

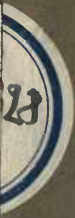
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ZIONISTIC INTERLUDES AND M. NAHUM SOKOLOW.

M. SOKOLOW is a member of the Executive of the Central Zionist Organization, and ranks with Dr. Weizmann as one of the political heads of the movement. Accordingly, the second large volume of the *History of Zionism** from his pen is to be received with respect and interest, like the document of a statesman on his own subject. It is a little unfortunate, therefore, that this is so distinctly a *sui generis* volume. It conforms to no known standard of bookmaking, neither the encyclopedic nor the narrative, to both of which its author affiliates it; and the first service which we shall render its readers is to explain what it contains.

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There are, first of all, lxiv pages, numbered, for some reason, in Roman characters, of which pages xvii to xxxvi are devoted to M. Sokolow's "tribute" to the late Sir Mark Sykes. Next, pages xxxvii to lxiii contain five chapters, numbered, for some reason, xlix A to E, which bring the historical narrative of Vol. I. down to the date of the outbreak of the Great War. Next, pages 1 to 160 describe "Zionism during the War, 1914-1918," and this section is really the body of the work of 550 pages. There follow on it 340 pages of Appendices, arranged in no kind of logical order, and dealing with topics as diverse as "Matthew Arnold on Righteousness in the Old Testament," "Disraeli and the Suez Canal," Isaac Vossius and Colonel Condor. This, presumably, is the encyclopedic portion, and, interesting as much of it is, it suffers from the want of alphabetical reference. At the close of these Appendices come 25 pages of Addenda to Vol. I., in the form of little excursions, again very interesting to read, but somewhat irritating in their place. A *catalogue raisonné* of the Illustrations to the book, in unnecessarily large type, and a list of "Books Consulted," in much

* *History of Zionism, 1600-1918.* By Nahum Sokolow. Vol. II. With an Introduction by M. Stéphen Pichon, Minister of Foreign Affairs for France. Lxiv + 480 pages. Longmans, Green & Co., 1919. Price 21s. net.

smaller type, bring us up gracefully to an excellent Index.

* * * * *

So much for how the book is composed. It is characteristically Jewish, we may say with Luzzatto, in its disregard of the formalism of art-convention.

But M. Sokolow calls his book a "History" and here we venture to submit a more serious and damaging criticism. The historical muse is impartial; this *History of Zionism* is a special plea, which somewhat rigidly excludes, or somewhat lightly dismisses, the objections and opponents to Zionism. M. Sokolow has written his book as an historian of Protestantism might write if he omitted to mention the Holy Roman Emperor and the Pope of Rome—to say nothing of the first English Mary. Take, for instance, a very small point which illustrates a very big principle. M. Sokolow gives an account of some of the workers for Zionism, both foreign and English; and may we say, in passing, how much we admire the evidence to the grit and ability of many of the Polish and Russian Jews whose names are included in these records, for the first time, we think, in any detail? We hope that the regenerate East may find a use for all this talent. Among the English is Mr. Leon Simon, who, we are told rather indiscreetly, wrote the article on "Palestine and Jewish Nationalism" in *The Round Table* about two years ago, and who is mentioned first among recent pamphleteers as the writer of "The Case of the Anti-Zionists." We gather, therefore, that there is such a case, since it has engaged so redoubtable a pen; but we search the Bibliography in vain for the titles of the works of these "Anti-Zionists," whose case Mr. Simon dealt with. Yet a "History" . . . surely a history should not be confined to a narrative of pleasant things? But M. Sokolow's whole attitude to the opposition is unhistorical in conception. "It stands to reason," he declares, "that a real national feeling can only develop in Palestine" (p. 415), and we are left meekly to wonder, when historians begin to beg questions, whose "reason" is thus disposed of, and what is the virtue in the word "real." This kind of writing is unnecessarily tiresome. If the case for Zionism is so good, why does M. Sokolow fence so nimbly with what we gather (though he does not state it) are arguments awkward to negotiate? Thus, he tells us:—

“ However little Zionists wish to enter into politics, they cannot close their eyes to the fact that Zionism is—at least, in part—a political problem. However spiritual its arguments, its origins and its motives may be, however metaphysical its aims may be, and however much its methods may accordingly strive to remain pure, nevertheless it is concerned with the problem of people desiring to settle in a particular country ” (p. 18).

There it is. Spiritual to the spiritualists, metaphysical to the mystics, reluctant to the shy politicians, still it does want to occupy territory and to constitute a State. But what a timid way of putting it. Of what are the Zionists so much afraid? M. Sokolow comes to closer quarters in one place with “ a few of those thoroughly Anglicized Jews, who, themselves very comfortably off in England, and about equally ignorant of the main currents of life in that country and of the main currents of Jewish life anywhere ” Is this sentence quite worthy of an historian? We venture to put it to M. Sokolow: Why is a “ thoroughly Anglicized Jew,” whom, since 1850, we have called an Englishman of the Jewish Religion, ignorant of life in his own country and of Jewish religious life elsewhere? Is this the record of English Jews, from the days of Sir Moses Montefiore downwards? We asked, what are the Zionists afraid of? We ask now, what are they so angry about? And are the passions of anger and fear suited to these stately historic tomes?

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M. Sokolow, almost in his own despite, is conscious of some of his embarrassments. He is plainly perplexed, for example, about the Emancipation argument. He speaks of it on page 120, and again on page 157. On the first occasion he writes: “ We have racked our brains in trying to discover how the establishment of a National Home in Palestine could possibly harm the Emancipation of Jews in the world. We have failed to solve this mystery. The British Government, in their Declaration, have put to flight this fear.” But when we turn to the British Government’s Declaration, we find that the only sentence which refers to this argument is the following:—“ It being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice. . . . the rights and political status

enjoyed by Jews in any other country.” We shall not measure our brain with M. Sokolow’s, but we, too, have racked it in vain to try to discover by what means the British Government proposes to guard, for all times, and in all places, “the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country” but Great Britain. This sentence in Mr. Balfour’s letter was plainly the first that occurred to him, or to his advisers, when he wrote it. Someone said that someone should say something about a matter on which anyone could say anything; and these words were employed, as words so often are, in the hope of getting rid of a difficulty which could not be altogether ignored. The whole letter was a war-time production, as imperfectly thought out as most public utterances of that period, and no one seriously believes that “any other country” is committed to a policy on Jewish rights and status because of the convenient phrase which Mr. Balfour introduced into this letter. M. Sokolow, a little uneasily, comes back to this problem. On page 157, he writes: “There can be no Emancipation worthy of the name without a homeland. The greatest danger to Zionism, as well as to Anti-Zionism, is that the ideal of Zionism on the one hand and that of Emancipation on the other should be separated, and that people should come to regard as antagonistic objects which are essentially related and complementary to one another.” Here, we must admit, M. Sokolow succeeds in mystifying us. Perhaps these are the metaphysical methods, of which, as we saw, he spoke above. But, frankly, historical truth demands a plain statement of the fact that the Emancipation struggle in this country was fought and won without a “homeland,” that English Jews think it “worthy of the name,” and that the invention of a “homeland” introduces, in their belief, a bi-national idea foreign to the well-understood principles which Jews cherish and uphold.

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But it is unseemly to twit M. Sokolow with the history which he has not written. He has brought together in this volume an immense number of dead and gone citations from speeches, letters and newspaper articles, which no one will ever look at twice, and which he marshals in a kind of triumphal procession. Who cares what the *Irish Times* or the *Hull Daily Mail* wrote in November, 1917,

when the Germans were pushing us in front of Cambrai and no one knew what would be the issue of their Spring offensive? Of course, loyal newspapers supported the "policy" of the British Government in Palestine, and, of course, that "policy" was framed to suit the situation at the time. They who built the Lord's Zion on that foundation are awaking to a very slender dawn. On the day that we received M. Sokolow's book, we read a despatch in *The Times* from its Middle East Correspondent, which fined down the claims of the Zionists to something much more modest and unpretentious than is foreshadowed by the Zionist leader in this *History*. M. Sokolow tells us at some length the story of the discussions preliminary to the meeting at Dr. Gaster's house on February 7th, 1917. "The deliberations," he says, "yielded a favourable result, and it was resolved to continue the work." We think to-day of the tens of thousands of patient, believing Jews, whose ghostly, spiritual presence was surely felt on that historic day. What is their position now? What their hope? What their comfort in Zion? Will it console them—the chill, chaste sympathy of Mr. Herbert Samuel, for example, to whom M. Sokolow is moved to extend so extravagant a gesture? or the questions begged by our historian? or the balance-sheet of the Zionist organization? The greatest tragedy of all ages, Heine called the history of the Jews. We are not sure but that M. Sokolow's *History*, despite its eloquence and expense, will prove the most tragic chapter of it all.

JEWISH CREDENTIALS AND THE LATE JOSEPH JACOBS.

JOSEPH JACOBS died in January, 1916, at the comparatively early age of sixty-one, leaving unfinished a big book on *Jewish Contributions to Civilization*, the first part of which has been published since his death. He spent his last fifteen years on the other side of the Atlantic, working partly at the *Jewish Encyclopedia* and partly at other projects for the advancement of knowledge in connection with his race and his religion. His twenty-five years' active work in this country (he was born and partly educated in Australia) brought him into prominence as an authority on folk-lore, and as a pleasant and scholarly editor of various English classics. For some years he wrote regularly for *The Athenæum*. He was a deep and original student of comparative mythology, and he applied the comparative method to several aspects of Biblical criticism. But Joseph Jacobs' best work and thought were given to branches of Jewish study which lie on the borderland between history and politics. An anonymous little book, *As Others Saw Him*, first published in 1895, was an ingenious and a touching attempt to write a contemporary life of Jesus from the point of view of a spectator in A.D. 54. Jacobs' work, in January, 1882, in connection with the Jewish persecution in Russia, is still remembered with admiration and gratitude, and he acted as Secretary to the Mansion House Fund and Committee till the date of his departure for New York. His mind always worked scientifically. The search for sources and causes, and for what German scholars call *Realien*, attracted him powerfully in all his studies, whether into the origin of popular tales, or into the formative influences to be discovered in Jewish psychology. We may take it, therefore, that the big work which he had planned on the Jewish race as long ago as 1889, and the still bigger work on European Ideals which he had sketched in 1911, would have arranged all

his varied knowledge in a form which would have made the name of Joseph Jacobs as authoritative in historical speculation as that, for example, of Lecky.

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Unfortunately, the big books remain unwritten. Even the present instalment of the book on the Jewish race, issued by the Jewish Publication Society of America under the title of *Jewish Contributions to Civilization : an Estimate*, did not enjoy the advantage of the author's revision. Though complete within its own covers, it is incomplete in the sense that, when Books II. and III. had been written, Book I. would probably have been found to require alteration in places, so as to conform with later conclusions. Jacobs was more rapid in induction than exact in analysis, and the practice of writing from notes, collected more industriously than they were arranged, requires more than one lifetime to acquire. Still, this is all we shall ever have out of the big schemes invented by an ardent sciolist for instructing an unobservant and, in some respects, an unsympathetic world with the debt that it owes to the Jewish intellect. The Jewish mind (this was Jacobs' theme) can be traced in the world-mind precisely as the Greek mind can be traced, though neither Jewish nor Greek culture is necessarily separate from the main stream. Their work passes imperceptibly into the larger channels of Hebraism and Hellenism, and it would be idle to pretend that every manifestation of Hebrew genius is always shed by a professing Jew. The Jew is still the source of that light, and by certain secret processes and instincts he is still to-day more likely to diffuse it, other conditions being favourable, than descendants from non-Semitic stock. But his gift has been distributed so widely and so generously that traces of it are found in nearly every form of government, in many products of art and literature, in the prayer-book and hymnal of every Church, in sound domestic and political economy, and in most of the articulated symbols of our development out of the nursery of mankind.

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A keen sense of the right which Jews have earned "to continue to work for the European culture that they have helped to develop" led Jacobs to introduce his book by

an essay on "The Higher Anti-Semitism." For he saw clearly (and the perception is of extreme importance in connection with some present-day problems) that this higher anti-Semitism, as he called it, in distinction to the commoner variety of Jew-hatred and Jew-baiting, aims at obliterating all Jewish labels from our human baggage of civilization, and of obstructing the Jews in their continued journey towards the light. He saw, too, that the higher anti-Semitism has always been facilitated in its progress by the quick response of the lower variety. In every age this has been the case. It was so at the time of the Reformation, when the anxiety of the Roman Church to prevent the extension of criticism to Holy Writ, caused them to encourage outbreaks against the Jews as the hereditary trustees of the sacred tongue. We may call this the higher anti-Semitism of scholarship. In more recent times in Bismarckian Germany, came the higher anti-Semitism of politics, when preachers and scribes of all degrees were employed in the interests of the Prussian State to encourage outbreaks against the Jews as the hereditary trustees of ideals alien to all-conquering Teutonism. And this reliance on popular prejudice has proved a constant source of strength to the higher anti-Semitism in the various epochs of its activity. With the sense of the mob behind them, the anti-Semites were never afraid of opposition. They were opposed in Germany at the time of the Reformation by the great and noble scholar, John Reuchlin. They were opposed in Germany in the eighteenth century by the great and noble scholar, Gottfried Lessing; and so permanent seemed the results of the opposition of Lessing and his circle that, as Jacobs tells us: "In the 'sixties' and 'seventies' of the nineteenth century, it seemed as if the sempiternal antagonism between Jew and Christian had been at last allayed, and that henceforth they would work side by side without conflict or contention for the common good of their respective States."

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Unfortunately, there were countervailing tendencies: "The Romantic movement in French and German letters, the Oxford movement in the Anglican Church, the revival of Ultramontaniam in the European Areopagus combined to bring back the mediæval ideal of the Church-

State to the more conservative spirits of Europe." The new principle of nationality, which had emerged from the turmoil of the middle nineteenth century, was raised by the Hohenzollern princes and their paid professors to a degree of suppuration which had to burst in war. "Modern anti-Semitism," says Jacobs, "was thus 'made in Germany' by the direct encouragement of Otto von Bismarck." Austria, Hungary and France, to some extent, and with appropriate variations, repeated the German example of an artificial cult of national sentiment, as they were compelled to repeat the same example of swollen Army and Navy estimates. In Eastern Europe, too, as Jacobs writes: "The theoretical encouragement thus given to the revival of Jew-hatred by the Counter-Revolutionary principles of the aristocratic, militaristic, and Clerical factions of North-western Europe, encouraged by the precept and example of Bismarck, had been translated into action by the mob of Russia." The one good result which can be traced to these evil causes was the reaction of opinion in England and America against such extreme incitements to racial and national arrogance, and the consequent foundation of democracy on principles of liberty and tolerance.

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Writing, as we know, before the war, and under the immediate shadow of Houston Stewart Chamberlain's *Foundations of the 19th Century*, which is now so clearly revealed as propaganda work of Prussian Militarists, Jacobs seems to have set to work on his book with two main objects in view. The first and better of these objects was to provide a permanent record of the Jews' contributions to civilization. The second and more temporary object was to reply to the detractors of the Jews. In a sense, he was seeking, unconsciously, to win the war which has just been concluded in the victory of the progressive over the reactionary forces of Europe, by means of the pen instead of the sword. He tried to break Prussian militarism in its own workshops. "It is time," he wrote, "to come to an understanding with these anti-Semites; to speak, as it were, with the enemy in the gate. If the above diagnosis of the history of Jew-hatred be true, it has always come from above downwards, and has always been kept alive among the people by the knowledge that

it is supported by the opinion of men whom they respect. Popular opposition to Jews, as to Catholics, Quakers, or Agnostics, can only be removed or lessened if the higher intellectuals of the nations recognize its injustice and futility." For this high purpose, Jacobs armed himself with all the resources of science and culture in order to prove his brilliant perception, that "the Jewish question is but one aspect of the final stand of the privileged classes of Europe to stem the forces of modern democracy." The final stand of the privileged classes, as we now know, was to be broken by even sterner weapons than the noble scorn and patient learning of Joseph Jacobs. But he deserves full credit for his attempt. He "did his bit," even before the war.

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This, then, is the theory of Jacobs' book. It should be read with appreciation of its fine qualities, and with deep regret at the death of its author before he could either see the vindication of his position or (what he would have deemed the smaller gain) the completion of his book. He takes us almost too rapidly through such topics as "Mediæval Jews as Intellectual Intermediaries," "Influence of Jewish Thought in the Middle Ages," "The Breakdown of the Church Empire," and "Jews and Liberalism." But he shows clearly and irrefutably that the exclusion of Jews from national rights in Europe was always in their own despite, and was not always as complete as their enemies hoped to make it. "In the last resort," he says, "the Jews of the Middle Ages were, in a measure, true nationals of the different states where they had their dwelling-places." They "adopted the language and even the dress of the nations among whom they dwelt, until they were expelled or obliged to wear the badge"; and generally his conclusion is, that the complete identification of the Jew with the national life of the country to which he belongs is an essential part of a long historical process, which is summed up in the words "Western Civilization." How he would have applied that conclusion to a state of things which seemed to Joseph Jacobs an almost impossible dream, when Russia, "the Colossus of the North," would discard "the mediæval ideals of the Church-Empire," is a question not to be answered hastily, and certainly not to be answered in any spirit of sectional

partisanship. Rather would we commend it to the attention of all schools of modern Jewish thought, in the belief that by a study of authorities, in the same scientific spirit and with the same fine zeal for truth which illumines the work of Joseph Jacobs, they will arrive at a solution of the Jewish problem in our day of new light and hope which will add fresh splendour to the records of our religion and our race.

JOHN REUCHLIN AND THE HEBREW BOOKS.

THE Jewish problem is not new, nor need its discussion be confined exclusively to new books.

Books, like wine, improve by keeping; the best, perhaps, by keeping longest; and here we broach a topic which is none the worse for being four hundred years old.

In a discussion of "Jewish Credentials" the other day, we referred in passing to John Reuchlin, as a champion of "Jewish Contributions to Civilization" long before the late Joseph Jacobs planned his excellent and genial book. Reuchlin (1455-1522) was not a Jew, though he strenuously defended Jewish learning, and though Jewish learned men in the Renaissance turned to him, like flowers to the sun, for the sake of the enlightenment which he shed around him. His voice, like that of Joseph Jacobs, was as an advocate's crying out of the darkness. Every man's hand was against the Jews. The higher in civil and social standing the owner of the hand might be, the more heavily he was disposed to bring it down. What was wanted, as Reuchlin saw, precisely as Jacobs saw it after him, was not so much a reply to the anti-Semites as a manifestation of philo-Semitism. It was less urgent and far less efficacious to refute anti-Jewish doctrine than to show forth by scientific evidence the value of Hebraism in the world. The way to make the Jews respected was to speak with their enemies in the gate: "Let them bring forth their witnesses, that they may be justified; or let them hear and say, It is truth."

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For then, as now, there were darkeners of counsel. Opponents of the Jews at the end of the 15th century, like opponents of the Jews at the end of the 19th, were ready enough to make use of the permanent, popular store of Jew-hatred and racial prejudice which comes down direct from the 1st century, and which will probably be coeval with the current era. No one can help that.

There it is. The Jews rejected Jesus as the Messiah, and Christian sentiment, even after two thousand years, is quick to cry out upon the Jews. But this sentiment is never now of itself potent enough to *evoke* anti-Semitism. The crusade cannot be started on that level. It is communicated to that level from above. It has to be started higher up. Jacobs shows this clearly in his chapter on "The Higher Anti-Semitism." It is shown quite clearly, too, in Houston Chamberlain's *Foundations of the Nineteenth Century*, which is one long essay in demonstrating the scientific justification of Jew-baiting. It was shown quite clearly, again, in the table-talk of Chamberlain's master, Prince Bismarck, who harnessed the galled jade, anti-Semitism, to his creaking car of Chauvinistic militarism. Never should Jews forget that modern political anti-Semitism, as Jacobs tersely remarks, was "made in Germany." A more mindful recollection of this fact would correct some obliquities of Jewish vision.

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As it was in Bismarckian Germany, so, too, it was in Lutheran. In both epochs, the "higher" anti-Semites showed the way to the lower passions of the mob. In both epochs, an impulse from above, very carefully calculated as to its effects, was communicated deliberately to the mass of ignorant victims to religious prejudice. Anti-Semitism, as manufactured by the politicians, is always more easily distributed (and, therefore, more lucrative to its manufacturers) than any other force of similar properties. Once well set upon its way, it rolls on by the momentum of its own mass; for it appeals to something popular and universal, or, at least, as universal as the Christian Church. In both epochs, again, its manufacturers did not shrink from enlisting that Church in the propagation and distribution of their fabric. Thus, Bismarck kept a Court chaplain, Adolf Stoecker, who is properly joined in the *Cambridge Modern History* (vol. XII., page 155; we can cite no more impartial authority) with the economists and historians, who, for the success of their schemes, "needed the dominating personality of Bismarck." Stoecker was the counterpart in the pulpit to Houston Chamberlain and Treitschke in the lecture-hall. Bismarck's men employed anti-Semitism as a powerful engine of the Prussian State-militant, and, so employing it, they recked very little of

the forces greater than they knew which they were unloosing for their own destruction at last.

In both epochs, we have said. For Europe passed, 1914-18, through a new crisis of Reformation, a new end to the ended Middle Ages. The parallelism is extraordinarily close, if we use just sufficient imagination to realize that the Bismarckian State, which was brought into being in 1870, was merely a secular variant of the Holy Roman Empire of the 15th century. What Martin Luther overthrew at Worms, on April 18th, 1521, was the direct predecessor in history of the Prussian State-militant, overthrown by the Allied Powers of the Old World and the New on November 11th, 1918. "God helping her, she can no other," said President Wilson in April, 1917, signaling America's entry into the War against the German Emperor. "Gott helfe mir, ich kann nicht anders," Luther had said in that earlier April, when he defied the Holy Roman Emperor in the name of liberty of conscience. Luther's Reformation sounded the release of European nations from ecclesiastical tyranny; Wilson's Reformation (if we may so exploit the timely intervention of the United States) sounded the release of European nations from the political tyranny which succeeded it. Historians are well aware of this succession. It is as definite as any dynastic line; the Holy Roman Empire ceased in 1806, when Francis, the last of its holders, retired to his Austrian duchies, and called himself Emperor of Austria. In 1866, the second Emperor of Austria lost his remnant of substantial power, and five years afterwards, at Versailles, the new German Empire was proclaimed, as the true heir in an economic age to the Holy Empire which Luther had worsted. Nearly fifty years later, and nearly four centuries after the Reformation, Luther's victory was won over again—this time, against his own countrymen in arms.

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We seem to have wandered some way from the higher anti-Semitism and its opponents. But we have been keeping very close to them all the time. Bismarck's anti-Semitic policy, which evoked Dr. Jacobs' reply to Houston Chamberlain's propaganda, was almost precisely parallel to the anti-Semitic campaign which marked the dawn of the first Reformation. A "higher" anti-Semitism in

both instances, ecclesiastical or political, or partly both, directed the intellectual forces which were marshalled on the side of the State-militant. The Holy Roman Emperor, at the opening of the 16th century, and the German Emperor, at the opening of the 20th, hated Hebraism, because it spelt liberty, and persecuted the Jews, because they guarded the "Hebrew books." The essential virtues of Hebraism were inimical to the founders of each State. The evidence of this is available in Houston Chamberlain and others, in the fallacies which Jacobs refutes, and, indeed, in the whole history of Bismarckian Germany—so far as the later of the two epochs is concerned. Are we as familiar as we should be with the corresponding history of the earlier epoch? We may read it conveniently in Graetz (*History of the Jews*, English translation, vol. IV., chapter 14), but, in point of fact, it is a part of European history, and, as such, is contained in every text-book. Unfortunately, it is not so certain that every Jewish schoolboy and girl learns the lesson.

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Reuchlin wanted to learn Hebrew, and was prevented. That is the whole tragedy of the Hebrew Books, which excited Renaissance scholars for several years, stirred the Ghettoes with strange winds of power, and evoked in the *Letters of Obscure Men* a great satire on the darkeners of counsel. Reuchlin wanted to learn Hebrew, and the Holy Church, jealous of its prerogative, which Luther was threatening to shatter, was resolute not to allow him to infect other scholars by the Hebraic virtue of liberal learning. Accordingly, it set its emissaries at work to dam Hebraism by damning the Jews. This was always the easiest course, and Bismarck's men were encouraged to repeat it nearly four hundred years afterwards, when German Jews were excluded in the name of *Kultur* from the higher ranks of the professorate and the army. Hebraism might have leavened Prussianism, as Reuchlin and Luther employed it to leaven the Romanism of their times. Therefore, in both instances alike, the anti-Semites were called in to darken counsel. In both instances, they failed. Darkness always fails before the light. In the 16th century, they went down in the religious wars; in the 20th century, they went down in the economic war.

THE JEWISH STATE AND THEODOR HERZL.

THE name of Theodor Herzl, like that of Cosimo de Medici in Florence in the fifteenth century, is accorded the honours of *Pater Patriæ*, a founder of a State. "It is safe to suggest," writes Mr. Jacob de Haas, in his Preface (June 1st, 1917) to the third edition of Herzl's *Jewish State* (New York: Federation of American Zionists; 25 cents), "that the hope for the restoration of Israel to Palestine, which at this time is one of the common-places of public discussion, will, in all probability, be achieved in form as well as in substance along the lines foreshadowed by Theodor Herzl." There is a touch of hedging in the words, "at this time" and "in all probability." Times change, and probabilities disappoint; but, without insisting on these evasions, it is at least worth while to renew a somewhat hazy recollection of the "form" and "substance" of Theodor Herzl's pamphlet. No apology is needed for the haze. It has ample meteorological authority. Mr. de Haas wrote in 1904 that the *Jewish State* had been "heretofore but little read or studied"; and as thirteen years elapsed before a fresh edition of the pamphlet was required, we may conclude that the neglect "heretofore" did not develop into popularity hereafter.

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It is even legitimate to suspect that the neglect was not altogether inconvenient. For, frankly speaking, Theodor Herzl was never a Zionist, and nothing comes out more clearly, at a reading in 1920 of his pamphlet written in 1896, than the extreme honesty of the writer and the luminous simplicity of his point of view. Zionism, like greatness, was thrust upon him. He had to swallow a country, a dead language, and the more modest dose of some of his own words. It is more than doubtful to-day if Herzl, after the war, and more particularly after the Paris Conference, would have accepted the conclusions

which his title to leadership implies. True, one passage of the "Author's Preface," reprinted by Mr. de Haas, seems to lay claim to plenary Zionism. "The idea which I have developed in this pamphlet," he declared, "is a very old one; the restoration of the Jewish State." But, except for this isolated sentence, all the *milieu* and *mise-en-scène*, all the practice and theory of his "idea," are not only not "old," but very new, and will be found to depend in the last resort on temporary, contemporary conditions, and to be bound by the slenderest of ties to the Messianic idea of the Restoration. It is essential to make this fact plain. A large, if not the largest, part of political Zionists' appeal to the moral and material support of their followers rests on an alleged continuity, a kind of dynastic succession, from Isaiah, through Herzl, to Dr. Weizmann. Theodor Herzl's reputation and good fame demand that this illusion should be pricked. For Herzl was better than a political Zionist: he was a Jew. He was moved by a great wrong to an heroic remedy, and, though his idea ran away with him in the end, he himself never pretended to any aim, *proprio motu*, other than that of finding a present way out of terrorism and despair.

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Let us deal at once with the country and the dead language, to which we referred in the last paragraph, and on which we may fairly be challenged. As to the country, Herzl asked: "Shall we choose Palestine or Argentina?" and it was not till two or three years later, when Mr. Zangwill had advised him, "Since there is this longing for Palestine, let us make capital of it, capital that will return its safe percentage," that he definitely preferred Palestine, the traditional home of the "old idea," and embarked on those many negotiations with the Turk, in which he suffered so badly. As to the language, the evidence is even clearer. "Who amongst us," he inquired, "has a sufficient acquaintance with Hebrew to ask for a railway-ticket in that language? Such a thing cannot be done. Yet the difficulty is very easily circumvented. Switzerland affords a conclusive proof of the possibility of a federation of tongues." So, too, we may add, did the Tower of Babel, which the Basel Conference sometimes recalled; and Herzl lived, as his American editor notes, to assent to "the feasibility of Hebrew as a living language." But a

Zionist without Palestine and without Hebrew may be, as Herzl was, a great Jew ; he is certainly not a new-style Zionist.

Herzl was so far from a political Zionist, and so much nearer to the common acceptation of a good Jew, that we meet the following sentence in his " little read " pamphlet on the *Jewish State* : " Our communal tie is peculiar and unique, for *we are bound together only by the faith of our fathers.*" We have ventured to italicize eleven words ; for, though he swallowed a country and a dead language, there is no evidence in his book that he ever ate his own words, or went back on his absolutely correct and thoroughly Jewish perception of the sole bond which unites Jew with Jew. His statement is in striking agreement with the principle which governs THE JEWISH GUARDIAN, to the effect that Jew is a religious term, and that Judaism is a religion, not a nation ; and we honour Theodor Herzl the more for the limits which his followers have overrun.

* * * * *

No, the founder of Zionism was no Zionist, as the territorialists understand that term. Take another point of view from the *Jewish State*. " Everything depends on our propelling force," he wrote ; and to-day, twenty-four years afterwards, we thoroughly concur. " And what is our propelling force ? " he asked. " The misery of the Jews," was his reply. We are always told by latter-day Zionists that their policy did not start from anti-Semitism, but has a long and noble history behind it. We look in vain to " the misery of the Jews " for the tokens of noble descent. Surely, the Hebrew hope of Zion was never couched in a minor key. Surely, it was never with muffled drums that the march to Zion was to be accomplished, and Israel's long travail fulfilled. " The Gentiles shall come to thy light, and Kings to the brightness of thy rising." What is here of " the misery of the Jews " as the propelling force to a policy of scuttle ?

* * * * *

But we need not labour this argument. Theodor Herzl's splendid candour and sincerity, which no political glosses can completely overlay, make his meaning abundantly clear. " Anti-Semitism," he declared, " increases day by day and hour by hour among the nations." He was

himself a Jew and a journalist, when Lueger was Burgo-master in Vienna; and we should have to search the Middle Ages for a hotter witches' caldron of anti-Semitic elements. "In Austria," in 1896, as Herzl wrote in that year, "anti-Semites exercise terrorism over all public life." Everything tended, he believed, in the state of "misery" engendered by that "terrorism," to "one and the same conclusion, which is clearly enunciated in that classic Berlin phrase, *Juden raus!* Out with the Jews!" We saw in our previous articles on Joseph Jacobs and John Reuchlin, that anti-Semitism, as the former said, was "made in Germany." We know that the Bismarckian variety spread along the military railways, eastward to Russia and southward to Austria; and we see now why Herzl formulated "The Jewish Question in the curtest possible form: Are we to 'get out' now? and, if so, to what place?" and why he answered those questions with the desperate cry—Yes, now, and to anywhere! But his devotion to the Jewish destiny, "made in Germany," though his diagnosis may have been correct at the time and in the place of the disease, was not Zionism then and is not practical politics now.

* * * * *

Nous avons changé tout cela. The war which swept across Europe in 1914-18 has swept away, we hope and believe, the incentives to *Juden raus*, and the "propelling force" which drove Herzl to improve upon it. Bismarck is dead at last, and his brood of historians and professors and all their works will perish with him. A new, clean breath is blowing across the ravaged fields of Europe. The world is made safer for democracy, which means liberty, fraternity, equality. That protected "misery of the Jews," which was made in Prussia for Pan-Germany, and which terrorized, as Herzl avowed, the public life of Austria in his day, is disallowed by the Treaties of the Paris Conference and by the principles and future practice of the League of Nations. Who can doubt, re-reading Herzl's pamphlet, and recalling the courage of the man, remembering, too, his own words: "We are bound together only by the faith of our fathers," that, if he were alive to-day, he would prefer to be an Austrian of that faith than to adopt the counsel of despair which he devised as a way out of "terrorism" made in Germany?

JEWISH EMANCIPATION AND LORD MACAULAY.

WE have observed in certain quarters an insidious attempt to write down the contribution of Macaulay in the second quarter of the nineteenth century to the cause of civil and religious liberty. It has been said, for example, that there were "two Macaulay's," the one a realist and the other a visionary, though nothing was more foreign to the Whig temperament of that epoch than dualism, duplicity, or diplomacy in its worse sense. The whole argumentation is what German writers call "tendentious" (*tendenziös*); it is akin to that course of history-rewritten-according-to-a-political-programme, to which Bismarck, in the era of Prussian Chauvinism, now, happily, closed by British arms, displayed such fatal facility in attracting the talents of Trietschke and his school.

* * * * *

The main object of these tactics is perspicuous. The history of Jewish emancipation is required to be rewritten in order to suit the new programme of political Zionists. A gloss is to be smeared over every sentence justifying the historical view that the Act of 1858 was passed in behalf of a religious community as distinct from a national entity. This clear issue is to be confused, in order to reopen the closed door to a species of double nationality, such as was repudiated by the parties to that act. Anti-Semites are again to enjoy their coveted opportunity of building up a detestable propaganda out of suggestions of a divided national allegiance owed by Jews to "a national home for the Jewish people" and to the nations which enfranchised them as full citizens. *The Times* wrote, on May 29th, 1917: "Only an imaginary nervousness suggests that the realization of territorial Zionism in some form would cause Christendom to round on the Jews, and say—'Now you have a land of your own, go to it!'" Our experience of

the utterances of "Christendom," 1917-20, does not lead us to corroborate this statement, made *ex parte* and prior to the letter of the late Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Nor is it supported by Jewish utterances. Mr. Leon Simon, for example, a spokesman of English Zionists, writes quite definitely and firmly (*The Case of the Anti-Zionists*, 1917): "The underlying idea of Zionism is that of Jewish nationality." He claims, as a condition *sine qua non*, the "explicit recognition of Palestine as the homeland of the Jewish people." Mr. F. S. Spiers (*What is Zionism?* 1918) declares: "The national conception must have its national basis." Mr. L. Kessler (*History and Development of Jewish Colonization in Palestine*, 1918) is convinced, that "The logic of brutal facts shattered the belief in fine phrases about freedom and brotherhood, and led to a revolution of ideas. Jews began to recognize that political emancipation was not enough to make their position respected and secure." And Dr. Weizmann holds, as is well known, that "the position of the emancipated Jew, though he does not realize it himself, is even more tragic than that of his oppressed brother."

In the face of this alleged major tragedy, consequent on a "revolution of ideas," and leading to a "homeland" founded on a "national basis," with an "underlying idea of nationality," and the recognition that "emancipation is not enough," it is essential to go back straight to the emancipation era in Europe, and to inquire if its Jewish beneficiaries confirm these belittling remarks and concur with the implied repudiation. The honour of Judaism demands it, for we are bound by the pledges of our ancestors. It is demanded, too, by the interests of Jews, for if *The Times* in May, 1917, discovered as much as an "imaginary nervousness" as to the attitude of "Christendom" towards a Jewish State, how much more solid may the grounds for those fears prove if Jews themselves adopt the Zionist view that emancipation has failed, and that the plight of the Jew in England and other liberal countries is more tragic than that of his unenfranchised co-religionist?

* * * * *

In the declarations of the emancipators—the liberators, as we may call them, adopting Luther's (*Eleutherios*) play on his own name—we shall find no sign of ambiguity. Their most eminent mouth-piece was Macaulay, for many

years a member of the House of Commons. He was by no means single in his campaign, but the fact that his speeches and writings were literary as well as ephemeral has tended, as years have passed, to identify him particularly with the movement. We may hold any view we like about the faults of Macaulay's style: they "are, after all, but a slight offset to merits far greater and more important" (H. Walker, *Literature of the Victorian Era*, p. 841); what we cannot dispute is the statesman-orator's verdict on himself: "I am nothing if not historical." "The truth of this judgment" (Walker, *ibid.*, p. 835) "is impressed upon the reader in everything he ever wrote or said."

* * * * *

Such a rehabilitation of Macaulay's action has been necessitated by the tendency to which we referred in the first paragraph, and which we can now clearly trace to the historical glosses of the Zionists, re-writing the story of the emancipation as a major tragedy of Jewish history. We may summon at this point one or two Anglo-Jewish witnesses, and one English witness not a Jew. Take the last first as an act of courtesy. Mr. G. F. Abbott (*Israel in Europe*, p. 321) writes as follows of the argument which pointed to Israel as a nation:—

"The pre-Mosaic platitude, and other coeval arguments, Macaulay sets himself to demolish."

Mr. A. M. Hyamson (*The Jews in England*, p. 325) reminds us:—

"It was also argued that the Jew was cosmopolitan rather than English or French or Prussian, . . . that the Jew considered Palestine as his only permanent home, and, in consequence, should not be entrusted with full citizenship in any other."

Mr. Joseph Jacobs (*Jewish Encyclopedia*, Vol. V., p. 171) bears evidence, that

"The rising tide in favour of religious liberty, as applied to dissenters generally and to Roman Catholics in particular, might have been expected to carry with it more favourable conditions for the Jews; but a long struggle was to intervene before 'Englishmen of the Jewish persuasion' were to have equal rights with other Englishmen."

We might add the evidence of the Sanhedrin, convoked by Napoleon I. in France, the clear tendency of Part X. of Mr. H. S. Q. Henriques' *The Jew and the English Law*, the late Chief Rabbi's *Anglo-Jewish Memories*, the footnote at page 231 of the English translation of Lazarus' *Ethics of Judaism, I.*, and other competent authorities. But the passages cited are sufficient to show that interested efforts at deglutinating the emancipation have no historical sanction, and that the triumph of this cause was won over the champions (anti-Semites, in those days) of the Jews as a nation as distinct from Judaism as a religion. This fact, of course, is not equivalent to a proof that political Zionism is a heresy. If political Zionism is to be established as a definite tenet of Judaism (by Mr. Kessler's "revolution of ideas"), then we must act accordingly. And the first effect will be to admit that "the position of the emancipated Jew" is not merely a tragedy but a falsehood. We must choose between Judaism as revised by the Zionists and Judaism as held and practised by our forebears.

* * * * *

This review requires for completeness the citation of the relevant passages from Macaulay.

In January, 1831, he wrote :—

"The English Jews, we are told, are not Englishmen. They are a separate people, living locally in this island, but living morally and politically in communion with their brethren who are scattered all over the world. An English Jew looks on a Dutch or a Portuguese Jew as his countrymen, and on an English Christian as a stranger."

This argument, briefed by English Jews, Macaulay, as Mr. Abbott showed above, set himself successfully to demolish.

In April, 1833, he said :—

"Another objection which has been made to this motion is that the Jews look forward to the coming of a great Deliverer, to their return to Palestine, to the rebuilding of their Temple, to the revival of their ancient worship, and that therefore they will always consider England, not their country, but merely as their place of exile."

And he asked, similarly briefed by English Jews, if we were "to exclude all millenarians from Parliament and office, on the ground that they are impatiently looking forward to the miraculous monarchy which is to supersede the present dynasty and the present constitution of England."

* * * * *

In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, Jews in England and elsewhere pleaded through their advocates in Parliament for the removal of a religious disability (which did not affect a Disraeli of the Jewish race, though it affected a Salomons of the Jewish faith), on the ground that the Zion of Jewish belief was a cloud-capped vision of the Messianic age, not an aim of temporal politicians. Do we propose, in the present quarter of the twentieth century, when the League of Nations, emancipating all minorities, and extending religious tolerance to every honest creed, will become a genuine force in public life, to retrace those difficult footsteps to that hardly-won goal?

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