that many middle-class Zionists, especially those from Poland, are preparing to attack our 'socialist' policy of settlement, and I want to confront them in London.

Heringsdorf, 6 August 1924

I was in London from 25 July until 1 August. I was too late for the sessions of 23 and 24 July, at which Herbert Samuel spoke, but I attended all the other sessions and the consultations of the budget commission. I spoke twice, first (at Weizmann's request) in support of the Jewish Agency and second about the settlement of Palestine, both times – I was told – very well and effectively. The Budget Commission accepted almost all my suggestions. The session was entirely satisfactory. Weizmann's proposals concerning the Jewish Agency were accepted, the budget was fixed at about £440,000 (£125,000 for agriculture), and it was decided to hold the next congress next summer.

Yesterday afternoon, the Kahns went with me to the station, where I met Bialik, who is returning to Palestine with me. He is very interested in my book about the Jews and would like the publishing house Dvir, of which he and Shmaryahu are directors, to publish it. He is in many respects very naïve, easily roused to enthusiasm and is nevertheless said to be a good businessman. By race he is a Jewish-Slavonic mixture, and perhaps this explains his being both a poet and a businessman.

Jerusalem, 6 September 1924

The voyage to Alexandria on the *Helouan* was magnificent. . . I spent much of the time with Bialik. There were about 100 immigrants on board and also a group of Italian Zionists, whom I photographed for my collection of Jewish racial types. One evening, a special programme was arranged in honour of Bialik and myself.

Jerusalem, 4 October 1924

As I had arranged, I met Weizmann and Kisch (and Leonard Stein) last Wednesday (1 October) at noon in Ein Harod. Together we visited (with Ettinger, Stern and Agronski in a second car) Bet Alfa, Tel Yosef, Geva and Kfar Yehezkel; on Thursday we went to Deganyah Alef and Bet, the Kinneret farm and settlement, Hittin and Nahalal; on Friday we visited Markenhof and the Sarafin group, the Transylvanian group, Tel Adas and the Merhavyah farm and settlement. All the

settlements are clearly making progress, and I believe that Weizmann, who went to the Jezreel Valley in a critical frame of mind and with some prejudice – because of what other people had told him – was completely converted by his visit.

For the past few months I have been writing a pamphlet on agricultural development in Palestine. Parts of it have already been published as newspaper articles.

Tel Aviv, 27 November 1924

Every time I am in Tel Aviv I start comparing the city of today, which has almost 30,000 inhabitants, with the Tel Aviv of 1908, with its 200, or the Tel Aviv of 1914, with its 2,000 inhabitants. What a tremendous rate of growth! And new houses are still being built all the time. The productivity of the population does not grow at the same rate, however, and this produces an unhealthy economic situation.

Jerusalem, 2 December 1924

Solel Boneh, which is building my house, has had no experience in breaking the stones; I am more or less the first to build with 'Jewish' stones.

Jerusalem, 9 December 1924

Today, the seventh anniversary of the conquest of Jerusalem by the British, I attended a service in St. George's Cathedral. On the surface, it was very impressive; but on closer examination, the contents of the prayers, recitations and so forth bestrayed such absurdities and lies that there can hardly be better argument against the inanity of any 'revealed religion'.

There was another celebration in the afternoon: the opening of the King George V Avenue. This road, which cuts across Jerusalem from north to south, is a real achievement for Mayor Ragheb Nashashibi. The entire appearance of the town has changed, and the new road has become its centre. It is the first street wide and long enough to invite one to walk there. It also leads from Jaffa Road to our building site in Rehaviah.

Jerusalem, 22 December 1924

This afternoon (in horrible weather) the Institute for Judaica was opened. Magnes and the High Commissioner made speeches. I made (or rather read) a short congratulatory speech in the name of the Zionist Executive. The fact that this is indeed the beginning of the Hebrew University made a profound impression on me. Perhaps this is an historic day; perhaps a new teaching will go forth from Zion and show humanity new ways. It may be that my own fate will one day be linked to the university. It occurs to me that I could lecture there on the social and economic conditions of the Jews, on the anthropology of the Jews or on the economic geography of Palestine.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1924

Apparently, my work in America is gradually bearing fruit, as the Palestine Investment Corporation – which changed its name to Palestine Economic Corporation – published its prospectus last week and intends to raise $3 million. Felix Warburg, Herbert Lehmann, Louis Marshall, Samuel Untermeyer, Morris Wertheim, Bernard Flexner – that is, the best names – are on the board.

What continually worries me is the relationship between the Jews and the Arabs in Palestine. Superficially, it has improved, inasmuch as there is no danger of

pogroms, but the two peoples have become more estranged in their thinking. Neither has any understanding of the other, and yet I have no doubt whatsoever that Zionism will end in a catastrophe if we do not succeed in finding a common platform. Next year, I want to see if it is possible to bring together a small circle of eminent Jews and Arabs who are willing to work towards such an understanding.

Luxor (Upper Egypt), 8 January 1925

I have carried out my plan, though five days later than intended. On 5 January I went to Cairo together with Dr Lurie and Bezalel Jaffe. On Wednesday morning, we went by car (£2) to Sakkara. I had my first close view of a real Egyptian canal landscape, with buffaloes, ibises, and fellaheen at work, some of them drawing water. It was also the first time that I went through a real palm tree forest. About one hour's journey to the [Stufen] pyramid of Sakkara. We saw stepped pyramids and stone pyramids, climbed down into the Onos pyramid and the 'Persian tombs' (spiral staircase), looked at the Tomb of Ptah-hotep (unfortunately not that of Ti) with the wonderfully clear and interesting wall reliefs and the Serapeum with the tombs of the Apis bulls.

We arrived in Luxor (Luxor Hotel) onThursday morning at nine o'clock. Ten to one o'clock to Karnek to the Temple of Ammon, the avenue of the sphinx; the pylons and the colonnades made a tremendously powerful impression. It is clear that there was actually not much left for the Greeks to do. Their temples already existed in Egypt 1,000 years before, and by around 2,000 BC the Egyptian statues had reached a standard which the Greeks did not gain until the sixth century. The column shape and arrangement, architraves – the Greeks simply took it all over. But I cannot understand why the Egyptians repeated themselves so often in their reliefs and statues.

Luxor, 13 January 1925

Contemporary Egypt lives on the exploitation of the fellaheen, on the work of women and children. In this respect, nothing has changed in 4,000 years. The soil should make the cultivator rich; instead he lives no better than the livestock, and the profit goes to a small upper class.

Jerusalem, 31 January 1925

On 19 January I talked to Harari Pasha in Cairo about the acquisition of the debentures of our mortgage bank and bought a lot of statistical material on Egypt in the Statistical Department of the Ministry of Finance for my own use. On the evening of the same day I left for Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, 2 February 1925

Today I took Rafi to school. The head mistress, Mrs Callen, mentioned that it was dangerous to tell children they did not know enough because they might develop an inferiority complex. I don't know why, but this suddenly made me realize that I myself am really still suffering from the effects of having had such an inferiority complex in my youth. I know that I suffered very much in my school-days because my parents were poor and because I was a Jew, and it is quite possible that this explains a certain stiffness and embarrassment I display when I come into contact with eminent people, especially if they are not Jewish.

Jerusalem, 12 February 1925

Since the use of the German language in public has come to be considered bad taste in Palestine, I have become 'dumb'. This will always be so, because even if I can still learn Hebrew, it will never become the delicate instrument that the German language has been for me.

Jerusalem, 25 February 1925

There are a number of strikes going on in Jaffa and Haifa. The Executive and the Va'ad Le'umi called a mass meeting of employers and workers, and it was decided to set up a fifteen-man commission to arbitrate between the two sides. I am the chairman, and as the matter is interesting and important, I am studying the documents in order to prepare myself for the negotiations, which will begin on 3 March.

Jerusalem, 16 March 1925

The air is filled with talk of Balfour and of the inauguration of the university. Balfour, Weizmann and Sokolow arrived yesterday. Sokolow and his daughter Seline are staying with me.

Jerusalem, 1 April 1925

The inauguration of the Hebrew University was held in the afternoon in the newly-built amphitheatre, with speeches by Rabbi Kook (too long!), Weizmann, Bialik, Herbert Samuel (very effective). The setting was very impressive, but the speeches suffered from their length and from the cold, which was rather noticeable. The ceremony was very well arranged, but it was difficult to find a car for the return journey. In the evening I attended the dinner in the Russian building, with many speeches of welcome from all the consuls and Balfour; Sokolow presided.

Tel Aviv, 13 April 1925

In the morning there was a meeting in the grammar-school, chaired by Sokolow and attended by the Executive, the members of the General Council and other prominent Zionists from abroad. I talked for an hour on the economic situation, Weizmann on the Jewish Agency. The discussion following my speech was very dull; I think that when I replied at the end I did so very effectively. It is a great pity that when it comes to economic questions, our leading Zionist figures are so superficial and incompetent. I have suffered from this at all the congresses and hoped that it would be better in Palestine, but it is the same.

Jerusalem, 26 April 1925

In the afternoon, Professor Joseph Horowitz (Frankfurt) came to my house and spoke on the Arab question. Schocken, Thon, Sprinzak, Bergmann and a few others were also present. It was very instructive and very much in contrast to the opinions which an Austrian journalist, Dr von Weisl, developed at our house yesterday in front of about twenty guests. Horowitz wants to persuade Jews and Arabs to work together.

Jerusalem, 17 May 1925

At noon Kisch and I drove to Tel Aviv in ninety minutes. Baron Edmond de Rothschild was giving a reception. When Frank introduced me to the Baron saying,

'You know Dr Ruppin?' he replied: 'Of course I know him. The last time I saw him was in Paris, when he came to ask me for a loan, but I did not let him have it.' Not a bad memory for a man of eighty

Jerusalem, 22 May 1925

The new High Commissioner for Palestine, to replace Herbert Samuel, is Lord Plumer, an old general who was previously the governor of Malta. Nobody knew that he was a candidate. An unknown quantity. Samuel's departure caused a great deal of regret. One of his few opponents is Kisch, who maintains that he is weak, vague and vain. I approved of his policy of reconciliation towards the Arabs and also think that he is a good administrator and an upright man. What bothered me about him was his extreme reserve and great liking for outward show.

Jerusalem, 10 June 1925

For some time now I have been feeling extremely exhausted. To sit in the office is sheer hell for me. It is high time that it came to an end. . . .

On Wednesday we had another discussion on the Arab question at my house. Weltsch*, Felix Rosenbluth, Mrs Arlosoroff, Thon, Sprinzak, Radler-Feldmann). We want to found a league for Arab-Jewish understanding.

Jerusalem 20 June 1925

In the morning, I went for a walk with Czaczkes (Agnon). In the afternoon he came back and brought the poet Saul Tschernikhovsky with him.

Jerusalem, 27 June 1925

The day before yesterday, I had a ten-hour meeting with employers and workers in Tel Aviv in the afternoon. The prospect of arriving at a 'labour law' is a little brighter than at the last meeting. The next meeting (I hope the final one) is in ten days.

Miss Millstone, Herbert Samuel's private secretary, lunched with us today. She told us that he arranges his time and work so systematically that he has time to read for several hours each day. He is supposed to have read an enormous amount for the book he intends to write on comparative religion.

Jerusalem, 28 June 1925

In the afternoon, Herbert Samuel attended a meeting of the Executive. We put a number of economic and political questions to him, and he answered very ably. He is without doubt an unusually gifted administrator; but is he also capable of acting creatively? It seems to me that he always follows in the same old grooves. Or is the avoidence of innovations British statesmanship?

Jerusalem, 30 June 1925

I do not think the question of a Jewish or non-Jewish High Commissioner should be raised in the future. The High Commissioner should be an Englishman assisted by an Arab and a Jewish under-secretary of state for the affairs of both nationalities.

* The writer Robert Weltsch, then editor of the *Jüdische Rundschau*.

Vienna, 15 August 1925

The parties are already concocting all sorts of things for the [Fourteenth Zionist] Congress, and suggestions for various combinations of the new Executive – very reactionary and hostile to labour – are being circulated. I am remaining completely aloof from the matter.

Vienna, 24 August 1925

One week of congress is over. On the second day it was quite unexpectedly my turn to speak, and I delivered my speech without preparation or notes. I think that it went over much more successfully than it would have if the text had been written.

The opening of the congress on Tuesday was very dignified. So far, the speeches have been up to a reasonable standard, and its seems that the congress is going to be much better than its two predecessors. When I made my speech, I again took the opportunity to state that I intend to resign, and this is generally regarded as definite. On several days, the Austrian nationalists held street demonstrations against the Zionist Congress but this did not bother me.

My book on settlement has already been published in German and in Hebrew. I have read the first few chapters through again, and at least I did not find them boring.

Kurt Blumenfeld* already included an 'obituary' of me in his speech; the *Jüdische Rundschau* carried a similar 'obituary notice', written by Adolf Böhm.

Vienna, 31 August 1925**

The congress, which started so well, has unfortunately ended rather badly. You will have seen from the congress reports that we had a great 'crisis', and Weizmann made matters even worse by leaving Vienna yesterday evening, without any explanation, before a new Executive had been formed. Nobody knows what is happening. I am writing this letter during a meeting of the Zionist General Council, which is trying to form a new Executive, so far unsuccessfully. Just as I entered the meeting, they were about to elect me as vice-president of the General Council, and I was able to avert this misfortune by stating that I would not accept any office. But I did not protest against being elected as a regular member of the General Council, on which votes were cast yesterday.

Miss Szold, who is arriving in Palestine on 10 September, promised to give you my greetings.

I have made a gramophone record of a short speech on behalf of the JNF. The record is now being duplicated and I shall receive a copy, so my voice will now be preserved for our grandchildren and great-grandchildren. I believe that Rafi will find it very interesting.

Geneva, 25 September 1925

This afternoon I attended a meeting of the sixth plenary session of the League of Nations in 'Reformation' Hall. The debates were not interesting, but the people

* President of the Zionist Federation of Germany and leading Zionist theoretician.

**From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

and the atmosphere were. Will this organization really produce a new and better future for humanity? Or will it be degraded to a forum for making speeches and be deprived of any practical significance?

S.S. *Saarbrucken,* 9 October 1925

I want to arrive in Palestine in the best possible condition, as things will not be easy for me there (leaving the Executive, moving into the new house, getting accustomed to a new life and scholarly work). I have drawn up a daily schedule for the next six months as follows: 6.30–7.30, getting up, gymnastics or gardening; 7.30–8.00, breakfast; 8.00–9.00, Hebrew or English; 9.00–12.00, the book *Die Juden*; 12.00–1.30, time for seeing visitors and dealing with letters concerning Zionist affairs; 1.30–2.00, lunch; 2.00–3.00, siesta or light reading; 3.00–4.30, walking or gardening; 4.30–7.30 *Die Juden*; 7.30–8.00, supper; 8.00–10.00, serious reading (genetics, eugenics); 10.00–11.00, light reading. Even if I cannot always keep to this schedule exactly, it will act as my guide.

Jerusalem, 29 October 1925

Our new house gives me a great deal of pleasure, much more than I ever expected. The view from the dining-room terrace on to the large tract of open land, a walk at sunset on the large roof, the garden, which is now taking shape and already has some plants in flower... The whole district makes an extraordinarily friendly impression and can be called one of the most successful creations of the PLDC....

At its conference in Berlin from 21 to 27 October, the Zionist General Council did not succeed in forming a new Executive, and it was decided that the former Executive is to continue to manage things.

Jerusalem, 18 November 1925

There have recently been another two discussions at my house on matters concerning the Arab question. We want to prepare the ground for an understanding between Jews and Arabs under the watchword 'Palestine, a Bi-national State'.

I am spending most mornings in preparation (reading) for my book on the Jewish race. A book by S. Feist, *Stammeskunde der Juden* [Genealogy of the Jews], has just appeared. It contains a lot of material which I wanted to put forward, but it is popularized science and does not examine the subject in depth.

Jerusalem, 23 November 1925

Important day! Today I sowed the first radishes in the garden.

As a precursor of my book on the Jewish race and in the meantime to make use of my photographs of Palestine Jews, I am thinking of publishing *Jüdische Typen in Palestine* [Jewish Types in Palestine] with 200 photographs (anthropological – face and profile) and a very brief text.

Jerusalem, 1 December 1925

Vriesland returned last week, the last member of the Executive to do so. Since then we have had several meetings of the Executive. In spite of being repeatedly asked to remain in the Executive, I said that I would not be able to do so as I am physically and mentally too tired. Thereupon, Vriesland said that he would not join the Executive, in keeping with the statement he made at the meeting of the General

Council in Berlin. So only Kisch, Pick and Sprinzak remain. From the point of view of prestige, this is really unsatisfactory; from the point of view of work, it can do no harm whatsoever, as new and large undertakings are in any case ruled out by the extreme shortage of money.

Jerusalem, 9 January 1926

My days are passing one much like another. The work on Jewish anthropology is the focal point of my activity; I want to call the first part *Jüdische Typen aus Palästina und den Nachbarländern* [Jewish Types in Palestine and the Neighbouring Countries].

Jerusalem, 16 January 1926

The Asefat ha-Nivharim was sitting this week. I attended several of the discussions, not as a deputy but as a guest. Both the Labour parties had offered me a mandate, but I refused because I did not want to align myself with either.

Jerusalem, 21 January 1926

Eduard Meyer, the well-known historian, is here. I attended his lecture on the beginnings of Jewish history at the Hebrew University, and Dr Sachs invited both of us to his house for supper. He was delighted to meet a graduate of Halle and provided me with some valuable information on the Ammonites. It is strange that a man of such profound scholarship should have the appearance of a master mechanic or a court clerk.

Jerusalem, 12 February 1926

Four days ago I was in Tel Aviv and gave a talk at Hoofien's house to members of the Economic Association on the national loan. All those who took part in the discussion spoke against the possibility of such a loan. I myself can see only remote and limited possibilities, and I steered clear of my optimism; in fact, I raised all the objections which were afterwards emphasised in the discussion.

Jerusalem, 26 February 1926

The day before yesterday I talked to Schocken and Ussishkin about the PLDC, which needs £30,000 in order to meet its commitments. The problem would be solved if it could sell land to the value of this amount. Ussishkin says that he is prepared to buy land for the JNF, but it has no money. Schocken thinks that the PLDC is too impulsive in its land purchases and always confronts the JNF with a *fait accompli*. Its policy would be confirmed only if help were readily forthcoming now. Apparently he would like to keep Thon and Hankin in suspense for a while. Anyway, he also lacks a source of funds. Even the best of the Zionists from abroad regard matters unilaterally and from a theoretical point of view. If Thon and Hankin were good bureaucrats and madly cautious, the PLDC would indeed not need these £30,000, but 200,000 dunams of land would not have been bought during the past few years; and which is the more important?

Dr Elias Strauss from Munich has been here for six weeks. At the congress in Vienna I suggested that he come here in order to manage the PLDC, but he is about to return without having decided whether to accept the offer or not. Our people are too cautious; they do not want to give up anything in Europe in exchange for something new in Palestine. This is frequently a mistake, for one must take risks.

Tel Aviv, 1 March 1926

Today I am really and truly fifty years old. I have not yet quite managed to take this fact in, but I am nevertheless in a rather serious and discontented frame of mind. The intention was to give me a banquet. I prevented this, but I have accepted an invitation from the Histadrut [Labour Organization] to drink a glass of tea with them this afternoon.

Tel Aviv, 2 March 1926

I had no time for reflection yesterday, as the whole day was taken up with visitors and meetings (Mortgage Bank, Academy of Music). In the evening I went to the tea arranged by the Executive of the Histadrut; about twenty-five people were present. Ben-Gurion was in the chair, Aharonowitz and Berl Katzenelson made speeches, or rather told about various periods of my life.

Apart from this, I am not able to say very much about the fact that I am now fifty years old. I cannot complain about the life I have led until now; it has been full of variety and interest, and if I had the choice of living through it again with all its troubles, I would do so without any hesitation. I would not even be able to say at what point I took a turning which I would today prefer to exchange for another. For all that, however, there is one point which leaves me unsatisfied: that my life will not be long enough to bring my work in Palestine to fruition. I shall die without knowing whether I have helped to lay the foundations of a Jewish commonwealth or of a Utopia.

Jerusalem, 9 March 1926

Our discussions concerning Arab-Jewish friendship in Palestine have been concluded and we have decided to found an association on the basis of the articles I have drafted. Founder-members will be Radler-Feldmann, Hans Kohn,* Dr Bergmann, Kalvariski, Dr Thon and Landauer.**

Jerusalem, 17 March 1926

Recently, Dr Halpern and Franz Oppenheimer called on me. Oppenheimer was enthusiastic about our association for Jewish-Arab friendship (by the way, it is to be called Brit Shalom) and wants to become a member.

Jerusalem, 17 April 1926

The day before yesterday I attended a tea at the Hotel Allenby given by the Keren Hayesod to celebrate its fifth anniversary and in honour of Weizmann. I presided and made the introductory speech in Hebrew, which was apparently not too bad. This time I just spoke instead of reading from a script. Weizmann also spoke, but did not have much to say. I have the impression that he is at a loss because the present more-or-less 'normal' circumstances have left him without a cause. He is extraordinary and creative when times are abnormal, as they were during and immediately after the war; the everyday details of ordinary times make him flag. I have stopped

* Then a teacher, writer, and worker for the Keren Hayesod in London and Jerusalem.

**Dr Georg Landauer (1895–1954), leading German Zionist, in Palestine during 1926–7 and from 1933.

discussing Zionist affairs with him because I can see that he is no longer deeply interested. He only comes to life when he scents a subject for some sort of political activity. Also annoying is the fact that he seldom sees and represents matters in their true light but – consciously or unconsciously – distorts them to suit himself.

Jerusalem, 21 April 1926

I called on Weizmann this morning and explained to him my new scheme for raising a large loan, that is, to establish a land settlement bank (in agreement with Paragraph 6 of the Palestine Mandate). The government should recognize it as a public corporation and support it by allocating the additional taxes accruing through its activities. The Keren Hayesod should transfer to it all its agricultural assets in Palestine, to the value of about £1 million, as capital; and with the help of, or guaranteed by, the Palestine administration, the bank should raise a loan of £5 million.

In the afternoon I was on Mount Scopus, where Weizmann made a speech in the amphitheatre of the university. Afterwards we had another meeting with him about Brit Shalom.

Jerusalem, 5 May 1926

Yesterday, the funeral of Max Nordau took place in the Tel Aviv cemetery. Beginning in the morning, the ceremony continued until late in the afternoon. I attended only the ceremony at the municipality at two o'clock, and at three o'clock I went home with Mrs Jaffe.

Jerusalem, 28 May 1926

The first move of Brit Shalom – courses in Arabic – has met with success. Seventy students have registered.

The representative of the *Palestine Bulletin* in New York had a talk with Morgenthau about the national loan for Palestine. According to the telegram in today's *Palestine Bulletin*, Morgenthau answered that he, like Dr Ruppin, considered the loan (of $50 million) absolutely necessary if Palestine was really to be developed. First of all, a study commission would have to go to Palestine, for which he would suggest Felix Warburg, Herbert Lehman, Dr Rosen, S.C. Lampert and others.

Jerusalem 1 June 1926

The Va'ad Le'umi has elected me to a committee which is to draft a plan for an 'internal loan' to finance the undertaking of public works, in order to lessen the terrible unemployment.

Weizmann is said to have succeeded in obtaining £50,000 from a rich British Jew to relieve unemployment.

Jerusalem, 3 June 1926

Today Frumkin of Solel Boneh told me about a secret telegram from London, according to which Weizmann has received £1 million for Palestine from Barron,*

* The intent is probably to Bernhard Barron (1850–1929), a British-Jewish philanthropist.

a rich British Jew. The information seems to be true. This could mean the beginning of a new period of systematic work in Palestine.

Jerusalem, 11 June 1926

The General Council will meet in London on 22 July. If I attend, I also want to go to Russia for one month and have a look at what is happening there. It seems increasingly impossible to continue without any clear idea of life in Russia, because I am actually more interested in social reform than in anything else (even Zionism).

Jerusalem, 24 June 1926

I have written an article about the Brit Shalom and am dictating a letter about the national loan to the General Council.

The day before yesterday, I visited Agnon in the evening. At my request, he read out names from a Bible concordance. Of the girls' names I liked 'Aya'; Hanna, who is very critical, also thought this name very nice. So, if the baby is a girl, we will probably call her Aya. Was this not the name of Goethe's mother?

Tel Aviv, 9 July 1926

I made a short speech in Tel Aviv on the Brit Shalom and on our attitude towards a constitution for Palestine to a small gathering of fifteen people, almost all of them the labour leaders. It was not very successful. Those present had many misgivings, mostly not so much about the matter itself as about some of the people who founded the Brit Shalom (Hans Kohn, Bergmann, also perhaps Feldmann-Radler who was there with me). They consider these men 'ideologists' and dreamers. Rosenblüth wrote to me from London that it was absolutely necessary for me to attend the conference of the General Council. Perhaps I will go after all, even if a little later than the others.

Jerusalem, 11 July 1926

The million from Barron seems to have shrunk to £25,000, which he has donated to the Keren Hayesod.

Jerusalem, 14 July 1926

I shall probably leave for London on 19 July. Hanna herself insists that I go and not wait for the confinement, which may not take place for some weeks. Thon left today.

S.S. *Mongolia,* 20 July 1926

Hanna and the children saw me off at the station and behaved heroically. She was in excellent spirits, in spite of the fact that at heart she will find it difficult to be confined during my absence. I had the impression that the relationship between us was better than on any previous occasion that I have left her to go abroad. I found it difficult to part from the children, as I am now much closer to them than I used to be and they are very fond of me, too.

London, 29 July 1926

Since Monday I have been attending the meetings of the General Council, but I am not excessively busy, as the meetings take place for only a few hours daily because of the commissions.

My forty-five page speech on the national loan was distributed to the General Council. Yesterday evening, the Loan Commission had an unofficial meeting which did not achieve much.

London, 1 August 1926

On Thursday afternoon I made a speech during the discussion on the banks, and yesterday morning I spoke for about half an hour on the loan. I made use of the opportunity to make some general observations about the economic structure and the development of Palestine and the mass immigration and settlement in Syria. Loud applause.

Charlottenburg, 12 August 1926

The conference of the General Council closed on Monday (2 August) evening. On the whole, it was a satisfactory and profitable session. As the chairman of the Loans Commission, I was elected to the reorganized Financial and Economic Council. I was also elected to the board of governors of the university. I have accepted, as the Financial and Economic Council may, after a year, really provide me with appealing work and because I am interested in the university.

Charlottenburg, 14 August 1926

Yesterday Thon arrived from Paris with the news that the board of the Institute of Judaica of the Hebrew University has decided to establish a lectureship in Jewish anthropology and sociology and to appoint me to it.

In Paris, Thon completed the preliminaries for a loan of $3 million to the PLDC and the Mortgage Bank, although the details are still entirely vague.

21 August 1926

At last the telegram from Jerusalem, for which I have been waiting so long, has arrived: 'DAUGHTER BORN. CONDITION EXCELLENT.' The telegram arrived yesterday morning, so the confinement apparently took place on 19 August. I heaved a sigh of relief that everything went well.

Thon is in Frankfurt trying to do business on behalf of the PLDC.

Kurt Blumenfeld has informed me – at the request of Feiwel, who has just visited Herbert Samuel in the Black Forest – that on Samuel's initiative an economic conference on Palestine is to take place in London towards the middle of October and that it is absolutely necessary for me to attend.

Berlin, 4 September 1926

I have been in Berlin since Monday and am working in the library of the Jewish community and the government Department of Statistics. I am astonished to discover what an enormous number of scientific publications, which I hardly knew existed, are appearing.

(Evening) The marvellous weather tempts me to make excursions into the surrounding countryside. Usually my best ideas come to me on such walks. Today was no exception. While I was thinking of my lectures at the university, I came upon the idea of lecturing on the subjects about which I want to write books; that is, I could combine the two things. This makes the idea of the lectures considerably more attractive to me, as instead of preparing them for the listeners I will then be preparing them for myself.

Berlin, 5 September, 1926

In the morning Hermann*, Martha and I went to the cemetery in Weissensee to visit our parents' grave. As a result of the approaching holidays, there was a real mass migration to the cemetery. It seems as if death is what really binds Jews to their religion.

Berlin, 6 September 1926

I received some Hebrew newspapers from Palestine and saw that the unemployment there is reaching terrible dimensions. The result is increasing emigration. It is cold comfort that I foresaw this development and warned people about it. Such a waste of money and of so much goodwill!

London, 12 October 1926

I am attending the Economic Conference, which has been meeting since yesterday at the Zionist Office under the chairmanship of Herbert Samuel. Those present are James Rothschild, Oscar Wassermann, Ernst Kahn from Frankfurt, Léon Blum from Paris, Visser from Holland, Deletorre and Adler from Italy, Michael Pollak and the Executive. I gave a short talk on settlement and made various suggestions to a subcommittee which have just been accepted, with a few changes, by the plenary session. The founding of an agricultural bank is being recommended, although it is to have a much narrower field of action than my land-settlement bank. Perhaps Wassermann is right in saying that a land-settlement bank according to my specifications would not appear sufficiently stable to the public to encourage them to buy its bonds. The conference is to continue tomorrow and discuss the banks, the urban settlements and the loan question.

I spoke only English at the conference and managed quite well. An interesting feature of the conference was the fact that representatives of high finance (Rothschild, Wassermann) and a leading French socialist were conferring at the same table on the Jewish question.

London, 15 October 1926

The Economic Conference closed the day before yesterday with a lunch at the Ritz Hotel. It has passed a number of resolutions. I am responsible for most of them; altogether, three-quarters of the work fell to me. On the loan question, the conference decided – after I had made a short speech – that a 'loan' from the Zionist Organization was not feasible and that individual institutes should raise the money

* Martha's husband.

by issuing bonds and that the agricultural bank should borrow from the Palestine government.

S.S. *Vienna,* 24 October 1926

In the newspapers, I came across something I did not know about at all, namely that in late Roman times the cult of Mithras was extremely widespread. Temples to Mithras have been found even in southern Germany, and many similarities have been discovered between the cult of Mithras and Christianity. I find it particularly interesting that the Mithras cult is the origin of many Christian customs which do not derive from Judaism and which have remained incomprehensible to me to this day, for instance, the Last Supper and dogmas such as salvation through the death of the messiah, the fall of man and purification.

Jerusalem, 2 November 1926

Yesterday afternoon I gave my inaugural lecture at the university on the 'Changes in the Social Structure of the Jews in the Nineteenth century'. In spite of the fact that I had rehearsed the Hebrew text aloud, I made many mistakes in my reading, and my (Magdeburg) accent in Hebrew must have sounded odd to the audience.

Jerusalem, 11 November 1926

Yesterday I handed in my application for naturalization. I had already informed the new German consul general, Nord, of my intention to become a Palestinian. . . I must admit that I find it rather difficult to give up my German nationality. After all, I was born in Germany, educated in German schools and have until now been dependent upon the German language as my most faithful means of self-expression.

Jerusalem, 1 January 1927

Our house continues to prove itself very practical. My chief interest is the garden, in which I work two hours early every morning. I believe that I have to thank this gardening for feeling so physically fit.

Altogether, everything in the world would be marvellous if the general situation in the country were not so bad because of the 7,000 unemployed. Zionism has 'overreached' itself; far more immigrants were admitted into the country during 1924/5 than the country and the available capital could employ, and now the economy is suffering from indigestion. The drive in America for the Keren Hayesod, for which we had such great expectations, so far appears to have disappointed all hopes. The little money which is arriving is not available for productive work because it is spent on the schools and on relief and relief works for the unemployed. Not even thirty per cent of it is left for rural and urban settlement. With the means at our disposal, it may be possible to provide a livelihood for 2–3,000 immigrants a year, but we want to bring in 25–30,000! I cannot see how Zionism can make any progress with no more than its present financial resources. The London Economic Conference has severely curtailed my plan for raising large loans and reduced it to the establishment of an agricultural bank. But there is not enough money even for this.

The Brit Shalom has had several meetings and arranged courses in Arabic in Jerusalem. So far it has not been very successful, although the discussion on a Jewish or a bi-national state, which is now being given considerable space in the press,

may have arisen as a result of its existence. Now the Brit Shalom wants to issue a pamphlet explaining its exact aims.

Jerusalem, 2 January 1927

Unfortunately, the New Year began with a death. Very early this morning, Rosa telephoned us from Tel Aviv to report that Ahad Ha-am died during the night. I saw him on his deathbed; his face was yellow and pointed, the nose unusually large and sharp. All the relations from Haifa, as well as Hillel from Benyaminah, were there. The funeral took place at two o'clock. An enormous number of people (it was terribly crowded) and many speeches. I returned to Jerusalem at five o'clock.

I valued Ahad Ha-Am for his pure character. His writings did not really appeal to me; I do not get very much out of them, perhaps precisely because we looked at life in the same way and what he had to say was old and familiar to me.

Jerusalem, 4 February 1927

Felix Warburg* was here last week. He showed himself very well informed on Palestine and spoke very understandingly about our work.

Yesterday, a sensation was created by a telegram from Louis Lipsky** (in America) saying that President Coolidge has asked the Zionist Organization to send a representative to a conference on agriculture and colonization which will take place on 11 April in . . . Honolulu! Weizmann has asked me to go; no more and no less! Honolulu is almost exactly the point on earth which is furthest away from Jerusalem. A journey of forty to fifty days! Actually, I would find it very attractive, because I have long hankered after East Asia and the South Sea Islands. Just the same, I shall refuse.

Jerusalem, 11 February 1927

Last week a labour delegation called and asked me to help them work out a programme for the development of Palestine, which they want to present to the commission of experts to be appointed by the Jewish Agency. Moreover, they wanted to turn their economic institutions into 'dictatorships' and asked if I were willing to be the dictator. I declined, but told them that I was prepared to act as their adviser.

Jerusalem, 18 February 1927

In America, Weizmann has succeeded in concluding an agreement with the Marshall group concerning the Jewish Agency. The day before yesterday I sent him a letter congratulating him on the achievement and expressing the hope that it will provide more money for the work in Palestine.

The Zionist press has recently become increasingly critical of the present economic policy. Soskin and his people attack the extensiveness of the economy, others attack the preponderance of labourers chosen as settlers and the *kvutzah*. So far I have

* Felix Warburg (1871–1937), American Jewish banker and philanthropist; president of the Joint Distribution Committee.

** Louis Lipsky (1876–1963), leading American Zionist; president of the Zionist Organization of America, 1924–30.

written nothing to defend our policy, as I do not want to descend from the scientific into the political arena again; but I am nevertheless thinking about a series of articles in the near future to deal with the critics.

Jerusalem, 3 March 1927

I think I have done a stupid thing on the first day in the new year of my life. The day before yesterday, in the afternoon, the Financial and Economic Council held its inaugural meeting, and I have let them elect me chariman – by unanimous request – but I stipulated that I would merely preside at meetings and would not have to direct the office. Sioma [Ginzburg] regards this as the beginning of my return to the Executive.

Jerusalem, 25 March 1927

Last Wednesday, I went to the Jezreel Valley with Clark, the local director of Barclay's Bank, and General Bicket, a London director, in order to show them our settlements. On Thursday morning I strolled about for a while in Nazareth and found myself in the Church of the Annunciation, where a service was just then taking place (Greek ritual). The singing bears a striking resemblance to synagogue song and the muezzin's prayer from the minaret; ancient oriental melodies must have been preserved here.

Jerusalem, 27 March 1927

The day before yesterday I pledged my loyalty to the Palestine government and I, my wife and my children became 'Palestinians'. I received a certificate of naturalization. The future will show whether I have done the right thing in giving up my German passport, but I believe that I had to take this step as a Zionist and in the interest of my children, who will not be half at home here and half in Germany.

Jerusalem, 11 April 1927

For months the newspapers have been full of reports on the civil war in China. The (Communist and apparently Moscow-supported) Cantonese have conquered Shanghai and Nanking and are closing in on Peking. It seems to me that something important is happening here, bringing as equals into the framework of world civilization 300 million people who have until now been outside world history and mere objects of European diplomacy. A pity that I shall not live long enough to see the consequences of China's present awakening.

Jerusalem, 20 May 1927

Twenty years ago today I boarded a train in Berlin on my way to Palestine for the first time. I remember very well how adventurous this journey appeared to my relations gathered at the station. Although I was outwardly calm, it was one of the rare occasions on which I shed tears, once the train started to move and I was left to myself. I did not cry because of the journey, but because I realized that it would decide my whole future. This journey committed me to Palestine for ever, and so far I have not regretted it. The relationship has provided me with a fuller life than I would ever have had in Germany.

Jerusalem, 26 May 1927

As might have been foreseen, the meeting of the Zionist General Council in London was completely useless. Resolutions were passed to relieve the crises in Palestine, but no money was provided to do so. The whole manoeuvre seems to be one great bluff. The public believes that the resolutions will be put into effect at once, and as soon as it becomes apparent that this is impossible because of the lack of money, the dissatisfaction will become even greater and the position of the Executive in Palestine even more difficult.

Jerusalem, 2 July 1927

During the past few weeks, much of my time has been taken up by work with the American commission* composed of Lee K. Frankel, Dr Hexter, and three Christian agronomists. In America, they had been given my book on agricultural settlement and had studied it on the way, so that it had, so to speak, become their Bible. As far as Frankel is concerned, it was important that I am no longer a Zionist official and therefore am neutral in his eyes. Ettinger and I travelled with the commission between Monday, 13 June, and Thursday, 16 June, from Jerusalem to Afulah, Merhavyah, Ein Harod, Geva, Nazareth (overnight), Deganyah Alef and Bet, Bet Zera, Tiberias, Nazareth (overnight), Nahalal, Haifa (overnight), Shfeyah, Benyaminah. Frankel returned from Benyaminah to Jerusalem, I to Tel Aviv. The journey made a deep impression on him. He is less interested in questions of agricultural technique than in people and whether and to what extent Palestine can solve the Jewish question (in both the material and spiritual sense). He was most impressed by the idealism of the settlers and the system of education they have created for their children. In the school in Nahalal, he was so moved that he almost cried.

I have been in Tel Aviv several times, the last time for three days, in order to discuss the draft of a collective contract I had prepared with the employers and workers. The employers are showing considerable indolence and are not interested in completing things before the congress. They are opposed to the Zionist Executive and are afraid of strengthening its position at the congress if agreement on the contract is reached before then. We have finally completed the first reading of it, but various points of disagreement remain.

Basle, 30 August 1927*

The usual congress turmoil has already begun, although the congress does not open until tonight. For me, there were meetings of the Zionist General Council, and the PLDC is giving me a lot of trouble which I have not yet finished with. The corporation still has not received the £20,000 from London, and they keep sending me telegrams.

The whole of Palestine is here today; Lady Samuel told me that she had already counted fifty Palestinians.

* The Joint Palestine Survey Commission, a board of non-Zionists established in 1927 to make a survey of all the problems related to the development of Palestine. Its report, which was based upon the research and surveys of various experts, was submitted in June 1928 and served as a basis for the joint endeavours of Zionists and non-Zionists on the enlarged Jewish Agency.

* From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

Weizmann and his family have been saved, as if by a miracle, from a terrible railway accident at Chamonix. By a few minutes, they missed the train which plunged into the valley.

Basle, 7 September 1927

Until the day before yesterday I was very busy preparing my speech. At first I composed it in a stiff, professional tone, but under the influence of the atmosphere at the congress I have paid more attention to the issues concerning us at this moment. . . I finally managed to produce a speech lasting about eighty minutes on the evening of the day before yesterday. It must have made quite an impression, judging by the extraordinary applause of the congress and the many individual comments, including some from those who disagreed with me. According to Shmaryahu Levin and Motzkin, however, the applause was meant for me personally and not for my speech.

There is a demand from several quarters that I join the Executive. The American and the British federations (what do they know about me?) have passed a resolution accordingly. I therefore made it clear at the beginning of my speech that I would not accept any official appointment and especially authorized my opponents – like Jabotinsky – to state that I would not join the Executive. With this, I seem to have calmed the storm. I told the Labour supporters (Rubashov called it 'bribery') that I was prepared to concern myself during the next two years with the reorganization of their economic institutions if they would stop trying to persuade me to join the Executive.

On the whole, the congress is boring. Weizmann received an overwhelming vote of confidence. Kisch, Harry Sacher, Vriesland or Kisch, Supraski, Mossinson, Meir Berlin and Ben-Zvi are being considered as the new Executive.

Basle, 11 September 1927

I am already on the train from Basle to Frankfurt. The all-night sitting of the congress which began last night lasted until 6.30 a.m. I remained until the end, slept for less than a couple of hours, had a final word with a few people, lunched with Weizmann at the Trois Rois, attended another meeting of the congress from 2.30 until four o'clock, but did not wait until it finished and instead decided to leave at 4.32 p.m. Yesterday's meeting was not very elevating; by means of all sorts of diplomatic tricks, the election of the new Palestine Executive (Kisch, Sacher, Miss Szold) was managed with eighty-three votes to sixty-one. I also voted for it, in spite of the fact that the Labour supporters were against, because it is better than no Executive at all.

Warsaw, 23 September 1927

Hanna brought Rafi and Cari to Magdeburg, where they are to remain during her absence. We have planned our journey so that Hanna will return from Russia to Berlin and, together with the children, board a ship for Alexandria at Trieste on 22 October. I shall try to catch the same boat, travelling from southern Russia via Bessarabia, Rumania and Budapest. Therefore, I have exactly one month at my disposal for travelling in Eastern Europe.

Moscow, 28 September 1927

Anyone who believes – according to the newspaper reports outside Russia – that he will find a whole new world in Russia will be disappointed. On the surface, one notices hardly any difference between the Moscow of 1913 and that of 1927.

We arrived in Moscow punctually at two o'clock in the afternoon. I was given a room in one of the large hotels, which are all managed by a state trust.

Four things are noticeable in the street life of Moscow: the very plain, not to say shabby, clothing of the passers-by; the overcrowding of the street cars; the almost total absence of motor-cars; and the enormous number of street traders. The majority of the men do not wear jackets, but collarless, dark blouses. No hat within sight, everywhere caps. Only a small percentage of passers-by are properly dressed by West European standards, that is, waistcoat, jacket, collar and tie. . . .

The so-called neglected children form an especially sad chapter. In Moscow alone there are tens of thousands, and in the whole of Russia probably several hundred thousand of these children who lost their parents during the war, the revolution or the terrible famine of 1921 or who have run away from their parents and are now wandering about the streets of the cities.

Kiev,* with approximately 500,000 inhabitants, is the third largest city in Russia (next to Moscow and Leningrad). It appears be much more European than Moscow; it is the last outpost of Europe. The Ukrainian administration fights energetically to preserve the Ukrainian language next to Russian. As is well known, during the czarist regime the Ukrainian language was suppressed; all the lessons in the state schools were in Russian and only Russian was spoken in government offices. Now the Ukrainian administration is closing down one Russian school after another and establishing schools in which the Ukrainian language is spoken.

The traces of Europe in Kiev disappear when one moves from the centre into the suburbs. I was told that there are fewer than twenty Jews in the whole of Kiev who own as much as 10,000 rubles; there used to be hundreds of extremely wealthy Jewish industrialists and merchants there.

The town of Berdichev lies between Kiev and the Polish border. The position of the inhabitants is anything but good. The Jewish community, which forms sixty per cent of the total population, has suffered extraordinarily because of the decline of trade and the closing of the Polish border. I visited the Jewish slum district of Pesski together with a woman doctor, and saw some terrible things there. The houses are pervaded by a terrible smell. The rooms are holes with wet walls and are almost devoid of furniture. In two such holes I found a couple together with the woman's parents and six children. Apart from the two beds – if they can be called that – covered with rags, a table and a rusty samovar, there was absolutely no furniture in these two holes. Many of the people who 'live' in these places are unemployed. They receive an allowance of 6 to 10 rubles a month from the government, which is hardly sufficient to provide even dry bread for the family.

11 October 1927**

Conversation with Bergelsohn. He was in Russia in 1921, 1925, 1926 and feels that the country is plainly growing stronger, while simultaneously there is a new awakening of the Jews. He is hoping for a Jewish republic in southern Russia.

* From notes of the journey through the Ukraine.

** From a travel journal; a conversation with the Yiddish writer D. Bergelsohn.

Berlin, 20 October 1927*

Yesterday, I returned from a four-week journey through Russia, and I am leaving for Palestine today. I would like to give you a brief account of some of the aspects of Zionism in Russia.

First of all, I will have to explain that I received an entry permit into Russia only for the purpose of visiting the Jewish settlements and investigating the general economic condition of the Jews. Consequently I had to abstain from concerning myself specifically with Zionist matters and was able to gather information only when I happened to meet individual Zionists. I was also obliged to be careful because, as you know, Zionist activity is not, at the moment, entirely safe in Russia, and I did not want to expose friends to the dangers of persecution. What I have learned may be summed up as follows:

1 It is said that in the course of the last few years, several thousand Zionists have been deported to Siberia, Murmansk or deep into Russia. On an average, their exile lasts for three years. On the whole, they are at liberty in their place of exile; some of them even have jobs. The majority, however, remain without a livelihood or have left behind dependants without means. The Russian Zionists try to provide financial assistance to ease the hardships, but they complain that they are incapable of meeting all the needs.

2 The following organizations used to exist in Russia: the General Zionists, Tze'irei Zion Left and the Right, the Socialist Zionists, Ha-Shomer ha-Tza'ir and He-Halutz. All these organizations have been prohibited by the government. In the Ukraine, He-Halutz still remains semi-legal, but even here the government's behaviour towards it has recently become very hostile, and much damage has been done to its farms by the deportation of the leaders.

3 Of the larger farms run by He-Halutz, three *kvutzot* are in the Crimea. The largest of them, Tel Hai, has ninety members and, as I saw for myself when I visited there, it is economically quite successful. The other two farms, Mishmar and Ma'ayan, are smaller. Members of He-Halutz are also scattered about the Ukraine, working on the farms in small groups. All the members of Tel Hai want to emigrate to Palestine and complain of the poor prospects of being settled there. In Leningrad the initiative has been taken to invite all the Jewish communities in Russia to a conference for the purpose of establishing an association to represent Jewish interests before the government. Although Gurewitz, a Leningrad Zionist, is advocating this plan very strongly, other Zionists have expressed their strongest disapproval of it. They are afraid that the conference will be attended only by those who do not have to fear for their safety, that is, by people who have no criticism of the government's policy towards the Jews. In that case, the conference would provide the government with a pliable tool to confirm the validity of its policy towards the Jews.

4 As you may know, Professor Schor and a Zionist named Rabinowitz negotiated with the government two years ago in order to legalize Zionist activities in Russia. Just as these negotiations were taking place, however, Tze'irei Zion distributed declarations agitating against the government. Consequently, the negotiations were broken off by the government and Rabinowitz was deported. When the Zionists

* From a letter to the Zionist Executive in London.

protested that they were not responsible for every declaration of any group, the government maintained that they could not make allowances for party differences within the Zionist movement and that if some of its members made counter-revolutionary propaganda, they would hold the entire movement responsible.

5 Obviously, in the absence of any legal Zionist activity, Zionist life in Russia is gradually coming to an end. There is nothing to bring the young people closer to Zionism. Hebrew is forbidden in the schools, and although in several towns a few chosen young people do study Hebrew privately under great difficulties, this is not a sufficient substitute, especially as the Communist Party is producing a great deal of propaganda to win over the Jewish youth. It would therefore be extremely valuable if Zionist activity in Russia were made legal again, at least insofar as it would concern itself with organizing emigration to Palestine and training people for agriculture and trade.

S.S. *Vienna*, Tuesday 25 October 1927

I returned to Berlin from Russia on 18 October. I am very sorry that I did not meet the Russian leaders. I did not even try to, partly because I did not know whether they would receive me, partly because if they had received me, I would have had to discuss political Zionism with them, and I did not consider myself entitled to do so.

Jerusalem, 5 November 1927

Maximilian Harden has died in Berlin at the age of sixty-seven. The reading of his *Die Zukunft** has provided me with a great deal of pleasure over many years; it is perhaps the only independent periodical edited with a real understanding of politics.

Jerusalem, 12 December 1927

I gave another talk in Deganyah on settlement in Russia, and it was attended by more than 100 people from all the surrounding farms. Everyone was very interested. On Saturday morning, a meeting with the leaders of the settlements on the future of settlement. I made it clear that settlers must help themselves; perhaps non-Jewish Socialist leaders (Ramsay MacDonald, Vandervelde, Mellerand) could form a European Committee for Palestine Labour, which might raise money among Jews for a workers' settlements bank. I asked the settlement leaders to consider the positive and negative results and possibly issue a manifesto on the present situation with suggestions for cheaper means of settlement. I particularly stressed the low building costs in Russia. It was decided to hold another conference of all the leaders in Deganyah on 19 December.

Jerusalem, 19 December 1927

The first day of Hanukah. I am lecturing at the university today and a week from today, and I have no urgent work to attend to. Now I hope to begin the final version of my book and to finish it by the end of 1928. I shall call it either *The Jews*

* 'The Future', weekly edited by M. Harden, the pen-name of the converted Jew Izidore Witkovsky (1861–1927), who struggled against Kaiser Wilhelm II and the Byzantine atmosphere of his court. The publication had great influence in Germany until the end of World War I.

of Today again or *The Sociology of the Jews*. By the way, I recently met a Japanese Christian, the Reverend Shagun Sakair (from Shibuya, near Tokyo), who came to Palestine because he is interested in the Jewish question (he believes the Japanese to be the descendants of the lost (!) ten tribes). He told me that *The Jews of Today* was translated into Japanese by a university professor before the Great War.

The unemployed workers in Petah Tikvah have rioted against the orange growers who refused to give them work. The police were called, as several people were wounded, and some arrests were made. The press has turned it into an ethical or national affair and is looking for someone to blame. I believe that neither side is to blame, only the system by which Petah Tikvah has been developed.

Deganyah, 31 December 1927

This time, the last day of the year finds me in Deganyah. I arrived yesterday from Jerusalem by car, together with Dr Thon and Berl Katzenelson in order to participate in a conference of the settlers from the Jezreel Valley called by Deganyah Alef, at my suggestion. I want the conference to decide, on the basis of our past twenty years' experience, how to manage settlement more efficiently and cheaply in the future.

Everybody is treating me exceptionally well. It seems to me that I do not deserve any credit, and that a peculiar chain of coincidences made me the central figure in the work of settlement. Perhaps the workers are particularly nice to me because they do not have anyone in the present Executive who understands them, and they find the difference between their former and their present relationship to the Zionist leadership particularly hard to bear. . . .

Jerusalem, 24 February 1928

I received a telegram from Weizmann saying that Alfred Mond, who is presently here in Palestine, was very upset by the reports of the Commission of Experts* and that I should quickly explain things to him.

Jerusalem, 1 March 1928

I had an hour-long talk with Sir Alfred Mond on the economic development of Palestine. He was very friendly and affable and emphasised the difference between his (Jewish) mentality and the British one.

Jerusalem, 6 March 1928

The report by Campbell and Mead is very critical of our settlement activity especially of our 'social experiments' and 'ideologies'. I shall have to write something in answer to them. From a technical point of view, the reports do not contain anything we have not already thought of by ourselves.

* The most important reports in the context of agricultural settlement were those of Elwood Mead and John Campbell, which recommended, *inter alia*, not to establish any new agricultural settlements until the existing ones were firmly based economically and not to establish any more settlements on the pattern of the *kvutzah*, restricting agricultural settlement to the *moshav*, which was preferable from an economic point of view.

Jerusalem, 20 March 1928

The Labour supporters are thinking of having a 'Conference of Palestine Labour' in Europe in the summer, rather like the one I have been hoping for. Last week, in Tel Aviv, I attended the first meeting of the Preparatory Committee (Ben-Gurion, Sprinzak, Rubashov) and promised them my help and a speech.

Jerusalem, 5 May 1928

The Jewish Agency Commission is to meet in London in June to draw up a ten-year plan for the development of Palestine on the basis of the expert opinions.

Dr Maurice Fishberg from New York is here; he used to concern himself a great deal with the anthropology of the Jews. We talked at length about the future of the American Jews. He believes in their assimilation and absorption. This afternoon, we went to Abu Gosh together. Three weeks ago my sister-in-law Rosa brought me a skull from an old burial cave in the vicinity of Abu Gosh. Today we found quite a few (ten to twenty) skulls and lots of bones in the same (or another) cave, which, like the royal graves, had a round stone to seal it off.

Jerusalem, 19 May 1928

I have sent my plan for the development of the country during the next ten years to the Executive here and in London. It allows for 10,000 immigrants in the first two years, 15,000 in the next four and 25,000 in the following four years. Public funds require £440,000 for every 5,000 immigrants (1,000 families).

Recently I had a discussion with the Labour leaders (Ben-Gurion, Kaplanski, Sprinzak) about the 'Labour Congress' in Berlin. I agreed to speak at it on 'Palestine: The Land of a New Social Order'.

Jerusalem, 26 May 1928

This afternoon I talked to Hans Kohn and Hugo Bergmann about the Brit Shalom. Both are dissatisfied that it is apparently not doing anything and insist on some 'action'. Kohn wants to publish a monthly magazine in English to deal with general humanitarian questions, in which the Arabs are as interested as we are. Apart from this, they also demand that the Brit Shalom adopt a stand in favour of a constitution for Palestine in order to show the Arabs that there are also Jews who support this plan. (The local Jewish press is against it.) I am rather embarrassed by these demands. As I am a-political by nature, I did not want the Brit Shalom to become concerned with the political questions of the hour until we had defined the principles of our future association with the Arabs. In my opinion, the Brit Shalom ought to be a study or discussion circle and begin by drawing up a concrete programme. I am rather isolated in my point of view, however; all the other members are impatient, especially as the Revisionists are making lively 'militant' propaganda, which is bound to incite the Arabs.

The conversation also revealed in other respects how difficult it is to balance the realization of Zionism with general ethical considerations. It left me rather depressed. Is Zionism really to end up as shallow chauvinism? Is it impossible to provide the ever-growing number of Jews in Palestine with a field of activity without oppressing the Arabs? I see a particular difficulty in the limited amount of land. Before long, the time will probably come when no vacant ground will be available, and every Jew who settles will cause the removal of a fellah (except in

the coastal region, where a fair amount of land suitable for plantations remains). What will happen then?

Jerusalem, 30 May 1928*

In the light of our last exhaustive conversation concerning the Brit Shalom and your letter of 28 May, it seems advisable that I clarify in writing my basic attitude to your suggestion and to the work of the Brit Shalom in general.

1 In founding the Brit Shalom, I was guided by the consideration that there is no parallel in history to the aim of Zionism – to settle the Jews peaceably in a country which is already inhabited. Such an entry by one nation into the country of another is known in history only by means of conquest; so far, no nation has ever been willing to tolerate another nation settling beside it and claiming complete equality and national autonomy. In my opinion, the uniqueness of this case made it impossible to tackle the problem according to the usual constitutional ideas. It demanded a very special approach. The Brit Shalom was to become the forum to consider and discuss the problem.

2 As I have emphasised in my speeches at several congresses, Zionism has not taken the Arab question sufficiently seriously. In the beginning, the very existence of the Arabs was ignored. Later on, people deceived themselves about the difficulty of the Arab problem by relying on threadbare hopes. Even the Balfour Declaration presupposes that the Jews will be able to establish a National Home in Palestine without in any way encroaching upon the rights of the country's other inhabitants. As opposed to this, I believe that there exist several very serious conflicts of interest between the Jews and the Arabs. At this moment I cannot see how these conflicts of interest can be solved so that the Jews will have the possibilities of unrestricted immigration and unrestricted economic and cultural development in Palestine, which are absolutely essential to Zionism, and will nonetheless not encroach upon the interests of the Arabs.

3 During our last conversation, you yourself quite rightly said that all the Palestine Arabs are opposed to the Zionist movement and will remain our opponents as long as we are not able to suggest a satisfactory solution to the conflicts of interest. Under the circumstances, a constitution deserving of the name must inevitably lead to a situation in which the Arabs will make use of the rights which the constitution has granted them as the majority to prevent any economic progress of the Jewish minority. That would quite simply mean the end of the Zionist movement.

4 If what is being considered is not a constitution which really grants the Arab population a considerable say in the future development of the country, but only a *pro forma* constitution – which in itself has no real power but leaves this power to agencies outside its control – I think this will arouse much more bitterness among the Arabs than the absence of a constitution. In your letter of 28 May you suggest a formula to explain the Brit Shalom – that in principle we welcome a constitution and a representation of the people of Palestine. It seems to me that this will founder the moment we have to explain to the Arabs how we imagine this constitution in detail. The term constitution in itself does not, of course, mean anything. What matters is the contents, and with regard to the contents we do not, as far as I can see, have any suggestions which guarantee us the absolutely essential right to un-

* From a letter to Dr Hans Kohn.

restricted immigration and unrestricted economic and cultural development in Palestine and grant the Arabs the rights they expect from a constitution. Therefore, I am afraid that the statement that we are ready for a constitution will for the time being be an empty gesture. Moreover, if the hopes which this gesture may arouse among the Arabs for a *real* constitution are not fulfilled, we may easily be accused of deceit and increase their bitterness. My conscience tells me that we must know exactly what the constitution is to contain before we agree to it in principle.

5 I have my doubts whether one can immediately apply to Palestine the principles of democracy, which have not exactly yielded magnificent results even in the developed European countries. As long as the majority of the Arabs remain illiterate, the crowds will blindly follow a few leaders, and presumable those who know best how to fan their religious and national fanaticism against the Zionists. It is therefore fairly easy to predict what sort of people will represent the Arabs.

6 Because of all these considerations, I question whether it would serve our purpose to welcome a constitution at this moment, while we are still in doubt about its contents and the Arabs are united against any sort of Zionist activity.

7 Finally, as far as the Brit Shalom – and not only the problem in general – is concerned, I am very much afraid that if we let the association enter topical politics before it has formulated its policy concerning the contents of the constitution, it will be compromised for ever afterwards. On the other hand, I do not believe that a statement of general principles by the Brit Shalom, such as you suggest, will in any way serve to appease the Arabs. The first article to appear in an Arab newspaper demanding a statement from the Brit Shalom on the contents of the constitution would at once reveal to the Arabs that the constitution we envisage and which is essential for our survival can be no more than a fiction of a constitution in their eyes, and this will do more harm than good.

8 I also wonder whether it would not be breaking faith with the *yishuv* to address a statement above its head directly to the Arabs. It seems preferable to insist on a discussion in the Va'ad Le'umi. Certainly, some opposition would be expressed there, but we could see to it that our point of view would be adequately represented.

9 Considering that only a small number of the members of the Brit Shalom are resident here, it is difficult to reach a decision on your suggestion here in Palestine. Therefore, I suggest that we ask the opinion of a few people close to the Brit Shalom who are living abroad.

S.S. *Naldera*, 6 June 1928

The *Naldera* is taking me from Port Said to Marseilles on my way to attend the conference of the Jewish Agency Commission, which will begin in London on 9 June. The journey comes at an inconvenient moment, as I had to interrupt my lectures and seminar, which seemed to me a sort of infidelity towards the students who (in the seminar) were just then working hard. I nevertheless decided to go because otherwise there would be nobody to challenge the sharp attacks made on our past settlement in the reports by the experts (Mead, Campbell etc.), and public opinion might be influenced by this criticism. Second, the commission is also to approve a plan for development during the next ten years. This may be of the utmost importance for the future of Palestine, and I therefore want to state my opinion about it personally, although I have already sent a letter containing my suggestions.

London, 9 June 1928

Last Tuesday I lunched with Weizmann, He is not looking at all well and is very worried. He tried to appear optimistic and convince himself that the Jewish Agency can raise fresh funds, but he does not really believe it.

On Thursday afternoon there was a meeting of the Commission of Experts (Marshall, Warburg, Frankel, Wassermann, Weizmann, etc.). Sacher and I explained our plans for Palestine to the commission. I used the opportunity to challenge the reports by the experts and point out that they judge the position not from a Jewish but only from an economic point of view. We are concerned with creating not only economic, but also spiritual values in Palestine. Marshall, piqued, commented that I was suggesting that the reports by the experts should simply be shelved. I answered that as the experts had considered only the economic aspect, I had to emphasise the Jewish and spiritual ones. What I said may not have been entirely 'politic', but I think that it was important and necessary.

Berlin-Schlachtensee, 21 July 1928

The meeting of the Zionist General Council opened on Thursday afternoon in the Lodge rooms. There are a great many Palestinians here. The opening speeches by Weizmann and Sokolow were rather vacuous; by contrast, yesterday there raged a vehement debate in which Reich, Sprinzak, Grünbaum, Kaplanski, Ussishkin, Dizengoff, Lichtheim and I took part. I had been nominated by the General Zionists although, as I also made clear in my speech, I do not feel that I belong to any group. I did not find it easy to make a speech, as I am opposed to the report by the Commission of Experts, which in many instances lacks any national or social feeling. All the other opponents of the report draw the conclusion that the entire report should be rejected, and that, if necessary, the idea of the Jewish Agency should be abandoned and the present Executive overthrown, whereas I would like to see the report modified and the plan for a Jewish Agency carried out. Ben-Gurion, the leader of the Ahdut Avodah, was dissatisfied with the ending of my speech. Kaplanski thought that it was a good thing that I had not closed any doors against myself, as this made me an even more suitable candidate for the presidency of the Zionist Organization. I told him that he would not live to see it.

Schlachtensee, 28 July 1928

The day before yesterday was Tisha be-Av and no meetings were held. On other days the General Council has been sitting often until late into the night, and I have been getting very tired. I briefly spoke twice again, on the land question and on the Brit Shalom and the Arab question. Until yesterday, it seemed as if it would be impossible to reach agreement on the Jewish Agency. Weizmann, to whom important practical matters are 'technical details' which do not interest him, did not want to accept the emendations to the experts' reports suggested by the opposition. He finally agreed after Schocken had persuaded him. I had tried to do so during an excursion to Wannsee, which Schocken and I made with him the day before yesterday. I am glad that the matter has been dealt with without a crisis. We need the Jewish Agency in order to raise more money.

Schlachtensee, 6 August 1928

The conference of the General Council did not end until last Monday. After the Agency crisis was happily over, there was a Sacher crisis. The Labour parties,

together with the Mizrachi and some middle-class Palestinians, demanded Sacher's resignation. Sacher did resign, but as Weizmann and the entire Executive expressed their solidarity with him, the opposition was unable to form a new Executive, and firmly rejected the request by Labour to join a new Executive (Ussishkin is said to have done the same), the opposition had to give in and ask the old Executive to continue in office. I found the entire incident most distasteful. Moreover it was stupid, as the opposition ought to have foreseen that Weizmann would back Sacher and that they had no suitable candidates for a new Executive. . . .

Berlin, 8 August 1928*

This afternoon I have an appointment with Arnold Zweig, who has just written a sensational novel *The Case of Sergeant Grischa*. He is a good Zionist and I want to invite him to Palestine. Apart from him I see the few Jewish statisticians and those of the Palestinians who are still here (Hans Kohn, Sprinzak).

Alt-Schmecks (High Tatra), 23 August 1928

Instead of going to the south of France, I left Berlin the day before yesterday (in a sleeping-car, third class) for the Tatra Mountains. This is in accordance with my original plan of paying a visit to the Jews in Carpatho-Russia. . . .

By Lake Poprader (Popper), 24 August 1928

I left Alt-Schmecks at nine o'clock in the morning and went by tramcar to Tatranska Polianka and from there walked to Vysne-Hagy in two hours along beautiful forest paths, the Tatra Mountains close before me.

Kezmarok, 30 August 1928

What I have seen today within a few hours, travelling from Tatranska Lomnica to the neighbouring small towns of Hunsdorf and Kezmarok, would provide enough material for a history of Jewish culture. I would never have believed that such a Jewish world could exist half an hour's journey from the international Tatra spas. Unfortunately, I lack time and patience, and so will report in telegram style:

Hunsdorf – 15 Jewish families, but a famous *yeshivah* with 150 students. They study at home, attend only twice daily for an hour to hear the rabbi's lectures; at the moment he is away on holiday. It costs the student 300 Czech Kreutzers a month. He rents an empty room from Christians, but also *rents* one bed, one wash-basin, one chair! Is woken by the 'knocker' at four o'clock in the morning to study. Went for a walk through the town, saw a few young people lying in the grass by the ruins of the old town wall, went closer, found a 'belfer' from the local *yeshivah* and four students learning the Gemara out in the open. Sat down with them and read – for the first time in my life – a piece from the Talmud (about blowing the *shofar* on Rosh ha-Shanah). Afterwards I visited the upper form in the *heder* and listened to eight to fourteen-year-old children translating the Talmud and the Torah.

* From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

Kezmarok (Slovakia) 30 August 1928*

Jews work only as tailors, cobblers or plumbers. Among the tailors they rate as second class; the Christians have been better trained in their skills. The relationship between the Jews and the Slovaks is not bad. The Germans, on the other hand, are regarded as very anti-Semitic in the Zips district to which Kezmarok belongs. 'They are all *"Hakenkreuzler"* ' [followers of the swastika], and they are very influential, manage industry and sit on the municipal councils in the district.

Kaschau, 1 September 1928

Most of the Jews are shopkeepers, few workers (tailors, cobblers, sign-painters goldsmiths, plumbers). Shops open on Saturday. 'Those whose grandfathers lie buried in the orthodox cemetery keep their shops open on Saturday, and those whose grandfathers lie buried in the neological cemetery are already baptized.'

In the whole of Slovakia there are still a few thousand young people in *yeshivot* (Pressburg, Galanta, Husi, Kaschau, Hunsdorf with 150–300 students, and many smaller ones).

The majority of the Jews wear middle-class dress and do not wear *peyot*; there are still caftans and *peyot,* and orthodox women wear wigs.

Muncacz, 2 September 1928

Kaschau, like Poprad, is rather characterless and boring. The dome is beautiful, extraordinarily like the dome in Magdeburg. At six o'clock in the evening I went on to Muncacz.

Twelve thousand Jews (half the population), Jews the majority on the town council. Rest of the population are Ruthenians (not Slovaks). Jewish intellectuals speak Hungarian; Hassidim speak Yiddish; very little German is spoken, and even less Slovak and Ruthenian. Hebrew elementary school. Hebrew grammar-school. Saturday, all businesses closed. There is only *one orthodox congregation.*

Jews mostly shopkeepers; among the workers, a majority of shoemakers (there were no shoe factories in Hungary, and all the shoes were manufactured by skilled workers; now the shoemakers have been nearly ruined by the Czech shoe factories. In the district of Marmorosh, Jews are also woodcutters and coachmen (transporting wood).

Torun (Carpathian Mountains), 3 September 1928

I spent yesteday evening in a café with half a dozen Zionists and answered their questions about Palestine, the Jewish Agency and so forth. For my tour of the villages in the Carpathian mountains, I was provided with a car for 2 Czech Kreutzer per kilometre (nevertheless at least 600 Czech kreutzer) and a photographer to accompany me.

We left this morning at eight o'clock; passed many villages in which Jews and Ruthenians are living side by side. In a small, remote place we met a shopkeeper who was a Zionist and at once questioned me about the Jewish Agency. The majority of the Jews here are farmers, but agriculture is primitive. Ten to fifteen *joch* (twenty dunams) yields them potatoes for their own use, hay for one or two cows

* The following entry is from travel notes.

and sometimes also some oats for a horse. Everything else they need they must earn in another way (transporting wood, working as woodcutters, harvesters, cattle dealers).

Jerusalem, 23 September 1928

Hanna and all the children were at the Jerusalem station and the reunion and the unpacking of the presents gave us much pleasure. Such days of reunion after a long separation are indeed oases in the desert of days. The children, even little Aya, tried to express their love for me in every possible way.

Jerusalem, 21 October 1928

During the past week, the press and the whole *yishuv* have been almost exclusively concerned with an incident which took place by the Wailing Wall on Yom Kippur. The Jews had erected a wooden partition there to divide the men from the women. The Arabs had complained to the authorities, arguing that the Jews have no right to erect buildings. Thereupon, the authorities had the police remove the partition during the Yom Kippur prayers, and the Jews who tried to prevent this were beaten. This was obviously an extreme blunder on the part of the British; the removal of the partition could have waited until after Yom Kippur. Some Jews regard this as an intentional provocation; I do not think so. It is a pity that the anger of the Jews is directed not only against the local government agencies but also against the Arabs, thus intensifying the antagonism.

The Brit Shalom, of which I am still the chairman, has issued a second pamphlet. It was received very unfavourably by the *yishuv*. We are being reproached for carrying on a lazy policy of compromise – with regard to the 'constitution' demanded by the Arabs – and with wanting to gloss over natural differences. I had a discussion with Kohn and Bergmann; I reproached them for welcoming a 'constitution' prematurely, without having decided what it is going to look like and what guarantees it will contain so that we will be able to continue our Zionist work. Also, I do not think that the Brit Shalom should negotiate with the Arabs as long as we are still undecided about our policy with regard to the constitution and have not acquired Jewish support for it. Kohn and Bergmann agreed that we must first of all work out a policy towards a constitution and that we shall, to begin with, address our propaganda only to the Jews – especially the Jewish youth, who are being influenced by Jabotinsky in the fascist direction – for a peaceful settlement with the Arabs.

Miss Hertha Mendlovicz from Breslau arrived here with a German youth group. She is a great-granddaughter of Zvi Hirsch Kalischer and knew that I am interested in the Kalischer family tree. She has inherited the material which an ancestor had already collected, supplemented it, and brought it all to me. The information dates back to the year 1600 and shows among my ancestors many famous rabbis, including Mordechai Jaffe (who wrote *Livush Malkhut*). Even Rabbi Yehuda Löw of Prague seems to belong among my ancestors. Perhaps it was, after all, not by chance that I found my way back to Judaism, in spite of my assimilated background in Magdeburg.

Jerusalem, 28 November 1928

In America, a conference of non-Zionists under the chairmanship of Marshall has decided to join the Jewish Agency. This is a great success for Weizmann, to

whom I have sent a telegram of congratulation. Let us hope that it will really lead to the raising of more money for Palestine, The controversial matter which created such a disturbance in Berlin in August has been dismissed in New York with an elegant wave of the hand: a commission is to deal with everything. The reports by the experts (Mead, Lipman, Campbell) were praised to the skies in New York; for the first time, people knew something about Palestine. In reality, the reports by Mead and Lipman are worthless; the one by Campbell is more thorough but fails to take into consideration the uniqueness of our problems. In America, however, what matters is not so much what a report contains as by whom it was written. The Brit Shalom has been violently attacked by the local Jewish press; it has made itself very unpopular with its second pamphlet, *Our Aspirations,* in which Bergmann stated that it was desirable to have a constitution for Palestine; it also contains an open letter to the Arabs by Kalvariski, in which he calls upon the Arabs to make peace (after the storm caused by the event at the Wailing Wall on Yom Kippur) and which he signed – without authority – 'Member of Brit Shalom'. I have drafted a statement on the policy and aims of the Brit Shalom which we want to publish as a response to the attacks on us in the press. The gist of it is the suggestion of a bi-national Palestine, although so far our Jews will not consider it.

Jerusalem, 7 December 1928

Yesterday Sir John Chancellor, the new High Commissioner, and his wife arrived in Jerusalem, A reception tent was put up at the Jaffa Gate, and several hundred people attended. The High Commissioner made a short speech and shook hands with everyone. The entire performance was short but rather effective. It gives one an indication of what a great power Britain really is.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1928

The statement I drafted on the Brit Shalom has been sent to the newspapers. *Dvar ha-Yom* did not publish it and instead attacked *Davar,* which did publish it, for giving space to this 'anti-Zionist' statement.

I had a discussion with about ten labour leaders on economic questions. The basic idea of my suggestions: we cannot prevent a capitalist economy in Palestine, but in order to maintain the balance we should confront it with strong socialist (labour) institutions and strive to reorganize and strengthen all labour institutions toward this end. I pointed out in detail how this was to be done, but I had the impression that there was little response to my words. . . .

What sort of an epilogue can I write to the year 1928? It was not an exceptional year, but it was a quiet and a happy one. From the Zionist point of view the most important event has been the entry of the American non-Zionists, under Marshall's leadership, into the Jewish Agency. This alliance will surely provide Palestine with an increasing amount of money and support in the future. It is possible that the new partners may want to break with the 'social ideology' of Zionism, but I doubt it. If they should do so, however, labour will just have to increase its activities in order to balance the capitalist tendencies.

For Palestine, the year 1928 may be described as a year of slow progress. We have overcome the unemployment; we are developing industrially; and there have also been signs of progress in agriculture, in spite of the bad harvest, from which many farms have suffered.

Jerusalem, 16 March 1929

The day before yesterday was Albert Einstein's fiftieth birthday. I think the world has hardly celebrated a birthday as much as this one. I cannot understand why, as few people are able to grasp his theory and have to rely on what other people tell them about it. I wrote to congratulate him and said that I honour him not as a scholar but as a simple, unassuming man and a brave Jew.

Jerusalem, 21 March 1929

Tonight at 7.30 we saw something very exciting; the Zeppelin which left Friedrichshafen yesterday with eighty passengers for a non-stop flight to the East flew over Jerusalem and passed close by our house at a height of about 300 meters. It passed three times: twice as it circled Jerusalem and half an hour later on its way back from the Dead Sea.

I am beginning to become a father. The children all love me very much and I am influenced to reciprocate in degree.

Jerusalem, 31 March 1929

After having worked hard during the past few days in order to finish the manuscript of my book by the end of March, I did indeed finish it this afternoon. I breathe a sigh of relief, as I have the impression that I have been under the spell of this book for ages.

Jerusalem, 20 April 1929

Max Warburg is here together with his brother, Felix. They arrived a few days ago and invited me to call on them the day before yesterday. He is particularly interested in a new economic ethics, as the old capitalism is hollow at the core. So far he has seen little of Palestine but is extremely enthusiastic about what he has seen. Until now he has been considered a pronounced anti-Zionist in Germany. . . .

In March, at the request of the Executive, I wrote a memorandum on the Arab question. I demanded a bi-national Palestine and a parliament, or upper chamber, in which the Jews and Arabs are equally represented, so that neither side will be in the majority. If the administration should revive Samuel's old plan for a legislative council, however, we would have to accept it, with a few minor changes. Accepting the plan is, after all, the lesser evil.

I have read a little in Herzl's diaries. They have confirmed my previous opinion of Herzl: he was obsessed by an idea and faithfully clung to it against a hostile and scornful world. His ideas, however, were based on very shallow foundations. The whole diary is superficial, too much like *feuilletons*. How could Herzl have spent years dealing with all sorts of Levantine adventurers and chased the shadow of an audience with the sultan? I am also repelled by his vanity and his tendency to boast, perhaps because I see my own faults mirrored here. But my sense of reality stops me from spending years in a fantasy world, as Herzl did. He would have suffered the most serious disappointments if he had not died at the critical moment.

Jerusalem, 4 May 1929

I have had several more meetings with Felix and Max Warburg and tried to explain that it is urgent to buy land in the orange district. They completely agreed with me, and I arranged a meeting between Max Warburg and Ussishkin, Hankin and Thon

to discuss the matter. At Weizmann's invitation, I also attended a meeting of the Executive with Felix Warburg. I mentioned, incidentally, that I might speak at the congress on the significance of Zionism for the future of Jewry. Weizmann accepted the suggestion with enthusiasm.

9 May 1929

I visited Merhavyah (kibbutz and *moshav*) Kfar Yeladim, Balfouriah, Kfar Gidon, Tel Adashim, and so on. I had not seen the settlements for sixteen months and was surprised at the tremendous progress. Much building has been done. The ugly wooden structures have been replaced by stone houses. The morale of the settlers is very good, and they are expecting a record harvest. They treated me with great affection. I definitely had the impression that settlement is progressing and that by now it can no longer fail.

Zurich, 4 August 1929

The [Sixteenth Zionist] Congress opened on Sunday afternoon. I thought the opening session rather dull, perhaps because I have already attended it, in all its formality, too often. On Monday morning I made my speech on the significance of Palestine for the future of the Jews. It was extremely well received. Strangely enough, it was the Americans who expressed their appreciation of it afterwards.

Zurich, 8 August 1929

The congress, which was due to close on 6 August, continues to drag on. The election of the new Executive is encountering extreme difficulties. The Labour parties and Weizmann have several times spoken to me and begged me to join the Executive.

Zurich, 13 August 1929

At six o'clock in the morning I received an invitation to attend a meeting under the chairmanship of Sokolow. I was asked whether I was willing to join the new Executive which would be composed of all parties. I said yes, on condition that I would receive the Department for Agricultural Development and that my plan for the establishment of a special settlement institute would be accepted. This was discussed. In the meantime, the congress, which had finished the work of its programme (except for the election of the Executive), noisily awaited the result of the negotiations. Finally, my suggestion was accepted, but I conceded that I would not do anything about the establishment of the settlement institute on my own responsibility, but present my plan to the Zionist General Council for approval. I was dead tired when the congress accepted the new Executive at 7.30 in the morning; my name was greeted with loud applause.

I returned to the hotel at nine o'clock, slept for two hours and in the afternoon attended the inaugural meeting of the Jewish Agency, already sitting on the Executive bench. The meeting went off very well and was very impressive. Especially effective were the speeches by Einstein, Léon Blum and Ussishkin.

Zurich, 15 August 1929

The conference of the Jewish Agency finished yesterday. The later sessions were not nearly as interesting as the opening one. Only the closing session with the signing of the agreement, that is, the constitution of the Jewish Agency, was rather impressive.

Wengon, 19 August 1929

Weizmann is also here and we are meeting him daily. At my request, he told us the story of the Balfour Declaration and other interesting things. He is quite cheerful and looks better than he did at the congress. Today he told me that he would like to settle in Jerusalem and devote himself to the university.

Lucerne, 22 August 1929

In Wengon the weather remained continuously rainy and misty. Nevertheless, I went for walks in the afternoons and visited Weizmann at his hotel. Yesterday he told me that Sacher will not return to Palestine until January. I told him that we would not postpone assigning the departments until then and that the assignments would have to be made on my return in November, at the latest. Which department should we reserve for Sacher? Weizmann suggested finance, general supervision and the chairmanship. I, for all my modesty, cannot work under Sacher as chairman. Let him be called the chairman, for the benefit of the administration; but it must be absolutely understood that he will not have the right to interfere in any way with my department (settlement). I must know if Sacher agrees to this and if he will keep to it. Life is too short for me to waste my time warring with Sacher. In that case, I would prefer to resign from the Executive, which I joined only because I was forced to. I value Sacher as a political representative before the administration; in that position his great gift for advocacy is very useful to him. He understands nothing about economic matters, however; his mind is analytical – critical, not creative.

Weizmann agreed that I should direct settlement independently, and suggested that Sacher and I should meet with him in London in October.

Charlottenburg, 26 August 1929

I left Augsburg at noon and in the evening arrived in Berlin, where Hanna was waiting for me at the station. Unfortunately, the news from Palestine spoiled the joy of reunion. Today's report was not only on a few injured, but on Jewish dead – thirty in Jerusalem and forty in Hebron. In Hebron there was a real pogrom, an attack on defenceless *yeshivah* students, and forty were killed. That is worse than I ever expected, in spite of my fears in this respect! Our young people may have acted unwisely when they demonstrated in front of the Wailing Wall on Tisha be-Av; but after all, it was a mere demonstration, and who could have foreseen that the Arabs would respond in such a fanatical and wild manner? During the clashes, thirty to forty Arabs were also killed. The whole thing is terrible and undoes years of our work in Palestine.

Charlottenburg, 5 September 1929

It has been a painful week. Every day there has been fresh news of people killed in Palestine; the whole Berlin press reported on it with sensational headlines. People were killed not only in Hebron and Jerusalem, but also in Safed and Tel Aviv, among them the son of Y. L. Goldberg. Altogether, the number of Jews killed amounts to 110, and about eighty Arabs also died. The government has moved several warships and a few thousand soldiers from Egypt to Palestine, and for the last three days everything seems to be quiet. We received a telegram from my in-laws saying that they and all our relations are well. The Revisionists are making

political capital out of the events and point out that they have always stated that the Palestine police force was not sufficient to guarantee the safety of the Jews. Their claim is justified, but they forget that this has led them to demand not a *stronger* military occupation but a *Jewish* police force and a *Jewish* Legion. Through making these and similar demands – for instance, inflating the question of the Wailing Wall to a question of national prestige – they have aroused the national and religious passions of the Arabs. If they had not let young people lead a flag-bearing demonstration through the Arab part of the Old City on Tisha be-Av, the present disturbances would not have broken out. It is certainly possible that something else would have caused them later on, as the Arabs are opposed to the Balfour Declaration and to Zionist immigration; but if we had confronted the chauvinism of the Jews and the Arabs in the spirit of the Brit Shalom, these clashes would not have become so extreme and would have been carried out in the press, as are other conflicts between nationalities.

I would quite have liked to remain in Waren, but the disturbances drove me on from there on Sunday morning. Once in Berlin, I immediately went to the Zionist offices and arrived just in time for a large meeting of the central council of German Zionists on the events in Palestine. I was also asked to speak, although there was nothing much new to say. The *Jüdische Rundschau,* which is edited by Robert Weltsch, a supporter of the Brit Shalom, has already said everything that can sensibly be said. In the meantime, the British government has decided to send a commission of enquiry to Palestine. I shall cut short my stay in Europe and return to Palestine in two weeks.

Charlottenburg, 15 September 1929

It was very hot in London and the meetings, which often lasted until after midnight, were very tiring. The news from Palestine indicates that all is quiet there now, after a total of about 130 Jews and 100 Arabs were killed during the disturbances. The conference of the General Council in London passed resolutions about the demands which will have to be put to the administration to ensure future security. On the whole, the speakers expressed the opinion that the administration was to be blamed for everything, as it had failed to provide the country with sufficient protection. The Revisionists again demanded our own Jewish militia. Many of the speakers attacked the Brit Shalom.

As soon as the Jewish conference in Zurich closed, Louis Marshall fell ill, and the news that he had died burst in the midst of our deliberations like a bomb. An extraordinary tragedy! And a heavy blow for the Jewish Agency, as he was almost the only one who would have been able to win the Americans for the Agency.

Jerusalem, 17 October 1929

I have spent the greater part of the past two weeks reading through the enormous amount of 'literature' on the disturbances which has been accumulated by the Zionist Executive and questioning many eyewitnesses of the disturbances about their impressions. There seems to be no doubt that the Arab mob, incited by quite unfounded rumours that Jews had broken into the Mosque of Omar, behaved abominably in Hebron and Safed and even killed small children. On the other hand, there were also isolated cases in which the Jews went beyond plain self-defence in a shameful manner. There is an extraordinary degree of animosity on both sides. The Executive

has decided to appoint a committee for the Arab question, but this committee will now only be able to do long-term work. I very much doubt that *immediate* results can be achieved in view of the present animosity.

I attend the Executive from eight to twelve o'clock and try to familiarize myself with the Settlement Department. The Executive continues to be rather anarchical; there is still no close cooperation. Sacher is occupied with politics (lawsuits, Commission of Enquiry); Kisch with questions of security; Berlin with relief to such an extent that they hardly have time for any other problems. Many important questions of principle therefore remain unsolved. Sprinzak is the most active; Miss Szold is still in America.

I have searched out my Browing revolver, which has been lying undisturbed in my writing desk for ten years; now it lies on my bedside table. After all, one can never be sure that nothing will happen.

Jerusalem, 25 October 1929

On Tuesday, I went from Tel Aviv to visit Huldah, most of which was destroyed and burnt to ashes during the disturbances. Many of the trees have also been burnt. There is nobody there. The place makes a terrible impression. I remembered what hopes we had when we built the first house there twenty years ago. But I was not depressed; we shall rebuild what has been destroyed. On the whole, it is strange that I am one of the few optimists. I have a profound mystical belief that our work in Palestine cannot be destroyed. Perhaps it will take on different forms and the results will differ from those we imagined at first, but a Jewish *yishuv* in Palestine will continue to exist and animate Jewry in the Diaspora.

On Tuesday evening I attended a meeting of Histadrut Executive and made a half-hour speech in Hebrew on the Arab question and the Brit Shalom. I demanded that the Labour Party study the Arab question and deal with it energetically. Most of the speakers vehemently attacked the activity of the Brit Shalom, but failed to contribute any suggestions of their own on the Arab question, although they admitted it was a serious matter.

Yesterday I attended the opening session of the Parliamentary Commission of Enquiry* which has been sent here from London. It was a purely formal meeting lasting about forty minutes. About half of the fifty people present were Arabs.

Jerusalem, 24 November 1929

A tremendous amount of hostility exists between the Jews and the Arabs. The Arab boycott of Jewish businesses continues and does the Jewish shopkeepers a lot of harm.

The Brit Shalom has become the scapegoat on which the Jews vent their displeasure at the present circumstances. What particularly contributes to this is the fact that some people who are members of the Brit Shalom, or are otherwise close to it, go much further than the Brit Shalom in their articles in the press. The *yishuv* regards this as a policy of weakness and is strongly opposed to it. The Brit Shalom is held responsible for every individual, private article.

* Appointed by Colonial Secretary Lord Passfield and headed by Sir Walter Shaw, the commission was to investigate the direct causes for the outbreak of violence in Palestine and suggest steps to prevent a recurrence.

The passion of the masses makes it impossible to take thought calmly, and our conciliatory tone is interpreted by the Arabs as weakness. Moreover, I – as a founder-member of the Brit Shalom (I resigned as chairman four weeks ago in favour of Dr Lurie) – am held responsible for all these public pronoucements.

Jerusalem, 30 November 1929

I am very busy. The Commission of Enquiry has considerably widened its scope. The Arab witnesses bring all sorts of (mostly false) accusations against the programme of Jewish settlement, and I must prepare the material to refute them. I have almost no time to work on my book.

It has been suggested in German Zionist circles that the Zionist Executive should appeal to the British government for the reprieve of the Arabs who have been condemned to death in Palestinian courts for the murders in Hebron and Safed. The London Executive has asked the local Executive here for its opinion. Sacher and Kisch were opposed to our taking any such steps, and I considered it my duty to support their view. Although in pinciple I am against the death penalty in civilized countries, in this case it seemed too dangerous to appeal for the reprieve of the murderers. The Palestinian prisons do not frighten the Arabs, as they are comparatively better off there than they are at home. They would not regard a prison sentence – with the hope of an amnesty after a few years – as a serious punishment, and this might encourage others to slaughter Jews some day. When I joined the Executive, I did not expect that I would have to concern myself with such things.

Jerusalem, 12 December 1929

On Saturday, Emil Ludwig and his wife spent the whole afternoon and evening with us. At Weizmann's invitation, Ludwig is spending a few days in Palestine on his way from Angora to Egypt and wants to write an article on Zionism for *The New York Times*. He gave a lecture on 'History and Fiction' at the university. At a reception given for him by local writers, he said that Lichtheim and I had brought him back to Judaism at a time when it was very remote to him.*

Jerusalem, 31 December 1929

Last Friday afternoon I was questioned *in camera* by the Commission of Enquiry from 3.15 until five o'clock. I was the last witness called. I handed the commission members a written statement and answered their questions, which were mostly concerned with the problem of how much land the Jews would still be able to acquire in Palestine without displacing the Arabs and what the legal relationship between Jews and Arabs should be. I told them that enough land would become available for Jewish settlement as the fellaheen changed over to intensive farming (with the money they would acquire through selling part of their land to the Jews). The legal relationship should be based upon the principle of a bi-national Palestine, that is, the complete equality of both peoples. While Shaw, the chairman, made a rather disgruntled impression, the other three members of the commission seemed to be quite satisfied with my statement.

* Converted to Christianity as a child, Ludwig returned to Judaism after World War I and grew interested in Zionism.

Dr Hexter has joined the Executive as the representative of the American non-Zionists. At the request of the American trustees of the Emergency Fund, he had to be made joint manager of the fund, together with Kisch and Rutenberg.

S.S. *Ausonia*, 9 March 1930

My decision to go to London for the conference of the Zionist General Council (on 16 March) and of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency (23 March) was made easier for me by the fact that the London Executive asked me to attend instead of Sprinzak, as interest now centres on the land question and I was needed as the expert on this. Sprinzak has decided to remain in Jerusalem, unless Weizmann asks him to come to London after all.

London, 19 March 1930

The meetings began early on Sunday morning. I spoke twice on the first day, on the land question and on settlement. Ussishkin bitterly attacked the Brit Shalom and the 'Germans', whose special mentality expressed itself in the Brit Shalom, and called them 'criminals'. I told him that for this I would slaughter him during the debate, but he preferred to ask to be excused at the beginning of the next meeting.

London, 21 March 1930

Lord Balfour died on Thursday. Weizmann wept when he spoke a few words in commemoration at the meeting of the General Council.

Berlin-Schlachtensee, 2 April 1930

The conference in London ended on Thursday, 27 March, and I left London on Friday evening. Contrary to expectation, the meetings of the Administrative Committee went very smoothly and bore practical results. It was finally decided to settle 1,000 workers immediately as smallholders, and most of the sum of £350,000 which is necessary for this has been raised. Now I am very glad that I went to London after all, because I doubt that without me all these results would have been achieved. I worked in close cooperation with the Labour representatives on the Administrative Committee (Harzfeld, Arlosoroff, Kaplan, Locker). Most of the credit for success belongs to Harzfeld, as he has worked for a year in order to organize the settlement groups in Palestine and encourage them to save money, and to move the JNF to purchase land.

Schlachtensee, 12 April 1930

The day before yesterday was an important day for me. I went to the Jüdische Verlag to hand in the first part of my manuscript. I feel strange about the book; the day before yesterday I was satisfied with it, yesterday I thought that it was awful. But I am afraid that it will not be improved by further tinkering with it. It has got to be published now.

Jerusalem, 30 April 1930

This morning I went to the Executive. We had a meeting which was concerned mainly with the question of whether or not the Executive should appeal to the High Commissioner to reprieve the twenty-five Arabs who have been condemned to death for killing Jews during the pogroms. It is a tremendously difficult question,

as the executions will embitter the Arabs terribly. On the other hand, a reprieve could be interpreted by the mob as meaning that murdering Jews does not carry a severe penalty and that a repetition of the pogroms would not have any serious consequences.

Jerusalem, 31 May 1930

The last few weeks have been very exciting for all the Zionists. Only six weeks ago, the British government, through Prime Minister MacDonald, made a statement in Parliament on its Palestine policy which was very favourable towards us. Under the influence of the Arab delegation to London and in view of the tense political situation in Egypt and India, it now apparently wishes to change its policy. For the time being, it has stopped the immigration of Jews into Palestine (on the basis of 'certificates') and has sent Sir John Hope-Simpson to Palestine to study the immigration and land questions. I have been appointed by the Executive to represent our economic interests before Hope-Simpson and am chairing a commission to prepare the material for him. We have already had two meetings in Tel Aviv. In the economic field, I feel our demands are on firm ground and think that my suggestions, aiming at settling 50,000 Jewish families in agriculture in the course of twenty to thirty years, are above criticism.

Jerusalem, 2 June 1930

Today I had a three-hour conversation with Hope-Simpson. I went into it fully aware of my responsibility and came away with the impression that everything had gone well. Hope-Simpson has agreed to my suggestions to see the Executive, the Va'ad Le'umi and the Histadrut; talk to the fifteen experts whose names I presented to him; visit our settlements and so forth. I have not had any mission of similar importance since my negotiations with Jemal Pasha during the war. I shall have to put my book aside and devote myself exclusively to this mission.

Jerusalem, 14 June 1930

From Monday to Thursday of this week, I took Hope-Simpson on a journey from Haifa through the settlements in the Jezreel Valley to the Jordan Valley. Sir John was tremendously enthusiastic about everything which I and Victor Kohn (from PICA [Palestine Jewish Colonization Association]) showed him. He made speeches in several places expressing his admiration for the enthusiasm of our settlers and for our achievements. Through it all, however, sounded the note that the Arabs were economically powerless against such a strong movement and would have to be protected.

Jerusalem, 22 June 1930

Just now, at nine o'clock in the evening, I finished the last part of the manuscript of the first volume of my book and sent it to the Jüdische Verlag.* Hallelujah! It was high time that I was delivered of this ten-month child.

* Zionist publishing house in Berlin, established in 1901, which brought out works by many outstanding Zionist and Jewish authors.

Jerusalem, 30 June 1930

During the past two days I have twice been to Hope-Simpson. Although the *yishuv* is firmly convinced that his report will be against us, because this is what the British government wants, I believe that in many respects the report will be useful for our work.

Yesterday, I told a meeting of the Executive that I would not be able to remain on the Executive after the conference of the Jewish Agency Administrative Committee (end of August) because lack of funds has prevented the Settlement Department from providing me with creative work, and I was not sufficiently interested in the other branches of the Executive's activity.

Jerusalem, 12 July 1930

A few nights ago, when I could not sleep, it occurred to me that if I gave up the direction of the Settlement Department I could perhaps direct a department for economic research. Such a department could systematically and scientifically investigate the economic possibilities of Palestine, the market in the neighbouring countries and the transfer of Jewish industrialists from Europe to Palestine. This would be a new field and would interest me. Perhaps this research would later develop into a professorship of political economy at the university and a book on the economic geography of the Middle East. Such a book would bear the same relation to *Syria, An Economic Survey* as the *Sociology of the Jews* to the *The Jews of Today*.

Jerusalem, 14 July 1930

We have handed Hope-Simpson three long memoranda:

1 on land and agricultural development;

2 on urban development;

3 on immigration.

I am mainly responsible for the first, Hoofien for the second, and Sprinzak and Kisch for the third.

In the first memorandum we show that if the farming of the fellaheen were to be a little intensified – in the coastal zone, Beisan, Huleh and the lower Jordan Valley – the Jews would be able to buy 1,300,000 dunams without displacing the people who have so far worked the land. Fifty-five thousand families could be settled on this land. Hope-Simpson has mainly these reservations about the plan:

1 that we purchase land faster than the fellahin intensify their farming;

2 that the fellahin will squander the purchase price and not make use of it for improvements;

3 that the JNF will not let Arabs work on its land, and increasing land purchase will displace the Arabs from many parts of Palestine.

Therefore he wants to introduce a sort of supervision over land purchase and development.

Yesterday I ate the first grapes from my garden. I was very proud of this achievement.

Charlottenburg, 6 September 1930

From the day after my arrival in Berlin (i.e., from 21 August) until 2 September, I have been continuously attending meetings of the Executive, the Zionist General Council and the Jewish Agency Administrative Committee. There have also been

endless discussions in committees. As the budget has been fixed at £400,000 and only £90,000 has been allocated to settlement, I told the General Council and later a meeting of the Zionist members of the Administrative Committee, that I would not be able to continue to be responsible for settlement and would have to resign. This aroused a great storm. Goldstein, the delegate of the Keren Hayesod, stated that he would not be able to work for the Keren Hayesod after my resignation. I left, and in my absence it was unanimously decided not to accept my resignation. The Labour supporters stated that they would not join any Executive of which I was not a member and that they were prepared to vacate the place to which they were entitled in my favour. Dr Kahn, who had been elected to the Executive by the non-Zionists, finally promised me that he would do everything possible to raise an extra £120,000, which had been earmarked as a supplementary budget, for the Settlement Department. I demanded that Felix Warburg tell this to a meeting of the Executive. He did so, and in the end I had to remain – much against my will – on the Executive of the Jewish Agency, which has now been statutorily reduced to eight members, with Weizmann as chairman (Zelig Brodetzky in London, Dr Kahn in Berlin, Hexter commuting between London and Jerusalem, Kisch in Berlin, Senator and I in Jerusalem, Julius Simon in New York).

Yesterday afternoon, Lisa and I visited Professor Einstein. I had arranged this visit when I met him ten days ago at dinner at Weizmann's. We talked about Zionism (how did he come to be a Zionist?), about the Arab question and about the lack of proportion between all human activity and the enormous masses of the universe. He decided to support Zionism because he saw it as an idea which provided the Jews with the possibility of remaining a dignified community. In this nationalistic world, nationalism alone remained a binding force for the Jews. When I asked him whether he would also recommend Jewish nationalism to the German Jews, if it were possible for them to assimilate in Germany with decency and to become part of the German nation, he said that it was a good thing that this was only a hypothetical question, because he would find it difficult to answer. On the Arab question, he is, of course, against the suppression of the Arabs; but if it were possible to bring Jews to Palestine without such an oppression of the Arabs, one would not have to trouble about the Arab political objections that Palestine belonged to them and that they did not want to have the Jews there. No country was 'reserved' for a certain nation. He is an extraordinarily nice person; his wife is in no way his equal.

Berlin-Schlachtensee, 1 October 1930

The Executive in London is asking me to go there in order to write a report, if necessary, to balance the Hope-Simpson report, which is about to be published. I would like to avoid the journey to London if I can, but I do not know yet whether this will be possible.

On Sunday, 28 September, I gave a talk to the Congress for Palestine Labour on the social structure of the Jews and participated in the meetings. I had hoped for a more active participation on the part of leading non-Jewish socialists. I made the acquaintance of Eduard Bernstein* and listened to a speech by Ernst Toller.**

* A leader of the German Social Democrats (1850–1932) who founded the revisionist trend in the socialist movement.

** German Jewish poet, socialist and pacifist.

The tremendous success of the anti-Semitic National Socialists in the German parliamentary elections has further upset the German economy, which was not very sound anyway. A feeling of insecurity prevails, and many people are taking money abroad.

London, 20 October 1930

On Friday we received the Hope-Simpson report and the policy statement by the government. That was the end of the idyllic calm, and the barometer indicates a storm. The Hope-Simpson report is far from satisfactory, but the policy statement by the government is even worse.* It robs us almost completely of the possibilities of immigration and land purchase and provides for the early establishment of a legislative council. Consequently, Weizmann wrote to the government that he would have to resign from the chairmanship of the Jewish Agency. We are therefore facing a serious crisis, which is made worse by the fact that we have no money.

S.S. *Jan Pieterszoon Coen,* 1 November 1930

I wrote down some comments on the Hope-Simpson report and the statement by the government while I was in London. Otherwise, there was nothing for me to do there, as negotiating with the government, which was really Weizmann's reason for asking me to come to London, is now out of the question. Therefore, I decided not to stay.

Jerusalem, 11 November 1930

People in Palestine are naturally very upset. The Jews are furious with Hope-Simpson, Passfield and Britain in general. The Va'ad Le'umi has decided not to participate in the elections when the government sets up the legislative council. It is said that the Zionist General Council in London had a very stormy conference from 4 to 10 November. In spite of strong opposition to it, the present Executive is to continue in office (which is a pity, as far as I am concerned). The congress is being convened in February, and it has been decided to change our present policy completely. The British government has recently shown repeated signs of cooperation, granting us 1,500 immigration certificates and interpreting the White Paper in a sense favourable to us. Why did Passfield not foresee all these consequences earlier? It would have been easy to write quite a different White Paper on the basis of the Hope-Simpson report. What hurts about it most is the tone.

Jerusalem, 6 December 1930

I have not lifted a finger in my garden. Every day has brought a new Zionist sensation. In London, the government is negotiating with the Executive of the Jewish Agency about a new policy statement, which is to make the White Paper palatable to us. The negotiations continue, and hopes are sometimes high and sometimes

* In his report, Hope-Simpson stated that at present, considering the methods employed by Arab farmers, there is no land to meet the needs of agricultural settlement for Jewish immigrants. The White Paper published by Colonial Secretary Passfield was based on the Hope-Simpson report and drew even more drastic conclusions about reducing Jewish immigration and land purchase until new conditions were created by a development programme.

low. On 17 November there was an eight-hour debate on Palestine in the House of Commons, which was carried on at a very high level.

Jerusalem, 10 December 1930

Today has been an important day: I have received the first copies of my book [*Soziologie der Juden*] It is the longest and – I hope – most significant of my books, the result of almost twenty-five years' work. Will it stand out in the future as the first sociological work on the Jews or will it be forgotten with thousands of others?

Jerusalem, 31 December 1930

This has not been a happy year! The Shaw report in the spring and the Hope-Simpson report and the White Paper in October have weakened the Zionist situation. We used to have only the Arabs against us. Now the British government also seems to be turning away from us. Moreover, as a consequence of our deteriorating political situation and the world economic crisis, the Jews abroad are not investing money in Palestine or contributing to the Zionist funds. The Jewish Agency, on which we placed such high hopes when it was established, has completely failed from a financial point of view. Never have the Zionist funds received so little money as now, and we are thus confronted with a financial catastrophe. Felix Warburg, who gave freely in the past, now keeps his hand on his purse; Lord Melchett (Mond), who invested quite a lot of money in Palestine, died last Saturday. We have hardly any other rich people. How we are to continue our work under these political and financial circumstances – cultivate new land and bring immigrants into the country – is a mystery. The Zionist Organization has also been weakened internally by the attacks of the Revisionists, whose outcry attracts the masses.

Jerusalem, 14 February 1931

What little spare time I have had I have used to prepare a critical commentary on the Hope-Simpson report, in which I have discovered significant errors. I have also been working on the text of the second volume of my book.*

In London, the government and the Jewish Agency have been negotiating to remove the worst points of the White Paper by means of a favourable 'interpretation'. They have succeeded with regard to the political aspect. Tomorrow this interpretation is to be published in the form of a letter from the prime minister to Dr Weizmann. Now the negotiations on the economic questions (Development Commision) are to begin.

Jerusalem, 21 February 1931

At my suggestion, all four members of the Executive went to Jericho yesterday evening with Dr Berkson in order to be able to discuss basic Zionist questions in peace. We all agreed that the Jewish National Home cannot be realized *against* the Arabs. I took the role of devil's advocate upon myself with the thesis: 'We are not offered what we need, and what we are offered is of no use to us.' We finally arrived at a view which was less pessimistic, namely that we could offer the Arabs

* *Sociology of the Jews*; the second volume published in 1932 under the title *Der Kampf der Juden um ihre Zukunft* ('The Struggle of the Jews for Their Future').

our help in establishing a large Arab federation and they, in turn, might then agree to a bi-national Palestine.

London, 19 April 1931

As the Palestinian Arabs are apparently unwilling to come, the negotiations with the government are definitely to begin on Wednesday. The Executive has approved my attitude towards the development scheme and my constructive counter-proposals.

London, 26 April 1931

On Wednesday, in the room of the Lord Advocate Aithchinson in the House of Commons, the first discussion on the government's development scheme (£2,500,000) took place between the inter-departmental committee of the government and ourselves (i.e., Weizmann, Stein, Hexter, Brodetzky and myself). We tried to explain that the money would be put to better use as agricultural loans to Arabs and Jews than if used to improve the soil and that we did not want a special development commission, especially not under the chairmanship of Hope-Simpson. The government gave no definite answer.

London, 15 May 1931

We had a second meeting with the government committee. It rejected our demand to allocate the £2,500,000 immediately to Jews and Arabs, in fixed proportion, especially for loans.

At my suggestion, there was a meeting last Saturday evening at Weizmann's house for a few of his friends (Eder, Feiwel, Hexter, Marks, Goodman, Rosenblüth, Wilkansky and myself). We gathered to discuss the situation that would arise as a result of his intended resignation at the next congress. I analysed the pros and cons in the event Weizmann were to remain after all and asked the others for their opinion. Everyone said that Weizmann would have to remain. A second meeting took place on Tuesday, when it was decided to support not Weizmann, but the Weizmann policy and to establish contact with similar-minded groups (in Britain, Germany and Canada).

Waren, 29 May 1931

I remained in London until Saturday, 23 May. The government's answer to our suggestions came on 21 May. It could have been worse, but it also could have been better. There is an apparent attempt to meet our wishes, but the government insists upon appointing the development commissioner at once and deciding about the distribution of the loan only after the commissioner has studied conditions on the spot. In particular, he is to ascertain the number of tenants displaced through the purchase of land by the Jews and the cost of their resettlement. At the same time, he is to prepare suggestions for granting loans to Jewish and Arab farmers and submit them to the Colonial Office by the end of 1931. Then the Arabs and the Jews will again be asked for their views on these suggestions.

Hertenstein 18 July 1931

On 28 June we went on to Basle, where the [Seventeenth Zionist] Congress opened on 30 June. I made my (extemporaneous) speech during the opening session. During

the debates, our work in Palestine was hardly mentioned; politics were paramount. Senator tried to raise money to cover the debts, but with little success. Weizmann was undecided whether to canvass for his re-election or to refuse to stand; in the end he blundered over a foolish interview granted to a journalist* and was not re-elected. The resignation of Kisch and myself also passed without comment. An Executive was formed on a coalition basis, from the left to the Mizrachi (without the Revisionists), with Sokolow as chairman and Farbstein, Brodetzky, Neumann, Locker and Arlosoroff. The non-Zionists elected were Hexter, Senator, Berkson, Kahn, and Viteles. The composition is not bad, as all the members are capable people; but a leading personality is lacking. Sokolow is old and not equal to the situation.

Hertenstein, 21 July 1931

Yesterday I went to Basle to attend – for the last time – a meeting of the old and the new Executives. The chief topic was the financial position. I was unable to remain until the end and do not know how the distribution of the departments was managed.

Bad Gastein, 10 August 1931

In Prussia, yesterday, the National Socialist demand to dissolve the Prussian diet, with its Socialist and centre party majority, was rejected by plebiscite. Out of twenty-eight million people entitled to vote, 'only' ten million voted for it. Nevertheless, it is a step away from the abyss.

Veldes (Bled) Yugoslavia, 31 August 1931

From 16 to 19 August I had to interrupt my holiday in order to attend a meeting of the new Executive in Zurich concerned with the British government's intended legislation for Palestine. The draft laws are frightful: they make every arrangement concerning land dependent upon the consent of the High Commissioner, who is not bound by any rules. We were unanimously opposed to them.

Jerusalem, 25 September 1931

The sensation of the week is that Britain has relinquished the gold standard for its bank notes. As a result, the pound sterling fell by fifteen per cent in New York and Paris.

Jerusalem, 8 October 1931

I spoke to the Jezreel Valley settlers in Nahalal about the need, in view of the serious economic situation throughout the world, to forego the complete consolidation of the settlements, which would cost £250,000, and to be satisfied with a 'simplified' one, which might be managed with £100,000. Most of the people agreed with me. I will pursue the plan further.

* In an interview with a representative of the ITA News Agency, Weizmann is to have said (according to the reporter) that he lacks 'understanding and sympathy for the demand to achieve a Jewish majority in Palestine. A majority is no assurance of security, and is not necessary for the development of Jewish civilization and culture. The world will take this demand to mean only that we wish to achieve a majority in order to drive out the Arabs.'

Jerusalem, 31 October 1931

The important event of the week has been the British parliamentary elections, which brought an overwhelming Conservative victory . . . The elections are a heavy blow to the Labour Party. A Conservative government may be better for Zionism than the previous one. The Labour government was poorly informed and uncertain about Palestine.

Jerusalem, 9 November 1931

Arthur Schnitzler* has died. I spoke to him once – shortly after the Great War at the home of Mrs Patak in Vienna. I used to be very enthusiastic about his work; today I am no longer so strongly affected by it. It is like champagne; but one cannot drink champagne all the time. He had an extraordinary gift of empathy with a certain class of people – especially the Viennese.

3 December 1931**

Undoubtedly the Arabs have greatly strengthened their political position during the past few years and are much less ready to make concessions to the Jews than they were ten years ago. The situation is paradoxical: what we can get (from the Arabs) is of no use to us, and what we need we cannot get from them. At most, the Arabs would agree to grant national rights to the Jews in an Arab state, on the pattern of the national rights in Eastern Europe. But we know only too well from conditions in Eastern Europe how little a majority with executive power can be moved to grant real and complete national equality to a minority. The fate of the Jewish minority in Palestine would always be dependent upon the goodwill of the Arab majority, which would steer the state. To the Jews of Eastern Europe, who form the overwhelming majority of all the Zionists, such a settlement would be completely unsatisfactory, and it would kill their enthusiasm for the Zionist cause and for Palestine. A movement which would agree to such a compromise with the Arabs would not be supported by the East European Jews and would very soon become a *Zionism without Zionists*. . . .

Jerusalem, 31 December 1931

I have once again arrived at the end of a year. The feeling of approaching age has increased my 'miserliness with time', or rather my urge to get as much as possible out of my time.

Sometimes my mind is occupied with a work on the significance of illusion in the history of the world. Perhaps as a result of reading Freud's *The Future of an Illusion*, in which he represents religion as a great illusion, I think that history has contained a whole sequence of such illusions and they have been of tremendous importance, perhaps of greater importance than the conditions of production on which Marx placed so much emphasis.

My attitude towards Zionism has changed during the last ten years. Although I always recognized the importance of finding a solution to the Arab question, I

* Arthur Schnitzler (1862–1931), Austrian Jewish writer known for his descriptions of the erotic life of Viennese Society; once close to Herzl, he published a novel, *Der Weg ins Freie*, in the spirit of Jewish nationalism.

** From a letter to Dr Victor Jacobson.

did not expect the Arabs to become so powerful so quickly or that such bitter antagonism would develop between them and the Jews. I do not believe that the Jews will become a majority in Palestine in this or the next generation. The country is not capable of absorbing a million Jewish immigrants, which would be necessary to create a majority, in the course of thirty or even forty years. On the other hand, it is doubtful whether a Jewish minority will be able to preserve its national individuality and independence against an Arab majority if the latter controls the machinery of state.

Jerusalem, 4 February 1932

At a meeting of the Brit Shalom, and later at two smaller meetings, Magnes again raised the question of our attitude towards a constitution for Palestine. He has prepared a draft under the slogan 'Palestine, an Arab-Jewish State'. It contains a plan for a graduated development towards a constitution. I have modified several points of the draft. But what good does it do that a small circle has reached agreement when there is no prospect of making the draft acceptable either to the Jews or to the Arabs?

Jerusalem, 10 February 1932

At the university this afternoon, Bentwich* gave his inaugural lecture as the newly appointed professor for the Chair of Peace. The subject was 'Jerusalem, the City of Peace'. Revisionists (mostly not students), who were prejudiced against Bentwich as a supporter of the Brit Shalom, caused a great uproar and tried to prevent him from speaking. I think the entire world is mad – especially we Jews – and that people who spent their youth during the war and soon thereafter should be treated like lunatics.

Jerusalem, 4 March 1932

Yesterday I received an urgent summons from Magnes. The High Commissioner [Sir Arthur Wauchope] asked him to call yesterday and told him that the creation of a legislaive council was now on the agenda and he would like to have Magnes' comments on it. Magnes told him his plan, which was agreed upon a few weeks ago in a general discussion (Magnes, Senator, Berman, Gershom Scholem, and myself). Last night the High Commissioner telephoned me and asked me to call on him this afternoon at five o'clock. First we had tea together and afterwards we talked for an hour and a quarter about the legislative council. The High Commissioner asked me if there were any point in calling a round-table conference of Arabs and Jews to discuss the question of the legislative council. I told him that in view of the present tense relations between the Jews and both the British government and the Arabs, the Jews would at present oppose the plan for a legislative council. I suggested that the next one to two years be used to ease the situation and introduce several measures (appointment of Jews and Arabs to the Executive council, establishment of advisory councils to the various government departments, improved arrangements in the municipal councils), in order to prepare for the establishment of the legislative

* Norman Bentwich (1883–1971), British jurist and writer who was legal advisor to and chief prosecutor for the Mandatory government until 1931 and professor of international relations at the Hebrew University, 1932–52.

council. The High Commissioner said that he personally agreed with me, but the British government might feel bound by its pledge in the White Paper of 1930 to proceed with the establishment of the legislative council immediately. I said that at present the Jews would certainly be against it. I gave him the second volume of my sociology and asked him to find someone to translate the chapter 'Jews and Arabs' for him.

Jerusalem, 2 April 1932

The day before yesterday Hanna and I attended the Maccabiah in Tel Aviv. The newly built stadium in which the events took place is said to accommodate 10,000 people. The physical exercises by 3,000 gymnasts and children were extraordinarily impressive.

Jerusalem, 23 April 1932

Things are looking black for Zionism. The drive in the United States under Sokolow's direction is a complete failure. Weizmann, in South Africa, did fairly well with the drive, but it is apparent from a letter he wrote to Sprinzak that he is very embittered against the present Executive. This Executive really is not very good. Sokolow is no leader, and there is extreme discord between the members.

Jerusalem, 10 June 1932

I recently had a discussion in Tel Aviv with Beilinson, the editor of *Davar*, on the future of Zionism (I had previously had similar discussions with Arlosoroff and Dr Hantke). I told him that the Histadrut should appoint one man responsible for each of the most important Zionist problems (Arab question, propaganda, finance, etc.). These men should prepare plans which will form a basis for discussion and later be submitted to the Zionist Congress. Beilinson wants to gather a consensus of opinion from members of his party and will then give me an answer.

Jerusalem, 15 June 1932

During the past two weeks, I wrote a long and detailed article on the problems of settlement in which I defended the Zionist settlement activities (mixed farming) against an attack by Granovsky in the *Near East and Palestine** He recommended orange plantations as a basis of our settlement instead of mixed farming. As the attack was aimed at me – although I was not mentioned by name – I felt called upon to defend myself.

S.S. *Adrie*, 17 July 1932

I had a long discussion with Berl Katzenelson** – as previously with Beilinson of *Davar* – on what could be done to bring the most burning problems of Zionism (the Arab question, propaganda against the Jews, new settlement) closer to a solution.

* Dr Abraham Granovsky (later Granot), "Colonisation Problems in Palestine," *Palestine and Near East Economic Magazine* (March 1932); Dr Ruppin's reply was reprinted in *Three Decades of Palestine* (1936).

** Berl Katzenelson (1887–1944), foremost ideologist of the Palestine labour movement and the founder of its daily, *Davar*.

I am toying with a plan to help farm workers who have £50 or £100 capital of their own to settle as market gardeners or smallholders in the course of the next four to nine years with the help of a loan of £100–150. That would provide a new impetus for settling and cultivating the land, as until now every settler has cost the Zionist Organization £600–700 (apart from the cost of the land).

Berlin, 23 July 1932

The German government has dismissed the Prussian government and many (socialist) high officials and has entrusted the direction of ministerial affairs to a commissar; it has also proclaimed Berlin under martial law. The newspapers are filled with accounts of attacks on people in the streets by Communists and National Socialists, but in Charlottenburg everything is completely quiet and there is no indication of any excitement.

London, 1 August 1932

On Friday evening I visited Feiwel, on Saturday evening I went to a reception given by Sokolow, and on Sunday evening I had dinner with Weizmann (together with Blumenfeld and two South African Zionists). Weizmann spoke rather contemptuously of the present Executive and his opponents in general. He said that everything now depended upon bringing another few thousand or ten thousand young Jews to Palestine. Then (so General Allenby told him recently) the country would be in our power.

Marienbad, 23 August 1932

I remained in London until Friday, 12 August, in order to attend the conference of the Zionist General Council and that of the Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency. I spoke at several of the meetings, defending our past settlement activities and suggesting the possibility of settling 5,000 families in five years at a cost of £220 per settler. On Saturday, 6 August, Weizmann arranged a tea at the Hotel Russell, to which he invited twenty-five to thirty people, mostly members of the General Council. I explained my plan to settle 5,000 families. I am still not sure whether Weizmann decided to call the meeting because of my plan or because he wanted to hold his own meeting of the General Council.

London, 24 August 1932*

Yesterday I ate with Weizmann at the Carlton. He talked of wonderful ways of exploiting a few technical discoveries and maintained that they will provide him with millions and that he will then be able to finance settlement all by himself. We will wait and see!

Jerusalem, 18 December 1932

The history of the world knows no laws, not even of probability. It is therefore senseless to prophesy about it. This is also the answer to those who want to 'prove' that Zionism is a lost cause.

Heredity determines what may become of a human being; the environment determines what *does* become of him.

* From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1932

In contrast to the crises all over the world, Palestine is experiencing a period of prosperity, almost a boom. The High Commissioner, Wauchope, is well disposed towards the Jews and tries – with due consideration of the Arabs – to further their work. Personally, I am on better terms with him than I was with any of his predecessors. Certainly there are a number of question marks on the horizon. The present boom arises mainly out of the tremendous extension of the orange plantations and the building of houses, but how long can it last? In the interest of peace, will the High Commissioner not finally have to make concessions to the Arabs (legislative council) which will stifle or restrict the work of the Jews? For the time being, it is reassuring that 10,000 Jews have immigrated in 1932 and that the prospects for 1933 are also good.

London, 21 January 1933*

1 I spent two weeks in Geneva and have confirmed my previous impression that under Arab pressure Britain and the League of Nations will revise the 'legal status' of the Jews and Arabs in Palestine before long – maybe in two, five or a few more years. We Jews will then receive what we 'are worth' according to our number, our economic position and the extent of the support for Palestine among the Jews of the Diaspora. It is therefore extremely important that we make use of this short period of time to become stronger through immigration, land purchase and propagating the idea of Palestine.

2 Therefore, I would first of all like to remove all obstacles which might interfere with the flow of capital into Palestine or lessen the feelings of world Jewry towards Palestine. It was for this reason that, as you may know, I opposed the project of an income tax both in a commission of the Executive and in the press. I was afraid that such a tax would discourage the influx of capital. The representatives of Labour supported me, although in principle they consider the income tax as theoretically the better tax (and incidentally so do I). Nevertheless they have rejected theories in favour of practical necessities. The workers and the farmers are now fighting each other, not only squandering valuable energy but also hindering the progress of our work both within and without. I have tried to bring them together. I wanted to rally both parties around a common settlement programme which would take into consideration the interests of both the *halutzim* and the middle classes.

The plan for settlement I presented in London has been passed on to the experimental station for verification. As you will remember, my plan was based on demanding that the settlers maintain their present low standard of living for another ten years. I wanted to provide them with the same standard as that *which they have now as workers in the middle-class villages*. The experimental station disagrees with this approach, however, and maintains that the settler requires a higher standard of living. In figures: not £40 – 60 annually, as I suggested, but £90 – 100. . . .

Jerusalem, 14 February 1933

There is great excitement in the country about a contract which Emir Abdullah signed with the Executive of the Jewish Agency or their front men leasing his private

* From a letter to Chaim Weizmann.

lands in Trans-Jordan. The Arabs kicked up a great fuss and Abdullah cancelled the contract officially (legally, he cannot do this at all), but appears to be searching secretly for ways to implement it. Economically, the land, which now lies fallow, is a burden rather than a boon, but it would be politically significant if a precedent were set for no longer excluding the Jews from Trans-Jordan.

The third (last) volume of my sociology has been published in Hebrew. It has been very well translated by Baruch Krupnik. The publishers want to print a new edition of the first volume, as the previous one has been sold out.

In Germany, Hitler has become chancellor! That a demagogue like Hitler has become the leader of the German people is definitely a sign of the country's decline. From a moral point of view, the situation of the Jews in Germany is frightful. A catastrophic collapse of all the hopes of the liberal Jews to assimilate among the German people. Now everyone is waiting to see what Hitler's positive achievements will be.

Jerusalem, 26 March 1933

The day before yesterday, I listened to a radio broadcast of Hitler's speech outlining his programme to the *Reichstag*. It was incomparably better than his election speeches: significant, interesting and absorbing. How much of what it contained is correct and how many of the promises can be fulfilled is another matter; but it will certainly make a great impression on the German people.

The most atrocious rumours are circulating about the situation of the Jews in Germany: the disappearance of Jewish Communists without a trace, maltreatment in prisons, police raids at night. Most likely, much of this is untrue; but how much? In any case, it is almost unbelievable that the proud German Jewry of 1920 should, within such a short time, have to face such a terribly degrading situation.

Jerusalem, 9 April 1933

Kurt arrived here three days ago, Thea* and the two children arrived today; they are living in Lisa's new house. Thea left Berlin on the very day the government (or the National Socialist Party, which is the same thing) ordered a boycott against all the Jewish shops.

Jerusalem, 20 April 1933

Germany has issued a special decree against 'officials, lawyers and so forth of the Semitic race', removing all those whose parents or grandparents were Jewish from their posts or making them unfit to plead in court. Thousands of officials and lawyers have thus been deprived of their livelihood.

Jerusalem, 12 May 1933

Yesterday, in Berlin and in other large towns, the 'un-German' books of Marx, Kautsky, Emil Ludwig, Remarque, etc. were burned publicly and ceremoniously in large bonfires. Goebbels made a great speech on the occasion. Can this nonsense be carried any further? That the German government has now created, beside the legendary Aryans, the non-Aryans = Jews (horror of horrors!) and has taken this

* Dr Ruppin's brother and sister-in-law.

term as the basis for regulations excluding Jews from public office, the law and so forth just goes to show that there is no limit to the possible forms of nonsense.

The day before yesterday, the Va'ad Le'umi called a special meeting to discuss the situation of the Jews in Germany. I made a speech stating that it was more important to procure work in Palestine and shelter for Jewish children and young people than to pass political resolutions against the German government. Bialik seconded my statement.

Jerusalem, 19 June 1933

A terrible event of these past days was the assassination of Arlosoroff.* He returned from Europe on Wednesday; I met him on Wednesday evening in Tel Aviv and arranged to travel to Jerusalem together on Thursday. Then he telephoned to say that he could not go because he was being detained by a meeting. On Friday evening at ten o'clock he was going for a walk with his wife along the beach when two men approached them and one fired two deadly shots at him. He underwent an operation and died shortly after midnight. Upon receiving the news, I went to Tel Aviv early on Saturday and remained there until yesterday afternoon, attending the funeral. The whole thing has upset me terribly. I regarded Arlosoroff as my pupil and successor, almost as my son. He was no more than thirty-four years old and was tremendously gifted. Who are the murderers? It is thought that they are Jewish and Arab Communists.

Jerusalem, 7 July 1933

It is still not known who was responsible for Arlosoroff's murder. A Revisionist suspect is in custody, but so far there is insufficient evidence against him. I visited Mrs Arlosoroff in Tel Aviv; she is behaving heroically.

Prague, 16 August 1933

The two weeks in Germany have passed without incident although I expected all sorts of unpleasant things. I went to the Foreign Office to the head of the department (Dr Prufer) and to the Ministry of Economic Affairs and was well received. We reached an agreement according to which every emigrant to Palestine may bring with him £1,000 in bills of exchange and 20,000 marks worth (possibly more) of goods through a trust company.

Apart from these negotiations, I spent my time in Berlin sounding out leading Jews about my plan to solve the Jewish question in Germany through the emigration of 250,000 to Palestine, the United States and other countries. I talked to Rabbi Baeck; Rabbi Warschauer; the leader of the Berlin community, Stahl; Dr Ludwig Tietz; Wilfried Israel; Privy Councillor Rathenau. They all agreed to my plan, including Weltsch, who is editing the *Jüdische Rundschau* so well that the number of subscribers has risen during the past four months from 7,000 to 30,000.

Prague, 4 September 1933**

You will have learned from the newspapers that I have rejoined the Executive. Originally, I wanted to work (together with Weizmann) only on behalf of the

* Chaim Arlosoroff (1899–1933), Zionist Labour leader and head of the Political Department of the Jerusalem Executive from 1931.

** From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

German Jews and declined to join the Executive. But it was extremely difficult to form the Executive. We obtained Weizmann's agreement to take over German affairs together with me and one other person (Brodetzky?) only after a great deal of trouble, in a half-hour telephone conversation with him in Meran (cost: 300 Czech kronen!) on the evening before the [Eighteenth Zionist] Congress closed. I thought that was the end of the matter and went to bed with a sleeping tablet at three o'clock. I had hardly fallen asleep when I was woken by a terrific din outside the door. When I opened the door, Lipski and Ab. Goldberg told me that I must join the Executive if the congress was not to disperse without electing one. (Without me, Brodetzky would not join this 'left' Executive* either). Drowsy as I was, I told them that I would agree if they cleared out at once.

Marienbad, 8 September 1933

The congress dragged on endlessly and I had to stay in Prague until 5 September. On 24 August I made my speech about settling German Jews in Palestine, saying that it was essential that 200,000 Jews emigrate from Germany to Palestine and other countries. The speech aroused little disagreement. During the first ten days of the congress the delegates were so completely absorbed by the conflict between the Labour Party and the Revisionists (who were accused of moral responsibility for the assassination of Arlosoroff) that they were interested in nothing else. For me, it was the most boring congress I have ever attended.

Jerusalem, 7 November 1933

We have recently been under the shadow of serious clashes between the Arabs and the police, in which about fifteen Arabs were killed in Jaffa (and Haifa). The clashes arose out of street demonstrations by the Arabs agsinst Jewish immigration, which amounted to about 3,000 during the past month. The only solution I can see for the future is to limit the Jews to the valleys, with autonomy there, and the Arabs to the hills and the lower Jordan Valley.

Jerusalem, 2 December 1933

A fortnight ago I was again invited to dine with the High Commissioner. I told him that I would like to talk to him informally some time about the general political situation. He then invited me to call on him on the following day, and we talked about immigration for more than an hour. I had the impression that he wants to help us, but at the same time he does not want to provoke the Arabs. He is trying to find a middle course.

The PLDC, which, by the way, is once more in a healthy financial position, is negotiating for the acquisition of the Huleh concession. It is a large mouthful: purchase price and making improvements will amount to almost £1 million.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1933

During 1933 Palestine absorbed 35,000 Jewish immigrants – a record number – and the Jewish population of the country has risen to 230–235,000. That is definitely

* The congress elected four representatives of the labour movement to the Executive: David Ben-Gurion, Berl Locker, Eliezer Kaplan and Moshe Shertok (Sharett).

a step forward. If we could work at this pace for another five years, we would reach the figure of almost 500,000, and then we would no longer have to live in fear, as we do today, that a serious Arab revolt would ruin all our work. There is much political unrest amongst the Arabs. I am therefore not very optimistic as I enter the new year. Every disturbance in Palestine frightens away capital, and without capital a large immigration is impossible.

Jerusalem 19 January 1934

The pace of life has once more quickened, providing a lot of variety. An example is the past three days. The day before yesterday I went to Tel Aviv with Thon. When I met Hankin, he had with him seven Arabs from Syria who own 300,000 dunams in Butihah (where the Jordan flows into Lake Kinneret), which the PLDC is buying from them. I quite surprised them when I voluntered to pay them an extra £5,000 if they would provide the present tenants with land elsewhere. We all ate an excellent lunch with Hankin, who makes use of such opportunities to present me as an especially important man and himself merely as my adjutant (perhaps he thinks that this will raise the prestige of the PLDC) and I have to play the part.

Jerusalem, 1 March 1934

My English book [*The Jews in the Modern World*] has been published and looks very nice. A fairly long review of it has already appeared in *The Times*. The French publishers, Payot, have bought the French translation rights for £20.

Jerusalem, 6 April 1934

The conference of the Zionist General Council closed yesterday at seven o'clock in the morning after an all-night sitting. I left the meeting at midnight and learned in the morning that a motion of no-confidence in the Executive had been defeated by a vote of thirty to twelve. The much-discussed enlargement of the Executive through the inclusion of representatives of the right-wing parties did not come about. Everything remains as it was.

Jerusalem, 30 April 1934

Last Thursday the Oriental Fair opened in Tel Aviv. Its new (massive) buildings and its fine architecture are very impressive. Mr Scheinkar, the chairman of the Manufacturers' Association, said to me: 'Perhaps it is only a bluff, but at least it is a bluff made of concrete.'

Yesterday, the head of the Berlin Jewish community, Dr Ismar Freund, called on me and told me that he was extremely surprised by the absorption capacity of Palestine. He had spoken to hundreds of German Jews and had not encountered one who did not feel more or less settled. The prosperity of Palestine in the midst of a world crisis is really fantastic. Will it last? Or is it only a fool's paradise?

The trial of the men accused of murdering Arlosoroff ended today. It is feared that the Revisionists may resort to terrorism. I am told that the police have detailed a special man to protect me. Fortunately, the 'fear compartment' is lacking in my brain and the matter does not bother me at all.

Berlin, 9 July 1934

In Zurich yesterday I saw the *Jüdische Rundschau* by chance at Cohn's house and learned that Bialik, who had gone to Vienna for an operation, died there on

4 July. The news has upset me terribly. Bialik was a sort of conscience of the *yishuv*. During the past summer we spent a great deal of time together in Meran, and two to three months ago, in Palestine, he told me very enthusiastically that he had received the money to publish a sociological book on the Jews and I would have to be its editor. Then he left and I did not hear from him again.

Charlottenburg, 15 July 1934

I have dealt with a great many things during the six days I have been in Berlin. I have had discussions with the Reichsvertretung der deutschen Juden (Rabbi Baeck, Ministerialrat Hirsch, etc.), the Palestine Office and the executive board of the German Zionist Organization. This last meeting welcomed and ratified the establishment of Rassco (Rural and Suburban Settlement Company) by the 'German' Department of the Jewish Agency. The meeting was attended by Dr Förder from Tel Aviv. I had countless talks with individuals, expecially relations who want to emigrate to Palestine.

Marienbad, 26 July 1934*

I need not waste words about the *enormous* significance of the Negev, if it can be irrigated. It would solve the land question for us for decades. I have therefore suggested to Dr Weizmann that a research association (with a capital of £10–15,000) be established to examine in detail the question of underground water (through Stern, Loewy) and also the possibilities of water conservation. Dr Hexter and the German Department, between them, have already decided on a small experiment; accordingly, Picard and his assistant are to do research into the geological and hydrological conditions of the Negev. I am now thinking of research on a much larger scale, however, in order to convince the government that we seriously intend to investigate the possibilities of settling the Negev. It is my opinion that such research must be undertaken with the full knowledge and support of the government. An agreement in principle must be reached beforehand so that if we turn this desert into fertile soil, the land will be shared equitably between the grazing Bedouin and the Jews and we be given a 'fair share'. On the basis of such an agreement in principle, and if the result of the water investigation is favourable, we could establish a *large company for the development of the Negev*.

St. Moritz, 20 August 1934

On Thursday and Friday we held meetings with the non-Zionist members of the Jewish Agency. (Cyrus Adler, Avigdor-Goldsmid, Leo Simon, etc). Other members of the Executive present were Brodetzky, Locker, Grünbaum, Lipsky, Jacobson, Hexter.

Yesterday's plebiscite gave Hitler ninety per cent of the votes. It is possible that many voted for him out of fear, but most probably there are, apart from his supporters, many who are not in favour of Hitler but voted for him because they had no better alternative. For all that, the two million who did not vote for him in 1933 have increased to four million.

* From a letter to Dr Martin Rosenblüth.

Meran, 29 August 1934

The day before yesterday I learned in the reading room here from *The Times* of 25 August that Victor Jacobson died suddenly of a heart attack on his way from Zurich to Bern. I met him in Beirut towards the end of May 1907, on my first visit to Palestine, when he was the director of the Anglo-Palestine Company, and since then we have remained friends. He was profoundly humane, highly cultured, far-sighted and chivalrous in the political struggle in a manner which has become most unusual today. He was no more than sixty-five years old.

London, 16 September 1934

The Executive telegraphed me in Venice to come to London and participate in the meetings concerning the government's proposal for a legislative council, which we oppose. Ben-Gurion has come for the same reason. I have participated in various meetings concerning this matter, talked with Thon about Huleh and with Weizmann and Rosenblüth concerning Germany.

S.S *Pilsna,* 27 September 1934

I had been notified by a telegram from London that I was to meet Mr McDonald, the High Commissioner for Refugees, on Monday morning at eleven o'clock at the Bellevue Hotel in Lausanne. I went there, but the hotel knew nothing about a Mr McDonald. After many enquiries by telephone, I found the office of the High Commissioner at the Lausanne Palace Hotel, and a secretary told me that he was expecting me at the Bellevue Hotel in Geneva. As a matter of fact, I seem to have overlooked the word Geneva in his telegram. The secretary, Mr Wurfbine, who was about to drive to Geneva in his car, took me and my luggage with him, so that I was in Geneva by 1.45 p.m. Just as I was getting out of the car, I saw Ben-Gurion; I knew nothing of his intention to go to Geneva when I left him in London on Wednesday. He is having talks here with Arab politicians concerning Jewish-Arab understanding. I lunched with him and went to McDonald at 2.30. An American Jew called May was present during the interview. I explained that the solution to the German Jewish question lay in the emigration of 20,000 Jews a year from Germany. Of these, 10,000 would settle in Palestine; for the other 10,000 he, the High Commissioner, should find shelter in the United States and the ICA settlements in South America.

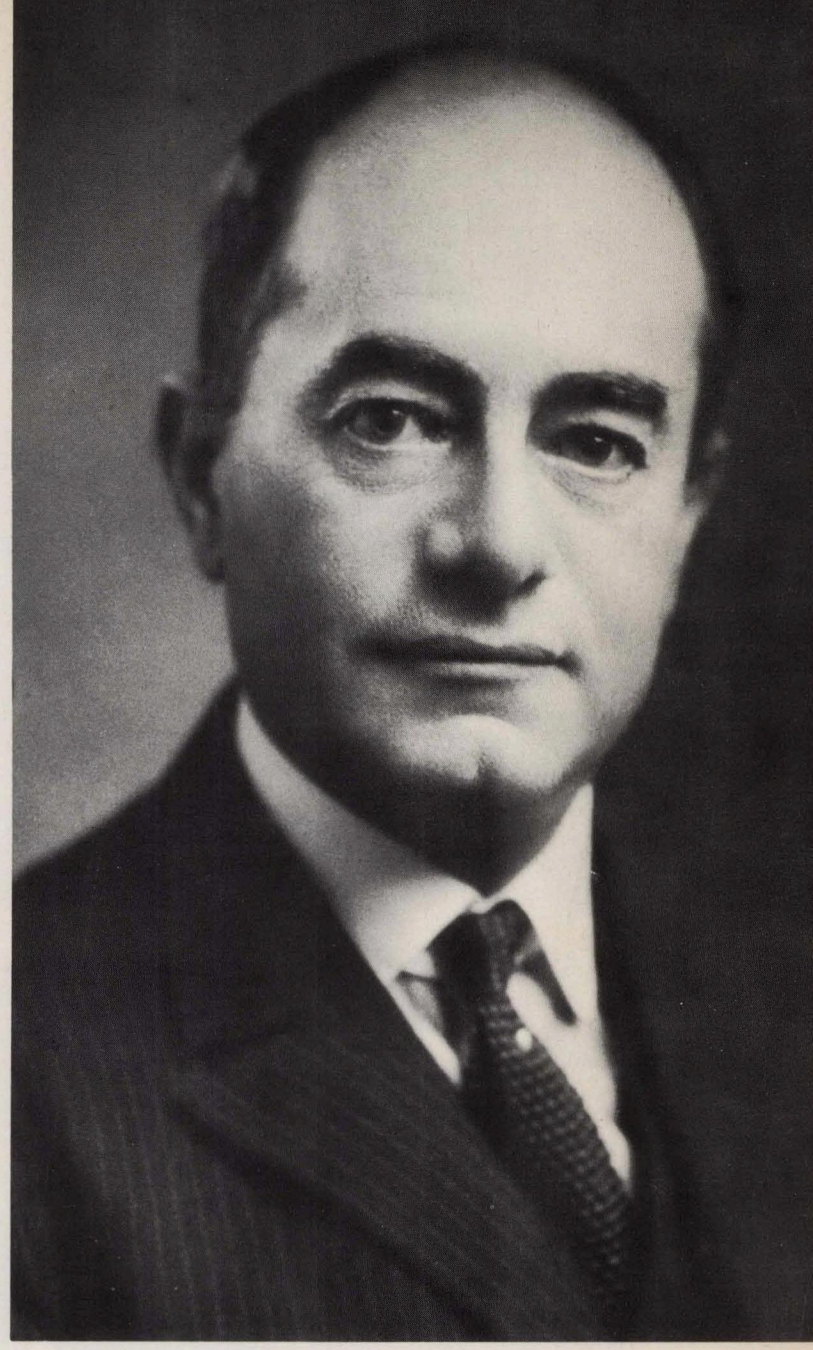
At five o'clock I saw Ben-Gurion, Nahum Goldmann, Jarblum and Mrs Becker at the station and went to Milan.

S.S. *Pilsna*, 30 September 1934

The further I move away from rationalism and the more I lose faith in the rule of common sense and 'progress', the more interested I become in the role played by the unconscious, by the instincts, in social life.

Jerusalem, 12 October 1934

Because of the holiday (Shmini Atzeret) I did not disembark at Jaffa but went on to Haifa. Mr Andrews, the director of the government Department for Development, was waiting for me at the port. He received me with the word 'finished', that is, the government in London had finally agreed to transfer the Huleh concession to the PLDC.



Dr Ruppin in 1925

Dr Ruppin's family in 1927. From left to right. Rafi, Mrs Ruppin holding Aya, Ruth, Dr Ruppin and Carmella

Dr Ruppin with Chaim Arlosoroff, head of the Political Department of the Zionist Executive until his assassination in 1933 (see p. 264)

opposite Dr Ruppin and Dr Chaim Weizmann, president of the World Zionist Organization, walking in Zurich in 1929, at the time of the founding of the Jewish Agency





Dr Ruppin (second from left) seated next to Menahem Ussishkin (centre) at a ceremony marking the dedication of the Einstein Forest in 1930

Dr Ruppin with friends in Rehovot (1936)



The Nineteenth Zionist Congress (London, 1935) with David Ben-Gurion at the podium and Dr Ruppin seated (at lower right) next to Moshe Shertok (Sharett)



Dr Ruppin standing next to Yehoshua Hankin (see pp. 113–4) at the ceremony dedicating new living quarters at Kibbutz Heftzibah in 1940



Masad soon after its establishment. The settlement was later renamed Kfar Ruppin in honour of Dr Ruppin (see p. 305)

A view of Kfar Ruppin today showing modern living quarters





The last formal portrait of Dr Ruppin, photographed in Santiago, Chile, during his trip to South America in 1935

These are the days of prosperity. Building and planting are in progress everywhere. In the midst of the world depression, Palestine is a paradise – but perhaps a fool's paradise.

Jerusalem, 30 December 1934

After negotiations lasting more than half a year, and with the help of Israel Sieff in London, the Keren Hayesod or our Executive has been granted a loan of £500,000 by Lloyd's Bank. This enables us to pay off all our debts. Our prestige has greatly increased.

For me, the most interesting part of the negotiations was a meeting of the board of Lloyd's Bank at which one of the directors, who believes in the Bible, read chapter thirty-seven from Ezekiel to those who doubted that the Zionist movement would succeed and thereby persuaded the board to accept unanimously the loan agreement. This could only have happened in Britain! The words spoken by the prophet 2,500 years ago influenced the decision of a bank!

The year 1934 is drawing to a close. With the arrival of 50,000 Jewish immigrants, the acquisition of the Huleh concession, the agreement for the £500,000 loan and the continuing prosperity in Palestine, it has been a very successful year for Zionism, the most successful we have ever had. . . I am convinced that the Arabs will not be content to watch our progress passively and that we will one day experience serious disturbances in the country. It is important that we become strong before then.

Since the beginning of 1933, about 20,000 German Jews have come to Palestine and – with a few exceptions – have been 'integrated'. As director of the Department for Settling German Jews, I have done my best, with the help of Dr Landauer, Senator and the roughly £100,000 put at our disposal, to make integration easier through providing information, loans, training in new occupations, help in the building of suburban quarters and agricultural settlements. I have directed the work to follow certain lines, and I believe that it will now be able to continue without me. Now that the creative element in the work has been disposed off, I no longer find it very interesting, and I am not sure I should continue with it, even if the congress should elect me again.

Three of my brothers and sisters, Martha, Siegfried and Martin, have come to settle in Palestine this year. As Lisa and Kurt were already here, only Else still remains in Germany.

Jerusalem, 18 January 1935

Weizmann has twice invited his closer friends, myself included, for discussions. He is depressed and considers the moral and aesthetic level in Palestine to be low. I contradicted him. 'For the next few years we are, in my opinion, in a latent state of war; if we do not make use of this period to become numerically stronger, we are lost. Therefore, all our efforts will have to be directed towards this aim. The morals and aesthetics of the Jews in Palestine were no worse, perhaps even better, than those of Jews in Eastern Europe. Their further improvement was only our second concern'. Weizmann told us that he was ready to be nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the Zionist Organization at the next congress. The Labour supporters are pleased with this. I am also in favour of Weizmann. I am only sorry to see how many weaknesses this great man has.

Jerusalem, 2 February 1935

A few days ago, Davis Trietsch died in Ramat ha-Shavim near Tel Aviv. He was (in 1904) one of the first Zionists I met and was one of my friends in Palestine in 1908. He was an original man, full of ideas, having all the faults of a self-educated person and no inhibitions about advocating his opinions. I am very sad that he has died alone, almost unknown. I have sent an obituary to the *Jüdische Rundschau.*

Jerusalem, 16 February 1935

The High Commissioner wants to protect the Arabs from losing their lands. I agree with him, but I would like the government *simultaneously* to begin to pursue an active land policy with the aim of opening up to Jewish settlement those parts of Palestine (especially Beisan, the Lower Jordan Valley, the Negev) which are not at all or not intensely cultivated.

Jerusalem, 6 April 1935

Hanna and I went to Tel Aviv on 2 April for the opening of the Maccabiah. Since 27 March I have been attending the meetings of the Zionist General Council, which continue until late at night. I have spoken at them twice, once in Hebrew and once in German. In my second speech I had to contradict Weizmann and Ussishkin: Weizmann because his demands for 'quality' once more led him into talking economic nonsense and quite unnecessarily discouraging the industrialists; Ussishkin because he represented the payment for the Huleh concession as much too high. When I met him in Tel Aviv, Weizmann told me: 'I have been told that you made a sharp attack on me.' I answered: 'An attack, but not a sharp one.' The following day, I saw him in Jerusalem and told him that I could not keep silent if he did not understand our economic affairs. We agreed to discuss these matters fully before long.

Jerusalem, 18 April 1935

On Sunday I had a two-hour conversation with Weizmann in Rehovot, after he had written me a long letter describing his state of mind. I advised him to allow himself to be nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the Zionist Organization, in spite of his misgivings, if he would approach the new task really whole-heartedly. He would not have to give up his work in the Sieff Institute because of it. We parted on the best of terms.

The speeches I made to the Zionist General Council have been welcomed with a great deal of enthusiasm by the Labour press. On the other hand, Smeliansky* is said to have written a critical article about me in *Bustanai.*

Hotel Monte Carlo, Plastros (Cyprus), 24 May 1935

According to what I have heard, neither the government nor the population are against individual Jewish immigrants, but they are opposed to mass Jewish immigration.

* Moshe Smeliansky (1874–1953), farmer in Rehovot and prolific writer; was close to Dr Ruppin's ideas on the Arab problem.

Jerusalem, 7 June 1935

On Tuesday, Thon, the surveyor Lifschitz and I went by car to the Central Jordan Valley, where we looked at the land of Emir Abdullah and some land belonging to the Englishman Hughes on which PLDC has secured the option.

Jerusalem, 11 June 1935

Early the day before yesterday I went to Tel Aviv and had a talk with Dr Rosenfeld of PICA at the Anglo-Palestine Bank. . . At 8.30 in the evening, we received the devastating news that Shmaryahu Levin had died half an hour before in Haifa. He had been suffering from angina pectoris for years, but had always survived the attacks very well and recently had even been feeling better. . . For me, Shmaryahu was the last in the chain of Jewish prophets, and since our visit to Palestine in 1907 we had been friends and had always remained in touch. . . .

Jerusalem, 6 July 1935

Punctually on 30 June, as I had intended, I completed the manuscript (i.e., a copy of the first edition corrected and provided with additional material) for the second edition of my English book. I am still not satisfied with the new text, however, especially the part concerned with racial theories and National Socialism.

Lucerne, 26 August 1935

I made my speech to the [Nineteenth Zionist] Congress on Thursday.* I was not tired and am supposed to have spoken with youthful animation and achieved something special. Emil Ludwig, who was present during my speech, wrote me an enthusiastic letter about it. The American delegates – besides, of course, the Labour supporters – are said to have been particularly pleased.

Como, 8 September 1935

On 4 September I gave a talk to the Jewish Agency. I was so tired that I threatened to fall asleep at any moment. I pulled myself together and am supposed to have made an excellent speech. On the previous day the congress had closed and I had been elected – at my request – to direct the new Department for Economic Research and Planning (endowed with £5,000) with a seat on the Executive and a vote on economic questions.

S.S. *Augustus* bound for Rio de Janeiro, 14 September 1935

The dream of a journey round the world, which has been with me since childhood, is beginning to be realized, at least in part. I am going to South America and am free to plan my own route during my stay there. I am filled with a feeling of gratitude that it has been granted to me to experience at the age of fifty-nine what I have longed for since I was fifteen.

S.S. *Augustus* bound for Rio de Janeiro, 14 September 1935

Although I have nothing urgent to do (perhaps for the first time in my life), I am nonetheless constantly in danger of drawing up a time-table which will force

* Published in *Three Decades of Palestine* (1936).

me to rush. The present unparalleled situation makes something I have never really undersood perfectly clear to me: the cause of my constant struggle with time is not the amount of work I have to do but an aspect of my personality. Moreover, I have discovered that I must bring a certain order even into my idleness (if that is the right term for life without *urgent* work) in order to be able to enjoy it. To be entirely without a schedule does not appeal to me.

S.S. *Augustus,* 21 September 1935

Yesterday evening, 'in honour of the equator', we had not the traditional baptism, but a special dinner with exquisite dishes (caviar, lobster, champagne). I find it difficult not to eat a lot! I must admit that I do not even like the taste of some of the foods I find so difficult to resist; I eat them because I once liked the taste or thought them desirable. With lobster, for instance, I eat 'the memory'.

My disposition is half academic and half practial. Work which is *only* practical or *only* academic does not satisfy me; I need both at the same time.

Rio de Janeiro, 26 September 1935

The streets are full of life. Few Negroes in the centre of the town, a great many in the suburbs.

Rio de Janeiro, 28 September 1935

In the afternoon, I watched the passers-by from the terrace of a café – my favourite pastime. There is no Negro problem here as there is in the United States: Negroes and white people sit peacefully side by side in the trams and the best restaurants; white and coloured schoolgirls walk arm in arm along the street. Apparantly there is a common elementary school for all the races.

Rio de Janeiro, 30 September 1935

Since 1933, about 2,000 German Jews have immigrated to Brazil and almost all of them have found work, although not well paid. It is said that some of the immigrants did not show much interest in working and spoilt the reputation of the German Jews.

Rio de Janeiro, 1 October 1935

In the morning, Dr Leitchik and I visited the Hebrew grammar-school, which made quite an impression. I heard only secular subjects in Brazilian (as Portuguese is called here). The headmaster, Friedmann, introduced me to the children with a speech in Hebrew.

S.S. *Oceania,* Saturday 5 October 1935

It is said that the day before yesterday Italy bombed Abyssinia and began a war there, while the League of Nations was still deliberating on a peaceful solution.

Buenos Aires, 7 October 1935

I found a paragraph in the local German paper saying that the Arabs are trying to exploit the Italy-Ethiopia-Britain conflict to demand that Britain put a stop to Jewish immigration. This rather influenced my frame of mind.

The population in the streets is hardly different racially from the population of

a town in southern Europe. Almost no Negroes or mulattoes (although so far I have only been in the centre of the town). If, as I have read, there is a lot of Indian blood in the population, it has been absorbed by the European characteristics. The population appears to be more civilized and the economic life more developed than in Brazil.

Buenos Aires, 10 October 1935

The Zionist machinery functions well and I have had a lot of visitors, including the president of the Association of German-Speaking Jews. At five o'clock in the afternoon, tea at the Zionist Federation with about fifty people in attendance. I spoke on the congress. Before that, Mr Gesand spoke in memory of Dr Wilensky,* whose death has been announced in Palestine.

Buenos Aires, 12 October 1935

In the morning I had a long interview with representatives of the League for Palestine Labour. Afterwards, a stroll through the streets.

16 October 1935

The small states love formalities. In the Chilean consulate, a doctor checked the state of my health by placing a stethoscope against my jacket and saying '4 pesos'.

At nine in the evening (it grew to be 9.30) I gave a talk to the Welfare Organization of German-Speaking Jews on 'Palestine and the Jewish Question'. I spoke for one hour and tried to give the audience, most of them non-Zionists, some understanding of Palestine.

18 October 1935

From eight until five o'clock we visited about ten colonists in Lucienville who are living on separate farms at some distance from each other. Almost all of them are Zionists and asked me to transfer their farms to Palestine. . . .

People insist that they understand my 'Yiddish' although it is pure German. . . .

At 7.40 a.m. I left by train for Parana and arrived there at 2.20. To my surprise, there was a huge delegation with a great bunch of flowers at the station. From there to the Zionist hall, where I talked for about forty minutes and was met with special enthusiasm. In the evening I gave a talk in the synagogue, very much disturbed by those assembled for Simhat Torah.

Over tea I was interviewed by a correspondent of a Santa Fe newspaper and said that in my opinion Palestine had nothing to fear from the Italian-Abyssinian tension. The result: large headlines in the newspaper on the following day, 'DR R. CONSIDERS WAR INEVITABLE.' A journalist will kill his father for the sake of a small sensation.

20 October 1935

In Palacios, the manager of ICA, Pereira, was waiting for me and took me by car to Mosesville, which is called the Argentinian Jerusalem. Dinner at the hotel with Pereira and a few leading Zionists, then a talk in the Jewish 'salon' (hall) before 2–300 people at tables set for a meal. I spoke in my 'Yiddish' and was apparently

* Yehuda Wilensky (1870–1935), leading emissary of the Keren Hayesod.

understood. I slept at the house of a rich cattle dealer (a former colonist), Gutmann, whose wife is an active Zionist.

Santiago de Chile, 27 October 1935

My hope of planting the seeds of local fruit trees in Deganyah has been destroyed; a local agronomist, Drebkin, maintains that they cannot be propagated through their seeds but only by means of cuttings, the import of which is prohibited to Argentina (and probably also to Palestine) for fear of parasites. What a pity!

A German Jew from Palestine, Dr Joel, who came here as a teacher in 1930, has visited me. He has purchased a small farm in the vicinity of Santiago, but he wants to return to Palestine.

Buenos Aires, 4 November 1935

I received a telegram from Nahum Goldmann in Geneva saying that I should come there on 28 November to attend a conference of the Standing Committee for German Refugees of the League of Nations. I answered that I agreed, as I would be in Naples on 25 November and would be unable to go on to Palestine until 30 November.

S.S. *Neptunia,* 14 November 1935

I am reading a book by Alperson on Jewish colonization in the Argentine; very interesting reminiscences by the author, who was himself a colonist (and probably still is). He sent it to me in Buenos Aires with a dedication; I will pass it on to the library in Deganyah.

S.S. *Neptunia,* 26 November 1935

The sea voyage – the longest I have ever made – is drawing to a close. It has been perfect until the end; the ship could not once be felt to pitch, I was therefore able to work to capacity, wrote my 'travel notes' for four to five hours daily and yesterday evening had the satisfaction of finishing them.

S.S. *Esperia,* off Naples, 1 December 1935

I arrived in Geneva at eight o'clock in the morning; went to the Hotel Bellevue (room with bath, 7 francs); and there found Martin Rosenblüth, who brought me up to date on our affairs. McDonald, who has so far been the High Commissioner for Refugees, has resigned. (Incidentally, he was also staying at the Hotel Bellevue and I had a conversation with him on the following day.) The League of Nations has now appointed a five-man committee to investigate the refugee question. The committee has asked all the organizations concerned with the care of refugees to provide it with material and advise it of their requests. Some of the representatives of the organizations were already in Geneva when I arrived there (Rudel and Brodnitz from Berlin, Georg Bernhard, editor of the *Pariser Tageblatt,* and many others; Bernhard Kahn also arrived on the following day). Under the chairmanship of Goldmann, we held several meetings; it was decided that I was to appear on behalf of the Jewish Agency.

At my request, I was asked to appear at five o'clock and went there with Goldmann. I talked (in English, sometimes in French) about our work for the

German Jews in Palestine, emphasizing that in the future we would be able to accept not merely 10,000, but perhaps 12 – 15,000 German Jews every year on condition that, as until now, at least one-third of the immigrants will be capitalists, that is, that they will receive permission from the German government to transfer at least £1,000 to Palestine.

Jerusalem, 25 December 1935

I suggested in Deganyah Alef that a garden of subtropical fruit be planted and gave them the seeds I had brought with me; I also told them about South America.

Jerusalem, 2 January 1936

The day before yesterday I lunched with the High Commissioner at his invitation. We were alone and talked for an hour and a quarter about all sorts of things, especially the economic future of Palestine. When I asked whether he would remain in office for another five years, he replied that it was very likely. I reminded him that he had invited me at the beginning of his term of office and questioned me about instituting a legislative council. At the time I had advised him not to do so at the beginning of his term of office; perhaps it would be possible at the end. I do not regret this advice; it has given him four quiet and fruitful years. But the time for the legislative council still has not come, as the Arabs would use it only to attack the Mandate.

Jerusalem, 5 February 1936

The Executive has been very upset by the proclamation of a law to protect the fellahin which forbids them from selling their land without retaining a viable lot. Weizmann, Ben-Gurion, Shertok and I called on the High Commissioner. Weizmann energetically advanced our reservations about the law, but it did no good.

Tiberias, Hotel Salzmann, 5 March 1936

At first I felt my sixtieth birthday heavily in my bones, as I did not know how I could decently get out of the affair. The Executive wanted to arrange a celebration for me in Jerusalem. When I categorically refused to attend any celebration whatsoever there, they decided to take over the celebration in Deganyah and put in an appearance there. There was nothing I could do about it.

I was very moved by the affection which was apparent in the speeches, the newspapers and the private messages of congratulation. I had not expected it to such an extent. I felt like Polycrates: I fear the jealousy of the gods.

Jerusalem, 3 April 1936

Robert Weltsch wrote a congratulatory article in the *Jüdische Rundschau* in which he expressed regret that I concerned myself so little with the Arab question. I wrote him a letter explaining in detail my point of view, which is that at the moment a so-called understanding with the Arabs is impossible, however desirable it may be.

Jerusalem, 18 March 1936*

During our discussions in the Brit Shalom, we reached the conclusion that the solution would have to be a bi-national state. So far I have advocated the view most forcibly in all my speeches and all my books; for instance, most recently in the *Sociology of the Jews* and in *The Jews in the Modern World,* published in English in 1935.

But the bi-national state provided only a general answer to the problem, and it was my intention to continue to use the Brit Shalom as a means to clarify the crucial questions arising out of this general solution, for instance, the cooperation of Jews and Arabs in legislation, administration, levying taxes and so forth. Unfortunately, nothing came of these discussions because during my absence from Palestine for several months the members of the Brit Shalom decided to publicize among the Jews certain suggestions for coming to an understanding with the Arabs, although our public is *not yet prepared for this in any way* and rejected the suggestions out of hand.

This, in my opinion hasty, step has compromised the idea of the Brit Shalom (as I saw it) among the Zionist public to such an extent that further activities became impossible, and I was obliged to withdraw from it.

Apart from this difference of opinion concerning tactics, I differed from the other members of the Brit Shalom above all in my assessment of the possibility of coming to an understanding with the Arabs. The members of the Brit Shalom were very optimistic about this. They believed that economic advantages and certain political guarantees would be sufficient to make the 'Jewish National Home' acceptable to the Arabs. This point of view was not a new one; it is actually only the continuation of the wrong attitude towards the Arabs which has been prevalent in the Zionist movement from the beginning. If we have learned anything from the last decades of history, it is that the political attitude of peoples is not governed by rational arguments, but by instincts. All the economic advantages and all the rational arguments will not move the Arabs to relinquish what they believe to be their power over Palestine to the Jews or to share it with the Jews, as long as they are the overwhelming majority here.

I have expressed this thought in a letter written to Dr Jacobson on 31 December 1931 as follows: 'What we can get from the Arabs at the moment is of no use to us, and what we need we cannot get from them. And I added that 'what the Arabs would concede to us even today would at best be the granting of national rights to the Jews in an Arab state on the pattern of the national rights in Europe. . . To the Jews of Eastern Europe, who form the overwhelming majority of all the Zionists, such a settlement would be completely unacceptable, and it would kill their enthusiasm for the cause of Zionism in Palestine. A Zionism which would agree to such a compromise with the Arabs would not have the support of the East European Jews and would very soon become a Zionism without Zionists.'

Another point on which I differed from the other members was their attitude to the legislative council. Democracy was the mainstay of their political thinking. One should not regard democracy and the good of the people as identical concepts. One might say that as far as the legislative council in Palestine was concerned, it

* From a letter to Robert Weltsch.

was not a question of a parliament elected by universal suffrage, but only of a first step towards the people's participation in the government. This is quite correct. The question is only whether this first step is not bound to lead to further steps in the direction of a parliament and whether or not we should welcome this step, when we know with certainty that the Arabs will make every possible use of the legislative council to fight against the Jews and Zionism.

What is to be done to lessen or to remove the tension between the two nationalities, which can, after all, not go on for ever? It is my opinion that no sort of negotiations with the Arabs can get us anywhere *at the moment,* because the Arabs are still hoping to deal with us above our heads. Not negotiations, but the development of Palestine towards a larger percentage of Jews in the population and a srengthening of our economic position can and will bring about an easing of the tension. When coming to an understanding with us will no longer mean that the Arabs will have to make concessions to us, but only be a question of coming to terms with reality, the weight of the facts will bring about an easing of the tension.

Jerusalem, 18 April 1936

British Colonial Secretary Thomas has invited the Arabs of Palestine to send a delegation to London to discuss the question of the legislative council, which has caused such a stir both in Palestine and in Parliament. The Arab delegation will soon be going to London. I wonder whether this is not a rare opportunity for improving Jewish-Arab relations. Yet I consider a so-called 'understanding' with the Arabs impossible.

Jerusalem, 25 April 1936

A difficult week. Last Sunday, disturbances broke out in Jaffa and claimed sixteen Jews and three Arabs as victims. Yesterday we were expecting disturbances in Jerusalem as well, but everything remained quiet.

I have remained exceedingly calm and cool during this time. I have adopted the theory that under the circumstances it is natural that the antagonism of the Arabs to Jewish immigration should find release in periodic outbreaks; that we are living in a sort of latent state of war with the Arabs which makes loss of life inevitable. This may be unacceptable, but it is a fact; and if we want to continue our work in Palestine in spite of the Arabs, we will have to expect such losses.

Shares of the Anglo-Palestine Bank worth £300,000 were offered for subscription in London at the rate of 187 and have been nineteen times oversubscribed! As the Jewish Colonial Trust, which was almost bankrupt, owns £300,000 in shares of the Anglo-Palestine Bank, it has now been restored by means of the excess price and a bonus and might become the holding company I suggested long ago, that is, the institute to finance all Zionist business companies. How quickly the situation has changed. . . .

The geophysicist Dr Walter Stern has handed me a map showing the position of water in Palestine. According to it, water is *assured* for two million dunams in Palestine (without the Negev) and can probably be provided for an equal amount of land. I have informed Weizmann and pointed out to him that this may come to be of the utmost importance for the absorption capacity of Palestine. Until now, only 400,000 dunams have been irrigated in Palestine. The Jews own about twenty per cent of the land which can be, or can probably be, irrigated; if they were to buy

another 1,250,000 dunams (thirty per cent) from the Arabs, these two million dunams would provide room for 100,000 farming families and not one single Arab would have to be displaced from his land! Weizmann has taken this up eagerly, but at the same time made a few demagogic comments about our right to the whole of Palestine, which I did not like very much.

Jerusalem, 16 May 1936

The political situation has deteriorated further. The Arabs are demanding that the government put an immediate stop to Jewish immigration and have reacted to the government's refusal by continuing the general strike and calling upon people not to pay taxes. This time, they apparently intend to see the struggle through to the end. The High Commissioner has called in troops from Egypt but is apparently undecided about the use of force and continues to negotiate with the Arabs. At a meeting of the Executive yesterday, when some members played the popular game of demanding maximum protection of our rights and a 'strong hand' from the government, I expressed my view that the Mandatory government in Palestine is pursuing neither a Jewish nor an Arab, but rather a British policy and tends to favour the Jews or the Arabs according to whether one or the other seems to be of greater importance to that policy. To demand our 'rights' in face of this situation is ridiculous and hopeless. Essentially, we will have to rely upon ourselves in this struggle. That is why it is important to postpone the decisive struggle until we are numerically stronger in Palestine than we are at present. For this reason, we will have to accept compromises.

Dr Magnes, to whom I sent a copy of my letter to Weltsch concerning the Arab question, is very dissatisfied with it and has answered me with a long letter. He believes in the possibility of an agreement with the Arabs. I have asked him to tell me the reasons behind his beliefs.

Jerusalem, 17 May 1936

Yesterday evening someone fired several shots at the audience (Jews) leaving the Edison cinema and killed three Jews. This crime in the midst of the Jewish sector of Jerusalem, committed in such a strikingly bold manner, has aroused an unprecedented uproar among the Jews.

Jerusalem, 23 May 1936

The Executive has held a discussion on our attitude towards the Arabs. Ben-Gurion's speech was long but vague, utopian and full of contradictions. Ussishkin spoke briefly but even more unrealistically (he hopes that Arabs from Palestine will go to Iraq and the Jews from Iraq to Palestine; a maximum programme would be better received in Britain than a compromise programme, etc.). Grünbaum also recited the old Zionist tale of the Jewish state without offering anything new. I also spoke, describing the reality and demanding an investigation of the individual problems (immigration, land purchase, Jewish labour, participation of both nations in the administration etc.). I said that I did not feel like making my own concrete suggestions immediately, so that the others could pounce on them and hound me as a traitor to the people; everybody should make concrete suggestions within the commissions.

Sokolow has died. Officially he was seventy-five; he was probably eighty years old.

At heart he was a fine and knowledgable person, but his speeches at the congresses, especially his opening speeches, were catastrophic because of their length and lack of colour. He was a literary man, not a man of action.

Jerusalem, 2 June 1936

The day before yesterday, Hanna and I dined with the High Commissioner. As the guests were leaving, he detained me to have a talk. The following day I received a letter from him saying that he had only wanted to tell me that he had heard of private negotiations for an agreement between Jews and Arabs and wanted to know if he could be of help. I had the impression that the High Commissioner feels rather helpless in the present situation.

Jerusalem, 20 June 1936

Since the beginning of the disturbances, 19 April, the list of dead includes thirty-three Jews. The Arab strike continues unabated. Although it has not prevented the distribution of food to the Jews, indirectly it has harmed the Jews, even more the Arabs themselves.

The new colonial secretary, Ormsby-Gore, whom I congratulated on his appointment (reminding him of our conversation in London twelve or fifteen years ago), made a long speech on Palestine in the House of Commons yesterday. When the disturbances come to an end, a Royal Commission is to be sent to Palestine to investigate the situation, and on the basis of its evidence a part solution for both Jews and Arabs is to be found. But how? The conflict between Jews and Arabs is not based on economic opposition. The Arabs do not want to share the control over Palestine with the Jews, and for Zionism, independence from the Arabs is a condition of vital importance. How are these things to be reconciled?

Italy has victoriously entered Addis Ababa – against the expectations of military circles in many countries. Britain, which only a few month ago insisted so firmly on sanctions against Italy and carried them through, has given way overnight. It bows before the victory and is prepared to agree to lift the sanctions. In politics, might continues to prevail over right. The despot Mussolini has won the game.

In France the Jew Léon Blum has become prime minister – and in Germany a Jew cannot even become a night watchman!

Jerusalem, 4 July 1936

It seems certain that a Royal Commission will come to investigate the situation here as soon as quiet has been restored. The Executive has charged my institute with the task of preparing all the material concerning economic questions for the commission. That is a lot of work.

Jerusalem, 12 July 1936

The disturbances continue undiminished, although there are now more than 10,000 soldiers in the country. The Arabs attack military patrols at night and even during the day shoot from cars and buses at convoys with military guards.

Jerusalem, 6 August 1936

There have been many fresh acts of terrorism in the country. All the members of a family in Safed were killed or seriously wounded by a bomb. There have also

been numerous clashes between the army and armed Arabs, with many people killed and wounded. I had a talk with Smeliansky about our plans for the Royal Commission.

In Spain, a civil war is going on between the Socialist government and Fascist army. Who will win is uncertain but may be very important for the future politics of Europe. There is a threat of a fascist bloc – Germany, Italy, Poland, Greece, Spain.

Jerusalem, 24 August 1936*

As I have already told you in my letter of 15 July, I had intended to discuss my suggestion concerning the land question with Smeliansky again. Meanwhile, I have had several conversations with him about this, and I have also discussed the entire subject again with Mr Hankin and Dr Thon. We have reached the following conclusions:

It is advisable to tell the Royal [Peel] Commission that during the next ten years we shall require 500,000 dunams of land which can be irrigated for our settlement programme. It is our opinion that stating such a figure will dispose of the recurring Arab accusation that we want to take over the whole of Palestine. These 500,000 dunams are only four to five per cent arable land in Palestine. On the other hand, this area is large enough to be sufficient for even a maximum settlement programme. If each farm unit comprises twenty dunams, 500,000 dunams will be sufficient to settle 25,000 families.

We should tell the government that each time we purchase land we are prepared to submit to an impartial development commission evidence that those who have cultivated the land before will be able to remain on it, in spite of our purchase, and that as a result of the installation of irrigation works and other improvements, conditions for them will be no worse and may even be better. In each instance of a land purchase, the government should see that the land is turned over to us as an entire tract.

If its development programme should enable the government to allocate 50,000 dunams to us annually, we, for our part, will abstain from purchasing land on the open market. If it can allocate even part of the 50,000 dunams, we will count this towards the maximum of 50,000 dunams which we will buy.

Jerusalem, 26 August 1936

What sort of a world we live in has been brought home to me once more through the ghastly events in Spain, where hundreds of people are being shot, and by the Kaminev-Zinoviev trial in Moscow.

Meanwhile, we are in a very bad way politically. The governments of Iraq, Yemen and Egypt have intervened to bring about peace between the Arabs and the Mandatory government. It seems likely that the government will give in to their pressures and prohibit Jewish immigration, at least until the Royal Commission comes to a decision.

Jerusalem, 7 September 1936

A few moments ago I listened to a broadcast of the British government's statement on the disturbances in Palestine. Against expectation, the government apparently

* From a letter to Chaim Weizmann.

intends to take energetic measures against the Arab bands. Command over the (very much reinforced) army has been assigned to a very high-ranking general (Dill). Apparently, martial law is to be proclaimed.

Jerusalem, 15 September 1936

Today I have finished revising the text for the second edition of the *The Jews in the Modern World* (for the third time! When will it finally be printed?) I have also completed the manuscript of my plan for settling 24,000 Jewish farmers in the next ten years, which is intended for the Royal Commission.

Jerusalem, 24 September 1936

After struggling with death for several days, Dizengoff died in Tel Aviv yesterday. Four years ago, in Marienbad, he told me that he would like to live until Tel Aviv had 100,000 inhabitants. Today it has 150,000. Who among us, when he dies, finds his wishes surpassed by fifty per cent? He was a good man; upright, not a careerist, easily aroused to enthusiasm, always searching for a way of improving his Tel Aviv.

Jerusalem, 17 October 1936

On Wednesday and Thursday there was a meeting of the Inner Action Committee (elected in Zurich) concerned with our attitude toward the Royal Commission and with a declaration (demanded by Weizmann) that the Zionist Organization is striving (not for the Jewish state but) for parity of Jews and Arabs. I spoke on the subject for half an hour in Hebrew.

From Thursday noon until Friday morning I was in Tel Aviv, where I attended a meeting of the Institute for Economic Research.

Tel Aviv, 5 November 1936

My memorandum for the Royal Commission on the expansion of Jewish agricultural settlement is finished at last (after it has been rewritten six or seven times, I think). I have expended an enormous amount of time and trouble on it. I have also finally posted to London, ready for the printers, the manuscript for the second edition of *The Jews in the Modern World.*

Jerusalem, 13 November 1936

My Zionist speeches and articles have now been published in English under the title *Three Decades of Palestine.* The publishers, Schocken, and expecially Gustav Schocken, have taken a great deal of trouble, and the book is really very nice. It will also be published soon in German and Hebrew. The only thing I don't like about it is the photograph of me in the book.

Jerusalem, 29 November 1936

Yesterday and the day before, Hanna and I were in Tel Aviv for the Schocken-Persitz wedding. Tremendous gathering of people. In my Hebrew speech, I committed the howler of the evening by saying of Mrs Schocken *'ha-geveret ha-shokhevet al yadee'* instead of *'yoshevet'* [the lady lying beside me, instead of sitting]. Much amusement. Nevertheless, I decided to make no more Hebrew after-dinner speeches.

Zikhron Ya'acov (Schwartz Sanatorium), 14 December 1936

On Tuesday and Wednesday morning I appeared as a witness before the Royal Commission and gave evidence on Jewish settlement and our requests to the government. I was a little concerned about my bad hearing and my poor English pronunciation, but it went better than I had expected. I am glad that the thing is over.

Tiberias, 16 December 1936

Certain events concerned with my appearance before the Royal Commission seemed to indicate that Leonard Stein, Weizmann or Hexter have the tendency to push me and others, for instance Granovsky, into the background and Hexter into the limelight. Today I expressed my displeasure at this to the Executive. The latter, however, is dominated by the Political Department, which usually pays little attention to the resolution of the Executive as a whole.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1936

Yesterday, Jerusalem had the most important musical experience in its history – the concert of the newly formed philharmonic orchestra conducted by Arturo Toscanini.

Jerusalem, 16 January 1937

The Arabs have now decided to appear before the Royal Commission after all, but they are making grave demands there. No sort of compromises with the Zionists, Palestine must remain an Arab country, immigration must be stopped altogether and so forth. It is obvious that any sort of agreement with the present Arab leaders is out of the question. In this respect, it is hopeless for the Royal Commission to look for a solution which would be acceptable to both Arabs and Jews.

Weizmann has gone to Britain. This time, relations between us have been very cool.

Jerusalem, 9 March 1937

It could be said that I have celebrated a great triumph today. Jacobus Kann, my most severe critic at the [Eleventh Zionist] Congress of 1913, called on me at my office and seemed to be ready to approve of everything I had achieved in Palestine, even the *kvutzah*. When I drew his attention to the fact that all my 'experiments' have turned out well, he said: *'Vous prêchez à un converti'*. He talked to me about a large loan of £10–20 million, which he wants to raise and secure with yearly guarantees from rich Jews all over the world. 'Go on,' I told him. 'Once I used to make plans and you criticized them; now let us do it the other way round.'

Jerusalem, 18 March 1937

After several Jews were murdered in the Galilee last week, in Jerusalem yesterday, at seven o'clock in the evening, a bomb was thrown at the Jews in Jaffa Road, injuring three seriously and about ten lightly, and an hour later two bombs were thrown at two Arab cafés, killing one Arab and wounding twenty to thirty. Thereupon, a curfew was imposed on Jerusalem today from seven o'clock, as in the good old days of the summer of 1936. The Jews are very pleased that at least

they are no longer the only ones to be attacked and injured, as they were in 1936, although it is not known who threw the two bombs at the Arabs. Naturally, it is assumed that this was Jewish revenge. Perhaps we really do have to experience such terrible mutual murder here before people will realize that the Jews are and will remain in Palestine and that they cannot be disposed of by acts of terrorism, which will only lead to terrorism from our side.

Jerusalem, 25 March 1937

Yesterday I received the first copy of my book *30 Jahre Aufbau in Palästina* from the Schocken Verlag in Berlin. It is very nicely printed and bound and is longer than the English edition. As a postscript, there is a biography of me written very well by Helene Hanna Thon.

I am writing down episodes of my life. They may one day lead to two books: the one on the reminiscences of my youth will be of a more personal nature and go up to 1907; the second, 'Serious and Light Matters', concerning my work in Palestine, will embrace the period since 1907.

Haifa, 17 April 1937

I have now also received the first copies of the Hebrew edition of my writings. Everybody is discussing the plan for a partition of Palestine, or a division into districts which the Royal Commission is supposed to propose. If we can secure peace with the Arabs by this means and a large immigration into the Jewish part, the plan is certainly worth discussing, although the Jews naturally regard anything that is taken away from Palestine as a serious loss. It is not, however, a question of what we *would like,* but of what we *can have.*

Jerusalem, 22 April 1937

The conference of the Zionist General Council opened yesterday. At the end of the first meeting, Ben-Gurion handed me with a solemn speech a copy of the Hebrew edition of my Zionist speeches, beautifully bound in vellum.

Haifa, 18 May 1937

Yesterday was an important day, as Else and Siegbert arrived in Haifa in the morning on the S.S. *Galilee* and we other six brothers and sisters were all there to welcome them. Now the seven of us are all united in Palestine; not a single one of us is left in Germany. The day after tomorrow will mark thirty years since I left Germany to go to Palestine for the first time. Could the most vivid imagination have foreseen then that thirty years later I would have all my brothers and sisters with their children in Palestine?

Jerusalem, 14 May 1937*

I would like to add the following short comments to my memorandum:**

The basic consideration is that the Jewish population in Palestine is not yet large enough to form the majority in a state which would include enough territory to

* From a letter to Chaim Weizmann.

** 'Comments on the Expected Partition Plan of the Royal Commission', Jerusalem, 14 May 1937. In the above-mentioned memorandum Ruppin suggests the following autonomous

deserve this name. No matter how we determine the boundaries of a state comprising at least three to four million dunams of arable land, at present the Arabs will be in the majority or almost in the majority. In other words, the conflicts now prevalent in Palestine will continue, perhaps with even increasing violence, in the Jewish state. . . I am therefore suggesting in my memorandum that we continue with the present system of government under the Mandate, but that a number of Jewish autonomous municipal associations be established in which all or almost all the inhabitants are Jewish. In this way I avoid internal friction with Arabs. The municipal associations will have the right to combine into a Jewish commonwealth. Besides the region of the Jewish municipal associations, a certain zone of two to three million dunams will remain available *for Jewish expansion*. Therefore, the possibility remains of enlarging the Jewish municipal associations through settling this expansion zone in the future.

The Jewish municipal associations can, within a number of years, thus grow in area and number to such an extent that the Jews will form a decisive majority in the entire region. Then the time will have come to talk about an increased degree of autonomy and perhaps about the establishment of a state in this region. For the time being, I do not yet consider the formation of a Jewish commonwealth by the municipal associations a state, but perhaps a state in the making.

Haifa, 6 June 1937

On Wednesday, 2 June, I drove with Annie Schwabacher and Yosef Cohen to Yagur, where the Ludwig Tietz Trade School being inaugurated at four o'clock. Keith Roach, the district commissioner, had been invited to the celebration, but when he arrived he initially refused to get out of his car. He objected to the red flag flying beside the Union Jack and the Zionist flag. The matter was highly embarrassing. I told him that the socialist Ramsay MacDonald had been British prime minister, but this made no difference to him. Only when I told him that he could ignore the red flag did he agree to get out of his car.

Tel Aviv, 22 June 1937

I spent Monday evening at Ticho's and left at 9.30 for a meeting of the newly formed Administrative Committee of the Jewish Agency. In the debate about the partition plan, which – according to the latest news – really appears to be the proposal of the Royal Commission, Smeliansky was in favour, Ussishkin most definitely against. Towards midnight I also made a half-hour speech, in which I said:

1 Agreement with the Arabs cannot be attained by granting them economic advantages. The Arabs do not want to relinquish their political power over Palestine and will only come to terms with Palestine being wholly or partly *Jewish* when we have become so strong that they can no longer hope to dispose of us.

Jewish administrative districts: 1 Tel Aviv, including suburbs; 2 Rehovot and Rishon le-Zion with all the Jewish agricultural settlements south of Tel Aviv; 3 the Jewish part of Jerusalem including suburbs; 4 Petah Tikvah and the Jewish settlements north of Tel Aviv; 5 Hederah, and all the Jewish agricultural settlements from Netanyah to Haifa; 6 the Jewish part of Haifa and the existing Jewish settlements on the Carmel and in the Acre plain; 7 Jezreel Valley; 8 Tiberias and the neighbouring Jewish settlements; 9 the Huleh area.

2 Jewish dominion of the plains of Palestine is preferable to a continuation of the present situation only if it provides us with a better chance of a large immigration and of economic consolidation.

3 To be able to form an opinion on this matter, one must first know the particulars of the partition plan (borders, immigration laws, etc.) It is premature to discuss it today.

Jerusalem, 11 July 1937

On the evening of 7 July, the radio broadcast a summary of the report of the Royal Commission and the government's decision to accept the partition scheme. It seems to me a phantasmagoria. The difficulties of putting it into effect seem – in light of the large number of Arabs in the Jewish state – almost insuperable.

Many meetings of my Institute for Economic Research in connection with the plan.

S.S. *Galilee,* 18 July 1937

I have made use of the time for a thorough reading of the report of the Royal Commission. It is undoubtedly of a high standard and has been written with a great deal of understanding of the Zionist question, but reaches conclusions which (if the Mandate is to continue) are depressing for us. If a Jewish state is to be established, they are risky and uncertain.

Sils-Maria, 24 July 1937

In the last few days there have been debates on Palestine in both houses of Parliament; they were on a high level and very interesting. There was a great deal of praise for our economic achievements in Palestine, and they estimated our position to be much stronger than we ourselves do. There was talk of the historic struggle of two great nations – the Arabs and the Jews – who are both in the right, in the tiny land of Palestine. The debates will have historic significance.

Zurich, 1 August 1937

On consideration, the partition plan of the Royal Commission has led me to the conclusion that we cannot digest the 300,000 Arabs. I drew up 'my' plan for the new Jewish state. I realize that it will cause every simple Jew to shake his head, as it suggests the reduction of the area of five million dunams to one-and-a-half million. 'Why less?' 'Take what you are given!'

This morning I explained my ideas at a meeting of the Executive with Weizmann. I did not feel that they were making much of an impression.

Zurich, 7 August 1937

At the meeting of the [Twentieth Zionist] Congress which was open to the public, only Weizmann and Ussishkin made speeches, for and against 'partition'. The discussion took place later behind closed doors. I also spoke, for about half an hour, but doubt that I was at my best. I had to explain that I would prefer the Mandate to continue, with a separate autonomous Jewish district (not a state) on two million dunams with 400,000 Jews and only 100,000 Arabs.

While I was taking a walk yesterday, two men noticed my congress badge and, almost without my noticing, managed to put into my breast pocket a 'ticket to

Palestine' with an anti-Semitic inscription. I caught up with them, took them to task and for half an hour talked with them in the street about the Jewish question. They were educated people, twenty-five to thirty years old, equipped with the whole arsenal of German racial anti-Semitism. They were quite polite, but I found the conversation depressing. These people were like fanatics, genuinely convinced that the Jews in Switzerland (numbering 17,000) dominate the government and direct it in their own interest. This provides dim prospects for the time when this generation is older.

Zurich, 12 August 1937

Yesterday the heated political debates ended with a vote. Three hundred delegates were for, 158 against authorizing the Executive to enter into preliminary negotiations with Britain about the partition plan.

15 August 1937*

There is a general mood of uneasiness. Neither those who are for nor those who are against are satisfied. The Standing Committee is quarrelling, as usual, about who should be included in the Executive. There are more slaughterers than chickens. But in the end, the old Executive will probably remain.

Zurich, 21 August 1937

The congress closed on Monday (with the re-election of the old Executive, including myself), and then the conference of the Jewish Agency opened on Wednesday. After Weizmann's address at the first meeting, I made a speech which is said to have been particularly effective.

Zurich, 23 August 1937

The Jewish Agency nearly faced a crisis and the withdrawal of the non-Zionists. After a great deal of trouble, agreement was reached on the non-Zionists' amendment to the political resolution, which calls on the British government to hold a round-table conference of Jews and Arabs. Then there was an extremely heated quarrel over the nominations to the Executive. The non-Zionists wanted to have five, or at least three, members on the Jerusalem Executive; the Zionists, with Ben-Gurion – extremely irritable and overworked – at their head, did not want to concede more than two (Hexter and Senator). The famous deadlock would almost have been reached if it had not occurred to somebody that I could be elected as the third non-Zionist (although I had already been elected by the Zionists, but with a vote only in economic matters). Apparently, my speech and my exposition before the Political Commission had found favour with the non-Zionists, and so the suggestion was unanimously accepted. So I am now appearing on the Executive *sub utraque forma*.

Everyone at the congress was particularly nice to me; only relations with Weizmann and his wife were formal. I cannot forgive them for not treating me fairly on the occasion of my appearance before the Royal Commission.

* From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

I had a talk with Rabbi Baeck, who told the Political Commission that he is used to relying upon me absolutely. He believes that eighty per cent of the German people are against the persecution of the Jews, but they do not dare to voice their opinion.

Ascona, 21 September 1937

On Sunday morning, I called on Weizmann at his Paris hotel (he was on his way from Geneva to London). I told him that I welcomed the latest decisions of the League of Nations and the statement by British Foreign Secretary Eden, that the League of Nations will send a commission to Palestine to work out the particulars of the partition plan, because this would provide another opportunity for negotiating with the Arabs, though I did not expect very much from such negotiations. I said that we would have to make propaganda for ourselves in Turkey, Iran and Iraq. Weizmann replied that this was being done and that this was why Lichtheim was going to Constantinople and Ankara. Finally, Weizmann initiated the following conversation:

'I have to get back on to good terms with Ormsby-Gore. We fell out over the Grossmann affair.' (At the congress, Grossmann had read a letter supposed to have been written by Weizmann, containing intimate information about a conversation which Weizmann had had with Ormsby-Gore.) 'I have reason to believe that Hexter showed the document to Grossmann.'

'I don't think so.'

'Yes, yes. Hexter is an intriguer. As a protégé of Felix Warburg, he is fighting against the partition plan.'

'He has never expressed his disapproval of it.'

'That is what is so mean.'

Nine months ago Hexter was Mrs Weizmann's favourite and it was probably due to her influence that it was decided not to let me appear alone before the Royal Commission as the expert on settlement, but together with him. This prompted me to say: 'I don't know, Dr Weizmann, whether you have noticed that since the time of the Royal Commission I have been annoyed and have not had much to do with you.'

'Of course I have noticed it.'

'The reason was that I was treated unfairly and obliged to appear before the Royal Commission, so to speak, only in the role of someone reporting on the past.'

'You did excellently.'

'I thought that after working in Palestine for thirty years, I ought to have been the only expert on the economy, just as you were on politics. It was humiliating for me that Hexter was the expert on the *future.*'

'You are right, but the matter is very complicated. It was not my fault, but I have to accept the responsibility for it.'

I accepted these mysterious words as proof that unknown people have intrigued against me, or rather for Hexter. I told Weizmann that complete confidence and honesty were always essential for working together, to which he replied that the past was, after all, past and that we were now again in complete agreement. I was not entirely satisfied with his attitude, as it lacked complete frankness.

S.S. *Gerusalemme,* 30 September 1937

I have heard that in Berlin special yellow seats have been put up in the parks for the Jews. Once again I was furious. What a martyrdom for the Jews who have to live there!

Just before I went on board the *Gerusalemme* I heard that Andrews, the district commissioner of the Galilee, who had protected our settlements against Arab attacks, had been shot and killed by Arab terrorists in Nazareth. Two other Englishmen were killed with him. I can imagine what excitement this has aroused in Palestine.

Jerusalem, 16 October 1937

After the assassination of Andrews, the government adopted a vigorous policy against the Arab terrorists and deported six leaders to the Seychelles Islands. The mufti is said to have fled to Syria yesterday. There have been several acts of terrorism against Jews and British in the country, and since yesterday we again have a curfew in Jerusalem.

Jerusalem, 22 October 1937

Felix Warburg died yesterday in New York at the age of sixty-seven. Two months ago in Zurich, when I thanked him for the confidence in me the non-Zionists had shown by electing me to the Executive, he said in his good-natured way: 'Ah well, unfortunately we rather like you.'

Jerusalem, 14 November 1937

Last week five Jewish workers were murdered by Arab terrorists in a quarry near Kiryat Anavim; today, seven Arabs were killed, apparently by Jewish terrorists, in three different places near Jerusalem. At a meeting of our Executive, all the members expressed their disapproval of these acts of terrorism on the part of the Jews – strangely enough with the exception of Rabbi Fishman, who even defended them with quotations from Maimonides. What must be done in order to prevent acts of terrorism is not at all clear.

Jerusalem, 27 November 1937

Ten days ago military courts were established to sentence anybody found armed. An armed Arab has already been condemned to death by a military court in Haifa.

Jerusalem, 11 December 1937

Today is Hanna's forty-fifth birthday. I gave her a photograph of the family tree of our children, which I have just completed after working on it for many years. It shows the photographs of nineteen of our children's ancestors and biographical details of many more.

Jerusalem, 18 December 1937

On Tuesday we had supper with the High Commissioner. After the meal he asked me to sit with him. In our conversation we expressed regret that the ideals of the nineteenth century are no longer recognized. Wauchope looks old and tired. He must have had the best of intentions when he came to Palestine in 1930; it is a pity that

in 1936 he lacked the strength of mind which could probably have prevented the disturbances or suppressed them at the start.

Jerusalem, 1 January 1938

At the beginning of the new year the world does not look very peaceful and friendly. Civil war in Spain with the secret participation of the Great Powers on the one side or the other; war between Japan and China; the rise of fascism; every nation rearming faster than all the others. In spite of diplomacy, is it not bound to lead to a world war between fascism and democracy? International law has become no more than a bit of paper; might is right. Certainly, Britain, France (with Czechoslovakia etc.), the United States and Russia could probably defeat the fascist states in a war, but Britain apparently does not yet feel sufficiently prepared. Moreover, the democratic states are sick of war, while in Germany and Italy there is widespread enthusiasm for war. In addition, Russia cannot be relied upon as an ally.

In this unsatisfactory world, the situation of the Jews is particularly alarming. More and more states adopt a hostile attitude towards them; nowhere are they welcomed as immigrants; their civic and economic freedom is restricted. In Palestine, too, the outlook is gloomy. The British seem to be disavowing the partition plan. The strong opposition of the Arabs has frightened them, and they do not want any complications with the Arab states in the Middle East just now. Among the Zionists, there is widespread disagreement and a great deal of anxiety about the future. The new British commission which is to come to Palestine [Woodhead Commission] will apparently have the authority to reopen the whole problem of Palestine from the start – partition or diluted Mandate – and will grant the Arabs some sort of concession at the expense of the Jews. Since Hitler we have come to matter less to the world, and Britain is naturally affected by this. They will only give us as much as we are worth to them politically, and they don't want to lose the Arabs.

Jerusalem, 15 January 1938

Today I called on Mrs Dugdale, Balfour's niece and biographer, who is visiting here, and talked with her for an hour about politics. She is in favour of partition and would like the Jews to support it more enthusiastically.

Jerusalem, 20 January 1938

Last week Otto Warburg died in Berlin at the age of seventy-seven. I wrote his obituary for *Davar*. Although we met less frequently during the last few years than we used to, we have always been very close to each other. It was Warburg who, in 1907, suggested and arranged that I be sent to Palestine as the representative of the Zionist Organization.

Jerusalem, 5 February 1938

The political situation remains unchanged. Police and army are taking energetic measures against the terrotists; nevertheless, attacks are still occurring almost daily.

Partition or no partition continues to be the constant topic of conversation. Weizmann and Mrs Dugdale have spoken at several meetings and attacked those

who are against it; it looks as if the *yishuv*, which until now has been incited by Ussishkin to reject partition, is gradually being won over by Weizmann.

On 27 January *The Times* printed a contribution from me in which I quoted an anonymous book published in London in 1753. The author proves by the Bible that England has been chosen by providence to lead the Jews back to Palestine.

S.S. *Galilea,* 20 February 1938

The Italian government has published a statement that it is not pursuing an anti-Semitic policy and that the Jews of Eastern Europe should have a country of their own – but not Palestine. Well then, where?

The newspapers are filled with items on Eden's resignation and on the negotiations Neville Chamberlain has begun with Italy. I wish that something would come of them; it would certainly benefit the world generally, as well as our work in Palestine. Britain has been hesitating to support us, while Italy supported the Arabs, who exploited Italy against Britain.

Kattowitz, 2 March 1938*

. . . There is a lot of genuine enthusiasm for Palestine, but the amount of money donated is much too small. . . Perhaps the speech I made in Kattowitz will at least make people double their donations.

On the Nord-Express, 8 March 1938

Twice on the train I was spoken to by Jews who recognized me. I have seen almost all the leading Zionists – Baech, Stahl; visited the exhibition of 'degenerate' art, where I sadly took leave of many works of art I have known since 1899.

London, 14 March 1938

I am sitting in Woburn House in the closing session of the Zionist General Council. Thank God that it is the last meeting, I am sick to death of meetings. Yesterday afternoon I spoke at a meeting of the Administration Committee on political questions (Jewish state, continuation of the Mandate); in the evening I spoke at a meeting of the General Council on economic questions. I tried to be as brief as possible, as I was dead tired and so were the listeners. I believe that I shall recall this conference in London as a nightmare.

The occupation of Austria by the German army, which nobody expected three days ago, has become an accomplished fact overnight. The political face of Europe has changed.

Warsaw, 27 March 1938

The last few weeks have gone by like a kaleidoscope. They were so crowded with events that I have not had the time to make notes about them. Today I want to summarize briefly.

I arrived in Berlin early on Thursday and took a room at a hotel near the zoo (my fear that I might be turned away because I was a Jew proved to be unfounded). I remained in Berlin until Tuesday morning and visited the president of the

* From a letter to Dr Ruppin's wife.

community, Stahl; at the same time I had the opportunity to see Grünewald and the 'monument' describing the dragon slayer in the act of killing the dragon, which is represented as a caricature of a Jew . . . There followed five days of speeches, speeches, speeches.

I did what probably no Zionist leader has done before me. First, I refused to attend receptions and all superfluous ceremonies; second, at an evening at Traub's, instead of making the expected speech I told stories, as I had done in Hamburg (this time from my early days in Palestine), and I think the listeners were very pleased about it.

I left Hamburg on Thursday morning for Magdeburg and followed all the familiar names of the stations on the way (near Cloetze) with interest. I went for a walk through Magdeburg . . . Everything was as it used to be; only one thing has changed: the restaurant by the Salzquelle is full of signs reading '*Juden unerwünscht* [Jews not wanted]. Magdeburg is a stronghold of anti-Semitism; there are now only 1,200 Jews (there used to be almost 3,000).

Warsaw, 29 March 1938

My stay in Warsaw was crowded with speeches. At noon on Sunday I spoke, together with Izhak Grünbaum, at a general meeting; at noon on Monday at a press conference, in the evening at a meeting of Palestine Labour. I am gradually getting sick of making speeches. I try to say something fresh on every occasion, but the basic theme – 'Carry on! More money!' – remains the same, and I am beginning to feel like a talking machine.

Until now, during all the speeches, there has really been only one occasion which gave me pleasure: in Hamburg, Max Warburg's sister-in-law, a nice elderly lady, told me: 'During your speech I felt as if I ought to come forward, as with the Salvation army, and confess my sins at the penitents' rail. All of us used to sin against Palestine' (she had assimilated).

Warsaw, 30 March 1938

At nine o'clock, in rainy weather, I drove with Dr Schipper and Dr Bornstein (of the Joint Distribution Committee) to the little town of Grodick, where there are about 4,000 Jews, mostly people working at home. They produce berets and stockings for retailers in Warsaw and bring in 2 zlotys a day, with which they must provide for a family, frequently of five or six children – and they do not even work throughout the year.

Warsaw, 2 April 1938

On Thursday afternoon I went together with Grünbaum and Schipper to Lodz on the 'Torpedo' train. A ten-to-fifteen man delegation was at the station. The evening included a press conference and speeches by Grünbaum and myself at a large meeting.

Friday morning I made a visit with Dr Tartakower to weavers, shoemakers and so forth in the Jewish quarter and returned to Warsaw at four o'clock.

3 April 1938

I arrived early in Lemberg and was welcomed by a delegation at the station. In the morning I visited the Jewish quarter, old synagogues and a *yeshivah*, where the

pupils answered my question as to whether they wanted to go to Palestine: 'Yes, when the messiah comes. . . .'

5 April 1938

At 7.30 a.m. I went with Dr Helpmann from Czernowitz to Jassy, where we arrived at twelve o'clock. On the way, half the Jewish community was at a station to greet us. In Jassy there was also a large delegation at the station. In the evening a meeting. Immediately after the meeting I went by car to the station and then by sleeping-car to Bucharest.

Bucharest, 6 April 1938

Each of the past few days has taken me to a different place and I have been so 'restless' that today I can no longer remember all the particulars. I know that I was welcomed everywhere with exceptional warmth and celebrated far beyond my deserts.

S.S. *Polania*, 11 April 1938

The passengers are very happy. Yesterday it became known that we will land not at Haifa but in the new port of Tel Aviv and will probably be the first voyagers to disembark there.

S.S. *Polania*, 11 April 1938

I did not record many of my impressions during the journey through Germany because I was afraid that the notes might fall into the hands of a censor. I want to make up for it now, almost within sight of the coast of Palestine.

It seems to me that many Jews in Germany have not yet fully grasped the seriousness of what has happened to them. There are still rich Jews who continue to live almost as before on their private incomes. As long as they are still able to buy their provisions at the nearest shopkeeper, they are oblivious of the misfortune. They do not realize that there is no future for their children in Germany, either economically or spiritually, and that they will be pariahs, at least for the next few decades, until the government may accept the few surviving Jews. Other Jews are in despair but see no way out. They are too intimately bound up with their present home and occupation, feel they will not be any happier elsewhere – in spite of all the dangers threatening – and are too inflexible to emigrate. The process of pauperization is proceeding fast. In many average communities one-quarter or one-third of the Jews are already receiving assistance from the community. It must be said to the credit of the government that at least no difference is drawn between Jews and Christians in the payment of unemployment relief. The Jews feel that they are helplessly at the mercy of a hostile power. The uncertainty about the future is harder for them to bear than past and present sufferings.

There seems to me to be a considerable difference between the older and the younger generations of Christians in their attitudes towards the Jews. The aged Rabbi Baeck maintains that eighty or ninety per cent of the Christians are not anti-Semitic. Perhaps he has this impression because he relates mainly to Christians of his own generation, who remember the former high status of the Jews and can make comparisons. The post-war generation, which cannot do this and which has been systematically taught to hate the Jews, has no such misgivings. As it will grad-

ually assume all the leading positions, more and more Germans will accept anti-Semitism, just as the rejection of the Negroes in the United States has affected all classes of society there.

Jerusalem, 16 April 1938

The S.S. *Polania* did not arrive in Tel Aviv until six o'clock on Monday afternoon. A delegation (Sprinzak, Dobkin, Shapira, Hoofien, and others) came on board to welcome the first passenger ship arriving in Tel Aviv.

Jerusalem, 14 May 1938

On Tuesday, Kaplan and I called on Weizmann in Rehovot to discuss a £2 million loan he has suggested. Weizmann hoped to gain the support of the rich Jews for it; I am less optimistic. The Jews will want to wait and see whether and when the 'partition' will take place.

S.S. *Mariette Pasha,* 2 July 1938

The Executive has decided to send me as its representative to the Evian Conference.* Nahum Goldman from Geneva and probably Locker and Rosenblüth from London will also be going there. It is still uncertain whether Weizmann will be coming.

It is still not clear what the procedure of the conference will be and whether it will even want to hear representatives of the Jewish organizations or experts. About thirty states are said to be represented, but this number includes those interested not in the immigration, but in the emigration of the Jews. Britain has chosen its delegate Lord Winterton, a notorious opponent of Zionism and friend of the Arabs. This makes the situation even more complicated and obscure.

Going with us to Evian as correspondent for *Davar* is the Labour leader S. Rubashov.**

Evian, 8 July 1938

The conference was poorly prepared and its start was rather chaotic. The Jewish organizations also came without a definite plan, but gradually something seems to be taking shape on both sides; (a) a permanent committee is to be formed to deal with the emigration from Germany; (b) the German government must be asked to permit the emigrants to bring out some money; (c) the United States will offer its full quota for Germany and Austria (27,300). I estimated the number of those waiting to emigrate from Germany and Austria as 300,000; talked about the immigration into Palestine in the past; handed out a pamphlet (edited by me, with statistical tables of Jews); emphasised that it was essential that the immigrants bring their capital with them; and drew attention to the East European Jews although the committee did not wish to hear about them), who, even if not expressly included, should in any case not be completely excluded from the agenda.

* On the initiative of President Roosevelt, representatives of thirty-two countries met at Evian, France, to discuss the problems related to Jewish refugees from Germany and find places of refuge and settlement for them. It became obvious at the conference that no one of the countries represented was prepared to accept a substantial number of refugees.

** Now Zalman Shazar, president of the State of Israel.

Paris, 18 July 1938

I remained in Evian until Thursday, 14 July, and did not wait for the closing session on 15 July, as the resolutions were already known. They express a great deal of sympathy for Jewish (and other) refugees and emphasise that Germany must leave the refugees the means to emigrate, but the emigration problem of the East European Jews is hardly mentioned. Palestine was mentioned by Lord Winterton in the closing session only in order to explain that *now*, under the present political circumstances, immigration could be considered only to a very limited extent.

The news from Palestine is terrible and leaves me no peace. Every day there are acts of terrorism, either by the Jews or by the Arabs. Jewish youth seems to have abandoned the policy of self-restraint which it has practised until now and decided on making reprisals. It would be terrible if this were to lead to a civil war.

Brunoy, 26 July 1938

The news from Palestine continues to get worse. Now the terrorists are no longer using ordinary bombs, but real devil's inventions, with the result that not several but dozens of people are killed. One such bomb in Haifa cost the lives of thirty Arabs and one Jew. The Arabs naturally regard this as a Jewish reprisal. I think it doubtful. I am inclined to believe that this is an intervention by some external factor who would like to see civil war break out.

Jerusalem, 6 September 1938

Europe is full of rumours of war. Lord Runciman's* mission in Prague is said to have been unsuccessful and Germany is supposed to be determined to annex the Sudetenland as it did Austria. The consequences of such a war, which might develop into a world war, are incalculable. Everything we have established in Palestine may may be lost if Britain should have to withdraw its troops from here.

Jerusalem, 8 September 1938

The disturbances increasingly resemble a real revolt. Yesterday the rebels occupied a police station in Jaffa, stole fourteen rifles and took over the Serail, where they remained for several hours.

Haifa, 16 September 1938

I received a telegram from Schocken in London saying that the board of governors of the university has granted me a professorship.

The day before yesterday, on my way from Jerusalem to Tel Aviv, we passed a burning lorry lying in the ditch by the side of the road. The Jewish driver had just been shot dead by an Arab gang. In the afternoon I had a meeting with the adviser of the German Department concerning the Austrian Jews.

Yesterday morning the world was baffled by the statement that British Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain will be flying to meet Hitler. The meeting did in fact take place in Berchtesgarden yesterday. The result of it is not yet known. History

* British statesman sent to mediate between the Czechoslovak government and the Germans in Sudetenland, who demanded autonomy (under Hitler's instigation).

will one day decide whether this unusual step, taken because of the Sudetendeutschen in Czechoslovakia at a time of high international tension, will have prevented a war with millions of victims or merely have increased Hitler's prestige and reduced that of Britain. Actually, whatever happens will be bad for the Jews in general and especially for Palestine. If war breaks out, there will be an Arab revolt in Syria, Palestine and perhaps also in Iraq and the Jews will have to defend Palestine with the help of British officers and planes. In view of the superior numbers of Arabs, the outcome of such a conflict seems uncertain. If there is no war and Hitler gets what he wants by Britain exercising pressure on Czechoslovakia, he will triumph and become the most powerful man in Europe. This would, of course, also lend additional force to his anti-Jewish policy.

Jerusalem, 1 October 1938

Hitler threatened. Neville Chamberlain succeeded in arranging a meeting of Hitler, Mussolini and Daladier in Munich, and an agreement was reached giving Hitler almost everything he has asked for at the expense of Czechoslovakia. This has undoubtedly further increased his prestige as the strong man of Europe. For us Jews, this is certainly bad, as Hitler has become the prototype of the Jew hater.

Quite apart from this, our prospects are anything but rosy. Weizmann has had a talk with Colonial Secretary Malcolm MacDonald, who used to be one of our best friends. MacDonald left him in no doubt that the opposition of the Arabs in Palestine and the other Arab countries makes it impossible to implement the partition plan of the Royal Commission. England could not afford to antagonize the Arab and Islamic world (India!) at this moment. Britain might well do with us what it did with Czechoslovakia – in spite of the Balfour Declaration.

As a result of the fear that there will be a war, there has already been a small run on the banks and the grocery stores. On Thursday, however, when the result of the meeting in Munich was made known, people again adapted themselves to the thought of peace.

I am continuing to work hard on my book.

Jerusalem, 17 October 1938

Conditions in Europe have never been so bad for the Jews as they are now. After Italy, Turkey seems to be preparing for racial anti-Semitism. Free Switzerland now demands that Jews coming from Germany have visas (Christians are admitted without visas). The Arabs have held a conference of members of parliament from all the Arab states and threatened Britain that the Arabs will be hostile if it does not renounce the Balfour Declaration and halt further Jewish immigration into Palestine. The High Commissioner went to London to consult with Colonial Secretary MacDonald . . . Palestine has become a major problem in British politics. I do not think that the Arabs, who are blithely continuing their acts of terrorism here, will have everything their own way. But I no longer believe in Peel's suggested partition. We will continue to have the Mandate, with severe curtailment of immigration and land purchase, or at most autonomy in the form of a municipal or regional association of Jewish districts.

Jerusalem, 29 October 1938

Many people have been afraid that under Arab pressure, the government would halt all immigration for the half year October 1938/March 1939. Now, however, it

has published a schedule, according to which about 10,000 Jews will be able to immigrate.

I have been granted permission to carry a Browning and am now taking it with me when I travel. When I came to Palestine in 1907, I brought a Browning with me, but I never fired a shot from it.

The army has now taken over the police duties in the country and is taking vigorous action. There are not quite so many acts of terrorism. . . .

Dr Herlitz,* the director of our archives, has prepared a list of all my publications from 1901 to 1936, including as many as 372 items.

Jerusalem, 12 November 1938

On 9 November a real pogrom took place in Germany. A seventeen-year-old Polish Jew murdered a secretary at the German embassy in Paris, and in revenge, on 9 November, Jewish shops were looted, fire was set to synagogues, and many Jews were arrested without reason in Berlin and other German towns. The police allowed the looters a free hand. Goebbels had the cheek to explain later, at a press conference, that in fact no looting had taken place, but perhaps some mothers had taken some garment or other as Christmas presents for their daughters. We have become outlawed pariahs in Germany!

Jerusalem, 26 November 1938

As a reprisal for the assassination in Paris, the German government has imposed upon the Jews a collective fine of 1 milliard marks. This is supposed to be twenty per cent of their capital, but in reality it is probably half. Thousands of Jews have been arrested, in some towns all men up to the age of sixty. The offices of the German Zionist Organization have been demolished and the archives burned. Jews all over the world, as well as Christians in Britain and the United States, are terribly upset. I have suggested that a new Tisha be-Av should be proclaimed for Jews all over the world, so that history may record this outburst of brutality.

Thousands of telegrams asking for certificates have arrived from the Jews who have been arrested in Germany. Unfortunately, according to the current immigration regulations, no help is possible.

Jerusalem, 13 January 1939

Yesterday evening, Bello told us over the telephone that Ruth gave birth to a girl in Assuta Hospital at 7.30 in the evening. The confinement went smoothly, lasting barely two hours . . . And so I am now a grandfather! The first great-grandchild of Albert and Cäcilie Ruppin; the start of the third generation!

Jerusalem, 31 January 1939**

I do not have much to say about the negotiations. There is an unbridgeable gulf between the maximum which the Arabs or the British government are prepared to

* Dr G. Herlitz (1885–1968), director of the Central Zionist Archives; the bibliography of Dr Ruppin's works was to be included in a collection of his writings, but was not published and remains in the Ruppin Archive of the Central Archives.

** From a letter to Chaim Weizmann.

concede to us and the minimum we must demand if we do not want to relinquish the foundations of Zionism.

Whatever the decisions of the government will be, however, we must continue our work in Palestine and wait until a different political constellation will one day return to us what we are losing now. With regard to immigration, perhaps it can be arranged that the probably unavoidable restrictions will concern not so much the number as the territory, that is, that immigration will be permitted only to a Jewish sphere of influence, in which I include those parts of the country where the Jews already form an appreciable percentage – especially the coastal region with Tel Aviv and Haifa, the Jezreel Valley and the parts of the Jordan Valley and the Galilee which have already been settled by us.

The following points seem to me economically important: we must be granted a sort of economic sovereignty in our sphere of influence which would give us the right to take special measures to protect our industry and agriculture. At the port of Haifa and in Tel Aviv we must be given a free-port Zone in which we can store goods in bond. Our municipalities and agricultural settlements must have the right to form a municipal association, which, as a corporate body, would be able to raise loans and create special sources of income to cover repayments and interests, for instance, monopolies, or impose taxes on all the Jews within the municipal association.

Jerusalem, 18 February 1939

Life here is completely overshadowed by the negotiations in London between the government and the Jewish and the Arab delegations. I did not go to London, although as a member of the Executive I would have been *ex officio* entitled to attend the conference. I think that the negotiations will be purely political (not economic) and that I would be of no use as the twentieth or thirtieth representative of the Jews. I have explained what I am expecting from the negotiations in a letter to Weizmann dated 31 January. So far, the negotiations have not led to any concrete results, and the reports do not sound very encouraging. Nonetheless, I am not giving up hope. I am convinced at heart that whatever the outcome in London may be, it will not be the final decision on Palestine.

Jerusalem, 4 March 1939

The British government is prepared to make large concessions to the Arabs at the expense of the Jews, but nothing definite has been decided as yet. There is a feeling of deep depression in the *yishuv* (and among our friends in London). We are considering the plan of establishing a rather large number (five to ten) of agricultural settlements in order to prevent the *yishuv* from committing acts of terrorism out of sheer desperation and to direct it towards a constructive response. We also want to show the world that we will continue our work under any circumstances.

Jerusalem, 25 March 1939

Czechoslovakia has ceased to exist; Bohemia and Moravia have become a German 'protectorate', Sub-Carpathian Ruthenia has been absorbed by Hungary, Slovakia remains an independent (?) state by the grace of Germany. Great indigna-

tion about this outrage in Britain, France, the United States and the Soviet Union; nevertheless, it will apparently not lead to war. In the meantime, Hitler has also occupied the province of Memel and reclaimed it for Germany. What will be his next move? Will *hubris* lead to his downfall, or will he really create a new 'Central Europe'?

The negotiations in London have resulted in the government's recommendation providing for an independent Palestinian state, after an indefinite period of transition. It allows for a total of 75,000 Jewish immigrants during the next five years and makes further immigration after this date dependent upon the consent of the Arabs. The Jews have rejected these proposals because they do not want to be a minority in a state with an Arab majority and are opposed to the restriction on immigration. The Arabs have also rejected it because they do not like the period of transition and because the establishment of the state depends upon the cooperation of the Jews. Now the government will have to implement its own policy.

Jerusalem, 9 May 1939

Last Wednesday I went with Dr Pinner, Ben-Zvi and his wife at five o'clock in the morning, via Tel Aviv and Haifa, to Dafna (fourteen km. from Kfar Giladi, on the Syrian border), where we arrived at one o'clock. This is the first of a group of settlements now being planned to the north of the Huleh Lake; we occupied the place today in the usual manner, through erecting a watchtower and barracks and putting up a barricade around the farm. Several hundred workers came from the vicinity, including many Arabs, and were provided with a meal. The acting district commissioner of Safed, Mr Reeves, was also there. The establishment of the new settlements is to be our response to the new policy of the British government.

Jerusalem, 18 May 1939

Yesterday, the government's White Paper on its Palestine policy was published at last. It no longer contains any surprises: transition period for the first ten years, then an autonomous Palestinian state, immigration restricted to 75,000 within five years, after that immigration only with the consent of the Arabs, restrictions on the purchase of land . . . I don't know why I am much less upset by this document than all the other Jews. Am I already old and indifferent? Or is it because I no longer believe in paper policies? This White Paper emanates from a certain political constellation (Arab united front, Britain's fear of the Arabs) and will be equally short-lived.

Jerusalem, 20 May 1939

The day before yesterday, the Jews held large protest meetings and processions through the streets all over the country. Everything went off quietly, but in the evening there were clashes in Jerusalem in which twelve British policemen were wounded and one was killed and about 100 Jews were injured by police truncheons, ten of them seriously. As a result of the disturbances, the military commandant, Haining, today summoned the Jewish dignitaries, including Ben-Gurion; told them that he would suppress all disorders by force; and promptly left the room. This reminded me of a similar scene with Jemal Pasha in 1914.

Jerusalem, 31 May 1939

There are again more frequent acts of terrorism on the part of both Arabs and Jews. I am trying to convince the Executive that what will really help us in the long run are not destructive but constructive activities (establishing many new settlements).

S.S. *Mariette Pasha,* 7 July 1939

During June, being in Palestine was not very pleasant. The White Paper led to terrorist action from the Revisionists in which many Arabs were killed and wounded. The Executive has published statements against them, but without result. 'Illegal' immigrants are arriving by hundreds and thousands. The government wants to subtract the 'illegal' immigrants from the quota, so the result is merely that the immigrants are chosen not by the Executive but by forces outside the country.

Chamonix, 24 July 1939

The danger of war seems to be receding. Hitler has stated that he would not go to war over Danzig, and in East Asia Britain has come to an agreement with Japan.

Geneva, 22 August 1939

The [Twenty-first Zionist] Congress has now been going for almost a week. It has been decided to devote the debates exclusively to the fight against the White Paper. Therefore, only the politicians are making speeches. My decision to resign from the Executive has become even firmer since I have seen that politics are pushing economics completely into the background. Rumours are again spreading of war over Danzig and the Far East.

Geneva, 24 August 1939

Yesterday it was made known that Russia which is just now negotiating with a British-French military commission in Moscow, has signed a non-aggression pact with Germany; the news exploded like a bomb. It came completely unexpectedly and is inexplicable. The rumours of war are growing stronger. Today Mrs Dugdale assured me that war would break out within the next couple of days. Because of this uncertain situation, the congress is being closed tonight, and they are looking for the quickest means of getting the 200 Palestinians here back home.

Marseilles, 27 August 1939

The congress closed on Thursday, 24 August, at one o'clock in the morning, after speeches from Weizmann and Ussishkin. I did not attend and instead packed my things and went to bed; but it is supposed to have been very dramatic and elegiac, and Weizmann is said to have been in tears when he said good-bye to all those who had attended. Before the last meeting of the congress, there was another meeting of the Executive with Weizmann from 6 – 7.30 p.m., at which nothing was discussed except our preparations for war. Ben-Gurion believes that we could raise an army of 20,000 people in Palestine. Soldiers – perhaps; but where are the leaders?

S.S. *Cairo City,* 2 September 1939

The three days in Marseilles from 27 to 29 August were occupied with the problem of how to get to Palestine the 400 Palestinians whom the rumours of war

have brought hastily from the congress and from French resorts to Marseilles. Through the good offices of my brother-in-law David I received places for myself, my mother-in-law and Carmella from Palestine Labour supporters, who had secured eighty places on the deck of the *Cairo City*; the ship left on the evening of Tuesday, 29 August.

Yesterday evening came the news of the British-French ultimatum to Germany, and this morning the radio announced the beginning of the war – the bombing of Warsaw! And so, a new world war – a turning-point in world history! It will also decide the fate of the Jews.

S.S. *Cairo City,* 4 September 1939

We are already in the midst of war. The day before yesterday, the ship's radio announced the bombing of Polish towns by German planes; yesterday it announced Britain's declaration of war on Germany, and today the sinking of a passenger ship in the Atlantic by a German submarine and the seizure of the S.S. *Bremen* in the Atlantic by the British.

S.S. *Cairo City,* 6 September 1939

We left Alexandria at five o'clock in the afternoon; the sea was quiet. In Alexandria, there were a great many British warships. Apparently the British want to demonstrate that they are capable of defending Egypt.

Jerusalem, 14 September 1939

During the week which has passed since my arrival, I have been concerned mainly with the problems of the war economy. I have also attended a meeting in Tel Aviv of the Economic Council, which has been appointed by the Jewish Agency. I don't think that we will be short of provisions, even if Italy should enter the war and block the Mediterranean; but we shall be short of money. I would guess that one-third of the Jewish population has no income or reserves and depends on loans or assistance.

The Jewish Agency has registered people for military service; Rafi reported to them and now wears the emblem of a recruit. Cari wants to attend a first-aid course, and Aya is running around in her guide uniform. The whole family has become military.

Jerusalem, 21 September 1939

The past week has been full of dramatic political events. Russia quite unexpectedly invaded Poland and has occupied almost half of it. It has made a non-aggression pact with Germany and has reached an agreement on concerted action in Poland (and partition?). Germany, which until now could never have enough of insulting the Bolsheviks, is celebrating this agreement as a victory, and the fact is that her military position has been improved by it. Will the German people be able to digest so easily this abrupt desertion of everything it has been taught to hold sacred during the last six years? The Balkan states (Rumania, Turkey), which wanted to side with Britain and France, have been frightened by Russia's move and want to remain neutral.

I think that Russia and Germany will soon be at odds.

Jerusalem, 30 September 1939

Russia and Germany have occupied the whole of Poland and divided it up between them. They have issued a joint statement to Britain that they have now dealt with the Polish question, will not tolerate the interference of a third party and it is now up to Britain and France to accept this position and end the war, otherwise, the responsibility for the war will rest with Britain and France. If Britain should make a compromise peace it would lose its prestige in the Middle East, and we Jews would stand entirely alone.

Zikhron Ya'acov, 7 October 1939

The situation in the world remains obscure. Through non-aggression pacts, the Soviet Union has brought Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia under its influence and also seems about to become the dominant power in the Balkans. It seems to me that Hitler's star is setting and Stalin's star is rising.

Jerusalem, 5 November 1939

Hitler wants to concentrate Polish and other Jews (from Vienna, Prague) in the region of Lublin. A Jewish state or a Jewish ghetto by the grace of Hitler!

I have received all the proofs of my book from Britain. though only after a great deal of delay. I returned the last one the day before yesterday, so, at last, I have done with it! The book closes with the statement that at the forthcoming peace conference, the Jewish question will also have to be solved.

Jerusalem, 9 December 1939

Without saying anything to me, Rafi wrote an article on the date of maturity of debts, which was published in *Haaretz* of 6 December. It is his first literary publication. Not bad, though merely descriptive. He is starting his career as a writer three on four years earlier than I did.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1939

Horrible news is coming from the part of Poland which was occupied by the Germans, as well as from Austria and the Czech Protectorate, about the humiliation, maltreatment, pauperization and murder of Jews. I think that nothing like it has happened since Chmelnicki's days. The only consolation is that a crisis seems to be brewing inside Germany, and that the German army seems to be turning against Hitler's foreign and domestic policies.

The times are so serious, and especially for the Jews in most countries so gloomy, that the fate of the individual recedes completely into the background, and I do not feel like concerning myself with my own situation as I usually do on the last day of the year. The new year is an ominous one for the whole world. What will it hold?

Jerusalem, 6 January 1940

In the afternoon, I attended a reception by the High Commissioner. There were about eighty Arabs, Jews and British officials. The High Commissioner read a speech saying that the government is providing £750,000 in donations and loans to relieve the economic emergency; the Jews will receive about half of it. It was

the first time since the beginning of the disturbances almost four years ago that Arabs and Jews sat and talked together.

The news about the Nazi treatment of the Jews in Poland is dreadful.

Jerusalem, 19 January 1940

Last Sunday I invited twelve people, including Magnes, Thon, Krojanker, Professor Roth and Agronski, in order to discuss the drafting of proposals for the peace conference, which will finally be taking place at some time or other.

Kallia (by the Dead Sea), 2 February 1940

My negotiations with Magnes over preparing to deal with the Jewish question at the peace conference are making progress. I suggested a series of pamphlets on the Jewish problem; Magnes is thinking of a quarterly.

Jerusalem, 10 February 1940

On Wednesday afternoon I went to Tel Aviv, and had supper at Ruth's after first visiting Mrs van Vriesland and suggesting she form a committee for the encouragement of the fine arts in Palestine, in memory of her husband. The thought had occurred to me some weeks ago in the course of a conversation with the painter Rubin.

Jerusalem, 1 March 1940

My sixty-fourth birthday! Am I really already an old man? I cannot find the moment of change from youth to age. I continue to work, it seems to me, as I used to.

Yesterday the government published the restrictions on the purchase of land by Jews already announced in the White Paper. Only in the coastal region are the Jews allowed to buy without restriction; in two other zones purchase is restricted or forbidden altogether.

Jerusalem, 4 March 1940

During the past few days there have been many stormy meetings concerning the new land laws. The day after tomorrow there is to be a debate in the House of Commons. In Jerusalem, Tel Aviv and Haifa, Jewish street demonstrations. The police made use of truncheons; a young man has died as a result of a blow. A curfew in Tel Aviv.

Jerusalem, 17 March 1940

My hearing has undoubtedly become worse recently; apparently it is part of a general weariness and exhaustion. I find meetings a particular strain because – in spite of using a hearing aid – I can understand only parts of the speeches. Last Thursday at ten o'clock in the evening, after I had already been sitting for eight hours, I had to make a Hebrew speech at a meeting, in which I expressed my disapproval of unlawful and useless demonstrations. In my opinion, all the present laws are temporary 'martial laws' and our final status in Palestine will be decided only at the peace conference. There we will have to appear with Britain as our friend and therefore must not risk upsetting public opinion in Britain.

Zikhron Ya'acov, 11 April 1940

The long meetings of the Executive are concerned with determining our policy towards the government and with Ben-Gurion's resignation. He advocates a strong policy, using demonstrations and so forth, while most of the other members reject adventure; so he has resigned. It is a pity; he is tremendously gifted and sincere in his opinions, but a fanatic who could pull us over the precipice. Shertok will be taking his place.

Suddenly there is a lot of movement in the war, which has so far been unsensational and seemed to have slacked off. Germany has occupied Denmark and part of Norway. This has led to engagements with the British fleet in the Baltic, which may become decisive.

Jerusalem, 20 April 1940

The day before yesterday, in Jerusalem, I had an eight-hour meeting of the Zionist General Council. Ben-Gurion's policy statement was not accepted, and he will leave the Executive.

Yesterday I received the first copy of my book *Jewish Fate and Future*. I am not entirely pleased with it. It already seems to me that I could have put a lot of things better. But so far this has happened to me with all my books.

The British and French have landed troops in Norway. It looks as if it will soon come to a battle with the Germans. who are said to have 70,000 troops there and are continually sending in reinforcements by air.

I am reading Rauschning's conversations with Hitler. They demonstrate that the evil spirit (i.e., the uninhibited instincts of primitive man) is being resurrected in National Socialism and is trying to destroy the work of a civilization thousands of years old.

Jerusalem, 4 May 1940

I have had two meetings to prepare material for the Jewish demands at a future peace conference. Taking part were Norman Bentwich from London, Magnes, Professor Roth, Professor Koebner, Senator and Robert Weltsch. Things are making very slow progress. If I were free, I would have gone about the world on my own in order to consult with Jewish circles and ask the governments of New Zealand, Canada and so on whether they are ready to accept Jewish immigrants if these would contribute to the industrialization of their countries.

Jerusalem, 18 May 1940

The events of the war are now following fast upon each other. After eight months of quiet. The Germans have invaded Belgium and Holland. The cruelty of this war surpasses anything that has ever happened. The end of the world seems near. That I am nevertheless pursuing all my usual preoccupations is the result of my fatalism, which makes me react to political events against which I am helpless as I would to an earthquake.

For the time being we are continuing to live in Palestine as if it were paradise; no rationing of food, no compulsory military service, no acts of war.

Jerusalem, 30 May 1940

The Germans have succeeded in marching through Belgium, pushing forward through the French-British front and reaching the English Channel. They have

captured Dunkirk. Ten days ago, Winston Churchill replaced old Chamberlain as prime minister.

In Palestine, the events of the war have caused a degree of panic among the Jews. It is believed that Italy will enter the war soon, and it is feared that Haifa and Tel Aviv may be bombed. Shelters against air raids are hurriedly being prepared.

I am having a hard struggle in the Executive to use what little money we have to strengthen the settlements we have already established – (irrigation works), instead of using it for political adventures – for instance the establishment of new settlements on distant estates of the JNF in Beersheba and so forth.

Jerusalem, 12 June 1940

The day before yesterday, Italy declared war on the Allies; it had been expected daily for a long time. The blackout in the country (including Jerusalem) now starts as early as 7.45 in the evening. We have covered all windows with shutters or curtains and can switch the lights on inside and work; but in the streets it is pitch-dark.

Jerusalem, 16 June 1940

Since Italy's entry into the war, the Mediterranean has been closed to shipping, and there is no longer any cargo or passenger traffic in the ports of Palestine. Postal communication with Europe has also been interrupted; only telegrams can still be sent.

Jerusalem, 29 June 1940

Once more, within a few days, the scene on the world's stage has changed. France, three-quarters of which was already occupied by German troops, has signed an armistice with Germany and Italy . . . The theatre of war continues to move closer to Palestine. Until now it has been hoped that the French army in Syria, under General Mittelhauser, would offer resistance, but yesterday it became apparent that it would obey the government in Bordeaux. I am trying to raise money for the purpose of strengthening the *yishuv* and our settlements and am publicizing a new idea: to encourage the rich Jews to make an interest-free loan and enter it into a 'ledger of the Jewish people', which is to be started with much pomp. A few days ago I spoke about this plan to a number of Labour leaders in Tel Aviv; perhaps something will come of it.

At the meeting of the Zionist General Council last Sunday, Ussishkin got up and stated that the committee for naming places had decided to name the agricultural settlement Masad (in the Jordan Valley) after me. As it may name places after people who are still alive only with the consent of the congress or the General Council, he was asking for approval of the suggestion (which was granted by acclamation). I objected. After my death – yes; during my lifetime – no, as I had already written to tell the settlers themselves when they made the suggestion two years ago. I cannot make a fuss about such a thing at the present time, however, so events will probably take their course.

Jerusalem, 20 July 1940

War has ceased on the continent of Europe. The whole of Central and Western Europe is under Germany's control. The fight continues only on the sea and in the air.

A few days ago, the oil refineries in Haifa were bombed by Italian planes; some of the tanks were destroyed and several people were killed. In Britain there is widespread admiration for Churchill and a firm intention to continue the war. Dr Bodenheimer, who has been living in Jerusalem for some years, has died. Apart from Wolffsohn, he was the first German Zionist leader I met.

Jerusalem, 10 August 1940

From Wednesday to Friday this week I visited a dozen settlements in the Beisan region and the Jezreel Valley with a representative of the Agricultural Centre. We were especially warmly received in Masad, which is now called Kfar Ruppin and has a large sign at the entrance to the settlement reading: 'Welcome to Masad-Kfar Ruppin.

Jerusalem, 7 September 1940

Eyewitness reports of the persecution of the Jews in Poland by the Germans in the autumn of 1939 are hair-raising; I should like to believe that they are exaggerated, because otherwise one would have to despair of humanity and its 'civilization'.

Jerusalem, 10 September 1940

Yesterday afternoon, Italian planes bombed Tel Aviv. Until now it was believed that the Italians were only interested in the oil refineries in Haifa, which they have bombed three times recently. I went to Tel Aviv this morning. Apparently 107 Jews were killed and about an equal number seriously injured yesterday. One thing is clear: the war is coming closer to our door. According to the official news, there can be little doubt that the Italians are preparing to attack Palestine either from Libya or from Syria.

Jerusalem, 16 September 1940

Yesterday, Italian troops advanced from Sollum (Libya) across the Egyptian border, and are apparently intending to advance on Cairo, which is 400 kilometres away. So far, the British are not offering them any resistance, as they believe that it will cost the Italians many casualties to cross this tract of desert and it will be better to make a stand against them near Cairo. In any case, war has already come to the Middle East.

After lengthy negotiations with the Jewish Agency, the British administration has agreed to establish special Jewish and Arab fighting units of Palestinian volunteers; for the time being, only one battalion of 400 men each.

Now that I have definitely completed the Hebrew edition of my book, I wonder what aim or task is left for me in life, and the answer, unfortunately, is none! I cannot imagine that I can still do some important practical Zionist work, (especially as my bad hearing makes it difficult for me to meet people); the same also applies to scholarly writings on the Jews. It is dawning on me that I must put a *finis* to my life's activities. I am not saying this with any bitterness because I think that I have gotten out of life all it could offer. The only work which still appeals to me at sixty-five is to occupy myself with agriculture, planting subtropical trees, which I have tried in my garden with cuttings of mangoes, avocadoes and so forth, and experiments in genetics (law of heredity). Will I still be able to manage this? Will it still be possible to do regular work at all, in spite of the war?

Jerusalem, 22 September 1940

The day before yesterday, the Italians again bombed Haifa. The result: about thirty Arabs killed (by chance, not a single Jew).

Rafi has volunteered as one of the 400 men who will now be enlisted as a Jewish fighting unit in the British army and will leave within a few days for the training camp in Sarafand.

Jerusalem, 27 September 1940

I suggested to Leo Hermann that the Keren Hayesod have the last four chapters of my book published as a small booklet, perhaps as a 'Penguin', under the title *Jewry and Zionism* in order to inform the British about the Jewish question and Palestine. He was very enthusiastic about the suggestion.

Jerusalem, 16 October 1940

Today Moshe Gordon brought me the first printed copy of my Hebrew book. So I have lived to see the completion of this book after all!

Rehovot, 8 November 1940

The day before yesterday, the presidential election took place in the United States with the result that Roosevelt won against Willkie. I regard Roosevelt's victory as a large step towards Britain's victory in the war. Even if the Americans do not want to help with people, but only with supplies, this will certainly be of tremendous help to Britain. There are beginning to be some reasons for my optimism.

Jerusalem, 21 November 1940

Today Dr Wolff and I visited Moses Wilbuschewitz in his laboratory at the university. The old man with the beard of a prophet, who lives shut away in his laboratory and in a strange way combines faith in the Bible with modern chemistry, reminded me of the alchemists of the Middle Ages. Interesting that he demonstrated experimentally that every human being (and in fact all matter) is the source of an emanation (release of energy) of a certain strength. This reminded me of an idea I had that it ought to be possible to draw up for each person his own 'personal equation', from which it would be possible to read off his characteristics. Perhaps the emanation expresses this equation.

Jerusalem, 30 November 1940

During the past three weeks, the Executive has been occupied mainly with the fate of about 1,800 'illegal' refugees from Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia (including my former 'partner', Michael Meyer, and his wife). After a terribly difficult and long journey along the Danube, they left Sulina on two small steamers, were intercepted by the British on the way and escorted to Haifa. Here they lay at anchor for three weeks. The government did not want to let them land; instead, it wanted to send them to Mauritius and had already transferred them to another steamer, the *Patria,* for this purpose. All appeals to the government here and in London were in vain. On Tuesday there occurred a still unexplained explosion, which caused the ship to sink within fifteen minutes. The passengers jumped overboard (into the harbour); thirty to forty were drowned, eighty are missing,

the remaining 15–1600 were saved and taken to the camp at Athlit. In spite of this tragedy, the administration here wanted to send these people to Mauritius (incomprehensible behaviour against all the laws of humanity!), but yesterday evening it stated, apparently after Weizmann had intervened with Churchill, that it was prepared to let the people remain here. This aroused a feeling of relief throughout the *yishuv*, as many people have close relations on the ship. One no longer thinks of the thirty or forty victims.

Jerusalem, 13 December 1940

In Tel Aviv there is a strike in protest against the government's policy; but the surviving refugees of the *Patria* are allowed to remain in Palestine (so far more than fifty dead have been counted). Eighteen hundred refugees who have arrived on another ship are being sent on to Mauritius.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1940

The fate of Palestine is more uncertain than ever. *Alone* we Jews cannot hold out against the Arabs in and around Palestine, and Britain no longer supports us. It will not abandon us altogether, but it will subordinate our interests to its own, which necessitate an agreement with the Arabs.

What will the world as a whole look like after this war? Will it be merely a continuation (with minor changes) of the pre-war world, or will people come to have a completely different idea of state, people, nation? I am sure that I shall not live to see much of the new world.

Jerusalem, 6 January 1941

On 2 January I wrote to Grünbaum as the chairman of the Executive that because of the deterioration in my hearing and my general state of health, I shall take two or three months leave from 1 February 1941 and shall return to my work on the Executive only if I am feeling considerably better by the end of period. It was a resignation in disguise. I have chosen this form, not burning all my bridges, because first I want to find out by experience how I shall feel being retired and whether I can stand a continual vacation.

In Libya, the British have gained another great victory over the Italians, by conquering Bardia and taking 30,000 prisoners. This seems to remove the danger threatening Palestine from this side. Now it is a question of what Hitler will do to prevent Italy's imminent collapse in Africa. After the capture of Bardia, the British are now threatening Tobruk. The Italians seem to be unable to offer any serious resistance.

Haifa, 8 February 1941

At last my dream of a vacation has become reality. Kaplan will substitute for me in the Settlement Department, and in other affairs I can rely on Stern, Landauer, Pinner and Thon.

Jerusalem, 27 February 1941

Ben-Gurion has returned after spending half a year in the United States; on Monday he gave a talk about the impressions of his journey. He told me that many people in the United States had said that they would like me to come. I said that

this was out of the question. I shall not be leaving Palestine now. The only work which interests me is the preparation of facts and suggestions for the future peace conference. The Jews would show up very badly at this conference if they did not appear with a wealth of factual material and well-considered plans; nobody else will think of them for us. 'But why don't you do it?' 'I want to do it on behalf of the Executive. And anyway, I can only do it if I am relieved of all other business; it is a lengthy job carrying a great deal of responsibility.'

'But surely that can be arranged. I hope that you will show that there is a way of bringing five million Jews to Palestine.'

I refused to commit myself to a certain figure; the investigation would have to show what the largest possible number could be (within what period of time?). I think that this really does offer me a field of activity.

Jerusalem, 30 April 1941

The whole of the Balkans, except Turkey, is in German hands; the German flag is flying over the Acropolis in Athens. In North Africa, the British are holding Tobruk, but the Germans and the Italians have advanced beyond it as far as Sollum on the Egyptian border. The local Jews are naturally depressed; many of them already see the Germans marching into Palestine from Egypt or from the north.

At the meeting on 20 April, the Executive took note of my statement that I am willing to remain a member, but that I shall devote myself mainly to the Institute for Economic Research and the preparation of the economic material for the peace conference and that in all the other branches of my work I will concern myself only with fundamental questions, not with daily business.

Jerusalem, 9 May 1941

Adolf Böhm has died in Vienna. I saw him in Vienna in February 1938, shortly before the Germans entered it; not long afterwards he became depressed and had to be sent to an institution. Apparently, shortly before his death his mind cleared again. He was one of the Zionists who were closest to me both politically and personally. I mentioned him on Sunday when I spoke in Merhavyah.

My brother-in-law Shimon, who was full of life when I saw him here six weeks ago and whose bravery and promotion to lieutenant gave me much pleasure, has been taken prisoner in Greece together with 10,000 other British soldiers (including 2,000 Jews) by the Germans. My mother-in-law has taken the news with remarkable calm.

Jerusalem, 16 May 1941

German planes have landed in Syria with the consent of the French authorities and flown on to Iraq to help the rebels against the British. It is considered more and more likely that Palestine will be attacked from the north.

Jerusalem, 9 June 1941

On the occasion of the armistice with the rebels in Iraq, the British foreign secretary made the statement that the government is favourably disposed towards the efforts to form a large Arab federation. Very nice; but what about us Jews and the Jewish National Home?

Jerusalem, 12 June 1941

In Syria, the British and the French have encountered much stronger resistance from the Vichy French forces than they originally expected. Last week they even suffered a severe set-back. Nonetheless, today they are already close to Damascus and Beirut and will most probably occupy these towns during the next few days.

Jerusalem, 21 June 1941

When I arrived in Jerusalem at eleven o'clock this morning from Benyaminah, I met Sioma Ginzberg, who told me that Germany has declared war on Russia and the German army has already entered Russia; and that the British have occupied Damascus. In face of the first news item, the second becomes unimportant. The war between Germany and the Soviet Union can have incalculable consequences for the world.

Jerusalem, 27 June 1941

I have received a letter from the Research Institute on Peace and Postwar Problems, established by the American Jewish Committee. They have learned through Mrs Jacobs that I am engaged in a study of Jewish post-war problems and they are suggesting that we should cooperate in our work. I am very glad to have made this contact; I believe that the United States will be the spokesman on Jewish problems at the future peace conference.

Jerusalem, 19 July 1941

I think I should try to write this diary in English. If anybody should be interested in it, it would probably be one of my children, and I am doubtful if, twenty or thirty years from now, they would be able to read German in my hurried handwriting.

Two weeks ago, the French in Syria surrendered to the British. In the meantime, the armistice has been signed. As a result, the British have occupied Beirut and all the important strategic points in Syria. This has again diminished the danger of a German attack on Palestine.

Jerusalem, 8 August 1941

Today Hanna and I attended a garden party given by Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, the former mayor of Jerusalem. It was, I think, the first time in four or five years that Jews, Arabs and Englishmen attended a social occasion together.

Jerusalem, 1 September 1941

Yesterday, Nahalal celebrated the twentieth anniversary of its foundation. To begin with I did not want to accept their invitation to attend the festival and wrote them a letter of congratulation. But when I was 'secretly' informed that they intended to hand over to me a cheque for £1,000 for their debts to the Keren Hayesod I decided to go there.

Jerusalem, 4 October 1941

Thursday evening at eight o'clock I received a message that Menahem Ussishkin had died half an hour earlier. He was a man of large 'format', the true exponent of the instincts and desires of the Jewish masses. Personally he had many little vanities

and was not easy for his fellow-men to deal with; but as a Zionist he was an outstanding personality, the only one who had the confidence of the whole *yishuv*.

Jerusalem, 6 October 1941

Judge Louis Brandeis has died in Washington in his eighty-fifth year. I was asked by the Executive to deliver an *in memoriam* speech at the next meeting of the General Council, but I had to refuse as I had never met him.

Jerusalem, 10 October 1941

I have been told that my correspondence with de Lieme from the year 1920 is being exhibited in the Sturmann house in Ein Harod, revealing the decisive part I played in the acquisition of the Jezreel Valley lands.

Jerusalem, 10 November 1941

Cari informed me today that she and her boy friend Yigael* (the son of the archaeologist Professor Sukenik, twenty-five years old, employed by the Haganah for £8 a month) want to get married.

Benyaminah, 22 November 1941

The engagement of Carmella to Yigael Sukenik has been kept a secret because I thought that I must first of all see Yigael and talk with him. But he is away from Jerusalem on important 'national business' and will not be able to come to Jerusalem for another three weeks. So, after I had accidentally met his father at the university and found out that like myself he regarded the matter as settled, I saw no reason to keep the secret, which for many people was in fact no longer a secret at all. So Carmella is a bride (or *Bräutchen* [little bride] as I call her) and she is very happy.

Jerusalem, 8 December 1941

My brother-in-law Shimon, who is a prisoner of war in Bibrach, Germany, sent a letter through the 'military post' in which he describes his fate and that of his men in Greece. The letter was printed in yesterday's *Palestine Post*.

This morning, like a bombshell, came the news that Japan has begun a war with the United States. There is a rumour that several American and Japanese warships have already been sunk and that places in Hawaii have been bombed.

Jerusalem, 31 December 1941

So far, Palestine has not suffered from the war. On the contrary, the needs of war production and the presence of a large British army have given an impetus to both agriculture and industry, which are working to full capacity. Unemployment among Jews, which amounted to 15,000 a year ago, has entirely vanished. Supplies of the necessary food-stuffs have been satisfactory; in fact there has been no shortage of anything. We are living at nearly the same level as in peace-time, with the one

* Yigael Sukenik (now Yadin) became chief of staff of the Israel Defence Forces (1949–52) and later a professor of archaeology well known for his excavations at Masada and other sites in Israel and for his writings.

exception: butter has become scarce and has been replaced by margarine, which I have already got used to. It is true that prices have risen considerably; the cost of living index is now at about 160, as against 100 in August 1939. Most of the supplies have come from India, Australia and New Zealand, and it is possible that the war with Japan will prevent or reduce these supplies and that we will lose our privileged position in this respect.

My daily occupations in the Executive, the Institute for Economic Research, the PLDC, PASA [Palestine Agricultural Settlement Association], the university, hold no attraction for me, having become routine work. The only activity which gives me some satisfaction is the preparation of material concerning the solution of the Jewish problem and the importance of Palestine for this solution for the future peace conference. I am also working on this during my stays at Benyaminah and am in touch with Jewish organisations in the United States on this subject. My investigation of the absorption capacity of Palestine has led to a wider view and might take the form of a book: Palestine – the only solution for the Jews.

Jerusalem, 17 January 1942

Yesterday I went to the office. Nearly four weeks have gone by during which I did not put in an appearance there. I told Kaplan of an idea which had occurred to me recently: we should build a new city – Tel Aviv South – because the JNF and the PLDC have received from the government more than 10,000 dunams of land there (between Tel Aviv and Rishon le-Zion) without payment. This gives us an unparalleled opportunity to build a town on modern lines and avoid all the mistakes which were unavoidable in the building of Tel Aviv, where only small patches of land were at our disposal. The new town would combat the congestion and speculation in Tel Aviv. I should like to collect all the interested parties on the spot soon and discuss the project.

Jerusalem, 24 January 1942

The Jewish refugees in the Athlit camp, who have been detained there for nearly nine months, last week arranged a demonstration in order to draw the attention of the authorities to their demand to be set free. The authorities called in the police, and the police allegedly used their sticks against the refugees. This was observed by the Buffs,* whose camp is only about fifty yards away from the refugee camp. Naturally, they were very upset and decided, as a sign of their sympathy, to stage a short hunger strike, that is, they did not touch their lunch that day. This was regarded as a breach of discipline and five of the soldiers – including Rafi – were charged with being the instigators. Rafi told me that he did not do anything in the way of incitement, but he was found guilty in the proceedings before the major and 'stripped', that is, the stripe of a lance-corporal was taken away from him and he was demoted to private.

Jerusalem, 2 April 1942

There is no end to the persecutions and deportations of the Jews under the Nazi regime. The end of the war is not within sight either. The Nazis have retreated in

* Name of the Palestine infantry units in the British army until these units joined the 'Palestine Brigade'.

Russia, but seem to be making an enveloping movement for a large counter-offensive. Bulgaria has openly gone over to Germany's side. Rather important things, significant for the future of the world, are taking place in India and China. The British minister Stafford Cripps has gone by air to India and has offered the Indian people complete independence in internal affairs, and dominion status. But the Indians, aware of their power at the present moment, have made conditions. The Chinese, until now despised by Europe, have become the favourites, and Chiang Kai-Shek is a hero. The superiority of the white race in East Asia belongs to the past. Eight hundred million Indians and Chinese will in future have a say in the fate of the world. Will Hitler's counter-offensive reach beyond Egypt or Taurus as far as Palestine?

Benyaminah, 2 May 1942

Last Wednesday I drove with Kaplan, David Stern, the meteorologist Ashbell and the botanist Dr Zohari via Hebron to Beersheba. I wanted to get a fresh impression of the Negev, as the Institute for Economic Research is preparing a memo on the possibilities of agricultural settlement in the Negev. We drove about twenty kilometres to the east of Beersheba. The harvesting of the barley had begun just a few days before, and men and women were working in all the fields. The harvest this year is exceptionally good, owing to an abundant rainfall.

Benyaminah, 10 May 1942

When I remember the bitter fighting and the commotion going on in the world, it seems almost unnatural that here in Palestine we have until now been spared both fighting and hunger. We have introduced the system of rationing – only a few months ago – for sugar and most other items, but generally there is no shortage of food-stuffs.

Jerusalem, 23 June 1942

Very bad news: Tobruk has been captured by the Germans, who have taken about 20,000 British prisoners. The question now is whether the British still have enough reserves to prevent the Germans from invading Egypt – and Palestine!

Jerusalem, 30 June 1942

After the conquest of Tobruk, the Germans have advanced up to the Egyptian frontier. Apparently the British General Ritchie has been no match for the very able German General Rommel; today the radio announced that Ritchie's superior, General Auchinleck, has himself assumed the command, The Jews in Palestine are fearful of a further advance by the Germans. If there is no strong defence in Egypt, the German motorized forces will be able to reach Palestine within a few days and will bomb Palestinian towns. Today there was an air-raid alarm in Haifa, but there were no casualties.

Benyaminah, 4 July 1942

In Egypt, the Axis forces have advanced to within 100 kilometres of Alexandria. Apparently the British (under General Auchinleck) are doing their utmost to stop any further advance, but it is not clear whether they have sufficient men and tanks at their disposal to do so. At any rate, it cannot be said that Palestine is out of danger.

Jerusalem, 8 November 1942

The Allies have won a decisive victory in Libya; they have driven the Germans and the Italians out of Egypt and have taken Tobruk. Still more important is the fact that the Americans have landed in Algiers and Morocco and have conquered the town of Algiers and several other places. . . My brother-in-law David, who has spent a week in Egypt and returned today, says that of Rommel's 100,000 men and many hundreds of tanks, only 10,000 men and twenty tanks have been saved. At any rate, there is no doubt that for the time being Palestine is safe from a German attack, and the general outlook for a victorious end to the war has much improved.

Jerusalem, 16 November 1942

In the morning, examinations at the university. Yesterday I invited Ben-Gurion and Kaplan to a discussion of post-war problems and Palestine's economic absorption capacity. Ben-Gurion has recently returned from the United States and there the conclusion is that we can raise very large sums for Palestine, provided that we are able to offer large projects which will make Palestine a home for millions of Jewish refugees. He is thinking of an influx of two million Jews within two years. I told him that a definitive settlement of two million in all branches of economic life would need at least ten to fifteen years; *temporary* employment on public works on a big scale would shorten this period, but would increase the costs enormously. I pointed out that if we wanted to settle a substantial number of immigrants in agriculture, we would not have enough land at our disposal. The only solution would be the irrigation and cultivation of the Negev; but so far we have not been able to say with certainty whether and how the Negev could be irrigated. As a first step, it would be necessary to invite a first-rate irrigation engineer from the United States to get a reliable and authoritative opinion. In this way we would perhaps interest public opinion in the United States and President Roosevelt in large-scale developments to be undertaken in the Negev by the United States and other democratic powers for the benefit of the Jews. Ben-Gurion was very enthusiastic about this suggestion and intends to wire to his friends there. Kaplan also agreed to inviting an American expert.

Stalingrad is still in Russian hands.

Jerusalem, 29 November 1942

Appalling news from Poland about the wholesale slaughtering of the Jews by the Nazis. The Va'ad Le'umi has declared the next three days a period of fasting.

The papers report the 'death' of Heinrich Stahl, president of the Jewish community in Berlin, at the Theresienstadt concentration camp, to which he was deported by the Nazis half a year ago.

One gets so used to the war that one almost forgets it. The situation of the Allies certainly is much better than it was half a year ago. The Russians continue to drive the Germans back. In Libya, the British have driven out the Germans under Rommel. There is strong German resistance in Tunis, and the Americans have not yet gained much ground.

Jerusalem, 12 December 1942

The war situation has not changed during the last two weeks. The Russians are still holding Stalingrad and have even succeeded in driving the Germans back a little. Repeated bombing of Turin. In North Africa no change.

Terrible news about the slaughter of Jews in Poland. It is estimated that the number of Jews killed exceeds one million. Protest meetings in all the towns of Palestine against these barbarous acts.

Jerusalem, 20 December 1942

Last Tuesday I was in Tel Aviv and conveyed greetings to the Nutrition Conference, at which Mr Walsh, the Food Controller, delivered a speech. Stayed with Ruth; Rafi was also there on a day's leave. Wednesday noon I went by bus to Benyaminah and at noon on Thursday went on to Haifa. I had persuaded my three sisters in Jerusalem also to come to Haifa, in order to hold a *'Familientag'* [family reunion] of all the brothers and sisters. *Nobody* knows how long we seven brothers and sisters will continue to live and will be able to enjoy our stay in Palestine together. It seems to me a rare exception that a family living in Germany has saved all its members from the terrors of Hitlerism and that these members are now living in Palestine in satisfactory circumstances. For this we ought to be grateful, especially now, when we hear of so many atrocities committed against the Jews in Europe. My three sisters arrived in Haifa at the same time as myself. Kurt was waiting for us with his car at the Egged bus station and took us to our quarters. We had wonderful weather all the time and enjoyed the beauty of the Carmel. The seven of us met on all three days, from Thursday to Saturday, at Kurt's and Siegfried's house on the Carmel and told stories about the past and present of our family, mostly about the past and the life of our parents. I think we were all very satisfied with the meeting, especially Else, for whom it was the first holiday after many sad days. Today I returned together with Lisa by bus to Jerusalem. Martha and Else will remain in Haifa for another few days.

In the war situation there is no decisive change. The Allies seem to be advancing in North Africa. The Allied governments have published a protest against the slaughter of the Jews by the Nazis and threatened those guilty with severe punishment after the war.

Afterword*

by Moshe Dayan

In this course, people learn how to make war. But on this occasion, if I may, I should like to discuss the other side of the picture – the question of peace between us and the Arabs, or, more precisely, the problematics of peace. In a brief address, obviously, it is impossible to treat the subject exhaustively, and I, at all events, am not capable of doing so. I shall therefore merely try to cast some light on the subject.

I have chosen Dr Arthur Ruppin as one personality who casts light on the subject. He came to Palestine for the first time in 1907, was expelled 'forever' by the Turkish Governor Jemal Pasha and came back to the country after the English conquest, this time really forever.

Two unique elements are involved, if we wish to present the problem through the eyes of Dr Ruppin. The first is the period in which he lived. From 1920 to 1942, Dr Ruppin was one of the architects of the Zionist venture, the 'father of Zionist settlement'. This was the inter-war era, a concentrated period of twenty successive years, whose distance from us lends itself to evaluation and review. At the same time, the period is not quite so distant that its links with the present day are severed. From this standpoint of distance on the one hand, and links on the other, it might perhaps be proper to pinpoint 1936 as the focal year of the period. This was the year of the riots, which raged thirty years before the Six-Day War.

Not only was the period unique, but perhaps the man himself more so. Not the man as a typical representative of the period, but Dr Ruppin with his special qualities, which permitted him to see things with greater clarity, depth and honesty than many other men of his day.

Dr Ruppin was a humanist by nature, a man of conscience, and when he encountered the 'Arab question', he wanted to be persuaded that Zionism could be fulfilled without detriment to the Arabs of Palestine. In his education and schooling alike, he was a scientist, and he studied things not only through their concrete expression, but also through the forecast of their future development and transformation. Above all, Ruppin was a man of action: 'For the Jews of Europe', he wrote in his diary, 'Zionism is a religion, but for me, it means action'. And in the 'Arab question', he did not look for appropriate formulas but for practical solutions. Moreover, since his life was utterly dedicated to Jewish settlement in Israel, he inevitably saw the 'Arab question' as it was reflected through settlement. The ground he had his feet

* The following is a translation of a speech delivered by Defence Minister Moshe Dayan before the graduates of the Israel Defence Forces' Command and Staff School in September 1968. Reprinted by permission of Moshe Dayan and *The Jerusalem Post*.

on was Zionist fulfilment, and he was only prepared to turn his gaze towards what was capable of achievement, without quitting this basic posture.

I cannot conclude my remarks about Ruppin the man, without including a paragraph from Berl Katznelson's eulogy of him:

> '... From generation to generation we see the thirty-six righteous men, whom we depict in the form of drawers of water, foresters or peasants. It would never occur to us to seek one of these thirty-six righteous men on some congress platform, in an office, in a university chair, or among public figures. I would not have used this figure of speech, had I considered it an exaggeration. Ruppin embodied unique characteristics which we associate solely with the thirty-six righteous men. He was modest without being self-effacing. He was not infected by the taint of power. Even the great publicity which he enjoyed from time to time in the course of his functions left him unspoiled.'

I do not think it would be too outrageous of me to assume that most of the people here have not read the three volumes of Dr Arthur Ruppin's autobiography.* I shall therefore permit myself, in the following, to quote relevant extracts from this diary of his.

Ruppin was put in charge of Zionist settlement in Israel in 1920, after the First World War. He obviously anticipated that with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the wave of national liberation would also reach the Arab countries, and the Palestine Arabs as well. In the first days of his work, he may perhaps have not realized the implications of this development for Zionism, But in 1923, three years after taking over his functions, not only did the 'Arab question' reveal itself to him, but he also discovered that his predecessors had overlooked it.

At this period, in 1923, Ruppin underwent the first phase in his approach to the 'Arab question'. He not only recognized the existence of the problem but even diagnosed a solution, namely the merging and integration of the Jews among the peoples of the Middle East. Although he was already nearing his fifties, his criticism of others, and his confidence in himself, are steeped in the spirit of youth. In 1923 he wrote in his diary:

> 'Herzl's view was naïve and only makes sense in the light of his complete ignorance of the conditions in Palestine. We will once more have to take our place among the oriental peoples and create a new cultural community in the Near East, together with our racial cousins, the Arabs (and the Armenians). I think that Zionism is less than ever justifiable now except by the fact that the Jews belong racially to the peoples of the Near East. I am now collecting material for a book on the Jews to be based on the problem of race. I want to include illustrations showing the ancient peoples of the Orient and the contemporary population and describe the types which used to and still predominate among the peoples living in Syria and Asia Minor. I want to demonstrate that these same types still exist among the Jews of today.'

* The Hebrew edition of Dr Ruppin's memoirs and diaries, *Pirkei Haiyai.*

Ruppin understood that this approach implied a fundamental change in the Zionist concept, but he was not deterred by this fact. 'Zionism will last', he wrote, 'only if it is given a radically different scientific basis.' The need to set Zionist fulfilment on a scientific foundation, the aspiration to find in Zionism some justification vis-à-vis the Palestine Arabs, and the need to lay down realistic answers based on a knowledge of local conditions – these principles are an integral part of Ruppin's nature. He clung to them later too, even when he discovered that the question was more complicated than it appeared at first, and required other solutions.

Ruppin did not hold on for very long to this idea of integration among the Arab peoples. As soon as he got to know realities better, he sensed that the common racial origins of Jews and Arabs, and the resemblance between the Jewish nose and the Armenian nose, did not constitute an adequate basis on which to construct a 'new Near East cultural community'. In 1925, Ruppin arrived at the second phase of the 'Arab question' – the bi-national phase.

During his bi-national state phase, which coincided with his adherence to the Brit Shalom movement, which he founded in 1926 and left after differences with his fellow-members in 1929, Ruppin believed that Palestine ought to be a common state for two nations. The Jews and the Arabs, in other words, should continue their existence as different and separate peoples, and not merge into a 'new cultural community' – but at the same time they should maintain one single state, a bi-national state.

At this point, two things should be stressed. Firstly, as Ruppin grew more and more immersed in his Zionist work and increased in stature, his awareness of the need to ensure the further independent continuation of the Jewish people became stronger and more profound. He believed that this could be attained, if the aims of Zionism were realized. 'World history knows no laws, not even the laws of reasonableness. There is therefore no sense in predicting the future. This is also the answer to those who claim to "prove" that Zionism has no future' (1932). The second thing is that he saw the essence of Zionism as persistent and expanding immigration and settlement. He regarded these as 'essential conditions', and did not diverge from them even when he feared there might be a contradiction between Zionism and the 'Arab question'.

As early as 1928, in fact, inner doubts of this sort troubled him:

> 'The conversation also revealed in other respects how difficult it is to balance the realization of Zionism with general ethical considerations. It left me rather depressed. Is Zionism really to end up as shallow chauvinism? Is it impossible to provide the ever-growing number of Jews in Palestine with a field of activity without oppressing the Arabs? I see a particular difficulty in the limited amount of land. Before long, the time will probably come when no vacant ground will be available, and every Jew who settles will cause the removal of a fellah (except in the coastal region, where a fair amount of land suitable for plantations remains). What will happen then?'

The idea of the bi-national state was supposed to reply to three problems. The first problem was that of nationality. Each people would preserve its own nationality. The second problem was to prevent the Jews from dominating the Arabs, and *vice*

versa. 'Under the aegis of the League of Nations, Palestine must become a state in which Jews and Arabs live side by side, as two nations with equal rights. Neither shall be dominant, and neither shall be enslaved.' On the third problem, that of Jewish immigration and the dispossession of the Arabs, Ruppin wrote: 'Just as it is the right of the Arabs to remain in the country, so is it the right of the Jews to immigrate thereto' (1929).

This phase, like its predecessor, was a revolutionary one. Here again, as before, Ruppin believed that points of difference could be ironed out objectively speaking, but in order to achieve this, other mistakes must not be repeated. 'We want to extricate ourselves from the error which was prevalent in Europe for 100 years, and which caused the World War – namely that only one nation can rule in one state.'

As regards the abstract formulation, the bi-national state may have provided the answer for Ruppin to the question of how Arabs and Jews would live in common. But as he came to know realities better, he discovered more and more difficulties, and Ruppin, with his intellectual integrity, did not allow generalizations to obscure factual truth:

> '. . . I believe that there exist several very serious conflicts of interest between the Jews and the Arabs. At this moment I cannot see how these conflicts of interest can be solved so that the Jews will have the possibilities of unrestricted immigration and unrestricted economic and cultural development in Palestine, which are absolutely essential to Zionism, and will nonetheless not encroach upon the interests of the Arabs.'

Ruppin knew, moreover, that the idea of the bi-national state was merely an ideological point of departure, an indication of a framework within whose bounds he hoped it would be possible to solve the problem:

> 'During our discussion in the Brit Shalom, we reached the conclusion that the solution would have to be a bi-national state. But the bi-national state provided only a general answer to the problem, and it was my intention to continue to use the Brit Shalom as a means to clarify the crucial questions arising out of this general solution' (1936).

And the questions, in fact, still remain: 'The "conflicts of interest" were of a substantive nature.' There was the question of land. 'On every site where we purchase land and where we settle people, the present cultivators will inevitably be dispossessed.' Thus he wrote about immigration: 'Since our immigrants, for the vast majority, are people without means, the possibility should not be ruled out that these immigrants would take away the livelihood of the Arabs.' Then there was the different standard of living and other factors.

But the main difficulty stemmed from the fact that the Arabs simply did not want the Jews to come to Palestine. Every solution – including the establishment of a bi-national state – faced the alternative of either making allowances for the views and desires of the Arabs, and putting an end to Zionism, or carrying on with immigration, land purchase and settlement, while denying the right of the Arabs of Palestine to determine the future of the country. Any solution, or arrangement, which would be contingent on the agreement of the Arabs, or on the introduction of a democratic

constitution whereby decisions on questions at issue would be taken by a majority (an Arab majority naturally) – this implied the cessation of immigration, and of Jewish economic development.

Ruppin understood this, and in his letter to Hans Kohn (30 May 1928) he wrote:

> 'During our last conversation, you yourself quite rightly said that all the Palestine Arabs are opposed to the Zionist movement and will remain our opponents as long as we are not able to suggest a satisfactory solution to the conflicts of interest. Under the circumstances, a constitution deserving of the name must inevitably lead to a situation in which the Arabs will make use of the rights which the constitution has granted them as the majority to prevent any economic progress of the Jewish minority. That would quite simply mean the end of the Zionist movement.'

The crux of the problem, therefore, lies in the impossibility of arriving at agreement and cooperation with the Arabs. But, at this stage, Ruppin still believed that it was possible to find the 'redeeming formula', which would serve as a bridge for understanding between Arabs and Jews. And so he founded the Brit Shalom movement.

As time went on, the 'Arab question' did not become any less grave, but in fact worsened. In 1936, Ruppin needed to find a solution for it, no less than he did in 1923, and in fact more. He saw this as a vital necessity, not just to resolve the conflict with the Arabs, but also in order to put relations with himself and with his conscience into proper order. But was there a way of squaring the circle? Did the magic formula exist, to reach agreement with the Arabs, 'without thereby ceding the fundamentals of Zionism'?

> 'Apart from this difference of opinion concerning tactics, I differed from the other members of the Brit Shalom above all in my assessment of the possibility of coming to an understanding with the Arabs. The members of the Brit Shalom were very optimistic about this. They believed that economic advantages and certain political guarantees would be sufficient to make the 'Jewish National Home' acceptable to the Arabs. This point of view was not a new one; it is actually only the continuation of the wrong attitude towards the Arabs which has been prevalent in the Zionist movement from the beginning. Nobody ever imagined, beforehand, that those very same Arabs who during the days of the Turkish oppression were prepared with equanimity to accept year by year a few hundred meek Jews who lived on *halukah* would struggle by force against tens or hundreds of thousands of strong, straight-backed Zionists at a time when the country was under a free British administration. The 'peaceful infiltration' which they hoped for so much proved in reality to be a deceptive illusion. If we have learned anything from the last decades of history, it is that the political attitude of peoples is not governed by rational arguments, but by instincts. All the economic advantages and all the rational arguments will not move the Arabs to relinquish what they believe to be their power over Palestine to the Jews or to share it with the Jews, as long as they are the overwhelming majority here.
>
> 'I have expressed this thought in a letter written to Dr Jacobson on 31 December 1931 as follows: "What we can get from the Arabs at the moment is of no use to us, and what we need we cannot get from them."'

The year 1936 brought Ruppin to the third phase of his approach to the 'Arab question'. He ceased believing in the possibility of persuading the Arabs to agree to cooperate. No 'legal formula', no 'political guarantees', no 'economic advantages' and no 'negotiations' would bring the Arabs to consent to the Jews' return to Zion. This was undoubtedly due not only to the cumulative failures of attempts at dialogues with the Arab leaders, but also to the fact that the Arabs' anti-Zionist political stand grew a great deal more outspoken, and found expression in bloody outbreaks of violence, especially during the 1936 riots.

What next? What are the conclusions? After sixteen years of trial and inner doubts, Ruppin demolished his own entire ideological structure. He had long since abandoned the Brit Shalom movement. He was perhaps disappointed, he was certainly wiser, but he did not despair, on any account:

> 'I have remained exceedingly calm and cool during this time. I have adopted the theory that under the circumstances it is natural that the antagonism of the Arabs to Jewish immigration should find release in periodic outbreaks; that we are living in a sort of latent state of war with the Arabs which makes loss of life inevitable. This may be unacceptable, but it is a fact; and if we want to continue our work in Palestine in spite of the Arabs, we will have to expect such losses.'

As regards his own conscience, and as regards his self-recounting, Ruppin was calm and dispassionate. He had formulated a theory for himself, and it satisfied him. But what of the practical aspect?

> 'What is to be done to lessen or to remove the tension between the two nationalities, which can, after all, not go on for ever? It is my opinion that no sort of negotiations with the Arabs can get us anywhere *at the moment,* because the Arabs are still hoping to deal with us above our heads. Not negotiations, but the development of Palestine towards a larger percentage of Jews in the population and a strengthening of our economic position can and will bring about an easing of the tension. When coming to an understanding with us will no longer mean that the Arabs will have to make concessions to us, but only be a question of coming to terms with reality, the weight of the facts will bring about an easing of the tension.'

To create the facts: immigration, settlement, economic development and so forth. In these activities, Ruppin sees not only the fulfilment of Jewish longings. Once translated into facts, they will also convince the Arabs to stop fighting against us. 'We must increase our strength and our numbers, until we reach parity with the Arabs. The life or death of the Zionist movement will depend on this . . . Perhaps a bitter truth, but it is the truth with a capital T' (1936). 'The weight of facts' – the increase of our strength and numbers will lead to a lessening of tension with the Arabs. When will we reach that stage? 'Within five to ten years' (1936). In this timetable, things like the policy of Hitler, the World War and the end of the Mandate were not taken into account.

Ruppin's heart-searching over the path to agreement with the Arabs had thus come full circle. The fulfilment of Zionism embodied the solution to the 'Arab question'. Does this mean that Ruppin realized he was wrong, while his colleagues in the leadership, whom he called 'naïve' and 'ignorant of the Arab problem', were

correct? Not at all. The prevalent point of view held that the 'Arab question' should be left alone, and it would find its own solution thanks to the prosperity, the development, the progress and the culture which the Jews would bring to the Arabs of the country. Ruppin, on the other hand, stopped dealing with the 'Arab question' because he realized that the Arabs would not agree to Zionism, *in spite* of all these things.

In the years that followed, developments were determined as a result of factors unconnected with the pattern of relationships between the 'Arab question' and Zionist fulfilment. Nevertheless, I should like to quote Ruppin's point of view on two more issues: the Peel Commission's partition proposal, and the White Paper. They are of interest for the subject of this lecture – if not directly, then indirectly.

Apart from Ruppin, the British Empire too was in a quandary in those years, over the question of Arabs and Jews in Palestine. The solution it proposed (the Peel Commission, 1939) was partition – not integration, not a bi-national state, and not cooperation. This means the establishment of separate states for Jews and Arabs. The Jewish state was assigned an area of some 5,000 sq. km. To give some idea of the proportion, the State of Israel, today, has an area of 20,250 sq. km., in other words four times as large, while the area within the present cease-fire lines is 88,000 sq. km., eighteen times larger than the area of the 'Jewish State' in the Peel Commission's proposals.

On 1 August 1937, Ruppin wrote:

> 'On consideration, the partition plan of the Royal Commission has led me to the conclusion that we cannot digest the 300,000 Arabs. Since it will be impossible to get them to leave of their own accord, it is essential that the Jewish state should have other boundaries, inside of which not 300,000 but at the most 100,000 Arabs would remain. I drew up "my" plan for the new Jewish state. I realize that it will cause every simple Jew to shake his head, as it suggests the reduction of the area of five million dunams to one-and-a-half million.'

(It should be recalled that in those days there were 363,000 Jews in Palestine, and the 100,000 Arabs whom Ruppin was ready to absorb in the Jewish state would have been equivalent to 750,000 Arabs absorbed by the Jewish state we have today.)

During the Zionist Congress in Zurich, Ruppin brought to the Zionist Executive his proposal to give up two-thirds of the area proposed by the Royal Commission, and to establish a midget Jewish state on an area of 1.5 million dunams. After the Executive meeting he wrote in his diary: 'I explained my ideas to him [Weizmann]. I did not feel they made a great impression . . .' (1937). We may disagree with Ruppin's conclusion, but we cannot accuse him of not having learnt the bitter lesson of life side-by-side with the Arabs.

And finally – the White Paper:

> 'Yesterday, the government's White Paper on its Palestine policy was published at last. It no longer contains any surprises . . . I don't know why I am much less upset by this document than all the other Jews. Am I already old and indifferent? Or is it because I no longer believe in paper policies? This White Paper emanates from a certain political constellation (Arab united front, Britain's fear of the Arabs) and will be equally short-lived.'

Chief of Staff, officers and guests: I trust you will forgive me for having spoken at length. In other circumstances, I would have been able to end at this point. But in the present forum and in these days, in surveying the development of Ruppin's ideas on the Arab question, I do not want to avoid making a number of concrete observations.

Firstly about what Ruppin called 'political setup'. When he said that the White Paper was the product of a political setup, and that this would leave nothing of the White Paper when it vanished, he was perfectly correct. Ruppin understood this, not because old age had dulled his senses, but because he had amassed wisdom during his years of work. His view of the White Paper was the result of his understanding, and not of dull senses.

Between then and now, the political setup has in fact changed entirely. A Jewish state has been established, with close to three million inhabitants. We have been victorious in three wars. We have an army whose strength should not be underestimated, and a people standing behind it, investing huge sums of money to aid our economy.

Secondly, the dimensions have changed. When Ruppin thought in terms of Arabs, he meant the Palestine Arabs. When we talk about Arabs nowadays, we mean the Arab states. Not only that, but these states are also supported by the world's second greatest power – the Soviet Union.

Dimensions have changed in the 'demographic question' in terms of the size of our own population as well as that of the Palestine Arabs. Geographically, too, there have been changes in the areas settled by us, as well as the areas occupied by our forces today.

Thirdly, the facts are no longer the same. Ruppin was wrong to hope that by creating facts, tensions between us and the Arabs would be lessened. What greater 'creation of facts' could there be than the establishment of the state, the concentration of 2.5 million Jews there, and the victories in three wars? But despite this, do the Arabs today agree to sign a peace agreement with us? The facts have been created, but the tension is no less than it was before.

Here I shall permit myself to add one observation. We see the facts which we ourselves create, but everybody who believes that the facts are decisive in this issue must remember that the Arabs, too, could well point to facts – their large and steadily increasing numbers, their influence in the world, the oil resources at their disposal, and so forth. In other words, everybody who adheres to the formula whereby the facts we create will bring the other side to accept us, can just as well point to significant facts on the Arab side the moment he steps into the Arabs' shoes.

At any rate, if we return to Ruppin's forecasts, the facts he hoped for, as regards the increase in strength and numbers, did come to pass. But I fear that they have not yet convinced the Arabs to accept us, or our political existence, to regard us as an acceptable neighbour state with equal rights. Perhaps Ruppin's error on this point stemmed from the fact that he thought in rational categories, whereas Arab opposition stems from emotions.

Fourthly, there is his letter to Jacobson of 3 December 1931, about the prospects of an agreement with the Arabs, in which he said: 'What we can get (from the Arabs) is of no use to us, and what we need we cannot get from them.' This definition sounds to me very up-to-date, when I sometimes read that today the Arabs are offering us the 1947 partition plans.

And finally, today too, unfortunately, a year after the war, and despite the fact that we are standing on the Suez Canal and on the River Jordan, in Gaza and in Nablus; despite all our efforts – including a willingness for far-reaching concessions – to bring the Arabs to the peace table, the things which Ruppin said thirty-two years ago still seem sound. It was during the 1936 riots that he wrote:

> 'We are living in a sort of . . . state of war with the Arabs which makes loss of life inevitable. This may be unacceptable, but it is a fact; and if we want to continue our work . . . in spite of the Arabs, we will have to accept such losses.'

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