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English Zionist Federation, 1920.

GREAT BRITAIN AND ZIONISM

Albert Hall Meeting, July 12th, 1920.



THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION.

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A DEMONSTRATION, organised by the English Zionist Federation, to thank the British Government for the San Remo decision to incorporate the Balfour Declaration for the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey was held at the Albert Hall, London, on Monday night, July 12th, 1920. It was the most extraordinary meeting in the annals of Anglo-Jewry. Long before the opening of the meeting there was something in the nature of a Jewish pilgrimage westward, and the vast hall was besieged by a huge crowd. Fully 30,000 applications had been received for admission, and many who were too late for tickets came in the hope that place would be found for them. The Hall holds more than 10,000 people, and very soon it was packed from arena to topmost gallery, presenting a vivid picture of tense and expectant humanity. The platform—in this case the spacious orchestra at the base of the great organ—was filled with representatives of Jews from all parts of the world. All the delegates attending the Annual Zionist Conference then being held in London were present, together with representatives from Zionist and other bodies in Great Britain. Whilst the people were taking their seats Hebrew melodies, traditional and modern, were played on the organ, and were rapturously applauded. The appearance of Lord Rothschild, the Chairman, on the platform with Mr. Balfour was the signal for the outburst of a tremendous roar of applause; the whole audience rose, cheered itself hoarse, and waved flags. Never perhaps in his whole career has Mr. Balfour faced such a crowd, so intensely grateful and deeply appreciative, and he appeared not a little affected.

The proceedings opened with the reading by Mr. P. Horowitz, hon. secretary of the E.Z.F., of messages from Earl Curzon (Foreign Secretary), Mr. Edward Shortt (Home Secretary), Sir W. Whitla, M.P., Sir Martin Conway, M.P., Major J. B. Brunel Cohen, M.P., Viscount Bryce, Mr. Neville Chamberlain, M.P., Lord Mersey, the Marquis of Ailesbury, Lord Meath, Lord Gainford, the Bishop of Manchester, the Bishop of Gloucester, Sir John Randles, M.P., Lord Emmott, Lord Weardale, Mr. J. O'Grady, M.P., Mr. J. G. Hancock, M.P., and others.

THE SPEECHES.

Lord Rothschild.

The CHAIRMAN said—My lords, ladies and gentlemen, before calling upon the first speaker, I would like to read you the resolution which, later in the evening, will be moved and seconded by Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow. The resolution is :—

That this meeting, representing Anglo-Jewry, and including the delegates from abroad to the Annual Conference of the Zionist Organisation, held at the Royal Albert Hall, on the 26th Tamuz, 5680—July 12th, 1920—expresses heartfelt joy at the decision of the Supreme Council to incorporate the Balfour Declaration in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and at the acceptance by Great Britain of the Mandate for Palestine as a Jewish National Home ; it also puts on record its high appreciation of the illustrious services rendered to the Jewish nation by the statesmen and peoples of the Allied and Associated States, particularly of Great Britain, who have collaborated in this memorable achievement, and pledges the Jews of this country to spare no effort and no sacrifice for the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home, in collaboration with the inhabitants of the country.

Before asking Mr. Balfour to address you, I will say only two or three short words. The object of this meeting is to celebrate the granting and acceptance of the Mandate for Palestine to Great Britain, and the incorporation in the Turkish Treaty of the Balfour Declaration. Many of you here to-night remember the great meeting in the Opera House, which was convened to convey to his Majesty's Government the thanks of Anglo-Jewry for one of the greatest events that have occurred in Jewish history for the last two thousand years—namely, the recognition by the Government of the greatest Empire that has ever existed of the proper national status of the Jewish people. At the time of that memorable gathering in the Opera House we knew that the British Government, with Mr. Balfour, would not have given forth to the world this message without very good reason to know that its fulfilment was going to prove feasible in a very short time ; yet I think this gathering here to-night celebrates even a greater memorial in the history of the Jewish people—namely, the means by which the Balfour Declaration will be carried into effect. This you have seen is already started by the appointment as High Commissioner of Sir Herbert Samuel—a man who combines within himself all the higher attributes of a successful British statesman with the heart of a conscientious Jew. Now, ladies and gentlemen, the British Government has started the establishment of a home in Erez Israel, and it is up to us to prove that we are worthy of the confidence placed in us by the British Government and

to help the British Government in every way to carry out its pledges. All those of you who have attended the Zionist Conference at the Memorial Hall during the last week have heard innumerable speeches of praise, of blame, of criticism. The question of praise or blame does not strike us for the moment. I will only deal with the question of criticism. It is very easy to criticise, but it is very difficult to suggest alternatives to the course which has been the subject of criticism. I call upon all those delegates from the twenty-eight nations who are assembled here to-night, also upon the immense and wonderful gathering of the Jewish people that I see around me, to forgo aimless criticism, to put their shoulders to the wheel, to do everything and make every possible sacrifice so that we can prove ourselves worthy of every confidence placed in us by the British Government. I call upon Mr. Arthur Balfour to address you.

The Right Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P.

THE RIGHT HON. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR, M.P., on rising to speak, was received with very great applause, the whole audience rising and cheering enthusiastically. He said—Lord Rothschild, my lords, ladies, and gentlemen—For long I have been a convinced Zionist, and it is in that character that I come before you to-day, though in my most sanguine moments I never foresaw, I never even conceived, the possibility that the great work of Palestinian reconstruction would happen so soon, or that indeed it was likely to happen in my own lifetime. This is one of the great and unexpected results of the world struggle which has just come to an end—even if, indeed, we dare to say that it has yet completely come to an end. Of infinite evils that struggle has been the parent, but if among its results we can count the re-establishment in their ancient home of the Jewish people, at all events we can put to its credit one great result which under other circumstances, so far as we can see, could never have occurred at so early a date. Who would have thought five or six years ago that a speaker in the Albert Hall would be able to recount as an accomplished fact that the Great Powers of the world had elected to accept the Declaration to which Lord Rothschild has referred, had consented to give a Mandate to the country which at all events is in the forefront among those who desire to see this policy brought to a successful issue, and that they would already have seen appointed as the High Commissioner of Palestine a man who so admirably joins the double qualifications which Lord Rothschild has already so felicitously expressed? These are happy results, these are results on which we may all congratulate ourselves.

Let us not forget in our feelings of legitimate triumph all the difficulties which still lie before us. Those difficulties I have no hesitation in dwelling upon, because I know that you will overcome them; yet it is worth while to enumerate some of them, not to discourage you, but to raise your courage and your resolution even to a higher pitch than it has already reached. Among these difficulties I am not sure that I do not rate the highest, or at all events first, the inevitable difficulty of dealing with the Arab question

as it presents itself within the limits of Palestine. It will require tact, it will require judgment, it will require above all sympathetic goodwill on the part both of Jew and of Arab. So far as the Arabs are concerned—a great, an interesting, and an attractive race—I hope they will remember that while this assembly and all Jews that it represents through the world desire under the ægis of Great Britain to establish this home for the Jewish people, the Great Powers, and among all the Great Powers most especially Great Britain, has freed them, the Arab race, from the tyranny of their brutal conqueror, who had kept them under his heel for these many centuries. I hope they will remember it is we who have established the independent Arab sovereignty of the Hejaz. I hope they will remember that it is we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing, autonomous Arab State, and I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small notch—for it is no more geographically, whatever it may be historically—that small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it—but surely have a title to develop on their own lines in the land of their forefathers, which ought to appeal to the sympathy of the Arab people as it, I am convinced, appeals to the great mass of my own Christian fellow-countrymen. That is the first difficulty. That can be got over and will be got over by mutual goodwill.

The second difficulty, on which I shall only say a word, arises from the fact that the critics of this movement shelter themselves behind the phrase—but it is more than a phrase—behind the principle of self-determination, and say that, if you apply that principle logically and honestly, it is to the majority of the existing population of Palestine that the future destinies of Palestine should be committed. My lords, ladies and gentlemen, there is a technical ingenuity in that plea, and on technical grounds I neither can nor desire to provide the answer; but, looking back upon the history of the world, upon the history more particularly of all the most civilised portions of the world, I say that the case of Jewry in all countries is absolutely exceptional, falls outside all the ordinary rules and maxims, cannot be contained in a formula or explained in a sentence. The deep underlying principle of self-determination really points to a Zionist policy, however little in its strict technical interpretation it may seem to favour it. I am convinced that none but pedants or people who are prejudiced by religious or racial bigotry, none but those who are blinded by one of these causes would deny for one instant that the case of the Jews is absolutely exceptional, and must be treated by exceptional methods.

The third difficulty is of a wholly different order of magnitude and character—it is the physical difficulty. Palestine, great as is the place which it occupies in the history of the world, is but a small and petty country looked at as a geographical unit; and men ask themselves how in these narrow limits—to be traversed easily in an automobile in an easy day's journey were there good roads from Dan to Beersheba—they ask themselves how that can be made physically adequate to be the home for the self-development of the Jewish people. The problem presents difficulties, at

present no impossibilities. It presents difficulties which I myself should regard as overwhelming were we dealing with another people and with different conditions. But what are the requisites of such development in Palestine as may accommodate an important section of the great race that I am addressing? What are the two necessities? One is skill, knowledge, perseverance, enterprise; the other is capital; and I am perfectly convinced that when you are talking of the Jews you will find no want of any one of these requisites. Of skill, of knowledge, of all that the most modern methods can teach in the way of engineering or of agriculture, the Jewish race, who have themselves contributed to the results, can easily make themselves the master. And when I consider capital I am not thinking of the great millionaires, of the men of vast wealth belonging to the Jewish race. I doubt not that they will do their duty; but it is not of them I am thinking—I am thinking of the innumerable Jews in the poorest circumstances, of whom I have heard authentic tales of the manner in which, out of their poverty, they are prepared to contribute to the success of this enterprise.

The fourth and the last difficulty on which I want to speak is perhaps in some respects the greatest of all. This movement cannot be carried out except by idealists. No man who is incapable of idealism is capable either of understanding the Zionist Movement or effectually contributing to its consummation; but idealism, though a necessary element in every great and fruitful policy, has its inevitable dangers itself. Your cynic, your man of narrow and selfish views does nothing; your idealist does much. But he does not always do the right thing, and the very qualities which make a man sacrifice all that he has for an idea very often blind him to that cool and calm judgment without which great ideas cannot be brought to a true and successful fruition. I speak as a man who is not a Jew, and who necessarily, therefore, looks at the Jewish question from outside; but I should say that perhaps the danger which besets the Jewish race is not that they lack high idealism, not that they are reluctant to sacrifice everything, even life itself, to see that ideal carried into effect, but that they are carried away by the vehemence of their passions, the depth and strength of their convictions, and they are unwilling to do that without which, believe me, this and any other great movement must necessarily fail—they are unwilling to give that whole-hearted trust and confidence in their chosen leaders which, believe me, is necessary. You are drawn from every nation under heaven; you come to London or any other great centre with ideas absorbed from the populations wherein you have sojourned. You come, therefore, with many different mentalities—to use the familiar phrase. You come perhaps with many different theories as to the method by which your common objects may be carried out. There is no harm in that; it only becomes dangerous when these different sections insist not merely that the object should be carried out, but that it should be carried out precisely in the fashion which commends itself to them. Beware of that danger; I am not sure it is not the greatest danger which may beset you in the future.

And now, ladies and gentlemen, I have done with the gloomy task of enumerating difficulties, and I have only one more word to say. We are embarked on a great adventure, and I say "we" advisedly, and by "we" I mean on the one side the Jewish people, and I mean, on the other side, the Mandatory Power of Palestine. We are partners in this great enterprise. If we fail you, you cannot succeed. If you fail us, you cannot succeed. But I feel assured that we shall not fail you and that you will not fail us; and if I am right, as I am sure I am, in this prophecy of hope and confidence, then surely we may look forward with a happy gaze to a future in which Palestine will indeed, and in the fullest measure and degree of success, be made a home for the Jewish people.

The Marquis of Crewe.

THE RIGHT HON. MARQUIS OF CREWE, K.G.—My Lord Rothschild, my lords, ladies and gentlemen—Those who were present at the great meeting at the London Opera House after Mr. Balfour's famous Declaration of 1917 feel it no little privilege to be present here to-day at this magnificent meeting, and to have witnessed such a scene of enthusiasm as we have just now enjoyed—a scene of enthusiasm which I think we may all agree no mere political meeting could ever precisely reproduce. Those of us who were at the London Opera House feel it to be a privilege, because we realise that to-day we are witnessing at any rate the partial attainment of a great ideal and the reward of an undying faith.

There may be some here who, like myself, like to dwell on the records of the past, and who may desire to draw a parallel between what is happening now and what happened thousands of years ago when Artaxerxes, the King of Persia, decreed that all they of Israel who desired of their own freewill might go up to Jerusalem. I need not recall to this audience that story, one of the most interesting and, in an unsensational way, most moving episodes in either sacred or profane history. I need not recall to this audience the story of Nehemiah and his followers, of their difficulties, of their indomitable courage, of how they had to meet ridicule and intimidation. You will remember how it was said that of all the builders, every man had his sword girt beside him and so builded; and all through, their leader, like all pioneers, had to meet the varied and continued complaints of some of his own people, but bore himself with the proud humility befitting a man who knew himself to be the instrument of the Almighty in carrying out a great national work. Now, some three thousand years later, Palestine stands again in need of moral and material reconstruction. In one way, as Mr. Balfour has already reminded us, there is a matter for congratulation that, although the new era is the sequel to one of the most brilliant feats of arms in all our military annals, yet there is no conquered or subjugated people that has to be cajoled or cudgelled into its acceptance. Jew, Arab, and those British representatives who will carry out the Mandate of the League of Nations, all alike share in the great victory, and all alike must take part in promoting the prosperity of the ancient land and of all who dwell in it. Surely, ladies and gentlemen, it

is one of the most striking facts in the world that hundreds of millions—Moslems, Christians, and Jews all alike—fix their eyes on the sacred city with unbounded reverence, and surely that must be a fact which leads to a bond of union for the good of Palestine, and not to an occasion for discord.

Lastly, pray allow me to say one word about the High Commissioner, who, as I think, has been so wisely and so courageously chosen for the post by his Majesty's Government. I have had the pleasure of serving with Sir Herbert Samuel in more than one Administration, and of this I feel certain, that he has precisely the qualities which are demanded at this moment by the situation, that he will not be unbalanced by its novelty, or confused by its complexity, or disconcerted by its difficulty, and that being so, with a full heart I wish him every success in the accomplishment of his great and glorious task, and I offer to all those here, and to all the Jewish nation, my humble congratulations upon the attainment of their National Home.

Mr. Nahum Sokolow.

MR. NAHUM SOKOLOW said—My Lord Rothschild, ladies and gentlemen—In moving the resolution which has been read by the Chairman, I would like to say a few words in the name of those who are not present here—in the name of those millions of Jews who would like to offer a tribute of gratitude to Mr. Balfour. I feel that the word "gratitude" is too poor to express our sentiments, and to define how immeasurably the Jewish people is indebted to this man who stands like a lighthouse in these days of storm and darkness, who gave the lead to the Government and people of this country and to the Allied Governments and peoples to help the Jewish people to establish their home in the land of their fathers. Ladies and gentlemen, it was on the 2nd of November, 1917, that the Jewish people entered into a covenant with Great Britain. There is a difficulty in the translation of the term "covenant." I know something about the negotiations and the translators' work in connection with the League of Nations; I know that they met with a great difficulty in translating into the French language, or into any other European language, the word "covenant," which is used in the fundamental draft for the League of Nations. Ladies and gentlemen, we met with no difficulty in translating this word, because it is a Hebrew word, and it is a Hebrew idea. We entered into that covenant, and all I want to say is that we entered with the determination to be loyal to it—and we trust the British Government and the people of this country, and all the nations and their Governments of the civilised world will help us; because what we are undertaking in Palestine is not against any nation—it is for us and it is for the whole of humanity.

We have declared already, at the first meeting at the Opera House, at that memorable meeting to which our Chairman referred, that our fundamental idea is to enter into a sort of alliance with the Arabs and with the unfortunate Armenians who are to be the successors of the Turks in the Near East; and this has been and this will be our line, quite without any regard to what for the moment these or other Arabs offer to us. It is a

clear line and a very clear system. Mr. Balfour has eloquently spoken of the difficulties that we shall have to meet in Palestine, and he has expressed the hope that we shall be able to overcome the difficulties. I would like only to call the attention of the meeting to another side of the question. It is very difficult to establish a Jewish National Home in Palestine, but it is much more difficult to exist as the Jewish people exist now. More than difficult—it is impossible. We are aware of this impossibility. You know that it was impossible for hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Ukraine to save their lives, and that many others are homeless. We consider that it is impossible to continue this abnormal existence of the Jewish people without having their centre; and therefore, having to choose between a difficult and an impossible task, we accept the difficult one. Ladies and gentlemen, I am not here to make a speech, because I know that all of you came not to listen to me, but to listen to the guests at this meeting this evening, and therefore I have been very brief in recommending to you the resolution.

Dr. Ch. Weizmann.

DR. CH. WEIZMANN—Mr. Balfour, Lord Rothschild, my Lords, ladies and gentlemen—Perhaps you will permit me before formally seconding the resolution to commit an indiscretion and describe very briefly the first meeting I had the privilege to have with Mr. Balfour. It was in the year 1906, at a time when a great rift passed through the Zionist Organisation on a very vital question, on the question of the generous offer which was made by his Majesty's Government to the Zionists—the offer to the Jews to colonise Uganda. Those who stood in the Zionist Movement then will remember that the Movement split in two parts—those who were in the West were in favour of accepting Uganda; those who were in the East, to whom really Uganda was offered, said, "We thank his Majesty's Government for the generous offer, but Uganda is not Zion, and never will be Zion, and we shall wait until a time comes when perhaps the same Government may find it possible to offer us Zion." Mr. Balfour tried to understand the philosophy underlying the refusal by the Easterners, and in my then very broken English I tried to explain, in great humility, to Mr. Balfour the reasons. For a long half-hour I laboured the question, and I don't know yet whether I made it clear. But the one argument which I think carried was the following—I asked Mr. Balfour, "Supposing somebody would offer you Paris instead of London, would you take it?" Then Mr. Balfour turned round and said, "But we have got London." Then the reply which I gave him was, "Mr. Balfour, it is true you have got London, but we got Jerusalem long ago, and we intend to keep it." Mr. Balfour asked, "Are there many Jews who think like you?" My reply to him was, "In Russia and the east of Europe you can pave the streets with such Jews." And here, Mr. Balfour, is the reply.

We stand to-day on the eve perhaps of the greatest hour in our history. The hour has struck when the possibility is given to us to rebuild our ancient home, and I am perfectly sure that no Jew,

whatever his opinion might have been before, will stand aloof at this moment; and I think that that will be the only tangible way and the only proper way in which we can express our gratitude both to Mr. Balfour and to the nation whom he represents in such a glorious manner. Our difficulties will be great, and many of them have been, almost with a prophetic intuition, enumerated by Mr. Balfour; but with the experience, wisdom, and care which have been taught us through centuries—indeed, thousands of years of suffering—I think that with the help of God these difficulties will be overcome. They have got to be overcome because there is no other way out. When the Jews stood before Sinai and had to receive the Torah, the God of Israel lifted the mountain—such is the legend—held it over the heads of His people, and said, “Either you accept the Torah and all that it contains and will mean for you in the future, or the mountain will sink on you and you will be crushed.” This legend symbolises the position in which we find ourselves at present. The Jew has accepted the Torah, which meant thousands and thousands of years of suffering, and He will accept all the sufferings which are bound up with the building up of Palestine. With patience, with wisdom, with perseverance, and with all the intellectual and material means which are in the Jewish nation, we shall do it. It is our duty now to render the task both of the Mandatory Power and of the representative of this Mandatory Power who is at present labouring in Palestine in extremely difficult conditions, as easy as possible.

Before I sit down, one word to our friends the Arabs. We tell the Arabs plainly and honestly they have got enough room, and that the nations of the world, and the Jewish nation, will contribute as they did before to the building up and regeneration of a great and glorious Arab nation. Did not Arabs and Jews collaborate and produce a great literature at a time when the whole of Europe was plunged in darkness? That may and will come again, but on one condition—that the Arab should respect the right of the Jew to Palestine, just as we respect the great traditions of the Arab nation. Ladies and gentlemen, if you measure Palestine by the square kilometre it is a small country, but if you measure Palestine by centuries of history it is one of the biggest countries in the world, and the Arabs, and all the other non-Jews of the world will not forget that this history is ours, and that it has been interrupted not through our will but by the brutal power of the Romans. But we who have been separated in the Exile have continued to write the history, and are beginning to write it to-day on a new page. We mean to live in friendship with the Arabs in Palestine; we who have been persecuted, we who have suffered from injustice, will guard ourselves from committing an injustice against the weaker. We shall and we must carry the Palestinian Arabs along the roads of development on which we shall go ourselves; but on the understanding that we Jews work, labour, strive, pray, and suffer for a Jewish Palestine. I think I may be permitted to state that this Jewish Palestine will be a source of strength and pride to the Mandatory Power and a contribution to the civilisation of the world. Once more the Law will go forth from Jerusalem.

Lord Robert Cecil, M.P.

LORD ROBERT CECIL, K.C., M.P.—Lord Rothschild, my lords, ladies and gentlemen—Dr. Weizmann in his brilliant speech has told you of a conversation he once had with Mr. Balfour; I remember very well the first time I had the honour of seeing Dr. Weizmann. It was just after I had gone to the Foreign Office, and Dr. Weizmann came to see me about Zionism. I cannot recall the details of our conversation, but I know this, that I was a convinced Zionist in opinion before he came, and that when he left I was a Zionist by profound and even passionate conviction. Mr. Balfour has reminded you that the present meeting is the result of one of the greatest achievements of the war. I believe myself that when the history of the war comes to be impartially written, the two greatest results will be the establishment of a National Jewish Home and the creation of the League of Nations. The two are not really disconnected. They represent the two great ideas for which we fought and by which we conquered—the ideas of nationalism and inter-nationalism. They are not distinct or contradictory; on the contrary, they are complementary one to the other. You cannot have a league of free nations unless the nations are free. If you are going to make a great attempt to reach peace, not by force or domination, but by agreement, it must be agreement in perfect freedom—and Mr. Balfour has well said that there is no greater triumph for the truest spirit of nationality than the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine.

But do not let us forget that we have only laid the foundation; do not let us shout for victory until victory is ours. We have an English proverb, "Well begun is half done," but do not let us forget that it is as yet only well begun. Two great sets of qualities are necessary in order to carry through this great experiment; you must have faith and energy, and no one who sees this meeting can doubt that faith and energy will be there. But you must have more than that, you must have also wisdom and self-control. It is not every young nationality, alas! that has, since the war, shown that it possesses wisdom and self-control. It is quite easy to destroy the fairest prospect of your future if you indulge in wild Chauvinism or irresponsible criticism. Do not, I beseech you, expect immediate perfection. All great things must grow; if they are to be permanent they cannot spring into immediate and complete life at once. They have got to grow, and it is your task under your leaders to see that the National Home grows and blossoms in the future. If I may venture as a Briton to give you any advice, I will ask you to remember the great quality by which we British have achieved some success; and that is the desire that we have to make things work, not to expect perfection in a moment, but to throw our whole energy into making whatever we have to do a success in itself. Ladies and gentlemen, you have in your hand the success or failure of one of the greatest propositions, one of the greatest experiments that have ever been tried. We are trying to restore an ancient people to its ancient home, to knit up again the several threads of national history; we have given you national existence. In your hands lies your national future.

The Chief Rabbi.

THE VERY REV. THE CHIEF RABBI—Lord Rothschild, my lords, ladies and gentlemen—Seventeen centuries ago a Jewish statesman was confronted with a mighty task—nothing less than the social reconstruction of the ruined Jewry of Palestine after the Hadrianic war. He was the *Nasi*, and therefore the spiritual and civil leader of Palestine, and this man said there are only three foundations on which political society can be built, and those are *Emeth* (truth), *Din* (justice), and *Shalom* (peace). Those of us who have read the King's message that was proclaimed in Palestine a few days ago, those of us who have listened to Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil this evening, need not be told that the same foundations will be the foundations of the Jewish National Home in Palestine. We shall have *Emeth*, a loyal carrying out by Great Britain in the letter and in the spirit of the declaration and of the terms of the Mandate; we shall have *Din* (justice), even-handed justice to Jew and non-Jew in Palestine; and we shall strive with might and main for *Shalom*, harmonious co-operation of all the portions of the population in Palestine. I need add nothing on the Arab question to what has been said by the speakers that preceded me. But I should like to remind you of one thing. Within a fortnight the pious Israelite will observe the 9th of Ab, and the most beautiful of the prayers of the 9th of Ab is the sublime ode to Zion sung by Jehudah Halevi. Legend tells us that in his old age he made a pilgrimage to Palestine, and that in sight of the Holy City he recited his wonderful ode. At that moment a Saracen horseman came and rode roughshod over him, mortally wounding him. Ladies and gentlemen, in the Jewish National Home there will be no riding roughshod over the Jew—just as there will be no riding roughshod over the non-Jew.

Some months ago I was invited to the celebration of the third anniversary of the Declaration. I was asked to state my message to the meeting, and I spoke only a minute or two on the text, "Be strong and of a good courage." It was in those dark days before San Remo. Well, ladies and gentlemen, we have since crossed the Jordan; our feet are now on holy soil. In my message to you to-night, instead of three Hebrew words I use one Hebrew word, *vahiskasachtem*, meaning "Strengthen yourselves." Ladies and gentlemen, strengthen yourselves, because the gates of the redemption open from within. In the last instance, others cannot degrade us, others cannot uplift us or redeem us, we can only degrade ourselves, and only uplift and redeem ourselves. Our fathers held that the generation that did not witness the rebuilding of the Temple were as if they had witnessed its destruction. The great hour has arrived when any Jew who does not join in the work of national resurrection, any Jew who does not join in the work of the rebuilding of Jerusalem is as if he helped in the destruction of Jerusalem. The great hour has arrived for Jews of all parties to join in the sacred task of turning Palestine into Erez Israel. Remember the gates of Geulah, the gates of redemption open from within.

Major Ormsby-Gore, M.P.

MAJOR THE HON. W. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P.—Lord Rothschild, ladies and gentlemen—I count it a privilege that I should have been asked to be associated with this resolution this evening. I owe that privilege to the fact that it was Mr. Balfour who sent me out to Palestine with that small body of your trusted leaders who went to Judea after General Allenby's first great advance of emancipation. I saw in the few months that I was in Palestine how much all of you in this hall to-night owe to those pioneers of Jewish colonisation in Palestine during the past generation. I count it a privilege to have seen the young Jewish children singing their Hebrew songs in the groves of the colonies, to have seen your young men with their hands and their arms red with the earth of Palestine. I count it a privilege to have seen those representatives of an older era of Jewish civilisation who have devoted their lives to the study of your sacred books in the Yeshiboth of Jerusalem. All the elements are needed: the men who will work in the sweat of their brow, the young children who will keep your hope alive in your breasts, and the men who will keep alive the traditions of your learning of the Jews. Those few colonists are responsible for the response which your Movement echoes in the breast of many an Englishman, many a Frenchman, many an American. They saw that the Jews in Palestine could do what nobody else could do. What is it that they could do and that they do do? They forget themselves in the common cause of regenerating something noble and beautiful for future generations.

For 404 years Palestine has been ruled by the Turk, and during those 404 years the very soil of Palestine has been ruined, the very foundations of the moral stability of its population have been undermined; and it is your task, and the task of Britain as a whole, to help you to restore fruitfulness to the soil of that beautiful country, and to restore the moral fibre and the moral enthusiasm of all sections of the population who dwell in that beautiful country. I have all confidence in your Movement; I have all confidence in your leaders; I know that you can make good. But this word I wish to speak to you. From what I saw in Palestine I am convinced that unless those of you who go to Palestine give their all, and give it not merely to your own people, but give it to the whole land, unless that is done you will have difficulties. The difficulties will disappear in proportion as you seek to raise the level of civilisation, the level of culture, the level of prosperity of your neighbours and your cousins already in the land.

In giving you that word of advice, if I may do so with all humility as a young man, I do so because to my mind Palestine is the most important country in the world to-day. The world, the whole stricken world, is suffering at this moment from acute race consciousness, from the exaggeration of national feeling, and what we want is an example of races that have hitherto been suspicious of each other coming together as fellow-men and fellow-women, inspired not by mutual enmity, not by desire to destroy, but by a desire to build up in goodwill. But Palestine is something more than an opportunity for an experiment of several races in a small country coming together; Palestine is going to be the link between

Asia and Europe, between the ancient world and the modern, between the modern world and the future. On the future progress that you make in Palestine, in proportion as Palestine does in truth become the land of *Shalom*, in proportion to that we shall solve together, the Jews and the British, the future relations between the races of Asia and the races of Europe.

One more word. In proportion as Palestine is the living example of the working of the Mandate Article of the League of Nations (Article 22), in that proportion as it proves to be a success, to my mind depends much as to whether the whole League of Nations is a success. If there is one task which to my mind the Jewish world can help in working, it is in building up not merely the machinery of the League of Nations, but the spirit and the idealism of international co-operation throughout the world. You are still a scattered people. You are united by the great tradition of your law and your religion, and now you are going to be united by having a sheet-anchor in Palestine. You will have some thousands, maybe some day some millions in that land; but you will continue to have people who will look to Zion and to Palestine as their centre and their source of inspiration while you remain in all the continents of the world to bring the message of Zion that all the nations of the world should co-operate with all the nations of the world, to bring them together for the greater glory of God and the greater benefit and the greater prosperity and happiness of all His peoples.

Mr. James de Rothschild.

MR. JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD—Lord Rothschild, ladies and gentlemen—"A race that persists in celebrating its vintage although it has no fruits to gather will regain its vineyards." Thus wrote Mr. Disraeli of his own race more than half a century ago. About thirty years afterwards our pioneers went out to Palestine, and shortly after that the produce of their work came back here; and now when of a Friday night you say your Kiddush you can say so over the juice of grapes grown and produced in our own Judaea. Those men went out even before the days of Herzl, and they braved the hardships. I was pleased, and I was glad to hear them remembered, for it was they who kept the home fires burning. Some of their sons have come here; you will see, as I saw, some amongst the audience. What can they wonder, what would their parents think of a meeting such as this one—an audience of ten thousand London Jews listening to speeches on Palestine, and addressed by statesmen who are sitting or have sat in the Cabinet of Great Britain? Ladies and gentlemen, I myself have been brought up, I have been nurtured on Zionism and Palestine, as you know. If I had been told ten years ago that I should address such a meeting I would never have believed it. The Zionist leaders, Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, who came here, as they themselves with justifiable pride say, with nothing but their ten fingers, with nothing but the burning enthusiasm of their prophetic flame—a prophetic flame which has carried them through fire—how pleased, how happy, how proud they can be of

their achievement to night. Not only is Palestine recognised as the National Home of the Jewish people, but the Jewish people is once more proud and conscious of its national existence; and the other great nations of the world, they look upon us in a different manner. They look upon us with more respect, with a more kindly, a more friendly fellow-feeling.

A National Home is a very different thing from a national state. A nation is not born in a day, nor is a nation rebuilt in the twinkling of an eye. Only then will our nation be a complete and solid edifice again when we have carried back to the land of our fathers a civilisation of our own. When we have established a moral code; when we have established our own traditional institutions; when we have once more introduced our fine, our great ancestral tongue, Hebrew; when, by the endeavour of British hands and British brains, owing to mechanical devices and to science, we have modified the natural world of Palestine—only then, I think, will we have conquered the country; and I do firmly believe that in our ancient blood we inherit the capacity for doing this. But it is not possible to import all this ready made from London, from Vilna, or from New York. It is one thing to celebrate the flight from Egypt in the shadow of the Mount of Olives or on the romantic shore of Lake Galilee, and another to read the Seder in the seventh storey of a building on the east side of some modern American town. It is one thing to dwell in a flowery bower made of palms and myrtle in the balmy air of Palestine, with the heavy scent of orange groves and acacias wafted on the evening breeze, and another to sit in a more or less genuine Succah in the mud of a backyard in Lemberg, Bialystok, or Minsk. Let me remind you that Palestine will not offer the same material advantages that are offered by the Golden West or the Rand. What will take the Jews to Palestine, what will take the Jews to the plains of Sharon and the hills of Samaria is the earnest wish to build up the National Home, the set purpose to rebuild the Jewish national soul. Still, while there may be no silver mines, there may be no coal deposits in Palestine, I sincerely hope and trust, I feel convinced that the brains and enthusiasm of our settlers will be a commercial asset more valuable than gushing wells of oil.

Whatever happens, the growth of Jewish civilisation must be slow, it must be gradual; it will only be complete when it has adapted itself to new conditions of life, to new conditions of soil, and especially to new conditions of neighbourhood—when it has shaken off on the one hand the shackles of the Ghetto, and on the other rubbed off the doubtful veneer of our Western cities. On several occasions—might I say so?—before the British occupation of course, Arabs came from the neighbouring villages to our colonies and asked for their disputes to be adjudicated upon by the small local Jewish courts which had been set up. This to me was a sure sign that we were not wrong in hoping for a full-blooded Jewish nation in Palestine, that that was not an idle dream, that only when we had made ourselves indispensable to all in the land, only then, in the words of Dr. Weizmann, will Palestine be as Jewish as England is English. Britain has been the home, the cradle not

only of political liberty, but of modern political views. No other race could have worked out the institutions, the great institutions, of America; no other breed of men would have educated those great backward countries India and Egypt to this modern feeling of national consciousness. Under her guidance, under her tutelage, the Jewish people will also learn the science of democracy, of liberal-minded government; but, above all, it will realise the value of law and order. Ladies and gentlemen, the whole Jewish people is watching with anxiety this brave adventure; the whole Jewish people is anxious to take part in it. Every one, I feel sure, must be anxious to do his bit. We are full of confidence in the men who negotiated for us, who stood at the helm; but it will be for those leaders now to break new ground, to put their theory into practice.

Let me say that those Jews of ability and experience who are to be found all over the world will be brought in, will be dragged in, will be coaxed in, because they are needed. The Jewish people certainly realises that it is standing on a precipice; it realises that it has reached one of the greatest crises in its existence. If we fail we shall be covered with contempt; Jewry will be broken, and our maidens will wail and weep for ever by the waters of Babylon. I am firmly convinced that this will not happen. In the fulness and ripeness of time, with the help of the great Empire which is watching over our future, we will build a body politic on the shores of Asia which will act as a bridge between East and West, a bridge of thoughts and ideals, based on a Jewish peasantry and a breed of Jewish artisans; and thus will be satisfied the age-long yearning, the passionate craving of the Jewish people which has lasted for twenty centuries.

Dr. Max Nordau.

DR. MAX NORDAU—Lord Rothschild, Mr. Balfour, my lords, ladies and gentlemen—It is now some ten weeks ago when I was in this same hall at a performance, an Easter performance, of the *Messiah*. The public was as numerous as now. It listened with enraptured attention to the immortal work of Handel. When the performance had reached the last number of the first part, all of a sudden I witnessed a sight which I shall never forget. The whole audience, with one movement, rose to its feet and listened to the glorious notes of the Hallelujah with concentrated attention, with a devotion as if it assisted at the principal moment of Divine Service in a cathedral. At that moment one of the most noble aspects of the British character revealed itself to me. I understood that the British people is a deeply religious people. I remembered that I had before me the sons and daughters of the race that had produced the Puritans, the Roundheads, the Pilgrim Fathers, that I had before me the sons and the daughters of the race that is still nurtured on the Bible, and in whose homes everywhere, I believe, Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* is still to be found. That to my mind accounts for the fact that Zionism appealed to its heart; to the believing Englishman it meant the return of the Chosen People to the Promised Land—that is to say, the fulfilment of one of the most striking prophecies of Holy Writ, awakening the deepest religious emotions.

We Jews have the reputation, and I believe it is a merited reputation, of being the people of the long memory; we often forgive, but we never forget. Mr. Balfour has already mentioned that we are still cherishing the memory of Koresh—which is our, I believe, more correct pronunciation of the name of the King whom the Greeks called Cyrus—because he allowed the captive Jews, the exiled Jews, to go back to their homeland. We still revere his memory, and he is still a living figure among us. Alexander the Great is so much a living figure among us that Jewish mothers, even those who don't boast of classical scholarship, still give his name to their little sons. Why? Because at the height of his success, when he was proclaimed the son of Jupiter Ammon, he came to Jerusalem and bowed his forehead flushed with victory before the God of Israel, and showed kindness and consideration to the priests of the Temple and to the people of the worshippers. France, glorious France, stands foremost in our affection. Why? Because the great Revolution first of all proclaimed the rights of man, the emancipation of the Jews, or equality before the law, and widely threw open for the first time the gates of the ghetto. No Dreyfus trial, no momentary movement of opinion can darken the idea which we still have of France. Now England will be foremost among those peoples to whom we are devoted in eternal gratitude, and Mr. Balfour will have the glory to see his name ranking in the same line with Cyrus and with Alexander the Great. I believe this is something which might satisfy the greatest ambition. I am quite sure that England, which has been loyal to us, will continue to be loyal to us. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow have pledged the loyalty of the Jewish people towards Great Britain and her statesmen. I am sure I speak in your name, in the name of fourteen millions of Jews outside this hall, that we will redeem that pledge and never allow it to be broken. England has stretched out her hand towards us; we put our hands in her hand—loyalty for loyalty, faithfulness for faithfulness. I finish by reminding you of the word, the sacred word, put into the mouth of the Almighty—"He that blesseth thee shall be blessed, and he that curseth thee shall be accursed."

Colonel J. Wedgwood, M.P.

COLONEL JOSIAH WEDGWOOD, M.P.—My Lord Rothschild and Jews—What a satisfaction it is to be able to address people now as Jews without it being supposed that you are insulting them. Palestine may be something real for all I know; but to my mind Palestine is merely a symbol—a symbol of the creation of a nation. Palestine does not count; what really counts is the creation of self-respect. It is not because you are the Jewish nation that I am here to speak to you to-day, that I am here to give you all the good wishes that the British Labour party can convey. It is because to-day is the day of destruction of the injustices of the past, and that is what the British Labour party stands for. You have heard from Lord Robert Cecil how important it is to learn from us to make things work. That is important. But what is also important is to learn another lesson that we learned at school. When

I was at school I did not learn much book-learning ; but I did have ground into me two principles—that it was better to be dead than to be a slave, and that only cowards submitted to injustice whether to themselves or to other people. That is the lesson I want the new Jewish nation to learn and get by heart. Stand up for your rights.

Let us remember, too, that nationalism is not enough. I am no Jew nationalist ; but why I have always supported Zionism is because I believe that the national stage is only transitory, and that the Jewish race, the finest international race in the world, will originate the international state—the international state where race-hatred will be stamped out and forgotten. You have been stamped upon, kicked, and spitten upon throughout the ages, you have got to forgive and forget ; but do not forget the countless myriads of Jews who are still being kicked and beaten and tortured and murdered. When you have your nation, don't forget this. When you are a nation, when you are free, see that your fellow-countrymen are treated like men. See that they get justice. You have a long way to go, but as long as you set before yourselves the ideal of justice—first of all for Jews and then for all men—and as long as you continue in that spirit of self-sacrifice which has supported you through the last two thousand years, I have no doubt, not that Jewry will triumph, but that the brotherhood of man will be brought nearer through your efforts.

The resolution was then carried, the whole audience rising and cheering with great enthusiasm.

Mr. J. D. Kiley, M.P.

MR. J. D. KILEY, M.P.—My Lord Rothschild, my lords, ladies and gentlemen—Gladly do I to-night associate myself with much that has fallen from the speakers who have addressed you this evening. We are looking, we are waiting for the results of the great effort which you are putting forth in that land far away. We are waiting for the success that awaits you, because who is there that dreams of failure ? There can only be failure under one condition, and that is that you quarrel amongst yourselves. And what a calamity that would be, if such a condition should arise—a calamity not alone to your own people and to your own cause, but, as Lord Robert Cecil has told you this evening, a calamity to the world at large. We are looking forward, we are depending for our future peace, the future peace of the world, upon the success of the League of Nations, and if you fail in your efforts then the League of Nations will not be worth much. I implore you to sink your small differences, unite on the great cause and the great principle you have in view, and great will be your success. I move a vote of thanks to the chairman.

Mr. M. M. Ussishkin.

MR. M. M. USSISHKIN was the only one who did not speak in English ; he spoke in Hebrew. He said that, difficult as it was to speak to such a vast gathering in Hebrew, because the great

majority would probably be unable to follow, he nevertheless felt it was necessary to address them in their national language. The Jewish people stood up for centuries in its own defence. All its efforts and energies were directed to protecting itself from enemies. The time had come to apply its forces for the rebuilding of the National Home. The Balfour Declaration gave them the key to Palestine, and it remained for the Jews themselves to open the gates of the country. The cry of "How long, O Lord?" had been the burden of their supplication for centuries. Now the answer was at hand. The Jewish people must lose no time in opening the gates. If not now, when? A Jewish Palestine must be the best national home in the world. It must be that for which King Solomon prayed, one which all nations should come to revere. Spiritually the legend that the whole world was rolled out from Palestine was certainly true. All the high principles of justice emanated from Erez Israel, and would once more come forth from there as of yore. The Jews had figuratively reached the shores of the country, and they must proceed with the will to develop its economic resources. That was the immediate task of the whole of the Jewish people. It was forty years since Palestine colonisation began. Like their ancestors, they had wandered for forty years in the wilderness of indifference. No attention was paid to their hopes and aspirations, but at last they were within sight of the Promised Land. Palestine was being resuscitated; it would again be the home of scattered and suffering Jewry. They could hear the voice heralding the great tidings, "Return, ye children, within your borders."

Rabbi Silver.

RABBI SILVER—My friends of England, I bring you greetings from three millions of your fellow-Jews in America. I want to tell you how exceedingly gratified we were that it was your beloved country, England, the historic champion of Parliamentary government in the world, that first uttered the heroic words that marked the climax in the greatest drama of the ages. I venture to say, as an American, that in the long and proud record of British enterprise and achievement there are few acts and pronouncements which for nobility of purpose, for grandeur of vision, and for the certitude of absolute justice can match the Balfour Declaration. The Jews of America welcome the co-operation which the British Mandate over Palestine invites. We are confident that a spirit of real harmony and real goodwill will prevail among the two peoples. We know that England will understand the Jew, and we know that the Jew will understand England. We have always believed, and we believe now, that there exists a real cultural and spiritual kinship between the two races. Our sacred literature has left an indelible imprint of character and personality not alone upon the literature of the Anglo-Saxon people, but even upon its laws and institutions, upon its very speech, and so we welcome the opportunity to co-operate with this great people in restoring the great historic race to its old home.

The American Jews desire to avail themselves also of this opportunity to express to your leader, our leader and his co-worker,

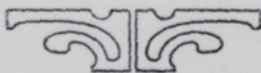
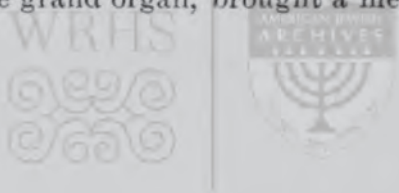
our deepest sense of gratitude and admiration for the unforgettable service which they have rendered our common cause. Their self-sacrificing devotion, their patient faith, their hope which has now been crowned with success, will long be treasured as an inspiration by an ever grateful people. We hail, we the American Jews, hail Weizmann and Sokolow, and we lay at their feet not only the tribute of words, but we offer them at this sacred moment the holy vow to carry on, to give abundantly and generously of our efforts and of our sacrifices until that glorious moment will arrive, until the dawn which has now broken in the East will broaden and brighten into the full noontide of a strong, vigorous, wholesome Jewish life in Palestine.

We American Jews send our greetings not only to the English Jews, but we desire at this first opportunity to send our greetings to the representatives who are here of the millions of our brothers of Eastern Europe who have during the past six years passed through the valley of the shadow of death. We want you to know that we have been stirred to our very depths by your superb courage and your sublime endurance. You who have been the shuttlecock of fate and destiny, you who have been made the victims of every political intrigue and crime, you who have been saddled with the guilt for every diplomatic blunder and calamity—we say unto you that we Jews of America are proud of you, because you have given again superb evidence of the proud invincibility, of the proud stiff-neckedness of our people. They could break you, but they could not bend you. We greet you and we salute you; we, the Jews who are enjoying God's freedom in a beautiful land, shall have need in the coming years of your exemplary faith and devotion. A wave of anti-Semitism is sweeping over the world, and is now reaching shores where hitherto its noisome presence has been unknown. The war has stirred all the slumbering passions and national antipathies and chauvinisms of peoples. The war has upset the world, and the Jew always suffers from an upheaval, be it social, political, or economic. We are being made to-day, as we have been made throughout our tragic career, the scapegoat for every national disaster and mistake. But we shall face the future solemnly and courageously, knowing what a superb record you have given of yourselves during the most trying period of our history.

There are men, irresponsible men in my own land, and irresponsible men in your land, who are circulating the statement of a rumour that we Jews the world over are conspiring to upset the social order, to destroy Christian civilisation, to gain control of all Government offices by first effecting anarchy and chaos. We are not daunted by these charges. We are acquainted with them. We have met with them before—stark, vile mediævalism, superstition and hostility masquerading in modern attire. We will say to these traducers and maligners of our people who accuse us of conspiracy: "If it is conspiracy to fight through centuries of hatred for the uncompromising principle of justice; if it is conspiracy to give of oneself, of one's loyalty and devotion to the task of being true to our sacred trust of being the servant of the Lord; if it is conspiracy to fight injus-

tice, and sham, and hypocrisy, and superstition wherever and whenever they are found—then the Jews are the arch-conspirators of the world." We want to say to those maligners of our people here and in my own land: "The Jew is a menace only when he ceases to be a Jew, just as the Christian is a menace when he ceases to be a Christian;" and we want to say finally unto them that their wave of hostility will break hopelessly upon the granite rock of our endurance. We are an eternal people. Thus hath it been said of old, and thus shall it be until the end of time. We cannot be destroyed. The proud hosts of Babylon and Assyria, the winged armies of Thebes and Memphis, the greaved hippolytes of Greece, the iron legions of Rome, the Cross and the Crescent—not even freedom and democracy themselves can destroy us, for we are an eternal people. The American Jews say unto their British friends, "This is the time to work, to build." Let us give understandingly of ourselves to this sacred cause. The world to-day is in a wonderfully fluid state; life is plastic and yielding, and susceptible to influence. What you and I do may determine the course of Jewish history for five hundred years. Come, let us work as brethren. Let us give of ourselves freely.

The impressive singing of Hatikvah and "God Save the King" by the huge audience, upstanding, to the accompaniment of the strains of the grand organ, brought a memorable evening to a close.



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PAMPHLETS.

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JEWISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT.

GREAT ZIONIST DEMONSTRATION

MEETING AT THE ALBERT HALL.

Speeches by Mr. Balfour, The Marquis of Crewe, Lord Robert Cecil, Major Ormsby-Gore,
Colonel Wedgwood,
AND
THE ZIONIST LEADERS.

Addresses by THE CHIEF RABBI and RABBI SILVER.

ENTHUSIASTIC PROCEEDINGS.

[FULL REPORT]

THE term "historic" has been banned from the vocabulary of the Jewish National Movement by reason of the rapid iteration of events to which no less a word is applicable, and to which the word itself fails in applicability by reason of its so frequent employment. How to characterise the great demonstration that took place at the Albert Hall on Monday last is thus puzzling. From every point of view it was a remarkable triumph and a splendid manifestation. The platform was almost unique in the history of Jewish movements, but quite unique was the vast audience that assembled. The Albert Hall seats some ten thousand people. It was filled to overflowing, and judging by the crowds that were disappointed of admission, it could have been filled over again with the utmost ease if such depended merely upon the numbers desiring to be present. The demonstration formed a stirring and never-to-be-forgotten scene. Row upon row uncountable, the occupants of them incalculable, met the eye on every side and at every turn. And through all the vast hall wonderful order and decorum prevailed throughout. The whole arrangements were in the hands of stewards who confessedly were amateurs, and equally confessedly made many inevitable mistakes, as were also doubtless made by those in whose hands was the organisation itself of the meeting. This is not to their discredit, for it has to be placed against the infinitely overbalancing result which they attained and which almost anyone would have doubted their capacity to accomplish. But the carpenter encouraged the goldsmith. The audience helped the stewards where the stewards needed help, for all were bent upon supreme success for the meeting.

And of whom did the meeting consist? To a vast extent of Jews, at whom the almost entirely unrepresented leaders of the community would probably sneer as "foreign." They were eminently of the rank and file of Jewry—the Anglo-Jewish proletariat. They came from the East End mainly, but from the North, the South and the West as well—from the hives of industry, from the little workshops, from labour centres, many of them taking necessarily long journeys, sometimes on foot, and all determined to demonstrate their interest in the movement that is going to redeem Israel from its age-long homelessness, and is going to transform Palestine into a Commonwealth of our people. There was a notable absence of the genus communal leader—so notable that it made the presence of Sir Stuart Samuel, who upon his arrival received a warm cheer, the more notable. It is impossible to say who was there, but Lady, (Herbert) Samuel was present, seated at a corner of the platform and listened surely with justifiable pride to the references to her husband that were made during the proceedings. The meeting was not a short one, and some of the speeches, especially that of Mr. James de Rothschild, the son of the pioneer coloniser-benefactor of Palestine, were—well—not short. But the audience, the bulk of whom had gathered a full three quarters of an hour before the proceedings opened, listened on intently, keenly picking up every point made by the speakers, and showing their political intuition on more than one occasion, particularly so when Colonel Wedgwood rose to address the meeting, and opened with "Lord Rothschild and Jews," and when he associated his speech with that of the Labour Party, which has shown such magnificent friendliness to the Jewish people, such abhorrence of the persecution of Jews, and such a fine tolerance for all races and creeds.

The speeches are reported at length below, and they tell

their own message. But their net effect was to be seen, so far at least as the demonstration was concerned, in the concluding part of the extensive programme. The Chief Rabbi, with much dexterity, had infused into the proceedings—*c'est son métier*—a religious tone. He was more than amply supported in this by a remarkable oration delivered by an American Rabbi, Rabbi Silver of Cleveland, Ohio. His speech was a little wide of the exact purpose of the meeting, and it contained a *souçon* of "spread-eagleism." But it was a magnificent effort, magnificently accomplished. It was the work of a master of oratory, a man who has the ability of controlling vast audiences by the power of his tongue, by his dramatic capacity deftly employed, so that his art seemed but natural. And soon after he had brought his audience spell-bound, the meeting closed to the strains of the magnificent organ. It first sang *Hatikvah*, as it has never been sung before. Then, to like accompaniment, there rolled forth in immense volume from this audience—this audience of Jews—mainly "foreign" Jews—alien immigrants be it noted—"God Save the King," intoned with an accuracy, with an earnestness, with a soulfulness which could not have been bettered for its appeal to every fibre of loyalty by an audience drawn from the most select and the most undoubted population of pure-born racially English Britons. The singing of *Hatikvah* and of "God Save the King," the Jewish and the English National Anthems, by the Albert Hall audience was the sign and the symbol of the partnership to which Mr. Balfour in his speech so significantly referred, that has begun between Great Britain and the Jews, and which the meeting so splendidly inaugurated.

A demonstration to celebrate the acceptance by Great Britain of the Mandate for Palestine was held on Monday last at the Albert Hall, which was packed to its extreme capacity, thousands who sought admission being unable to find room in the vast building. Lord ROTHSCHILD presided, and called upon the Secretary to read

MESSAGES

that had been received from some of those who had been invited and were unable to attend. Among them were the following:

LORD MERSEY: Will you kindly express to your friends how sincerely and thoroughly I sympathise with the objects of your Federation.

THE MARQUESS of AILESBUURY: I shall welcome the day when the Jewish nation finds itself sufficiently re-established to itself claim the full rights of a self-governing and independent country.

LORD MEATH: It is an event which, when the minds of men have recovered their equilibrium, will in future times be recorded as one of the great landmarks of history.

LORD GAINFORD: I feel sure my late colleague, Sir H. Samuel, is the right man in the right place.

THE BISHOP OF GLOUCESTER: I am glad to send you a message of general sympathy with the object of your meeting.

SIR JOHN RANGLES, M.P.: I am delighted at the result of the efforts put forward in relation to Palestine.

LORD FOLEY: The object of the meeting has my entire sympathy.

LORD NORTHBOURNE: My personal relationship with your race belong to a somewhat remote past, but I hope in my own case and also that of my successors we should never be oblivious both of their sufferings and also their achievements in the annals of the world.

SIR MARTIN CONWAY, M.P.: I have always been a convinced supporter of the Zionist Movement, and I look forward to the time when a Palestine, mainly Jewish, will form an important centre of culture, and will concentrate to a focus those capacities which the Jews possess, and enable them to render a valuable contribution to the civilisation of the world.

BISHOP OF MANCHESTER: With every good wish for a successful meeting, and full sympathy with the aspirations of the Jews for a National Home in Palestine.

LORD LAMINGTON: I hope that whilst a Jewish National Home may be established in Palestine it may be done in co-operation with Arab people.

Mr. WILLIAM GRAHAM, M.P.: I send all good wishes for the success of your campaign which will secure Palestine as the Jewish National Home.

EARL CURZON: I can assure you I wish the Zionist cause the best of luck.

LORD WENLOCK: Though unable to be present at the meeting I am glad of the opportunity to assure you of my general sympathy with the movement, subject to two conditions: (1) That the movement is not made under political pressure to which the religious interest would be sacrificed; (2) That the interests of the present inhabitants are really and truly safeguarded.

The HOME SECRETARY: The acceptance of this Mandate is a great responsibility and a great privilege, and I join with the members of the Zionist Federation in high hopes for the future of the country whose welfare has been entrusted to our guardianship. I send my good wishes for the success of your meeting, and for the future of your Movement.

Mr. JAMES O'GRADY, M.P., J.P.: To those who have taken a great interest in the preservation of the National Characteristics of a People, it has always been sad to contemplate the fact that the Great Jewish Nation has for centuries been scattered all over the world without a centre in the Territory that gave them birth in the form of a National Home to which Jewry, no matter how scattered, could take pride in and look to for inspiration.

Major B. B. COHEN, M.P.: To my mind the acceptance by Great Britain of a Mandate for Palestine is the most important event that has happened to Jewry since the exodus. It is the beginning of a new era, and Jews all over the world will ever be grateful to this country, both for giving the Balfour Declaration and for the way in which she has kept the promise contained therein both in the spirit and the letter.

LORD KINNAIRD: I am very glad to think that Palestine is rescued from Turkish rule and is to be once more the Jewish National Home.

LORD EMMOTT: My heartiest good wishes go with you in your effort.

Mr. W. FRANK PERKINS, M.P.: Your object has my sympathy.

VISCOUNT BRYCE: I heartily congratulate the British leaders of the Zionist Movement on the prospect for the ancient home of Israel which is being opened to the Jews who are now in Palestine and those who will resort thither by the deliverance of the country from the yoke of the barbarous Turk, and by the establishment in it of a civilised Government under the Mandate accepted by Great Britain.

Mr. J. F. GREEN, M.P.: I rejoice in the acceptance by Great Britain of the Mandate for Palestine as the Jewish National Home.

SIR HARRY BRITAIN, M.P.: . . . share with you the intense satisfaction of the return once more to your historic land of those who desire it.

LORD WEARDALE: I trust the accomplishment of this ardently desired aim may be eminently prosperous.

Mr. J. G. HANCOCK, M.P.: I am in full and strong sympathy with your object, and wish you every success.

LIEUT.-COL. D. G. WHITE, M.P.: I fully apprehend the satisfaction of all those, like the members of your Federation, who for a long period have looked forward to Palestine being again the Jewish National Home, and congratulate you on its attainment.

LORD PONTYPRIDD: I congratulate my Right Honourable friend Sir Herbert Samuel on his preferment to the great position he holds in the Holy Land.

Mr. NEVILLE CHAMBERLAIN, M.P.: I should like to express to you my sympathy with the object of your meeting, namely, the celebration of the acceptance by Great Britain of the Mandate for Palestine as a Jewish National Home. I am glad to think that the aspirations of the Jewish People which appealed so strongly to the sympathies of my late father have at last been fulfilled, and I wish them all the utmost prosperity in their new enterprise.

In opening the proceedings, Lord ROTHSCILD said: Before asking Mr. Balfour to address you, I will say only a few words. The object of this meeting, as you have heard, is to celebrate the granting to and acceptance by Great Britain of the Mandate for Palestine and the incorporation in the Turkish Treaty of the Balfour Declaration. Many of you here to-night remember the great meeting in the Opera House, which was convened to convey to his Majesty's Government the thanks of Anglo-Jewry for one of the greatest events that have occurred in Jewish history for the last two thousand years—the recognition by the Government of the greatest Empire of the world of the proper national status of the Jewish people. At the time of that memorable gathering in the Opera House, although we knew that the British Government, that Mr. Balfour, would not give forth to the world this message without having reason to know that its fulfilment was going to prove possible in a very short time, yet I think this gathering here to-night celebrates even a greater memorial in the history of the Jewish people, namely the means by which the Balfour Declaration will be carried into effect. This, you have seen, has already started by the appointment as High Commissioner of Sir Herbert Samuel (cheers), a man who combines within himself all the higher attributes of the successful statesman with the heart of a conscientious Jew. (Cheers.) Now, ladies and gentlemen, the British Government has started the establishment of a home in *Eretz Israel*. It is up to us to prove not only that we are worthy of the confidence placed in us by the Government, but also to help the Government in every way to carry out its pledge. All those of you who have attended the Zionist Conference at the Memorial Hall during the last week have heard innumerable speeches of praise and blame and criticism. The question of praise or blame does not concern us for the moment. I will only deal with the question of criticism. It is very easy to criticise, but it is very difficult to suggest alternatives to the course which has been the subject of criticism. I call upon all those delegates from the twenty-eight nations who are assembled here to-night, also upon the immense and wonderful gathering of the Jewish people that I see around me, to forego aimless criticism and to put their shoulders to the wheel and do everything, and make every possible sacrifice, so that we can prove ourselves worthy of the confidence placed in us by the British Government. (Cheers.)

MR. BALFOUR'S SPEECH.

Mr. BALFOUR, who received a great ovation on rising to address the meeting, said: For long I have been a convinced Zionist. (Cheers.) And it

is in that character that I come before you to-day. But in my most sanguine moments I never foresaw, I never even conceived the possibility, that the great work of Palestinian reconstruction would happen so soon, or that indeed it was likely to happen in my own lifetime. This is one of the great and unexpected results of the world's struggle which has just come to an end—if indeed we dare to say it has completely come to an end. Of infinite evils that struggle has been the parent, but if among its results we can count the re-establishment in their ancient home of the Jewish people, at all events we can put to its credit one great result, which in other circumstances, so far as we can see, could never have occurred at so early a date. Who would have thought five or six years ago that a speaker in the Albert Hall would be able to count as an accomplished fact that the Great Powers of the world had elected to accept the Declaration to which Lord Rothschild has referred, had consented to give the Mandate to the country which at all events is in the forefront among those who desire to see this policy brought to a successful issue, and that they should already have seen appointed as the High Commissioner of Palestine a man who so admirably joins the double qualifications which Lord Rothschild has already so felicitously expressed? These are results on which we may all congratulate ourselves. (Cheers.) Let us not forget, in our feelings of legitimate triumph, the difficulties which still lie before us. Those difficulties—I have no hesitation in dwelling upon them because I know you will overcome them—(cheers)—yet it is worth while to enumerate some of them, not to discourage you, but to raise your courage and resolution even to a higher pitch than they have already reached—among these difficulties I am not sure that I do not rate the highest, or at all events the first, the inevitable difficulty of dealing with

THE ARAB QUESTION

as it presents itself within the limits of Palestine. It will require tact; it will require judgment; above all, it will require sympathetic goodwill on the part both of Jew and of Arab. So far as the Arabs are concerned—a great, an interesting, and an attractive race—so far as they are concerned, I hope they will remember that while we desire this assembly and all the Jews whom it represents—under the aegis of Great Britain to establish this home for the Jewish people, the Great Powers, and among all the Great Powers most especially Great Britain, have freed them, the Arab race, from the tyranny of their brutal conqueror, who has kept them under his heel for many centuries. I hope they will remember it is we who have established the independent Arab sovereignty of the Hedjaz, I hope they will remember it, we who desire in Mesopotamia to prepare the way for the future of a self-governing, autonomous Arab State. And I hope that, remembering all that, they will not grudge that small niche—for it is not more geographically in the former Arab territories than a niche—being given to the people who for all these hundreds of years have been separated from it, but who surely have a title to develop on their own lines in the land of their forefathers. (Cheers.) This ought to appeal to the sympathy of the Arab people, as I am convinced it appeals to the great mass of my own Christian fellow-men in this country. That is the first difficulty that can be got over and will be got over by mutual good-will. The second difficulty, on which I shall only say a word, is that the critics of this movement shelter themselves behind the phrase—it is more than a phrase—

THE PRINCIPLE OF SELF-DETERMINATION,

and say if you apply that principle logically and honestly it is to the majority of the existing population of Palestine that the future destinies of Palestine should be committed. There is a technical ingenuity in that plea and, on technical grounds, I neither can nor desire to provide an answer. But the man who, looking back on the history of the world, and more particularly of the more civilised portions of the world, who does not see that the case of Jewry in all countries is absolutely exceptional, falls outside all the ordinary rules and maxims, cannot be contained in a formula or explained in a sentence—the man who does not see that the deep underlying principle of self-determination really points to the Zionist policy, however little in its strict technical interpretation it may seem to favour it, does not understand either the Jews or the principle. I am convinced that none but pedants or people who, prejudiced either by religion or racial bigotry, none but those who are blinded by one of these causes, would deny for one instant that the case of the Jews is absolutely exceptional, and must be treated by exceptional methods. The third difficulty is of a wholly different order of magnitude and character. It is

THE PHYSICAL DIFFICULTY.

Palestine, great as is the place which it occupies in the history of the world, is but a small and petty country looked at as a geographical unity, and men ask themselves how in these narrow limits, to be traversed, where there are good roads from Dan to Beersheba by an automobile in an easy day's journey—they ask themselves how that can be made physically adequate to be a home for the self-development of the Jewish people. The problem presents difficulties, it presents no impossibilities. It presents difficulties which I myself should regard as overwhelming were we dealing with another people and with different conditions. But what are the requisites of such development in Palestine as may accommodate an important section of the great race that I am addressing? What are the two necessities? One is skill, knowledge, perseverance, enterprise. The other is capital. And I am perfectly convinced that when you are talking of the Jews you will find no want of any one of these requisites. Of skill and knowledge and of what the most modern methods can teach in the way of engineering and agriculture, the Jewish race who have themselves contributed to the results can easily make themselves the master. And when I consider capital I am not thinking of

THE GREAT MILLIONAIRES,

or the men of vast wealth belonging to the Jewish race—I doubt not they will do their duty. It is not of them I am thinking. I am thinking of the innumerable Jews in the poorest circumstances—I have heard authentic details of the way in which, out of their poverty, they are prepared to contribute to the success of this movement. The fourth and the last difficulty on which I want to speak is perhaps in some respects the greatest of all. This movement cannot

be carried out except by idealists. No man who is incapable of idealism is capable either of understanding the Zionist movement or contributing effectually to its consummation. (Cheers.) But idealism, though a necessary element in every great and fruitful policy, has its inevitable dangers. Your cynic, your man of narrow and selfish views, does nothing: your idealist does much. But he does not always do the right thing, and the very qualities which make a man sacrifice all that he has for an idea, very often blind him to that cool and calm judgment without which great ideals cannot be brought to a true and successful fruition. I speak as a man who is not a Jew and necessarily therefore looks at the Jewish question from outside; but I should say that perhaps the danger that besets the Jewish race is not that they lack high idealism, not that they are reluctant to sacrifice everything, to life itself, to see that ideal carried into effect, but that they are carried away by the vehemence of their own views, the depth and strength of their own convictions, and are unwilling to do that without which this and any other great movement cannot succeed, are unwilling to give that whole-hearted trust and confidence in their chosen leaders which, believe me, is necessary. You are drawn from every nation under heaven. You come to London, or to any other great centre, with ideas absorbed from the populations among whom you have sojourned; you come, therefore, with many different mentalities, to use a familiar phrase; you come with many different theories as to the methods by which your common objects can be carried out. It only becomes dangerous by their insistence that the objects should be carried out precisely in the fashion which commends itself to them. Beware of that danger! I am sure it is the greatest danger which will beset you in the future. Now, I have done with

THE GLOOMY TASK OF ENUMERATING DIFFICULTIES.

I have only one more word to say. We are embarked on a great adventure. And I say "we" advisedly, and by "we" I mean on one side the Jewish people, and on the other side the Mandatory Power for Palestine. We are partners in this great enterprise. If we fail you, you cannot succeed; if you fail us, you cannot succeed. But I feel sure that we shall not fail you, and that you will not fail us. (Cheers.) And if I am right—and I am assured I am—in this prophecy of hope and confidence, then surely we may look forward with hope, and gaze on a future in which Palestine will, indeed, and in the fullest measure and degree of success be made a home for the Jewish people. (Loud and prolonged cheering.)

LORD CREWE.

The MARQUIS OF CREWE, K.G., said: Those who were present at the great meeting at the London Opera House after Mr. Balfour's famous declaration of 1917, feel it no little privilege to be present here to-day, and to have witnessed at this magnificent meeting such a scene of enthusiasm as we have just now enjoyed—a scene of enthusiasm which, I think we may all agree, no mere political meeting could ever precisely reproduce. (Hear, hear.) Those of us who were at the London Opera House feel it to be a privilege because we realise that to-day we are witnessing at any rate the partial attainment of a great ideal and the reward of an undying faith. (Cheers.) There may be some here, too, who like myself care to dwell on the records of the past, and who may desire to draw a parallel between what is happening now and what happened thousands of years ago when Artaxerxes, the King of Persia, decreed that all they of Israel who desired of their own free will, might go up to Jerusalem. I need not recall to this audience that story, one, I think, of the most interesting and in an unsensational way the most moving episodes in either sacred or profane history. I need not recall to this audience the story of Nehemiah and his followers, of their difficulties, of their indomitable courage, and how they had to meet ridicule and intimidation. You remember how it was said that of the builders, every man had his sword girt beside him and so builded, and all through, their leader, who

LIKE ALL PIONEERS

had to meet the varied and continued complaints of some of his own people, all through he bore himself with proud humility befitting a man who knew himself to be the instrument of the Almighty in carrying out that great national work. And now, some three thousand years later, Palestine stands again in need of moral and material reconstruction. In one way, as Mr. Balfour has already reminded us, there is matter for congratulation that although the new era is the sequel to one of the most brilliant feats of arms in all our military annals—(cheers)—yet there is no conquered or subjugated people that is to be controlled or cajoled into its acceptance. Jew, Arab, and those British representatives who will carry out the Mandate of the League of Nations all alike share in the great victory, and all alike must take part in promoting the prosperity of the ancient land and of all who dwell in it. (Cheers.) Surely, ladies and gentlemen, it is one of the most striking facts in the world that hundreds of millions of Moslems, Christians, and Jews fix their eyes on the sacred city with unbounded reverence, and surely that must be a fact which leads to a bond of Union for the good of Palestine, and not for an occasion for discord. (Cheers.) Lastly, ladies and gentlemen, pray allow me to say one word about the High Commissioner, who, as I think, has been so wisely and so courageously chosen for the post—(cheers)—by His Majesty's Government. I have had the pleasure of serving with Sir Herbert Samuel in more than one Administration, and of this I feel certain, that he has precisely the qualities which are demanded at this moment by the situation—(cheers)—that he will not be unbalanced by its novelty or confused by its complexity or disconcerted by its difficulty. (Cheers.) And that being so, with a full heart I wish him every success in the accomplishment of his great and glorious task, and I offer to all those here and to all the Jewish nation my humble congratulations upon their attainment of their National Home. (Cheers.)

THE RESOLUTION.

Mr. NAHUM SOKOLOV, who was received with loud applause, moved the following resolution:

That this meeting, representing Anglo-Jewish feeling, together with the

delegates from other countries to the Zionist Conference, held at the Royal Albert Hall on the 26th Tammuz, 5680—12th July, 1920—expresses heartfelt joy at the decision of the Supreme Council to incorporate the Balfour Declaration in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, and at the acceptance by Great Britain of the Mandate for Palestine as the Jewish National Home; it also puts on record its high appreciation of the illustrious services rendered to the Jewish nation by the statesmen and peoples of the Allied and Associated States, particularly of Great Britain, who have collaborated in this memorable achievement, and pledges the Jews of this country to spare no effort and no sacrifice for the rebuilding of Palestine as the Jewish National Home, in collaboration with the inhabitants of the country.

He said he wished to speak a few words in the name of those who were not present, in the name of those millions of Jews who would like to offer a tribute of gratitude to Mr. Balfour. He felt that the word "gratitude" was too poor to express their sentiments and to define how immeasurably the Jewish people was indebted to the man who stood like a lighthouse in these days of storm and darkness to give the lead to the Government and the people of this country, and to the allied Governments and peoples, to help the Jewish people to establish their home in the land of their fathers. It was on the 2nd of November, 1917, that the Jewish people entered into a covenant with Great Britain. (Cheers.) There was a difficulty in the translation of the term "covenant." He who knew something about the negotiations remembered that the translators who worked in connection with the League of Nations met with great difficulty in putting into French and other European languages the word "covenant" which was used in the fundamental scheme of laws for the League of Nations. The Jews met with no such difficulty. It was a Hebrew word. (Cheers.) They entered into that covenant with the determination to be loyal. (Cheers.) And they trusted that the British Government, the people of this country and of the nations and their governments of the civilised world would help them. Because what they were undertaking was not against any nation. It was for themselves and for the whole of humanity. They had already declared at the Opera House meeting that their fundamental idea was to enter on a sort of alliance with the Arabs and the unfortunate Armenians who were going to be the successors of the Turks in the Near East. Mr. Balfour had spoken eloquently of the difficulties they would have to meet, and he had expressed the hope that they would be able to overcome them. But he wished to call attention to another side of the question. It was very difficult to establish a National Home, but hitherto it had been very difficult for the Jews to exist at all. To many it was more than difficult—it was impossible. They knew how impossible it was for the hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Ukraine who had lost their lives because they were homeless. They considered it was impossible to continue this abnormal existence. And, having to choose between a difficulty and an impossibility they had chosen the difficulty. (Laughter and cheers.)

DR. WEIZMANN.

Dr. WEIZMANN, in seconding the resolution, said that perhaps he might be permitted an indiscretion, and allowed to describe, very briefly, the first meeting he had the privilege to have with Mr. Balfour. It was in the year 1906, at a time when a great rift arose in the Zionist Organisation on a very vital question—on the question of a generous offer which was made by H.M. Government to the Zionists, the offer to the Jews to go and colonise Uganda (*sic*). Those who had stood in the Zionist movement then would remember that the movement split into two parts; those who were in the West were in favour of accepting Uganda (*sic*), and those who were in the East (to whom Uganda was really offered) said, "We thank H.M. Government for their generous offer, but Uganda is not Zion and never will be Zion, and we shall wait until the time comes when perhaps the same Government may find it possible to offer us Zion." Mr. Balfour tried to understand the philosophy underlying the refusal by the Easterners, and in then very broken English he (Dr. Weizmann) had tried to explain, in great humility, the reasons. For a long half-hour he laboured the question and he did not know yet whether he had made it clear, but the one argument which he thought carried the day was the following: He asked Mr. Balfour, "Suppose, Mr. Balfour, somebody offered you Paris instead of London, would you take it?" Then Mr. Balfour turned round and said, "But we have got London!" And the reply he made was: "But we had Jerusalem long ago and we intend to keep it." Mr. Balfour asked: "Are there any Jews who think like you?" His reply to him was, "In Russia and the East of Europe you can pave the streets with such Jews!" And there, at that meeting, was the proof. (Cheers.) They stood to-day on the eve, perhaps, of the greatest hour in their history. The hour had struck when the possibilities were given to them to rebuild their ancient home. He was perfectly sure that no Jew, whatever his opinion might have been before, would stand aloof at this moment. (Cheers.) He thought that would be the only tangible way and the only proper way in which they could express their gratitude both to Mr. Balfour and to the nation whom he represented in so glorious a manner. Their difficulties would be great, and many of them had, with almost prophetic intuition, been enumerated by Mr. Balfour. But with the experience, the wisdom, and the care which they had been taught through thousands of years of suffering, he thought that with the help of God these difficulties would be overcome. (Mr. Balfour: Hear! hear!) Because there was no other way out. It was their duty now to render the task, both of the Mandatory Power, and of the representative of this Mandatory Power who was at present labouring in extremely difficult circumstances, as easy as possible. Before he sat down he desired to say one word to their friends, the Arabs. They told the Arabs openly and honestly: "You have got enough room and the nations of the world, and perhaps the Jewish nation will contribute, as they did before, to the building up and regeneration of a great and glorious Arab nation. Have not we Arabs and Jews collaborated and produced a great literature, art and science, at the time when the whole of Europe was plunged in darkness? That may and will come again, but on one condition, that the Arabs respect the right of the Jew to Palestine just as we respect the great traditions of the Arab nation." If they measured Pales-

Palestine by centuries of history it was one of the biggest countries of the world. And the Arabs and the non-Jews of the world would not forget that this history was ours, and it had been interrupted not through our will but by the brutal power of the Romans. But they, who had been separated in exile continued to write this history, and were going on writing it on a new page. They meant to live in friendship with the Arabs in Palestine. They who had been persecuted and had suffered through injustice, would guard themselves against committing injustice on the weaker. They would, and they must, carry the Palestinian Arabs along the road of development on which they would go themselves, but on the understanding that we Jews worked, laboured, strove, prayed, and suffered for a Jewish Palestine. And he thought he might be permitted to state that this Jewish Palestine would be a source of strength and pride to the Mandatory Power, and a contribution to the civilisation of the world. Once more the Law would go forth from Jerusalem! (Loud cheers).

LORD ROBERT CECIL.

Lord ROBERT CECIL, K.C., M.P., whom the whole audience, rising to its feet, greeted with loud and prolonged cheering, said:—Dr. Weizmann, in his brilliant speech, has told you of a conversation he once had with Mr. Balfour. I remember very well the first time I had the honour of seeing Dr. Weizmann. It was just after I had gone to the Foreign Office, and Dr. Weizmann came to see me, to speak to me about Zionism. I cannot recall the details of our conversation, but I know this, that I was a Zionist in opinion before he came (cheers), and when he left I was a Zionist by profound and even passionate conviction. (Cheers.) Mr. Balfour has reminded you that the present meeting is the result of one of the greatest achievements of the war. I believe myself that when the history of the war comes to be impartially written the two greatest results will be found to be the establishment of a National Jewish Home (cheers) and the creation of the League of Nations. (Cheers.) And the two are not really disconnected. (Hear, hear.) They represent the two great ideas for which we fought and by which we conquered—the ideas of nationalism and internationalism. They are not distinct or contradictory. On the contrary, they are complementary one of the other. You cannot have a League of free nations unless the nations are free. (Cheers.) If you are going to make a great attempt to reach peace not by force or domination but by agreement, it must be agreement in perfect freedom. (Cheers.) And Mr. Balfour has well said that there is no greater triumph for the Jewish spirit of nationality than the establishment of a National Home for the Jews in Palestine. (Cheers.) But do not let us forget that we have only laid the foundation. Do not let us shout for victory until victory is ours. We have an English proverb: "Well begun is half done." (Hear, hear.) But do not let us forget that it is as yet only well begun. Two great sets of qualities are necessary in order to carry through this great experiment. You must have

FAITH AND ENERGY,

and no one who sees this meeting can doubt that faith and energy will be there. (Cheers.) But you must have more than that; you must have also wisdom and self-control. (Hear, hear.) It is not every young nationality that has, alas! since the war, shown that it possesses wisdom and self-control. It is quite easy to destroy the fairest prospect of your future if you indulge in wild Chauvinism or irresponsible criticism. (Hear, hear.) Do not, I beseech you, expect immediate perfection. All great things must grow. If they are to be permanent they cannot spring into immediate and complete life at once. They have got to grow, and it is your task, under your leaders, to see that the National Home grows and blossoms in the future. (Cheers.) If I may venture as a Briton to give you any advice, I will ask you to remember the great quality by which we British have achieved some success, and that is the desire that we have to make things work—not to desire perfection in a moment, but to throw our whole energy into making whatever we have to do a success in itself. (Cheers.) Ladies and gentlemen, you have in your hands the success or failure of one of the greatest experiments—perhaps the greatest experiment that has ever been tried. We are trying to restore an ancient people to its ancient home, to knit up again the severed thread of national history. We have given you national existence. In your hands lies your national future. (Cheers.)

THE CHIEF RABBI'S ADDRESS.

The CHIEF RABBI, who was cheered on rising, said that seventeen centuries ago a Jewish statesman was confronted with a mighty task, nothing less than the social reconstruction of the ruined Jewry of Palestine after the Hadrianic war. He was the Nasi, head of the Sanhedrin, and was, therefore, the spiritual and civil leader of Palestine. This man said that there were only three foundations on which political society could be built, and these were אמת truth, צדק justice, and שלום peace. Those who had read the King's Message proclaimed in Palestine a few days ago, those who had listened to Mr. Balfour and Lord Robert Cecil need not be told that the same foundations would be the foundations of the new Jewish National Home in Palestine. They would have אמת—loyal carrying out by Great Britain in the letter and the spirit of the Declaration and the terms of the Mandate. They would have צדק justice, even-handed justice to Jew and non-Jew in Palestine. And they would have consideration with might and main for שלום—harmonious co-operation of all sections of the population in Palestine. He need not add anything on the Arab question to what had been said by the speakers that preceded him. But he would like to remind them that within a fortnight the pious Israelite would observe the 9th of Ab, and the most beautiful of the prayers recited on that day was the sublime ode to Zion sung by Yehuda Halevi. Legend told them that in his old age he made a pilgrimage to Palestine and when in sight of the holy city he recited his wonderful ode. At that moment a Saracen horseman rode rough-shod over him mortally wounding him. In the Jewish National Home there would be no riding rough-shod over the Jew—(cheers)—just as little as there would be any

riding rough-shod over the non-Jew. (Cheers.) Some months ago he had been invited to the celebration of the second anniversary of the Declaration, and had been asked to state his message. He spoke only a minute or two on the text חזק וטוב לב "Be strong and of good courage." It was in those dark days before San Remo. They had since crossed the Jordan. (Applause.) Their feet were now on holy soil. Now he would say וְהִתְחַזְקוּתֵם—"Strengthen yourselves." The gates of redemption opened from within. In the last instance others could not degrade them. Others could not uplift them. Others could not redeem them. They could only degrade, uplift, and redeem themselves. Their fathers held that the generation that did not witness the rebuilding of the Temple, was as if it had witnessed its destruction. The great hour had arrived when any Jew who did not join in the rebuilding of the new Jerusalem was as if he helped in its destruction. The great hour had arrived for Jews of all parties to join in the sacred task of turning Palestine into Eretz Yisrael. "Remember," said Dr. Hertz in conclusion. "The gates of the Goulah, the gates of redemption, open from within!" (Loud cheers).

MAJOR ORMSBY-GORE.

Major the Hon. W. ORMSBY-GORE, M.P., said: I count it a privilege that I should have been asked to be associated with this resolution this evening. I owe that privilege to the fact that it was Mr. Balfour who sent me out to Palestine with that small body of your trusted leaders who went to Judea after General Allenby's first great advance of emancipation. (Hear, hear.) I saw in the few months I was in Palestine how much all you in this hall to-night owed to these pioneers of Jewish Colonisation in Palestine during the past generation. (Cheers.) I count it a privilege to have seen the young Jewish children singing the Hebrew songs in the groves of the colonies; to have seen your young men, their hands and their arms red with the earth of Palestine. (Cheers.) I count it a privilege to have seen those representatives of an older era of civilisation who have devoted their lives to the study of your sacred books in the Yeshibas of Jerusalem. All these are needed—the man who will work with the sweat of his brow, the young child who will keep alive hope in your breasts, and the man who will keep alive the traditions and the learning of the ages. (Cheers.) Those few colonists are responsible for the response which your movement echoed in the breasts of many an Englishman, many a Frenchman, many an American. They saw that the Jews in Palestine could do what nobody else could do. (Cheers.) What is it they could do and do do? They forget themselves in the common cause of

REGENERATING SOMETHING NOBLE AND BEAUTIFUL

for future generations. (Cheers.) For four hundred and four years Palestine has been ruled by the Turk, and during those four hundred and four years the very soil of Palestine has been ruined, the very foundations of the moral stability of its population have been undermined; and it is your task and the task of Britain as a whole to help you to restore the fruitfulness of the soil of that beautiful country and to restore the moral fibre and the moral enthusiasm of all sections of the population who dwell in that beautiful country. (Cheers.) I have all confidence in your movement. I have all confidence in your leaders. I know you can make good. (Cheers.) But this I wish to say to you. From what I saw in Palestine I am convinced that unless those of you who go to Palestine go there to give not merely to their own people but give to the whole land, you will have difficulties. The difficulties will disappear in proportion as you seek to raise the level of civilisation, the level of culture, the level of prosperity of your neighbours and those already in the land. (Cheers.) In giving you that word of advice—if I may, with all humility as a young man—I do so because to my mind, Palestine is the most important country in the world to-day. (Cheers.) The world, the whole stricken world, is suffering at this moment from acute race consciousness, from the exaggeration of national feelings, and what we want is an example of races that have hitherto been suspicious of each other coming together as fellow men and fellow women—(loud cheers)—inspired not by mutual enmity, not by a desire to destroy, but by a desire to build up in goodwill. (Renewed cheers.) Palestine is something more than an opportunity of experiment of several races in a small country coming together. Palestine is going to be a link between Asia and Europe, between the ancient world and the modern world, between the modern world and the future. (Cheers.) On the future progress that you make in Palestine, in proportion as Palestine itself in truth becomes the Land of Shiloh—in that proportion we shall solve together, the Jews and the British, the future relations between the races of Asia and the races of Europe. (Cheers.) One more word. In proportion as Palestine is the living example of the working of the Mandate Article of the League of Nations—Article 22—in that proportion as it proves to be a success, to my mind, depends much as to whether the whole League of Nations is a success. (Cheers.) If there is one task which to my mind the Jewish world can help in working, it is in building up not merely the machinery, but the spirit and idealism of international co-operation throughout the world. (Cheers.) You are still a scattered people. You are united by the great tradition of your Law and your Religion, and now you are going to be united by having a sheet anchor in Palestine. (Cheers.) You may have some thousands—perhaps, some day, millions—in that land, but you will continue to be people who will look to Palestine as their source of inspiration, while you remain in all Continents of the world. Bring the message of Zion to all nations of the world; co-operate with all nations of the world to bring them together for the greater glory of God and the greater benefit and prosperity and happiness of all His peoples. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

MR. JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD.

Mr. JAMES DE ROTHSCHILD, after quoting Disraeli: "A race that persists in celebrating their vintage, although they have no fruits to gather, will regain their vineyards," said that was written more than half-a-century ago, and now, thanks to our pioneers in Eretz Yisrael, we had our vineyards again. These men went out even before the days of Herzl, and he was glad they were remembered that night. Some of their sons were among the audience. What could they or their parents think?

meeting such as that of ten thousand London Jews listening to speeches on Palestine by Statesmen who were sitting or who had sat in the Cabinet of Great Britain? (Cheers.) The Zionist leaders, Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow, who came there, as they themselves said, with justifiable pride, with nothing but their ten fingers and a burning flame of prophetic enthusiasm—these men could truly feel elated by the success of their work. (Cheers.) Not only was Palestine recognised as the National Home of the Jewish people, but the Jewish people was once more conscious and proud of its national existence, and the other great nations of the world looked upon them with more respect and a more friendly fellow-feeling. (Cheers.) Recalling the fact that he was mixed up with the negotiations leading up to Mr. Balfour's epoch-making Declaration, Mr. Rothschild remarked that all the Zionist leaders asked for then was a recognition of the National Home and the right of their Palestinian inheritance. But a small body of English Jews, fair-minded, non-Zionist but Zion-living, came forward and urged the addition of a rider to the Declaration ensuring that the rights of Jews in other countries than Palestine should be respected and safeguarded, and ensuring also that the status of the non-Jewish Community in Palestine should be respected and safeguarded. He wondered if even in the most advanced Zionist circles there was anyone who regretted that, that night? It had enabled the Zionists and the Mandatory Power to point to this rider and say there would be in the future Jewish National Home no oppression and no suppression. (Cheers.) A National Home was a very different thing from a National State. A nation was not born in a day, nor was it rebuilt in the twinkling of an eye. Only would their nation be a complete and solid edifice again when they had carried back to the land of their fathers a civilization of their own, when they had established a moral code of their own and traditional institutions, when they had once more introduced their great ancestral tongue, Hebrew, when by the use of mechanical devices of science they had modified the natural world of Palestine. He firmly believed that in their ancient blood they inherited a capacity for doing these things. (Cheers.) Palestine did not offer the same material advantages that were offered by the Golden West or the Rand. What would take the Jews to the Plains of Sharon and the Hills of Samaria was the earnest wish to build up a National Home, and the set purpose of rebuilding the Jewish nation as well. There might be no silver mines or coal deposits in Palestine, but he was convinced that the brains and enthusiasm of their settlers would be a commercial asset more valuable than gushing wells of oil. (Cheers.) Whatever happened, the growth of Jewish civilization must be slow and gradual. It would only be complete when it had adapted itself to new conditions of life, of soil, of customs, and especially of neighbourhood; when it had shaken off, on the one hand, the shackles of the Ghetto, and, on the other, had rubbed off the doubtful veneer of western cities. It was only when, in the words of Dr. Weizmann, "Palestine is as Jewish as England is English," that the Jewish people would be able to envisage a

JEWISH COMMONWEALTH UNDER THE PROTECTING WING OF BRITAIN.

(Cheers.) Britain had been the home and cradle not only of political liberty, but of modern political views. No other race could have worked out the great institutions of America—no other breed of men could have educated those great backward countries, India and Egypt, to their modern feeling of national self-consciousness. Under her guidance, her tutelage, the Jewish people would also learn the science of democratic and liberal-minded government, and, above all, realise the value of law and order. (Hear, hear.) The whole Jewish people was watching with anxiety that brave adventure; the whole Jewish people was anxious to take a part in it. They had confidence in the men who had negotiated it, but it would be for those leaders to break new ground now, to pass their theory into practice. Those Jews of experience and ability to be found all over the world must be brought or coaxed in, because they were needed. The Jewish people certainly realised that it was standing on a precipice; it realised that it had reached one of the greatest crises in its existence. If they failed they would be covered with contempt; Jewry would be broken, and their maidens would weep and wail for ever by the waters of Babylon. A grave and serious responsibility rested on their leaders. They had been untiring in their energy, they had been skilful, they had been great and admirable. The gratitude of the Jewish people would ever go out to them; they would live for ever in their annals and histories. But the Jewish people were not only a people of dreamers and idealists. They had proved themselves a practical race, and they would now require practical results. He was firmly convinced that their leaders, who had kept their political existence to the present, would see that their practical existence was cared for. Before long, he trusted, they would know what the practical plans were. They would, he believed, behold how, in conjunction with the British Administration, land would be cleared; how it would be irrigated; how immigration would be conducted on a reasonable, regular, but ever-increasing scale; how industries would be developed; how they would fight malaria; and then in the fulness of time, with the help of the great tutelary Power watching over their future, they would be able to build up an enlightened body politic on the shores of Asia, which would act as a bridge between East and West, based on Jewish peasantry and Jewish artisans; and thus would be satisfied the age-long longing, the passionate craving of the Jewish people that had lasted for twenty centuries. (Cheers.)

THE ZIONIST G.O.M.

Dr. MAX NORDAU, who was received with loud and long continued applause, said that some ten weeks previously he had been at that hall at an Easter performance of the "Messiah." The public was as numerous as at that meeting. It listened with rapt attention to the immortal work of Handel. When the performance reached the last number of the first part he suddenly witnessed a sight he would never forget. The whole audience with one movement rose to its feet and listened to the glorious notes of the Hallelujah Chorus with a devotion, as if it were assisting at the principal moment of divine service in a

cathedral. At that moment one of the most notable aspects of the British character revealed itself to him. He understood the British people as a deeply religious people. He remembered that he had before him the sons and daughters of the race that had produced the Puritans, the Roundheads, and the Pilgrim Fathers, that he had before him the sons and daughters of the race that was still saturated with the Bible, in whose homes old Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress was still to be found everywhere. That to his mind accounted for the fact that Zionism appealed to its hearts. To the believing Englishman it meant the return of the Chosen People to the Promised Land, that was to say, the fulfilment of one of the most striking prophecies of Holy Writ, awakening the deepest religious emotions. British statesmen could not possibly share exactly the same emotions, not because they lacked faith, but because they had to grapple with hard, and cold concrete political problems. It was on that account that the Balfour Declaration had come at the most critical hour of the world war. They had to look out for every possible asset in the grand balance. With all his modesty as a Jew he ventured to say that they were an asset, and it was a great glory to the British statesmen that instead of prejudice, instead of misunderstandings, they understood this. They thought that the Jews might be useful to the wonderful cause for which Great Britain with her Allies so wonderfully and gloriously fought. They began to speak of Palestine. They offered Palestine as a Jewish homeland, and they expected, without saying so in so many words, that the Jews, who were reputed to be quick of understanding, would know what

THEIR IMMEDIATE DUTY

was, and what would be their duty later on. Their immediate duty was to use all their influence in the old and new worlds, to aid in producing a state of mind which would be most fruitful to the cause of the Allies. They understood this and acted accordingly. Everywhere there was an overflowing enthusiasm in Jewish hearts for Great Britain, for the cause she fought for, and for the fortunes of war, which they followed with all their heart and soul. He took no account of the Zion Mule Corps of Gallipoli, whose services had been recognised by gallant Col. Patterson as "sterling," or of the Jewish legion which did its best to fight as stalwartly, as valiantly as the actual British soldiers under the command of Lord Allenby. Great Britain might have done without the Zion Mule Corps and without the Palestine Legion. Yet they were just a symbol, a sign of the inspiration that at that time enthused the whole of Jewry. Now, as they were approaching peace—Mr. Balfour had warned them they could not claim to have attained it—another task would be put before them. England could not afford to allow her situation at the Suez Canal to be imperilled. She was strong enough to hold her own. Still she could not despise having there a trusty, and if Great Britain would allow it, a sufficiently strong watch. The Jews wanted nothing better than to be her watch at the Suez Canal. They wanted nothing better than to be her sentries on

THE LONG AND DANGEROUS ROAD

through the Near and Middle East up to the frontiers of India. The only thing that they begged from her was that she might allow them to become as strong as they could be for themselves in the first place—they, too, were politicians!—but ultimately strong for her. For this only two concessions were necessary. First, to allow them to become a numerous population in Palestine, to be there a strong element of the inhabitants, capable of becoming prosperous themselves and of making the country prosperous. Secondly, not to oppose their honest and loyal endeavours to organise themselves so as to be able to hold their own and to support British authority. They were not free of the Arabs. They came with the purest motives, and they were sure the Arabs would understand them when they saw them at work. Even with the best of neighbours it was good to impress him with the idea that, though a good fellow, he must not be provoked. If Great Britain would allow them

[Continued on next page]

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ON

TUESDAY EVENING, JULY 20th, 1920.

The Very Rev. the CHIEF RABBI will preside.

SPEAKERS:

HERMAN STRUCK. **J. H. FARBSTAIN** (Deputy, Polish Siem).
GEDALIAH BUBLICK (Editor "Jewish Daily News" and "Jewish Gazette," New York). **RABBI J. FREEDMAN** (of Sadigur).
RABBI M. ROSENBERG (New York). **RABBI Dr. V. SCHONFELD**,
and prominent leaders of Jewry in many countries.

Doors open 7.15 p.m.

Commence 8 p.m. sharp.

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JEWISH NATIONAL MOVEMENT.—Continued from previous page.

that, they were afraid of nothing. Jews had the reputation—he believed it was deserved—of being a people with a long memory. They often forgave but they never forgot. One speaker had already mentioned that they still cherished

THE MEMORY OF CYRUS.

because he allowed the exiled Jews to go back to their homeland. The Jews still revered his memory and he was still a living figure among them. Alexander the Great was still so much a living figure among them that Jewish mothers—even those who did not boast of classical knowledge—still gave his name to their sons. Why? Because at the height of his success, when he was proclaimed the son of Jupiter, he bowed his forehead, flushed with victory, before the gate of Israel and showed kindness and consideration to the priests of the Temple and to the worshippers there. France stood foremost in the Jews' affection. Why? Because the great Revolution first of all proclaimed the rights of man, the emancipation of the Jews, their equality before the Law, and widely threw open for the first time the gates of the ghetto. No Dreyfus trial, no momentary phase of opinion, could darken this radiant idea which they still had of France. Now England would be foremost among those people to whom they were devoted in eternal gratitude, and Mr. Balfour would have the glory, his remotest descendants would have the glory, of seeing his name ranked in the same line with Cyrus and Alexander the Great. That was something which might satisfy the greatest ambition. He was sure that England, which had been loyal to the Jews, would continue to be loyal. Dr. Weizmann and Mr. Sokolow had pledged the loyalty of the Jewish people to Great Britain and her statesmen. He was sure he spoke in their name, in the name of the fourteen millions of Jews outside that hall, in declaring that they would redeem that pledge. (Cheers.) England had stretched out her hand towards them. They put their hand in hers. Loyalty for loyalty, fulfilment for fulfilment! (Cheers.) He concluded by reminding them of the word of Scripture: "He that blesseth thee shall be blessed, and he that curseth thee shall be cursed!" (Loud cheers.)

THE VOICE OF LABOUR.

Col. WEDGWOOD, M.P., who was cheered on rising, said: Lord Rothschild and Jews! (Loud laughter and cheers.) What a satisfaction it is to be able to address people now as Jews without it being supposed that you are insulting them! (Renewed laughter and cheers.) Palestine may be something real for all I know, but to my mind Palestine is merely a symbol, a symbol of the creation of a nation. Palestine does not count. What really counts is the creation of self-respect! It is not because you are the Jewish nation that I am here to speak to you to-day. But I am here to give you all the good wishes that the British Labour Party can convey. (Loud cheers.) It is because to-day is the day of destruction—destruction of the injustices of the past. And it is for that that the British Labour Party stands. You have heard from Lord Robert Cecil how important it is to learn from us to make things work. That is important. But what is also important—as we are preaching to you Jews from our magnificent platform of Anglo-Saxondom (laughter)—is to learn another lesson which we learnt at school. When I was at school I did not get much book-learning, but it was being ground into me at all hours that it was better to die than to be a slave. (Cheers.) And that only cowards submitted to injustice whether to themselves or to other people. That is the lesson I want the new Jewish nation to learn and to get by heart. Stand up for your rights, men! Let us have more of the spirit in the Jewish movement of my good and gallant friend, Jabotinsky! (Loud cheers.) Let us remember that nationalism is not enough. I am no Jew nationalist, but why I have always supported Zionism is because I believe that the national stage is only transitory and that the Jewish race,

THE FINEST INTERNATIONAL RACE IN THE WORLD.

will reach the international stage—where race hatred will be marked out and forgotten. You, who have been stamped upon, kicked and spat upon throughout the ages, you have got to forgive and forget. But do not forget the countless myriads of Jews who are still being kicked and beaten, and tortured and murdered. When you have your nation, do not forget these. Remember Poland and Rumania and Hungary, from which I have just come back. In all these countries the Jew is the under-dog and is beaten, murdered, and ill-treated. When you are a nation, when you are free, see that your fellow-Jews are treated like men, see that they get justice. You have a long way to go. But as long as you set before yourselves the ideal of justice, first of all for all Jews and then for all men, and as long as you continue in that glorious spirit of self-sacrifice which has supported you through the last 2,000 years, I have no doubt—not that Jewry will triumph—but that the brotherhood of man will have been brought nearer through your efforts. (Loud cheers.)

The resolution having been carried by acclamation,

Mr. J. D. KILEY, M.P., said that he gladly associated himself with all that had fallen from the previous speakers. They were looking forward to the results of the great effort which the Jews were putting forth in Palestine. There was only one chance of failure, and that was if they quarrelled amongst themselves. What a calamity that would be, a calamity not only to their own people, but to the world at large! They were depending for the future peace of the world upon the League of Nations. If they failed in their effort, the League of Nations would not be worth much. Let them sink their small differences and great would be their success.

Mr. USSISHKIN, speaking in Hebrew, said that their language had now taken its place among the languages of the nations. They had only been given the key to their homeland, and they had to open wide the door. The cry of "How long, Oh Lord?" had been the burden of their supplications for centuries, now the answer was at hand. Upon their own effort would depend the result of the new experiment. They had wandered their full term in the wilderness, and now they could respond to the summons, "Return, My children, to your borders."

A GREETING FROM OVER THERE.

Rabbi SILVER said that he brought them greetings from three million of their fellow-Jews in America. He wanted to tell them how extremely gratified the American Jews had been that it was that beloved country, England, the historic champion of parliamentary government in the world, that first uttered the heroic words which marked the climax in the greatest drama of the ages. He ventured to say as an American that in the long and great record of British enterprise and achievement there were few acts and pronouncements which for nobility of purpose, for grandeur of vision, and for fulness of absolute justice, could match the Balfour Declaration. (Cheers.) The Jews of America welcomed the co-operation which the British Mandate for Palestine invited. They were confident that a spirit of real harmony and real goodwill would remain among the two peoples. They knew that England would understand the Jew, and they knew that the Jew would understand England. They had always believed, and they believed so now, that there existed a real cultural and spiritual kinship between the two races. Their sacred literature had left an indelible imprint on the character and personality, not only of the literature of the Anglo-Saxon people, but even upon its laws, its institutions, and its very speech. And so they welcomed the opportunity of co-operating with this great people in restoring the great historic race to its old home. The American Jews desired to avail themselves of that opportunity to express to their leader and his co-worker their deepest sense of

GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION

for the unforgettable service which they had rendered to the common cause. Their selflessness, their self-sacrificing devotion, their patient faith, their hope which had now been crowned with success, would be treasured as an inspiration by an ever-grateful people. The American Jews hailed Weizmann and Sokolow, and they laid at their feet not only the tribute of words, but they offered at that sacred moment the holy vow to carry on, to give abundantly and generously of their efforts and their sacrifices until the glorious moment arose, until the dawn which was now breaking in the East brightened and broadened into the full noon-day of a strong, vigorous, wholesome Jewish life in Palestine. (Cheers.) The American Jews sent their greetings not only to the English Jews, but they desired at the first opportunity to send their greeting to the representatives who were present of the millions of their brethren of Eastern Europe, who during the past six years had passed through the valley of the shadow of death. They wanted them to know that they had been stirred to their very depths by their superb courage and their sublime endurance. They had been made the victims of every political intrigue and crime. They had been saddled with the guilt of every diplomatic blunder and calamity. The American Jews were proud of them because they had given again superb evidence of the proud invincibility of the proud stiffneckedness of our people. People could break them, but they could not bend them. American Jews greeted them and they saluted them. The Jews who were enjoying God's freedom in a beautiful land would have need in the coming years of their exemplary faith and devotion.

A WAVE OF ANTI-SEMITISM

was sweeping over the world and was reaching these shores and the shores across the Atlantic. The war had stirred all the slumbering passions and antipathies of men. The war had upset the world, and the Jew always suffered from an upheaval, be it social, political, or economic. They had been made the scapegoat for every national disaster and mistake, but they would face the future solemnly and courageously knowing what a superb record they had given of themselves during the most trying period of their history. There were irresponsible men both here and in America who were circulating the statement or the rumour that Jews the world over were conspiring to upset the social order, to upset Christian civilisation, to gain control of government offices by first effecting anarchy and chaos. They were not daunted by these charges. They were acquainted with them. They had met with them before. They were old bogies of darkest mediævalism dressed up in modern guise. They were too proud to answer such charges. Fools could ask more questions than wise men could answer, and knaves could make more charges than honest men could refute. But they would say to these traducers and maligners of our people who accused us of conspiracy: If it was conspiracy to fight through centuries of persecution and hatred for

THE UNCOMBING PRINCIPLE OF JUSTICE;

if it was conspiracy to foster loyalty to the sacred cause of truth: if it was conspiracy to fight hypocrisy and superstition—then the Jews were the arch conspirators of the world. (Cheers.) They wanted to say to these maligners of our people here and in his own land that the Jew was a menace only when he ceased to be a Jew, just as the Christian was a menace when he ceased to be a Christian. And they wanted to say finally that their waves of hostility would break hopelessly upon the iron rock of their endurance. They were the *Am Olam*, and could not be destroyed. It had been said of old: "When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire thou shalt not be burned; neither shall the flame kindle upon thee." The proud hosts of Babylon and Assyria, the winged armies of Thebes and Egypt, the hosts of Greece, the legions of Rome, the Cross and the Crescent had broken themselves in vain against the democratic and freedom-loving Israel. American Jews enjoined them to work and build and give exceedingly of themselves to that sacred cause. What they did now might determine the course of Jewish history for hundreds of years to come. (Loud cheers.)

"HATIKVAH" AND "GOD SAVE THE KING."

At the summons of Lord Rothschild, the vast audience rose for the whole-hearted singing of *Hatikvah* and the National Anthem, and the memorable proceedings terminated.