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### **MS-4787: Abba Hillel Silver Papers, 1902-1989.**

Series V: Writings, 1909-1963, undated.

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Zionism and American Jewry, 1955.

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ADDRESS  
by  
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver  
before  
American Zionist Council Tercentenary Meeting  
Monday, February 21, 1955

Christopher Columbus began the journal of his first voyage which was to lead to the discovery of America with the following words: "After the Spanish monarchs had expelled all the Jews from all their kingdoms and lands in January, in the same month they commissioned me to undertake the voyage to India with a properly equipped fleet." Thus Christopher Columbus, who was himself of Jewish descent, connected his momentous voyage of discovery with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. He did not know, of course, what would befall these exiles, nor where they or their descendants would go. Nor could he foretell that centuries later there would arise in the New World a community of Jews many times the size of the community which was expelled from the Iberian peninsula, and that this community would be instrumental in the ingathering of many Jewish exiles from many parts of the earth in a reconstituted Jewish state in Palestine. Columbus himself believed that his discoveries were the fulfillment of prophecy.

Jews came with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery, and in the next few centuries others came in increasing numbers to the Western Hemisphere seeking a haven. Thousands of Jews were settled in Brazil in the middle of the seventeenth century when the Portuguese captured it from the Dutch and forced these Jews to flee to other parts of the New World or to Holland, from which some of them had come. The twenty-three Jews who arrived on the "St. Charles" in Nieuw Amsterdam in 1654 were not the first Jews who had put foot on the soil of what was some day to become the United States <sup>of</sup> America.

It is of interest to note that many of those who came to the New World wanted to establish Jewish colonies. Thus, in 1652, the Dutch West India Company granted to Joseph Nunes du Fonseca and others a tract of land in the island of Curacao to found a colony of Jews. In 1659 a similar grant was made by the French West India Company to David Nassi, a Portuguese Jew, to found a

Jewish colony in Cayenne. There is on record a grant made in 1654 by the English Government "to the people of the Hebrew nation that are to go to the wild coast." The idea of establishing community settlements in the New World was widely accepted by many nationality groups of the Old World, and the Jews wished to do what other nationality groups were doing. They wanted to be with their own and among their own in the unexplored wildernesses of the New World and in position to practice their faith and their group customs under conditions which they themselves could control. They knew themselves to be members of a nationality group and they acted accordingly.

In 1783 a memorial was sent by German Jews to the President of the Continental Congress asking to be informed on what terms a body of German Jews of about 2,000 families might settle in this country. In 1819 a Mr. W.D. Robinson of London proposed a scheme for a large Jewish settlement in upper Mississippi and Missouri territory to serve as a place of security and opportunity for the persecuted and oppressed Jews of Europe. There were other non-Jews who wished to establish in the New World Jewish settlements and even a Jewish state. In 1749 Maurice de Saxe, who was Marshal of France, took a fancy to become a king - I am now quoting from The Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach - "and on looking around him, as he found all thrones occupied, he cast his eyes upon that nation which for 1700 years had neither sovereign nor country. This extraordinary project occupied his attention for a considerable time."

The most notable project, of course, for the establishment of a Jewish state in the New World was that of Mordecai Manuel Noah, foremost member of the Jewish community of his day. In Sept. 2, 1825, with impressive ceremonies, he laid the cornerstone of the city of Ararat on Grand Island in the Niagara River near Buffalo, which city was to be the capital of the new Jewish state. It is of interest to note that the original intention of Mordecai Manuel Noah was

to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. He was the first real Zionist on the American continent. When he became convinced that the restoration of Palestine was not immediately feasible, he resorted to the idea of establishing a Jewish state on Grand Island as a preliminary to the ultimate restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine. Nothing came of his project, but Mordecai Manuel Noah, in spite of the rebuffs which he suffered and the ridicule to which he was subjected, did not abandon his Zionist dream. As late as 1845, we find him addressing a Christian audience in the city of New York appealing for the restoration of the Jewish nation. In this address he stated, "I confidently believe in the restoration of the Jews and in the coming of the Messiah, and believing that political events are daily assuming a shape which may finally lead to that great advent, I consider it a duty to call upon the free people of this country to aid us in any efforts which in our present position it may be prudent to adopt. And I have the most abiding confidence in their goodwill and friendly feelings in aiding to restore us to liberty and independence."

In that same address Mr. Noah declared, "The political events in Syria, Egypt, Turkey and Russia indicate the approach of great and important revolutions which may facilitate the return of the Jews to Jerusalem." He further declared, "England must possess Egypt as affording the only secure route to her possessions in India through the Red Sea; then Palestine thus placed between the Russian possessions and Egypt, reverts to its legitimate proprietors and for the safety of the surrounding nations, a powerful, wealthy, independent and enterprising people are placed there by and with the consent of the Christian powers, and with their aid and agency, the land of Israel passes once more into the possession of the descendants of Abraham..." While many who are not present may suppose that we shall not live to hear of the triumphant success of this project; yet, my friends, it may be nearer than we imagine... If I am right in this interpretation, what a glorious privilege is reserved for the free people of the United States, the only country which has given civil and religious rights to the Jews equal with all other sects, the only country which has not persecuted them,



to be selected and pointedly distinguished in prophecy as the nation, which at a proper time, shall present to the Lord His chosen and trodden-down people and pave the way for their restoration to Zion." Mordecai Manuel Noah's words, too, seem to have been touched with prophecy.

It is of interest to note that Mordecai Manuel Noah's championing of Zionism evoked the first full-scale anti-Zionist reaction. It came from the Grand Rabbi of Paris, who had been invited, among others, by Mr. Noah to serve as a commissioner to administer the state which he intended to establish in Ararat. In a letter in 1825, in declining Mr. Noah's invitation, Rabbi Abraham de Cologne wrote in behalf of himself and the Chief Rabbis in London the following: "We declare that according to our dogmas, God alone knows the epoch of the Israelitish restoration, that he alone will make it known to the whole universe by signs entirely unequivocal, and that every attempt on our part to reassemble with any political national design is forbidden as an act of high treason against the divine majesty. Mr. Noah has doubtless forgotten that the Israelites, faithful to the principles of their belief, are too much attached to the countries where they dwell and devoted to the governments under which they enjoy liberty and protection, not to treat as a mere jest the chimerical consulate of a pseudo restorer." There it is - the whole anti-Zionist argument in a nutshell.

The generation in which the 23 Jewish refugees from Brazil landed in Nieuw Amsterdam was a dark, stormy, and tragic period in Jewish history in Europe. The outstanding political events of that time were the Thirty Years War which closed in 1648, and the Cossack Rebellion which began in 1648. The former violently disrupted the life of Western European Jewry and impoverished it; the latter crushed and decimated Polish Jewry in one of the most horrible tragedies in our history.

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the Jews of Germany were subjected to all the humiliating restrictions of the Dark Ages of Europe.

The Middle Ages were still on. The Reformation had availed them little. The German Jews were still huddled in ghettos, branded with the yellow badge, victimized by excessive taxation, and subjected to frequent popular outbursts and riots. The Thirty Years War marked the time when Jewry in Europe reached its lowest ebb.

The Cossack uprisings in the middle of the seventeenth century broke the back of Polish Jewry. The Cossack horde, led by the cunning and ruthless Bogdan Khmelnitzki, aided by Tartars sent by the Khan of Crimea, swept over the whole of the Ukraine, bringing death and destruction with them. Volhynia and Podolia were soon engulfed in the onrushing tides of the ruthless bands who were bent upon the extermination of all Poles and Jews and who executed their purposes in most terrible and savage ways. For nearly two years, in 1648 and '49, the terror reigned. It is estimated that 300 Jewish communities were destroyed and that 300,000 Jews were massacred. The ghastly experiences of these years left a scar on the soul of Polish Jewry. Five years later the Russian and Swedish invasions took place, adding new disasters to the already long catalogue of national catastrophes. This was the Old World background against which we should view the first settlement of Jews in what is today the United States of America.

The seventeenth century was very favorable to the spread of fervid Messianic hopes among the Jews of Poland, and the Jews of western Europe. The Shabbetai Zevi movement in the middle of the century found Polish Jewry bleeding, broken, intellectually and spiritually exhausted, steeped in Messianic lore, eager to receive any message which promised swift and miraculous surcease from its suffering. Messianic expectations ran high also among German Jewry. Gluckel von Hameln writes in her memoirs, "It is difficult to describe the joy with which the letters (from the East telling of Shabbetai Zevi) were received in Hamburg." Some of the Jews who fled from Brazil to Holland, like Isaac Aboab, became fervent adherents of Shabbetai Zevi. These Messianic expectations had important historic consequences insofar as they corresponded with similar messianic strivings in the Christian world.

Christendom, too, in the seventeenth century, was in the midst of vast confusion and conflict, and the mystic movements which began simultaneously with Reformation continued with increasing tempo throughout the seventeenth century. They were all filled with apocalyptic visions with expectations of the second coming of Christ, and the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. It was generally accepted as part of the creed that the return of the Jews to the Holy Land following their conversion to Christianity must precede the second coming of Jesus and the establishment of his kingdom. These strong religious motives prepared the way for the unopposed return of the Jews to England, following Manasseh ben Israel's mission to Cromwell.

Many of these Christian mystic sects later on came to the United States and brought with them their conceptions of the millenium and their belief in the restoration of the Hebrew nation. I am of the opinion that these beliefs which were assiduously taught to succeeding generations of Americans became part of the religious thought-pattern of the American people and was an important factor in preparing the way for the friendly and favorable reception which was given to our appeal to the American people for assistance in the establishment of the state of Israel.

I spoke of the religious background of the peoples who came here during the formative decades of American colonization which proved favorable to our cause. There were of course also political factors. These same religious sects, Puritans and Anabaptists, brought with them as a corollary of their ideas of religious independence also concepts of freedom from political tyranny. Friends of democracy on occasion forget the religious origin of the democratic revolution in the Western World. Modern democracy was born out of the struggle for religious freedom in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Out of that victorious struggle there streamed other victories for man: political, economic, and social. Thus when, in the eighteenth century, the founding fathers of our Republic wrote into the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that



all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights," they were giving political expression to what was fundamentally religious doctrine. These doctrines were stressed as having divine sanction and Biblical authority by all the warring religious sectarians of the 16th and 17th centuries. When our founding fathers proclaimed that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God; or when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical Verse: "Ye shall proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof;" or when Franklin and Jefferson, in drafting the first seal of the United States, engraved on it the figure of Moses, the first emancipator of men, as he stood on the shores of the Red Sea and caused its waters to overwhelm the Egyptian Pharaoh and his host, they were marshalling religious truth and authority to underwrite their political revolution. These religiously inspired ideals of human freedom which were associated in the minds of the American people with the Bible and, therefore, also with the people of the Bible, were not without their influence in creating that climate of sympathy and understanding which in the decisive hour proved so tremendously helpful to our cause.

Again, many of the immigrant peoples who later came to these shores hailed from lands of oppression and tyranny. Many of them were themselves members of nationality groups which had suffered from alien domination and exploitation. They, too, had been denied the right of self-determination, the right to be masters over their own destinies. They had a natural fellow feeling for the Jewish people which preeminently among the rightless peoples of the world had suffered so much through the long centuries.

The government of the United States, reflecting these prevalent sentiments of its citizens, was, therefore, not unwilling to help as far as it could, all oppressed peoples and minority groups who were struggling for their rights or their national independence. Appeals came to our government throughout the 19th century as they have continued to come to this day from all parts of the world, and seldom did our government turn a deaf ear to them.



In the struggle of liberation of the Greeks from Turkish rule, of the Hungarians from Austrian dominion and of Poland from Czarist Russia, the sympathy of the American government, reflecting the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, was definitely with the revolutionists against tyranny, and our government evidenced it in many ways. It is therefore not at all surprising that the Congress of the United States adopted a joint resolution in 1922 favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and reaffirmed its position in 1944. It is not surprising that the two major political parties of our country included in their party platforms in 1944 a plank favoring a Jewish national home in Palestine. Nor is it surprising that our appeal for support received such ready and hearty endorsement from the American clergy, the American press, from governors and legislators throughout the nation, in fact, from all sections of American public opinion.

I believe that this reservoir of good will and sympathy for Israel still exists. Here and there hostile propaganda may have caused confusion in the minds of some of our fellow citizens, but in the main, that historic, religiously and politically motivated attitude of good will continues and will, I believe, continue indefinitely. Our difficulties were never with the American people, but with certain narrow sections in government circles who, for one reason or another, under pressure of one group or another, resisted the legitimate claims of our movement. In spite of these centers of resistance in government circles, the historic fact to be kept in mind always is that the American government did finally rally to our side and voted and encouraged other nations to vote with it, in November, 1947, for the acceptance of the majority report of the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine which recommended the establishment of an independent state of Israel in a part of Palestine. While it is true that a reversal of this position on the part of our government took place in March of the following year and a new temporary trusteeship was proposed by our government

Look back -

X Reviewing the story of the last 300 years, I believe that the Jews of America have reason to be proud of the contributions which they made to American life and of the manner in which they served the cause of Judaism, the Jewish community of America, and world Jewry.

Our beginnings here were humble, as were the beginnings of all peoples who came to these shores. Steadily through the years, and more rapidly in the last 100 years, our numbers increased and we came to share eagerly and gratefully in the growing and evolving life of America. Our people became in outlook true children of the New World, and in service and devotion, loyal and proud citizens of the United States. They served it patriotically in peace and in war. They made creditable contributions to its material prosperity, its political and social progress, its democratic institutions, to labor and industry, to its arts, science, literature, and music. They supported generously all the philanthropic and social agencies and institutions of our land - Jewish and non-Jewish alike. They have been not an unworthy or unimportant part of the colorful, unique, and noble mosaic which is America. Of this record we may be proud.

There are, in my judgment, four other moments of which the American Jewish community has reason to entertain a feeling of pride. In the first place, American Jews did not ignore or forget their religious heritage. They remained faithful to it. Upon the shores of the new land they built their synagogues, their schools, and their institutions of Jewish learning which have always embodied the ethical ideals and the way of life of our people. The process is continuing with unabated vigor in our own day. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the religious life of our people, as there is in the religious life of all of our fellow citizens. There is much to be done in this age of monopolizing material interests, by way of intensifying the spirit of religion among our people and to improve the agencies of religious instruction of our youth. By and large, however, the American Jewish community has been loyal to its religious heritage. While some of our people, in certain periods more than in others, drifted away from their religious

moorings the great body of our people remained fully identified, loyal and steadfast.

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The second factor which may well serve as a source of pride to us is that the American Jewish community has built up through the years noble institutions of philanthropy and human service. There is hardly a Jewish community in the United States today which does not possess its quota of eleemosynary institutions and social agencies, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, family services, social centers, all of them expressing the traditional humanity of our people. The Jews of America proved to be pioneers in quite a number of philanthropic fields. It has been a generous community, fully alert to the responsibilities of the needy and the distressed in their midst. Many of our sons and daughters, far out of proportion to our numbers, were found among the brave, free spirits of our country who fought for social justice, the rights of labor, and in defense of the underprivileged.

The third factor to which the American Jewish community may point with pride is the fact that it never isolated itself from the lot of its fellow-Jews in other parts of the world. They remained bound to them in fraternal solicitude. They helped them in their needs. They came to their defense when attacked. They poured out their generosity when tragedy overtook them. They remained loyal to the Jewish tradition of one universal Jewish community wherein all members are responsible one for another.

And finally, the American Jewish community is able to point with pride to the fact that when the historic moment of consummation of our millennial national hope arrived, American Jews rallied almost as one man to the task of building the state of Israel, and they have undergirded it with their support and unflagging interest since then.

~~This is not the occasion to review what the American Jewish community contributed to the re-establishment of the State of Israel. This is the work~~

(return to (3))



for future historians whose conclusions will not be slanted, I am sure, or guided by jaundiced party interests. But I believe, and I believe that you will agree with me, that without the remarkable rallying of the forces of American Jews in the critical years which preceded the establishment of the State, without their monumental activities in arousing and marshalling public opinion in this country, without their forceful political activity, and without their generous outpouring of substance and financial support, the State of Israel would not have been established. This is not to say that the entire credit for this heroic achievement is to be given to the American Jewish community - far from it. Many important forces merged in the final achievement, and in the first instance the heroic self-sacrifice on the part of the fighting Jews of Palestine. But the fact remains that the great political victories which culminated in the decision of the United Nations, and in the recognition of the State of Israel by the American government, were due, in a very large measure, to the activities of the American Jewish community.

It should be noted here with gratitude that while the American Jewish community had been sharply divided on the issue of Zionism and the house of Israel had been, for many years, beset with the clamor of ideological controversy, when the great decisive moment arrived, it rallied with remarkable solidarity to the cause. This solidarity was evidenced first in the extraordinary mobilization of American Jews in behalf of the Jewish Commonwealth at the American Jewish Conference in September, 1943, and again in the historic year of 1947. Even those who refused to abide by the decision of the 1943 conference were found in the decisive hour loyally active in the ranks of the supporters of the cause.

This fact may well serve to an encouragement for the future. There is an historic sense among our people which asserts itself commandingly in critical ~~times~~ hours, which, under the stress of urgency, brushes aside secondary and collateral issues and makes collective action mandatory. There is a lesson here for all Jewish leaders in the future. While the significance of divisions of



opinion among our people should not be underestimated or ignored, they should not be over-estimated either. Our leaders should have the confidence and the historic perspective to realize that when great issues call for decision, the overwhelming majority of American Jews will be found on the side of all that is constructive, historic, and forward-looking in Jewish life. For at such moments it is not definitions and ideologies which come into play, but timeless and unexpugnable <sup>loyalties</sup>.

Encouraging, too, is the fact that the American Jewish community has been able to produce leaders when leaders were needed, whether in the field of religion, social service, or education, or leaders in our movement of national renaissance. These leaders emerged from all walks of Jewish life, from the rich and the poor, from labor and capital, from native-born and immigrant. They came from the circles of the Orthodox, the Conservative, and the Reform. The cause of Judaism and of the Jewish people was able to draw response, support, and leadership from all sections of our people. This fact, too, we should bear in mind in the years to come. No one group has a monopoly on Jewish loyalty and Jewish service, and the destiny of our people is in the hands of no single group or section of our people. It would be well in the future to spend less time and energy in mutual recrimination, in partisanship, or in prestige rivalries. It will be wiser by far to conduct our variegated communal life in reasonable restraint, in mutual respect, seeking always ways of understanding and cooperation. There never will be uniformity in American Jewish life. There can be an adequate and workable unity.

We have now closed three centuries of living in this country. We are on the threshold of the fourth. In no other country on earth have our people been privileged to enjoy so long a period of uninterrupted and peaceful dwelling and labor. In no other country of the world, since the Dispersion, have our people enjoyed a continuous period of 300 years of equality, freedom, and dignity, free from persecution and legal disabilities. For all this we should be grateful to a kind Providence and to the traditions of this gracious land. For all this we should be daily resolved to contribute of the best of our heart, mind,

and hand to the preservations of the great traditions and institutions of this country, and to the enhancement and enrichment of its cultural and spiritual life.

What of the future? I believe that the future is rich in promise for the American Jewish community if the catastrophe of war does not shatter its security and life. As a minority we are helpless against the ravages of hate and demagoguery which war and economic depressions unleash. But given peace and economic stability, the American Jewish community will move forward and develop. It will expand its cultural and religious life and institutions and will make worthy contributions to the total life of America and world Jewry. If the American Jews of the coming decades will carry on uninterruptedly and with wisdom and discrimination, putting first things first, and accentuating the positive and indispensable enterprises of Jewish life, they will make this the numerically largest Jewish community in the world, also one of the greatest in terms of faith, culture, and scholarship. What may endanger our Jewish future here is not conscious escapism or deliberate assimilationist tendencies such as characterized some Jewish communities at other times in other parts of the world. Rather an unconscious drift and a carefree relaxation of all disciplines, not out of conviction but out of sheer indifference.

The American Jewish community will survive if it will remain faithful to the basic dogma of Jewish existence - the sense of group solidarity, of peoplehood, of belonging to an historic Jewish community which cuts across time and space, and which is centered in a life covenant with the eternal principles of Judaism, and with universal Israel. The American Jewish community of tomorrow will draw strength from continued and increased cultural and spiritual contacts with Israel. Israel may draw cultural and spiritual strength in the future from contacts with the American Jewish community if this community will become vital. Often in the past, Jewish life in Palestine was replenished by spiritual and cultural influences coming from Jewish centers outside of Palestine. Both Judaism and the Hebrew language at times had to struggle for survival even in Palestine. At this very time Judaism is passing through a severe crisis of adjustment in Israel.

The guiding principle should be maximal participation in American life and maximal devotion to its progress and security, along with maximal interest in and support of Israel; the guiding objective both for the Jews in America and the rest of the diaspora, as well as of the Jews in the State of Israel, should be the survival of Judaism, which alone have given meaning and glory to our history.

I am persuaded that the synagogue will be the institution primarily responsible for the survival of the American Jewish community as it has been responsible for our survival throughout our Dispersion. To fulfill this task, the synagogue must become much more a place of religious education than it has been heretofore. An essential feature of this Jewish religious education is the teaching of the Hebrew language, in which our religious culture has most fully expressed itself. No Jewish community ever survived for long which ignored Hebrew. No Jewish community ever contributed culturally to Jewish life which did not foster the Hebrew language and literature. The Hebrew language is not only the repository of our most glorious cultural trophies. It has been a powerful instrument for progress and renewal in Jewish life and the bond of union and the chain of continuity. The Hebrew language served our people as the weapon with which to batter down the spiritual and intellectual walls of the ghetto. It was the highway along which our people moved into the modern world. One cannot, of course, think of our national renaissance movement from the early Hibbat Zion days to the recent crowning days of struggle and victory without thinking of the brilliant galaxy of Hebrew writers, poets, and essayists who inspired and sustained it.

If we are thinking of any cultural link in the future between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora, then we must be thinking in terms of the Hebrew language. We must raise generations of Jews who will be able to read the language in which the future cultural creations of Israel will be cast.

To sum up, the American Jewish community of tomorrow will, in the main, be what American Jews will make it. External pressure may from time to time be massive, but the internal motivations will be decisive. It should be remembered



that always it was not external compulsion nor persecution nor any historic dialectics which kept the Jewish people alive, but fierce, stiff-necked voluntarism, flowing out of a profound, treasured and greatly beloved faith and a sense of religious destiny. Given devoted and well-informed leadership and adequate religious training of our youth, we may look to the future of the American Jewish community, barring disastrous revolutionary changes in the <sup>USA</sup>struction of American government and society, with a good measure of confident hope.

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American Zionist Council  
Tributary Celebration  
Hunter College, New York  
February 21, 1952

Christopher Columbus began his journal of his first voyage with the following words: "After the Spanish monarchs had expelled all the Jews from all their kingdoms and lands in January, in the same month they commissioned me to undertake the voyage to India with a properly equipped fleet." Thus Christopher Columbus, who was himself of Jewish descent, connects his momentous voyage of discovery with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. He did not know, of course, of what would befall these exiles, nor could he foretell that centuries later there would arise in the New World a community of Jews many times the size of the community which was expelled from the Pyrenean peninsula and that this community would, in a substantial way, be responsible for the ingathering of many other exiles from many parts of the earth in a reconstituted Jewish state in Palestine. Jews came with Columbus on his voyage of discovery, and throughout the next few centuries others came in increasing numbers to the Indies and to America seeking a haven of refuge. Thousands of Jews were settled in Brazil in the middle of the seventeenth century when the Portuguese captured it from the Dutch and forced these Jews to flee for refuge from certain persecution to other parts of the New World or back to Holland, from which some of them had come.

The twenty-three Jews who arrived on the St. Charles in Nieuw Amsterdam in 1654 were not the first Jews who had put foot on the soil of what was some day to become the United States of America.

It is of interest to note that many of those who came to the New World wanted to establish Jewish colonies. Thus, in 1652, the Dutch West India Company granted to Joseph Nunez de Fonseca and others a tract of land in the island of Curacao to found a colony of Jews in that island. In 1659 a similar grant was made by the French West India Company to David Nassi, a Portuguese Jew, to found a Jewish colony in Cayenne. There is on record a grant made in 1654 by the English

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In 1783 a memorial was sent by German Jews to the president of the Continental Congress asking to be informed on what terms a body of German Jews of about 2,000 families might settle in this country. In 1819 a Mr. W. D. Robinson on London, England, proposed a scheme for a large Jewish settlement in upper Mississippi and Missouri territory to serve as a place of security and opportunity for the persecuted and oppressed Jews of Europe. There were other non-Jews who wished to establish in the New World Jewish settlements and even a Jewish state. In 1749 Maurice de Saxe, who was marshal of France, took a fancy to become a king - I am now quoting from The Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach - and on looking around him as he found all thrones occupied he cast his eyes upon that nation which for 1700 years had neither sovereign nor country. This extraordinary project occupied his attention for a considerable time. The most notable project, of course, for the establishment of the Jewish state in the New World was, of course, that of Mordecai Manuel Noah, foremost member of the Jewish community of his day, who, in Sept. 2, 1825, with impressive ceremonies laid the foundations or the cornerstone for the city of Ararat on Grand Island in the Niagara River near Buffalo. It is of interest to note that Mordecai Manuel Noah's original intention was to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. He was the first real Zionist on the American continent. When he became convinced that the restoration of Palestine was not immediately feasible, he resorted to the idea of a Jewish state on Grand Island as a preliminary to a restoration of the Palestine state. Nothing came of his project, of course, but

Mordecai Manuel Noah, in spite of the rebuffs which he suffered and the ridicule to which he was subjected, did not abandon the Zionist dream. As late as 1845, we find Mr. Noah addressing a Christian audience in the city of New York appealing for the restoration of the Jewish nation. In this address he stated, "I confidently believe in the restoration of the Jews and in the coming of the Messiah, and believing that political events are daily assuming a shape which may finally lead to that great advent, I consider it a duty to call upon the free people of this country to aid us in any efforts which in our present position it may be imprudent to adopt. And I have the most abiding confidence in their good will and friendly feelings in aiding to restore us to liberty and independence."

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It is of interest to note that Mordecai Manuel Noah's first championing of Zionism evoked the first full scale anti-Zionist expression on the part of the Grand Rabbi of Paris, who had been invited, among others, by Mr. Noah to serve as a commissioner to administer to administer the state which he had established in Ararat. In a letter in 1825 addressed to Mr. Noah, Rabbi Abraham Abraham de Cologne wrote in behalf of himself and the Chief Rabbis at London the following, while refusing the appointments: "We declare that according to our dogmas, God alone knows the epoch of the Israelitish restoration, that he alone will make it known to the whole universe by signs entirely unequivocal, and that every attempt on our part to reassemble with any political national design is forbidden as an act of high treason against the divine majesty. Mr. Noah has doubtless forgotten that the Israelites, faithful to the principles of their belief, are too much attached to the countries where they dwell and devoted to the governments under which they enjoy liberty and protection not to treat as a mere jest the chimerical consulate of a pseudo restorer."

The period when the 23 Jewish refugees from Brazil landed in Nieuw Amsterdam was a dark, stormy, and tragic period in Jewish history in Europe. The outstanding political events of the century were the Thirty Years War, which <sup>closed</sup> began in 1648, and the Cossack Rebellion which began in 1648. The former unsettled the life of German Jewry and impoverished it, the latter crushed and decimated Polish Jewry in one of the most horrible tragedies in our history.

Throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, the Jews of Germany were subjected to all the humiliating restrictions of the Dark Ages of Europe. The Middle Ages were still on. The Reformation had availed them little. The German Jews were still huddled in ghettos, branded with a yellow badge, victimized by excessive taxation, and subjected to frequent popular outbursts and riots. The



Thirty Years War marked the time when Judaism reached its lowest ebb.

The Cossack uprisings in the middle of the seventeenth century broke the back of Polish Jewry. It was called by the Jews the third destruction, alike in enormity to the earlier two. The Cossack hordes, led by the cunning and ruthless aided by Tartars sent by the Khan of Crimea, swept over the whole of the Ukraine, bringing death and destruction with them. Bohemia and Podolia were soon engulfed in the onrushing tides of the ruthless bands who were bent upon the extermination of Poles and Jews and who executed their purposes in most terrible and savage ways. For nearly two years, in 1648 and 49 the terror reigned. It is estimated that 300 Jewish communities were destroyed and that 300,000 Jews were massacred. The ghastly experiences of these years left a scar on the soul of Polish Jewry. Five years later the Russian and Swedish invasions took place, adding new disasters to the already long catalogue of national catastrophes.

The seventeenth century was therefore very favorable to the spread of vivid Messianic hopes among the Jews of Poland, even as it was for all the Jews of western Europe. The Shabbetai Zevi found Polish Jewry bleeding, broken, intellectually and spiritually exhausted, steeped in Messianic lore, eager to receive any message which promised swift and miraculous relief from its suffering. Messianic expectations ran high, too, among German Jewry. Gluckel von Hameln writes in her memoirs, "It is difficult to describe the joy with which the letters (from the East telling of Shabbetai Zevi) were received in Hamburg.

Interestingly enough, Christendom, too, in the seventeenth century was in the midst of vast confusion and conflict, and mystic movements which began in western Europe simultaneously with the Reformation continued throughout the seventeenth century. They were all filled with apocalyptic visions, expectations of the second coming of Christ, and the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. It was generally accepted as part of the creed <sup>that</sup> ~~of~~ the return of the Jews to the Holy Land and their conversion to Christianity must precede the second coming of Jesus and the

establishment of his kingdom. They were all convinced that they were on the threshold of this great, new era. Many of these mystic sects later on came to the United States and brought with them these mystical conceptions of the millenium and the restoration of the Hebrew nation, and I am of the opinion that much of it taught through the generations became part of the religious thought pattern of the American people and prepared the way for a friendly and favorable reception of our appeal for assistance in the establishment of the state of Israel.

In Germany the foremost spiritual reformer of the seventeenth century, Jacob Boehme, believed that the time of the recalling of the Jews was near at hand.

Paul Felgenhauer of Bohemia dedicated his book, "Bonum Munus Israeli," to

in Israel and in it he sets forth his reasons for expecting the early restoration of the Jews. In France Isaac LaPeyrere published a book called "De Rappel de Juifs" in which he expressed his conviction that the French Jews will be the first to be converted and that France will be the place of the mobilization of all Jews for the conquest of the Holy Land.

Strong indeed were these mystic millenarian Zionist trends in English religious circles. Interest in the fate of the Jewish people which was correlated with Adventism began in England quite early. Edmund Bunney wrote several books replete with deep affection for Israel and voicing the hope of their imminent restoration towards the close of the sixteenth century. In 1607 there appeared a tract called "Newes From Rome," which conveyed the news "of the Hebrew people till this day not discovered coming from the mountains of Caspi (Caspian) who pretend their war is to recover the land of promise and expell the Turks out of Christendom." In 1621 a Puritan by the name of Sir Henry Finch wrote a book called "The World's Great Restoration" or "The Calling of the Jews," in which he predicted the early restoration of Israel and Palestine.

But it was in the period of bitter conflict and revolution which culminated

in the overflow of the monarchy, the execution of the king, and the establish of the Commonwealth that we find a veritable literature devoted to this subject. The fifth monarchy men were millenarians who believed that the second coming was near at hand and of course also the restoration of the Jews to Palestine. Some of the more prominent millenarians of the day were friends of . It is significant to know that in the middle of the seventeenth century the Christian and Jewish Messianic years approximated. The year 1648 was generally regarded as the Jewish Messianic year, and 1666 was the Christian Messianic year. When the Shabbetai Zevi movement swept over Europe in the year 1666 it stirred England profoundly.

I recall these facts at this time because all the Messianic speculations of that century, the seventeenth, were related in an essential way to Israel. The Messianic hope of Christian England in the seventeenth century and that of universal Israel converged, and from it there evolved some very important historical events, such as the ~~puzzling~~ return of the Jews to England in the middle of the seventeenth century, and also the creation of that spiritual mood and background which made the people of Great Britain and some of its foremost leaders so receptive to the idea of the national restoration of the Jewish people when the movement entered its political phase, and it was also responsible for that mood of religious sympathy and understanding upon which our own political activities in the last generation among our fellow citizens not of our faith whose support was so vital to the success of our movement were carried on.

I spoke of the religious background of the peoples who came here during the formative decades of American colonization and settlement which proved favorable to our cause. There was of course also a vital political factor. Many of these people who came here came from lands of oppression and tyranny. Many of them were members themselves of nationality groups which had suffered from domination and



exploitation. They too had been denied the right of self-determination and of being masters over their own destinies. They had a fellow feeling for the Jewish people which preeminently among the rightless peoples of the world had suffered so much through the long centuries.

The government of the United States, reflecting these prevalent sentiments of its citizens, was ready at all times within the conditions of international usage to come to the aid of oppressed peoples who were struggling for their national independence. Appeals came to our government from all parts of the world, and seldom did our government turn a deaf ear to the legitimate appeals of oppressed nationalities or minorities.



## ADDRESS DELIVERED AT AMERICAN JEWISH TRICENTENARY CELEBRATION

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

~~Cleveland, Ohio~~~~March 23, 1955~~

Christopher Columbus began the journal of his first voyage which was to lead to the discovery of America with the following words: "After the Spanish monarchs had expelled all the Jews from all their kingdoms and lands in January, in the same month they commissioned me to undertake the voyage to India with a properly equipped fleet." Thus Christopher Columbus, who was himself of Jewish descent, connected his momentous voyage of discovery with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. He did not know, of course, what would befall these exiles, nor where they or their descendants would go. Nor could he foretell that centuries later there would arise in the New World a community of Jews many times the size of the community which was expelled from the Iberian peninsula. Columbus himself believed that his discoveries were the fulfillment of prophecy.

Jews came with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery, and in the next few centuries others came in increasing numbers to the Western Hemisphere, seeking a haven. Thousands of Jews were settled in Brazil in the middle of the seventeenth century, when the Portuguese captured it from the Dutch and forced these Jews to flee to other parts of the New World or to Holland, from which some of them had come. Twenty-three Jews arrived on the "St. Charles" in Nieuw Amsterdam in 1654.

Thus when the doors of Spain and Portugal were closed to the Jews by the hand of <sup>bigotry</sup> ~~bigotry~~ and the most <sup>numerous</sup> ~~populous~~, prosperous, and cultured Jewish community, was broken and scattered, the doors of the New World were unlocked. When the doors of Brazil were shut to them by the same hand, the doors of what was to become the

United States of America were opened to them. Time and again in Jewish history the setting of the sun in one place was quickly followed by the rising of the sun in another. The destruction of the European Jewish community in the early years of the 5th decade of our present century was followed in the closing year of that same decade with the reestablishment of the Jewish state in Palestine, and the opening of a new and brilliant era in Jewish history.

Some would call this the accident of history. Men of faith will see in it the hand of Providence - the fulfillment of the divine promise never utterly to destroy the people of Israel. "Fear not thou, O Jacob my servant, saith the Lord. For I am with thee... I will correct thee in measure but will never utterly destroy thee... When thou passest through the deep waters I will be with thee, and through the rivers, they shall not overwhelm thee, when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burned, neither shall the flame consume thee."

The generation in which the twenty-three Jewish refugees from Brazil landed in Nieuw Amsterdam was a dark, stormy, and tragic period in Jewish history in Europe. The outstanding political events of that time were the Thirty Years War which closed in 1648, and the Cossack Rebellion which began in 1648. The former violently disrupted the life of Western European Jewry and impoverished it; the latter crushed and decimated Polish Jewry in one of the most horrible tragedies in our history.

Three hundred years later, in this self-same Europe, 6 million of our people were cruelly done to death in the most appalling deliberate mass slaughter in all human history. The record of Jewish experience in Europe from 1654 to 1954 is, with few outstanding exceptions, one of ~~continuous~~ persecution, discrimination, massacres, exiles, indignity and insecurity. Against this dark and savage

In the middle, the 17c - 1/3, the Jews, Europe were massacred.  
In the middle, the 20c - 2/3.



background of intolerance and rightlessness, we today ~~humbly and~~ gratefully review ~~the~~ three centuries of the experience of our people in this country.

In no other country on earth have our people been privileged to enjoy so long a period of uninterrupted and peaceful dwelling and labor. In no other country of the world, since the Dispersion, have our people enjoyed a continuous period of three hundred years of equality, freedom, and dignity, free from persecution and legal disabilities. For all this we should be grateful to a kind Providence and to the traditions of this gracious land. For all this we should be daily resolved to contribute of the best of our heart, mind, and hand to the preservation of the great traditions and institutions of this country, and to the enhancement and enrichment of its cultural and spiritual life.

Reviewing the story of the last three hundred years, I believe that the Jews of America have reason to be proud of the contributions which they made to American life and of the manner in which they served the cause of Judaism, the Jewish community of America, and world Jewry.

Our beginnings here were humble, as were the beginnings of all peoples who came to these shores. Steadily through the years, and more rapidly in the last one hundred years, our numbers increased and we came to share eagerly and gratefully in the growing and evolving life of America. Our people became in outlook true children of the New World, and in service and devotion, loyal and proud citizens of the United States. They served it patriotically in peace and in war. They made creditable contributions to its material prosperity, its political and social progress, its democratic institutions, to labor and industry, to its arts, science, literature, and music. They supported generously all the philanthropic and social agencies and institutions of our land - Jewish and non-Jewish alike. They have been not an unworthy or unimportant part of the colorful, unique, and noble mosaic which is America. Of this record we may be proud.

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In the struggle of liberation of the Greeks from Turkish rule of the Hungarians from Austrian dominion and of Poland from Czarist Russia, the sympathy of the American government, reflecting the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, was definitely with the revolutionists against tyranny and was evidenced by the government in many ways. It is therefore not at all surprising that the Congress of the United States adopted a joint resolution in 1922 favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. And again in 1944 it is not surprising that the two major political parties of our country included in their party platforms adopted in 1944 at their national conventions plans favoring the establishment of the Jewish national home. It is not surprising either that when we came to make our appeal for popular support of our cause, we received such ready endorsement from the American clergy, the American press, governors and legislators throughout the nation, and from the leaders in American educational and cultural life.

I believe that that reservoir of good will and sympathy for Israel still exists. Here and there hostile propaganda may have caused confusion in the minds of some of our fellow citizens, but in the main, that historic religiously and politically motivated sentiment continues and will, I believe, continue indefinitely. Our difficulties were never with the American people, but with certain narrow sections in government circles who, for one reason or another, under pressure of one group or another, resisted the legitimate claims of our movement. In spite of these centers of resistance in government circles, the historic fact remains that the American government finally rallied to our side and encouraged others to vote with it in November, 1947 for the acceptance of the majority report of the United Nations Commission on Palestine which recognized the establishment of an independent state of Israel in a part of Palestine. While it is true that the

reversal of this position of our government took place in March of the following year and a new temporary trusteeship was proposed at a specially convoked assembly of the United Nations, the historic fact again remains that when the citizens of Israel proclaimed the establishment of their sovereign government on May 14th, it was the President of the United States who, within a few brief moments after this proclamation, granted de facto recognition to the government of Israel.

It is well to bear these facts in mind, for in the years to come there will be many problems which will arise <sup>in</sup> and which the government of the United States may take certain positions which may not be entirely favorable to the state of Israel. Insofar as these positions are unjust, unwarranted, or ill-advised, they should be opposed by us. We should not accept or concur in any foreign policy of our government whether in relation to Israel or to any other country which does not appear to us to be just and good for the American people. Governments occasionally adopt unwise foreign policies which they later on revise and correct. International relations are always fluid, susceptible to change. But in criticizing our government for wrong policies toward Israel we should never lose sight of this basically friendly attitude which has persisted through many decades and generations. We should not always interpret actions of which we do not approve as stemming from ill-will or malice. We should rely upon this basic attitude of friendship, retaining the right to reason with the responsible heads of our government and to persuade them to adopt a different course.

Over and above this sentiment of good will there is a growing realization on the part of our people that the international interests of the United States and the cause of the free world stand to gain from having in the Near East a dependable country committed to the principles of democracy and human freedom and eager to cooperate with the western world in all things which will contribute to the progress and freedom of men and nations.

Reviewing the story of the last 300 years, I believe that the Jews of America



have reason to be reasonably proud of the contributions which they made to American life and of the manner in which they served the cause of Judaism, the Jewish community of America, and world Jewry. Our beginnings here were humble, as were the beginnings of all peoples who came to these shores. Steadily through the years, and more rapidly in the last 100 years, our numbers increased and we came to share eagerly and fratefully in the growing and evolving life of America. Our people became in outlook true children of the New World, and in service and devotion, loyal and proud citizens of the United States. They served it patriotically in peace and in war. They made creditable contributions to its material prosperity, to its political and social progress, its democratic institutions, to labor and industry, to its arts, science, literature, and music. They supported generously all the philanthropic and social agencies and institutions of our land - Jewish and non-Jewish alike. They have been not an unworthy or unimportant part of the colorful, unique and noble mosaic which is America.

There are, in my judgment, four moments of which the American Jewish community has reason to be proud. In the first place, they did not ignore or forget their religious heritage. They remained faithful to it. Upon the shores of the new land they built their synagogues, their schools, and their institutions of Jewish learning which have always embodied the ethical ideals and the way of life of our people. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the religious life of our people, as there is in the religious life of all of our fellow citizens. There is much to be done in this age of dominant material interest to intensify the spirit of religion among our people and to improve the agencies of the religious instruction of our youth, but by and large the American Jewish community has been faithful to its religious heritage. And while certain numbers of our people, and in certain periods more than in others, have drifted away from their religious heritage, the great body of our people has remained loyal and constant.

The second factor which may well serve as a source of pride to us is that the American Jewish community has built up through the years noble institutions of philanthropy and human service. There is hardly a Jewish community in the United States which does not possess a quota of eleemosynary institutions and social agencies, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, family services, social centers which express the historic humanity of our people. In many ways the Jews of America were pioneers in quite a number of philanthropic fields. It has been a generous community, fully alert to the responsibilities of the needy and the distressed in their midst.

The third factor to which the American Jewish community may point with a measure of pride is the fact that it did not isolate itself from the lot of its fellow-Jews in other parts of the world. They remained bound to them in fraternal solicitude. They helped them in their needs. They came to their defense when attacked. They poured out their generosity when tragedy overtook them. They remained loyal to the Jewish tradition of one universal Jewish community, that all members are responsible for another.

And finally, the American Jewish community will in the days to come be able to point with pride to the fact that when the historic moment arrived, they rallied to the task of building the state of Israel, and they have undergirded it with their support and unflagging interest since then.

This is not the occasion to review what the American Jewish community has contributed to the re-establishment of the state of Israel. This is the work for future historians. But I believe, and I believe that you will agree with me, that without the rallying of the forces of America in Israel in the critical years preceding the establishment of the State, without their monumental activities in arousing public sentiment in this country for it, without their multitudinous efforts of propaganda, education, without their adroit political action in many

spheres, and without their generous outpouring of substance and financial support, the state of Israel would not have been established. This is not to say that the entire credit for this heroic achievement in Jewish history is to be given to the American Jewish community - far from it. Many important factors and forces merged in the final achievement, and in the first instance primarily, the heroic fighting, self-sacrifice on the part of the Jews of Palestine. But the fact remains that the great political victories culminating in the decision of the United Nations and in the recognition of the state of Israel on the part of the American government was due in a large measure to the American Jewish community.

It should be noted with gratitude again and should be a guide for the future that while the American Jewish community on the issue of Zionism was sharply divided and the house of Israel was for many years beset with the clamor of controversy and sharply divided along ideological lines, when the great decisive moment arrived, the American Jewish community rallied almost as one man to the cause. This was first evidenced in the remarkable mobilization of American Jewry in behalf of the Jewish commonwealth at the American Jewish Conference in September, 1943 and again in the historic year of 1947. And even those who refused to abide by the decision of 1943 were found loyally in the ranks of the supporters of the cause.

There is an historic sense among our people which asserts itself decisively in critical hours, which brushes aside under the stress of urgency, secondary and collateral issues, and has a genius for collective action when such action is called for. This should give Jewish leaders great confidence of the future. While I am not underestimating the significance of division of opinion, they should not over-estimate it. They such have the confidence and the historic perspective that when great issues are to be decided, the overwhelming majority of American Jews and their spokesmen will be on the side of all that is constructive, historic in Jewish life.

Encouraging too is the fact that the American Jewish community has been able to produce leaders when leaders were wanted. Leaders in the field of religion and social service, leaders in education, and leaders in our movement of national renaissance. These leaders came from all walks of life, from the rich and the poor, from labor and capital, from native-born and immigrant. They came from the circles of the orthodox, the conservative, and the reform. The cause of Judaism and of the Jewish people was able to draw response, support, and leadership from all sections of our people. We should bear this fact in mind, too, in the years to come. No one group has a monopoly of Jewish loyalty, and the destiny of our people is in the hands of no single group or section of our people. It would be well to spend less of our time and energy in competitive argumentation and in reaching out for group prestige. It is wiser by far to conduct our communal life with in friendly cooperation with reasonable restraint, with mutual affection and esteem, seeking ways of understanding always, and ways of cooperation.

We have now closed three centuries of living in this country. We are on the threshold of the fourth century. In no other country on earth have our people been privileged to enjoy for so long a period of uninterrupted and peaceful dwelling and labor. In no other country of the world since the dispersion have our people enjoyed a continuous period of 300 years of equality, freedom, dignity, free from persecution and disabilities imposed by law. For all this we should be grateful to a kind Providence and for the traditions of this land. For all this we should be daily resolved to contribute of the best of our heart, mind, and hand to the preservations of the great traditions and institutions of this country, and to the enhancement and enrichment of its cultural and spiritual life.

What of the future? I believe that the future is rich in promise for the American Jewish community if the catastrophe of war does not shatter its security and life. As a minority we are helpless against the ravages of hate and demagoguery



which war and economic depressions unleash, but given peace and economic stability, the American Jewish community will move forward and develop. It will expand its cultural and religious life and institutions and will make worthy contributions to the total life of American and world Jewry. If the American Jews of the coming decades will carry on uninterruptedly and with wisdom and discrimination putting first things first and accentuating the positive and indispensable enterprises of Jewish life, they will make this the numerically largest Jewish community in the world, also one of the greatest in terms of faith, culture, and scholarship. What may endanger our Jewish future here is not conscious escapism or deliberate assimilationist tendencies such as characterized Jewish communities at other times in other parts of the world. Rather an unconscious drift and a carefree relaxation of all disciplines, not out of conviction but out of sheer indifference.

The American Jewish community will survive if it will remain faithful to a basic dogma of Jewish existence, the sense of group solidarity, of peoplehood, of belonging to an historic Jewish community which cuts across time and space, and which is centered in the covenant of life, a covenant with the eternal principles of Judaism, and a covenant with universal Israel. The American Jewish community of tomorrow will draw strength from continued and increased cultural and spiritual contacts with Israel, working for its security and stability.

## U.S. Policy Toward Israel

# Role of American Jews

by Dr. Abba Hillel Silver

In the years to come there will undoubtedly be many issues on which the Government of the United States may take positions which will not be entirely favorable to the State of Israel. Insofar as these positions will appear to us to be unsound, unjust, or ill-advised, we should most decidedly oppose them. We should not accept or concur in any foreign policy of our government, whether in relation to Israel or for that matter to any other country, which does not appear to us to be just and good for the American people.

Governments from time to time adopt unwise foreign policies which they later revise and correct. International relations are always fluid and subject to change. But when we criticize our government for wrong policies toward Israel, we should never lose sight of the basically friendly and cooperative attitude which has persisted through many decades. We should not interpret all actions of which we do not approve as stemming from ill-will or malice. We should build upon the basic attitude of friendship, retaining the right to reason with the responsible heads of our government and to persuade them whenever we believe that a different course is indicated.

Over and above this sentiment of goodwill, which is an historic heritage of the American people, there is also a growing realization on the part of the American people that

the international interests of the United States and the cause of the free world stand to gain from having in the Near East a dependable nation committed to the principles of democracy and human freedom and eager to cooperate with the western world in all things which will contribute to the progress and freedom of men and nations. Israel is eager to return friendship for friendship.

The American Jewish community will, in the days to come, be able to point with pride to the fact that when the historic moment of consummation of our millennial national hope arrived, American Jews rallied almost as one man to the task of building the State of Israel, and they have undergirded it with their support and unflagging interest since then.

This is not the occasion to review what the American Jewish community contributed to the re-establishment of the State of Israel. This is the work for future historians whose conclusions will not be skewed or guided by jaundiced party interests.

But I believe, and I believe that you will agree with me, that without the rallying of the forces of American Jews in the critical years which preceded the establishment of the State, without their monumental activities in arousing and marshalling public opinion in this



DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

country, without their large-scale efforts of educational propaganda, without their forceful political activity, and without their generous outpouring of substance and financial support, the State of Israel would not have been established.

This is not to say that the entire credit for this heroic achievement is to be given to the American Jewish community—far from it. Many important forces merged in the final achievement, and in the first instance the heroic self-sacrifice on the part of the fighting Jews of Palestine. But the fact remains that the great political victories which culminated in the decision of the United Nations, and in the recognition of the State of Israel by the American Government, were due in a very large measure to the activities of the American Jewish community.

I believe that the future is rich in promise for the American Jewish community if the catastrophe of war does not shatter its security and life. As a minority we are helpless against the ravages of hate and demagoguery which war and economic depressions unleash, but given peace and economic stability, the American Jewish community will move forward and develop.

The American Jewish community of tomorrow will draw strength from continued and increased cultural and spiritual contacts with Israel. The guiding principle should be maximal participation in American life and maximal devotion to its progress and security, along with maximal interest in and support of Israel.

The American Jewish community of tomorrow will, in the main, be what American Jews will make it. External pressure may from time to time be massive, but the internal motivations will be decisive. It should be remembered that always it was not external compulsion or any historic dialectics which kept the Jewish people alive, but fierce, stiff-necked voluntarism. Given devoted and well-informed leadership and adequate religious training of our youth, we may look to the future of the American Jewish community, barring disastrous revolutionary changes in the structure of American government and society, with a good measure of confident hope.

*Excerpts from an address delivered at the American Jewish Tercentenary Celebration sponsored by the American Zionist Council at Hunter College Auditorium, New York City, Feb. 21, 1955.*

# Zionism and American Jewry

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

[Address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the American Jewish Tercentenary Celebration sponsored by the American Zionist Council, Monday, February 21, 1955, at the Hunter College Assembly Hall, New York City.]

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS began the journal of his first voyage which was to lead to the discovery of America with the following words: "After the Spanish monarchs had expelled all the Jews from all their kingdoms and lands in January, in the same month they commissioned me to undertake the voyage to India with a properly equipped fleet." Thus Christopher Columbus, who was himself of Jewish descent, connected his momentous voyage of discovery with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. He did not know, of course, what would befall these exiles, nor where they or their descendants would go. Nor could he foretell that centuries later there would arise in the New World a community of Jews many times the size of the community which was expelled from the Iberian peninsula, and that this community would be instrumental in the ingathering of many Jewish exiles from many parts of the earth in a reconstructed Jewish state in Palestine. Columbus himself believed that his discoveries were the fulfillment of prophecy.

Jews came with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery, and in the next few centuries others came in increasing numbers to the Western Hemisphere seeking a haven. Thousands of Jews were settled in Brazil in the middle of the seventeenth century when the Portuguese captured it from the Dutch and forced these Jews to flee to other parts of the New World or to Holland, from which some of them had come. The twenty-three Jews who arrived on the "St. Charles" in Nieuw Amsterdam in 1654 were not the first Jews who had put foot on the soil of what was some day to become the United States of America.

It is of interest to note that many of those who came to the New World wanted to establish Jewish colonies. Thus, in 1652, the Dutch West India Company granted to Joseph Nunez du Fonseca and other a tract of land in the island of Curacao to found a colony of Jews. In 1659 a similar grant was made by the French West India Company to David Nassi, a Portuguese Jew, to found a Jewish colony in Cayenne. There is on record a grant made in 1654 by the English Government "to the people of the Hebrew nation that are to go to the wild coast." The idea of establishing community settlements in the New World was widely accepted by many nationality groups of the Old

World, and the Jews wished to do what other nationality groups were doing. They wanted to be with their own and among their own in the unexplored wilderness of the New World and in position to practice their faith and their group customs under conditions which they themselves could control. They knew themselves to be members of a nationality group and they acted accordingly.

In 1783 a memorial was sent by German Jews to the President of the Continental Congress asking to be informed on what terms a body of German Jews of about two thousand families might settle in this country. In 1819 a Mr. W. D. Robinson of London proposed a scheme for a large Jewish settlement in upper Mississippi and Missouri territory to serve as a place of security and opportunity for the persecuted and oppressed Jews of Europe. There were other non-Jews who wished to establish in the New World Jewish settlements and even a Jewish state. In 1749 Margrave de Saxe, who was Marshall of France, took a fancy to become a king—I am now quoting from the *Memoirs of the Margravine of Anspach*—"and on looking around him, as he found all thrones occupied, he cast his eyes upon that nation which for 1700 years had neither sovereign nor country. This extraordinary project occupied his attention for a considerable time."

THE most notable project, of course, for the establishment of a Jewish state in the New World was that of Mordecai Manuel Noah, foremost member of the Jewish community of his day. On Sept. 2, 1825, with impressive ceremonies, he laid the cornerstone of the city of Ararat on Grand Island in the Niagara River near Buffalo, which city was to be the capital of the new Jewish state. It is of interest to note that the original intention of Mordecai Manuel Noah was to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. He was the first real Zionist on the American continent. When he became convinced that the restoration of Palestine was not immediately feasible, he resorted to the idea of establishing a Jewish state on Grand Island as a preliminary to the ultimate restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine. Nothing came of his project, but Mordecai Manuel, in spite of the rebuffs which he suffered and the ridicule to which he was subjected, did not abandon his Zionist dream. As late as 1845, we find

him addressing a Christian audience in the city of New York, appealing for the restoration of the Jewish nation. In this address he stated, "I confidently believe in the restoration of the Jews and in the coming of the Messiah, and believing that political events are daily assuming a shape which may finally lead to that great advent, I consider it a duty to call upon the free people of this country to aid us in any efforts which in our present position it may be prudent to adopt. And I have the most abiding confidence in their goodwill and friendly feelings in aiding to restore us to liberty and independence."

In that same address Mr. Noah declared, "The political events in Syria, Egypt, Turkey and Russia indicate the approach of great and important revolutions which may facilitate the return of the Jews to Jerusalem." He further declared, "England must possess Egypt as affording the only secure route to her possessions in India through the Red Sea; then Palestine thus placed between the Russian possessions and Egypt, reverts to its legitimate proprietors and for the safety of the surrounding nations, a powerful, wealthy, independent and enterprising people are placed there by and with the consent of the Christian powers, and with their aid and agency, the land of Israel passes once more into the possession of the descendants of Abraham . . . While many who are not present may suppose that we shall not live to hear the triumphant success of this project; yet, my friends, it may be rarer than we imagine . . . If I am right in this interpretation, what a glorious privilege is reserved for the free people of the United States, the only country which has given civil and religious rights to the Jews equal with all other sects, the only country which has not persecuted them, to be selected and pointedly distinguished in prophecy as the nation, which at a proper time, shall present to the Lord His chosen and trodden-down people and pave the way for their restoration to Zion." Mordecai Manuel Noah's words, too, seem to have been touched with prophecy.

It is of interest to note that Mordecai Manuel Noah's championing of Zionism evoked the first full-scale anti-Zionist reaction. It came from the Grand Rabbi of Paris, who had been invited, among others, by Mr. Noah to serve as a commissioner to administer the state which he intended to establish in Ararat. In a letter in 1825, in declining Mr. Noah's invitation, Rabbi Abraham de Cologne wrote in behalf of himself and the Chief Rabbis in London the following: "We declare that according to our dogmas,

God alone knows the epoch of the Israelitish restoration, that He alone will make it known to the whole universe by signs entirely unequivocal, and that every attempt on our part to re-assemble with any political national design is forbidden as an act of high treason against the divine majesty. Mr. Noah has doubtless forgotten that the Israelites, faithful to the principles of their belief, are too much attached to the countries where they dwell and devoted to the governments under which they enjoy liberty and protection, not to treat as a mere jest the chimerical consulate of a pseudo restorer." There it is—the whole anti-Zionist argument in a nutshell.

**T**HE generation in which the 23 Jewish refugees from Brazil landed in Nieuw Amsterdam was a dark, stormy, and tragic period in Jewish history in Europe. The outstanding political events of that time were the Thirty Years War which closed in 1648, and the Cossack Rebellion which began in 1648. The former violently disrupted the life of Western European Jewry and impoverished it; the latter crushed and decimated Polish Jewry in one of the most horrible tragedies in our history.

Throughout the first half of the 17th Century, the Jews of Germany were subjected to all the humiliating restrictions of the Dark Ages of Europe. The Middle Ages were still on. The Reformation had availed them little. The German Jews were still huddled in ghettos, branded with the yellow badge, victimized by excessive taxation, and subjected to frequent popular outbursts and riots. The Thirty Years War marked the time when Jewry in Europe reached its lowest ebb.

The Cossack uprisings in the middle of the 17th Century broke the back of Polish Jewry. The Cossack hordes, led by the cunning and ruthless Bogdan Khmelnitzki, aided by Tartars sent by the Khan of Crimea, swept over the whole of the Ukraine, bringing death and destruction with them. Volhynia and Podolia were soon engulfed in the onrushing tides of the ruthless bands who were bent upon the extermination of all Poles and Jews and who executed their purposes in most terrible and savage ways. For nearly two years, in 1648 and '49, the terror reigned. It is estimated that three hundred Jewish communities were destroyed and that 300,000 Jews were massacred. The ghastly experiences of these years left a scar on the soul of Polish Jewry. Five years later the Russian and Swedish invasions took place, adding new disasters to the already long catalogue of national catastrophes. This was the Old World background against which we should view the first settlement of Jews in what is today the United States of America.

The 17th Century was very favorable to the spread of fervid Messianic hopes among the Jews of Poland and the Jews of Western Europe. The Shabbetai Zevi movement in the middle of the century

found Polish Jewry bleeding, broken, intellectually and spiritually exhausted, steeped in Messianic lore, eager to receive any message which promised swift and miraculous surcease from its suffering. Messianic expectations ran high also among German Jewry. Glückel von Hameln writes in her memoirs, "It is difficult to describe the joy with which the letters (from the East telling of Shabbetai Zevi) were received in Hamburg." Some of the Jews who fled from Brazil to Holland, like Isaac Aboab, became fervent adherents of Shabbetai Zevi. These Messianic expectations had important historic consequences insofar as they corresponded with similar messianic strivings in the Christian world.

Christendom, too, in the 17th Century, was in the midst of vast confusion and conflict, and the mystic movements which began simultaneously with Reformation continued with increasing tempo throughout the 17th Century. They were all filled with apocalyptic visions, with expectations of the second coming of Christ, and the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. It was generally accepted as part of the creed that the return of the Jews to the Holy Land following their conversion to Christianity must precede the second coming of Jesus and the establishment of his kingdom. These strong religious motives prepared the way for the unopposed return of the Jews to England, following Manasseh ben Israel's mission to Cromwell.

Many of these Christian mystic sects later on came to the United States and brought with them their conceptions of the millennium and their belief in the restoration of the Hebrew nation. I am of the opinion that these beliefs which were assiduously taught to succeeding generations of Americans became part of the religious thought-pattern of the American people and were an important factor in preparing the way for the friendly and favorable reception which was given to our appeal to the American people for assistance in the establishment of the State of Israel.

**I** spoke of the religious background of the people who came here during the formative decades of American colonization which proved favorable to our cause. There were of course also political factors. These same religious sects, Puritans and Anabaptists, brought with them as a corollary of their ideas of religious independence also concepts of freedom from political tyranny. Friends of democracy on occasion forget the religious origin of the democratic evolution in the Western World. Modern democracy was born out of the struggle for religious freedom in the 16th and 17th centuries. Out of that victorious struggle there streamed other victories for man; political, economic, and social. Thus when, in the 18th Century, the founding fathers of our Republic wrote into the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with

certain unalienable rights," they were giving political expression to what was fundamentally religious doctrine. These doctrines were stressed as having divine sanction and Biblical authority by all the warring religious sectarians of the 16th and 17th centuries. When our founding fathers proclaimed that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God; or when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical verse: "Ye shall proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"; or when Franklin and Jefferson, in drafting the first seal of the United States, engraved on it the figure of Moses, the first emancipator of men, as he stood on the shores of the Red Sea and caused its waters to overwhelm the Egyptian Pharaoh and his host, they were marshalling religious truth and authority to underwrite their political revolution. These religiously inspired ideals of human freedom which were associated in the minds of the American people with the Bible and, therefore, also with the people of the Bible, were not without their influence in creating that climate of sympathy and understanding which in the decisive hour proved so tremendously helpful to our cause.

Again, many of the immigrant peoples who later came to these shores hailed from lands of oppression and tyranny. Many of them were themselves members of nationality groups which had suffered from alien domination and exploitation. They, too, had been denied the right of self-determination, the right to be masters over their own destinies. They had a natural fellow-feeling for the Jewish people which pre-eminently among the rightless peoples of the world had suffered so much through the long centuries.

The Government of the United States, reflecting these prevalent sentiments of its citizens, was, therefore, not unwilling to help as far as it could, all oppressed peoples and minority groups who were struggling for their rights or their national independence. Appeals came to our Government throughout the 19th Century as they have continued to come to this day from all parts of the world, and seldom did our Government turn a deaf ear to them.

In the struggle of liberation of the Greeks from Turkish rule, of the Hungarians from Austrian domination, and of Poland from Czarist Russia, the sympathy of the American Government, reflecting the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, was definitely with the revolutionists against tyranny, and our Government evidenced it in many ways. It is therefore not at all surprising that the Congress of the United States adopted a joint resolution in 1922 favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and reaffirmed its position in 1944. It is not surprising that the two major political parties of our country included in their party platforms in 1944 a plank favoring a Jewish national home in Palestine. Nor is it surprising that our appeal for support received such ready



and hearty endorsement from the American clergy, the American press, from governors and legislators throughout the nation, in fact, from all sections of American public opinion.

I believe that this reservoir of good will and sympathy for Israel still exists. Here and there hostile propaganda may have caused confusion in the minds of some of our fellow citizens but in the main, that historic, religiously and politically motivated attitude of good will continues and will, I believe, continue indefinitely. Our difficulties were never with the American people, but with certain narrow sections in Government circles who, for one reason or another, under pressure of one group or another, resisted the legitimate claims of our Movement. In spite of these centers of resistance in Government circles, the historic fact to be kept in mind always is that the American Government did finally rally to our side and voted and encouraged other nations to vote with it, in November, 1947, for the acceptance of the majority report of the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine which recommended the establishment of an independent State of Israel in a part of Palestine. While it is true that a reversal of this position on the part of our Government took place in March of the following year and a new temporary trusteeship was proposed by our Government at a specially convoked Assembly of the United Nations, the historic fact again remains that when the citizens of Israel proclaimed the establishment of their sovereign state on May 14th of that year, it was the President of the United States who, within a few moments after that proclamation, granted de facto recognition to the Government of Israel.

It is well to bear these facts in mind. In the years to come there will undoubtedly be many issues on which the Government of the United States may take positions which will not be entirely favorable to the State of Israel. Insofar as these positions will appear to us to be unsound, unjust, or ill-advised, our people should most decidedly oppose them. They should not accept or concur in any foreign policy of our Government, whether in relation to Israel or for that matter to any other country, which does not appear to them to be just and good for the American people. Governments from time to time adopt unwise foreign policies which they later revise and correct. International relations are always fluid and subject to change. However, when we criticize our Government for wrong policies toward Israel, we should never lose sight of the basically friendly and cooperative attitude which has persisted through these many decades and years. We should not interpret all actions of which we do not approve as stemming from ill-will or malice. We should build upon the historic attitude of friendship, retaining the right to reason with the responsible heads of our Government and to persuade them whenever we believe that a different course is indicated.

Over and above this sentiment of good will, which is an heritage of the American people, there is also a growing realization on its part that the international interests of the United States and the cause of the free world generally stand to gain from having in the Near East a dependable nation committed to the principles of democracy and human freedom and eager to cooperate with the Western World in all things which will contribute to the progress and freedom of men and nations, a realization that Israel is eager to return friendship for friendship, and that this friendship is valuable to America.

REVIEWING the story of the last three hundred years, I believe that the Jews of America have reason to be proud of the contributions which they made to American life and of the manner in which they served the cause of Judaism, the Jewish community of America, and world Jewry.

Our beginnings here were humble, as were the beginnings of all peoples who came to these shores. Steadily through the years, and more rapidly in the last one hundred years, our numbers increased and we came to share eagerly and gratefully in the growing and evolving life of America. Our people became in outlook true children of the New World, and in service and devotion, loyal and proud citizens of the United States. They served it patriotically in peace and in war. They made creditable contributions to its material prosperity, its political and social progress, its democratic institutions, to labor and industry, to its arts, science, literature, and music. They supported generously all the philanthropic and social agencies and institutions of our land—Jewish and non-Jewish alike. They have been not an unworthy or unimportant part of the colorful, unique, and noble mosaic which is America. Of this record we may be proud.

There are, in my judgment, four other moments of which the American Jewish community has reason to entertain a feeling of pride. In the first place, American Jews did not ignore or forget their religious heritage. They remained faithful to it. Upon the shores of the new land they built their synagogues, their schools, and their institutions of Jewish learning which have always embodied the ethical ideals and the way of life of our people. The process is continuing with unabated vigor in our own day. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the religious life of our people, as there is in the religious life of all of our fellow citizens. There is much to be done in this age of monopolizing material interests, by way of intensifying the spirit of religion among our people and to improve the agencies of religious instruction of our youth. By and large, however, the American Jewish community has been loyal to its religious heritage. While some of our people, in certain periods more than in others, drifted away from their religious moorings, the great body of our people

has remained fully identified, loyal and steadfast.

The second factor which may well serve as a source of pride to us is that the American Jewish community has built up through the years noble institutions of philanthropy and human service. There is hardly a Jewish community in the United States today which does not possess its quota of eleemosynary institutions and social agencies, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, family services, social centers, all of them expressing the traditional humanity of our people. The Jews of America proved to be pioneers in quite a number of philanthropic fields. It has been a generous community, fully alert to the responsibilities of the needy and the distressed in their midst. Many of our sons and daughters, far out of proportion to our numbers, were found among the brave, free spirits of our country who fought for social justice, the rights of labor, and in defense of the underprivileged.

The third factor to which the American Jewish community may point with pride is the fact that it never isolated itself from the lot of its fellow-Jews in other parts of the world. They remained bound to them in fraternal solicitude. They helped them in their needs. They came to their defense when attacked. They poured out their generosity when tragedy overtook them. They remained loyal to the Jewish tradition of one universal Jewish community wherein all members are responsible one for another.

And finally, the American Jewish community is able to point with pride to the fact that when the historic moment of consummation of our millennial national hope arrived, American Jews rallied almost as one man to the task of building the State of Israel, and they have undergirded it with their support and unflagging interest since then.

THIS is not the occasion to review what the American Jewish community contributed to the reestablishment of the State of Israel. This is the work for future historians whose conclusions will not be slanted, I am sure, or guided by jaundiced party interests. But I believe, and I believe that you will agree with me, that without the remarkable rallying of the forces of American Jews in the critical years which preceded the establishment of the State, without their monumental activities in arousing and marshalling public opinion in this country, without their forceful political activity, and without their generous outpouring of substance and financial support, the State of Israel would not have been established. This is not to say that the entire credit for this heroic achievement is to be given to the American Jewish community—far from it. Many important forces merged in the final achievement, and in the first instance the heroic self-sacrifice on the part of the fighting Jews of Palestine. But the fact remains that the great political victories which culminated in the decision of the United Nations, and in the

recognition of the State of Israel by the American Government, were due, in a very large measure, to the activities of the American Jewish community.

It should be noted here with gratitude that while the American Jewish community had been sharply divided on the issue of Zionism and the State of Israel had been, for many years, beset with the clamor of ideological controversy, when the great decisive moment arrived, it rallied, under the leadership of the organized Zionist forces, with remarkable solidarity to the cause. This solidarity was evidenced first in the extraordinary mobilization of American Jews in behalf of the Jewish Commonwealth at the American Jewish Conference in September, 1943, and again in the historic year of 1947. Even those who refused to abide by the decision of the 1943 conference were found in the decisive hour loyally active in the ranks of the supporters of the cause.

This fact may well serve to an encouragement for the future. There is an historic sense among our people which asserts itself commandingly in critical hours, which, under the stress of urgency, brushes aside secondary and collateral issues and makes collective action mandatory. There is a lesson here for all Jewish leaders in the future. While the significance of divisions of opinion among our people should not be underestimated or ignored, they should not be overestimated either. Our leaders should have the confidence and the historic perspective to realize that when great issues call for decision, the overwhelming majority of American Jews will be found on the side of all that is constructive, historic, and forward-looking in Jewish life. For at such moments it is not definitions and ideologies which come into play, but timeless and unexpugnable loyalties.

Encouraging, too, is the fact that the American Jewish community has been able to produce leaders when leaders were needed, whether in the field of religion, social service, or education, or in our movement of national renaissance. These leaders emerged from all walks of Jewish life, from the rich and the poor, from labor and capital, from native-born and immigrant. They came from the circles of the Orthodox, the Conservative, and the Reform. The cause of Judaism and of the Jewish people was able to draw response, support, and leadership from all sections of our people. This fact, too, we should bear in mind in the years to come. No one group has a monopoly on Jewish loyalty and Jewish service, and the destiny of our people is in the hands of no single group or section of our people. It would be well in the future to spend less time and energy in mutual recrimination, in partisanship, or in prestige rivalries. It will be wiser by far to conduct our variegated communal life in reasonable restraint, in mutual respect, seeking always ways of understanding and cooperation. There never will be uniformity in American Jewish life. There can be an adequate and workable unity.

**W**E have now closed three centuries of living in this country. We are on the threshold of the fourth. In no other country on earth have our people been privileged to enjoy so long a period of uninterrupted and peaceful dwelling and labor. In no other country of the world, since the Dispersion, have our people enjoyed a continuous period of three hundred years of equality, freedom, and dignity, free from persecution and legal disabilities. For all this we should be grateful to a kind Providence and to the traditions of this gracious land. For all this we should be daily resolved to contribute of the best of our heart, mind, and hand to the preservation of the great traditions and institutions of this country, and to the enhancement and enrichment of its cultural and spiritual life.

What of the future? I believe that the future is rich in promise for the American Jewish community if the catastrophe of war does not shatter its security and life. As a minority we are helpless against the ravages of hate and demagoguery which war and economic depressions unleash. But given peace and economic stability the American Jewish community will move forward and develop. It will expand its cultural and religious life and institutions, and will make worthy contributions to the total life of America and world Jewry. If the American Jews of the coming decades will carry on uninterruptedly and with wisdom and discrimination, putting first things first, and accentuating the positive and indispensable enterprises of Jewish life, they will make this, the numerically largest Jewish community in the world, also one of the greatest in terms of faith, culture, and scholarship. What may endanger our Jewish future here is not conscious escapism or deliberate assimilationist tendencies such as characterized some Jewish communities at other times in other parts of the world—rather an unconscious drift and a carefree relaxation of all disciplines, not out of conviction but out of sheer indifference.

The American Jewish community will survive if it will remain faithful to the basic dogma of Jewish existence—the sense of group solidarity, of peoplehood, of belonging to an historic Jewish community which cuts across time and space, and which is centered in a life covenant with the eternal principles of Judaism and with universal Israel. The American Jewish community of tomorrow will draw strength from continued and increased cultural and spiritual contacts with Israel. Israel may draw cultural and spiritual strength in the future from contacts with the American Jewish community if this community will be strong in Jewish learning and vital. Often in the past, Jewish life in Palestine was replenished by spiritual and cultural influences coming from Jewish centers outside of Palestine. Both Judaism and the Hebrew language at times had to struggle for survival even in Palestine. At this very time Judaism is passing through a severe crisis

of adjustment in Israel. The guiding principle should be maximal participation in American life and maximal devotion to its progress and security, along with maximal interest in, and support of, Israel. The guiding objective both for the Jews in America and the rest of the Diaspora, as well as the Jews in the State of Israel, should be the survival of Judaism, which alone has given meaning and glory to our history.

**I** am persuaded that the synagogue will be the institution primarily responsible for the survival of the American Jewish community, as it has been responsible for our survival throughout our Dispersion. To fulfill this task, the synagogue must become much more a place of religious education than it has been heretofore. An essential feature of this Jewish religious education is the teaching of the Hebrew language, in which our religious culture has most fully expressed itself. No Jewish community ever survived for long which ignored Hebrew. No Jewish community ever contributed culturally to Jewish life which did not foster the Hebrew language and literature. The Hebrew language is not only the repository of our most glorious cultural trophies. It has been a powerful instrument for progress and renewal in Jewish life, and the bond of union, and the chain of continuity. The Hebrew language served our people as the weapon with which to batter down the spiritual and intellectual walls of the ghetto. It was the highway along which our people moved into the modern world. One cannot, of course, think of our national renaissance movement from the early *Hibbat Zion* days to the recent crowning days of struggle and victory without thinking of the brilliant galaxy of Hebrew writers, poets, and essayists who inspired and sustained it.

If we are thinking of any cultural link in the future between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora, then we must be thinking in terms of the Hebrew language. We must raise generations of Jews who will be able to read the language in which the future cultural creations of Israel will be cast.

To sum up, the American Jewish community of tomorrow will, in the main, be what American Jews will make it. External pressure may from time to time be massive, but the internal motivations will be decisive. It should be remembered that always it was not external compulsion nor persecution nor any historic dialectics which kept the Jewish people alive, but fierce, stiff-necked voluntarism, flowing out of a profound, treasured and greatly beloved faith and a sense of religious destiny. Given devoted and well-informed leadership and adequate religious training of our youth, we may look to the future of the American Jewish community, barring disastrous revolutionary changes in the structure of American government and society, with a good measure of confident hope.

# PROGRAM AND EDUCATION BULLETIN

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1955

## ZIONISM AND AMERICAN JEWRY

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

*President Eisenhower's  
Message to  
the American Jewish  
Tercentenary Commemoration  
Held at the ZOA House,  
Tel Aviv*

AS THE FORMAL OBSERVANCE begins of the Tercentenary of the arrival of the first Jewish settlers to our shores I am happy to extend greetings to those in Israel who are marking the commemoration. It is my confident hope that the celebration, stressing as it does the theme of "Man's opportunities and responsibilities under freedom," will re-emphasize those historic values to which both our countries are dedicated, our responsibility as members of the community of free nations to defend those values against all who would destroy them, our opportunity in this turbulent world to build upon them anew as foundations for peace throughout the world.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER

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# *American Jewry's 300th Anniversary*

## PROGRAM AND EDUCATION DIVISION ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA

5715-1955

DEAR CO-WORKER:

In this Tercentenary year American Jewry is taking stock of its progress and accomplishments during the three centuries that have passed since the first Jewish settlers landed in the United States.

This Bulletin is largely devoted to three related items: 1) Dr. Silver's thoughtful survey, entitled "Zionism and American Jewry"; 2) an elementary account of the development of Zionism in the United States, from earliest beginnings; 3) an analysis of the effects of Zionism and American Jewry on each other, and a glance ahead.

These materials are intended for reference or study, for use in preparing addresses and lectures, and for general guidance in District programming devoted to the Tercentenary.

In this last connection it may be reported that Hebrew Month this year is taking the Tercentenary for its keynote. It will be an especially fitting time for a program highlighting both themes--Hebrew culture and the Tercentenary. Suggestions for Hebrew Month and History Week are given in this Bulletin on pages 7 and 8.

The materials herein will be supplemented to meet your specific needs, upon request to the Program and Education Division. We cordially invite your inquiry and your report of District plans, in the assurance of our hearty cooperation.

For your further information, a selection of Zionist and Tercentenary source materials is listed at the end of this Bulletin. Let us know what you need, in materials or personal assistance. We'll try to help!

Sincerely,

RABBI JOSEPH P. STERNSTEIN, Chairman  
RABBI ARTHUR HERTZBERG, Vice-Chairman

DAVID E. HIESCH, Director  
PROGRAM AND EDUCATION DIVISION



# Zionism and American Jewry

By DR. ABBA HILLEL SILVER

[Address of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver at the American Jewish Tercentenary Celebration sponsored by the American Zionist Council, Monday, February 21, 1955, at the Hunter College Assembly Hall, New York City.]

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS began the journal of his first voyage which was to lead to the discovery of America with the following words: "After the Spanish monarchs had expelled all the Jews from all their kingdoms and lands in January, in the same month they commissioned me to undertake the voyage to India with a properly equipped fleet." Thus Christopher Columbus, who was himself of Jewish descent, connected his momentous voyage of discovery with the expulsion of the Jews from Spain. He did not know, of course, what would befall these exiles, nor where they or their descendants would go. Nor could he foretell that centuries later there would arise in the New World a community of Jews many times the size of the community which was expelled from the Iberian peninsula, and that this community would be instrumental in the ingathering of many Jewish exiles from many parts of the earth in a reconstructed Jewish state in Palestine. Columbus himself believed that his discoveries were the fulfillment of prophecy.

Jews came with Columbus on his first voyage of discovery, and in the next few centuries others came in increasing numbers to the Western Hemisphere seeking a haven. Thousands of Jews were settled in Brazil in the middle of the seventeenth century when the Portuguese captured it from the Dutch and forced these Jews to flee to other parts of the New World or to Holland, from which some of them had come. The twenty-three Jews who arrived on the "St. Charles" in Nieuw Amsterdam in 1654 were not the first Jews who had put foot on the soil of what was some day to become the United States of America.

It is of interest to note that many of those who came to the New World wanted to establish Jewish colonies. Thus, in 1652, the Dutch West India Company granted to Joseph Nunez du Fonseca and other a tract of land in the island of Curacao to found a colony of Jews. In 1659 a similar grant was made by the French West India Company to David Nassi, a Portuguese Jew, to found a Jewish colony in Cayenne. There is on record a grant made in 1664 by the English Government "to the people of the Hebrew nation that are to go to the wild coast." The idea of establishing community settlements in the New World was widely accepted by many nationality groups of the Old

World, and the Jews wished to do what other nationality groups were doing. They wanted to be with their own and among their own in the unexplored wilderness of the New World and in position to practice their faith and their group customs under conditions which they themselves could control. They knew themselves to be members of a nationality group and they acted accordingly.

In 1783 a memorial was sent by German Jews to the President of the Continental Congress asking to be informed on what terms a body of German Jews of about two thousand families might settle in this country. In 1819 a Mr. W. D. Robinson of London proposed a scheme for a large Jewish settlement in upper Mississippi and Missouri territory to serve as a place of security and opportunity for the persecuted and oppressed Jews of Europe. There were other non-Jews who wished to establish in the New World Jewish settlements and even a Jewish state. In 1749 Maurice de Saxe, who was Marshall of France, took a fancy to become a king—I am now quoting from the *Memoirs* of the Margravine of Anspach—"and on looking around him, as he found all thrones occupied, he cast his eyes upon that nation which for 1700 years had neither sovereign nor country. This extraordinary project occupied his attention for a considerable time."

THE most notable project, of course, for the establishment of a Jewish state in the New World was that of Mordecai Manuel Noah, foremost member of the Jewish community of his day. On Sept. 2, 1825, with impressive ceremonies, he laid the cornerstone of the city of Ararat on Grand Island in the Niagara River near Buffalo, which city was to be the capital of the new Jewish state. It is of interest to note that the original intention of Mordecai Manuel Noah was to establish a Jewish state in Palestine. He was the first real Zionist on the American continent. When he became convinced that the restoration of Palestine was not immediately feasible, he resorted to the idea of establishing a Jewish state on Grand Island as a preliminary to the ultimate restoration of the Jewish state in Palestine. Nothing came of his project, but Mordecai Manuel, in spite of the rebuffs which he suffered and the ridicule to which he was subjected, did not abandon his Zionist dream. As late as 1845, we find

him addressing a Christian audience in the city of New York, appealing for the restoration of the Jewish nation. In this address he stated, "I confidently believe in the restoration of the Jews and in the coming of the Messiah, and believing that political events are daily assuming a shape which may finally lead to that great advent, I consider it a duty to call upon the free people of this country to aid us in any efforts which in our present position it may be prudent to adopt. And I have the most abiding confidence in their goodwill and friendly feelings in aiding to restore us to liberty and independence."

In that same address Mr. Noah declared, "The political events in Syria, Egypt, Turkey and Russia indicate the approach of great and important revolutions which may facilitate the return of the Jews to Jerusalem." He further declared, "England must possess Egypt as affording the only secure route to her possessions in India through the Red Sea; then Palestine thus placed between the Russian possessions and Egypt, reverts to its legitimate proprietors and for the safety of the surrounding nations, a powerful, wealthy, independent and enterprising people are placed there by and with the consent of the Christian powers, and with their aid and agency, the land of Israel passes once more into the possession of the descendants of Abraham . . . While many who are not present may suppose that we shall not live to hear the triumphant success of this project; yet, my friends, it may be nearer than we imagine . . . If I am right in this interpretation, what a glorious privilege is reserved for the free people of the United States, the only country which has given civil and religious rights to the Jews equal with all other sects, the only country which has not persecuted them, to be selected and pointedly distinguished in prophecy as the nation, which at a proper time, shall present to the Lord His chosen and trodden-down people and pave the way for their restoration to Zion." Mordecai Manuel Noah's words, too, seem to have been touched with prophecy.

It is of interest to note that Mordecai Manuel Noah's championing of Zionism evoked the first full-scale anti-Zionist reaction. It came from the Grand Rabbi of Paris, who had been invited, among others, by Mr. Noah to serve as a commissioner to administer the state which he intended to establish in Ararat. In a letter in 1825, in declining Mr. Noah's invitation, Rabbi Abraham de Cologne wrote in behalf of himself and the Chief Rabbis in London the following: "We declare that according to our dogmas,

God alone knows the epoch of the Israelitish restoration, that He alone will make it known to the whole universe by signs entirely unequivocal, and that every attempt on our part to re-assemble with any political national design is forbidden as an act of high treason against the divine majesty. Mr. Noah has doubtless forgotten that the Israelites, faithful to the principles of their belief, are too much attached to the countries where they dwell and devoted to the governments under which they enjoy liberty and protection, not to treat as a mere jest the chimerical consulate of a pseudo restorer." There it is—the whole anti-Zionist argument in a nutshell.

**T**HE generation in which the 23 Jewish refugees from Brazil landed in Nieuw Amsterdam was a dark, stormy, and tragic period in Jewish history in Europe. The outstanding political events of that time were the Thirty Years War which closed in 1648, and the Cossack Rebellion which began in 1648. The former violently disrupted the life of Western European Jewry and impoverished it; the latter crushed and decimated Polish Jewry in one of the most horrible tragedies in our history.

Throughout the first half of the 17th Century, the Jews of Germany were subjected to all the humiliating restrictions of the Dark Ages of Europe. The Middle Ages were still on. The Reformation had availed them little. The German Jews were still huddled in ghettos, branded with the yellow badge, victimized by excessive taxation, and subjected to frequent popular outbursts and riots. The Thirty Years War marked the time when Jewry in Europe reached its lowest ebb.

The Cossack uprisings in the middle of the 17th Century broke the back of Polish Jewry. The Cossack hordes, led by the cunning and ruthless Bogdan Khmelnitzki, aided by Tatars sent by the Khan of Crimea, swept over the whole of the Ukraine, bringing death and destruction with them. Volhynia and Podolia were soon engulfed in the onrushing tides of the ruthless bands who were bent upon the extermination of all Poles and Jews and who executed their purposes in most terrible and savage ways. For nearly two years, in 1648 and '49, the terror reigned. It is estimated that three hundred Jewish communities were destroyed and that 300,000 Jews were massacred. The ghastly experiences of these years left a scar on the soul of Polish Jewry. Five years later the Russian and Swedish invasions took place, adding new disasters to the already long catalogue of national catastrophes. This was the Old World background against which we should view the first settlement of Jews in what is today the United States of America.

The 17th Century was very favorable to the spread of fervid Messianic hopes among the Jews of Poland, and the Jews of Western Europe. The Shabbetai Zevi movement in the middle of the century

found Polish Jewry bleeding, broken, intellectually and spiritually exhausted, steeped in Messianic lore, eager to receive any message which promised swift and miraculous surcease from its suffering. Messianic expectations ran high also among German Jewry. Glückel von Hameln writes in her memoirs, "It is difficult to describe the joy with which the letters (from the East telling of Shabbetai Zevi) were received in Hamburg." Some of the Jews who fled from Brazil to Holland, like Isaac Aboab, became fervent adherents of Shabbetai Zevi. These Messianic expectations had important historic consequences insofar as they corresponded with similar messianic strivings in the Christian world.

Christendom, too, in the 17th Century, was in the midst of vast confusion and conflict, and the mystic movements which began simultaneously with Reformation continued with increasing tempo throughout the 17th Century. They were all filled with apocalyptic visions, with expectations of the second coming of Christ, and the return of the Jews to the Holy Land. It was generally accepted as part of the creed that the return of the Jews to the Holy Land following their conversion to Christianity must precede the second coming of Jesus and the establishment of his kingdom. These strong religious motives prepared the way for the unopposed return of the Jews to England, following Manasseh ben Israel's mission to Cromwell.

Many of these Christian mystic sects later on came to the United States and brought with them their conceptions of the millennium and their belief in the restoration of the Hebrew nation. I am of the opinion that these beliefs which were assiduously taught to succeeding generations of Americans became part of the religious thought-pattern of the American people and were an important factor in preparing the way for the friendly and favorable reception which was given to our appeal to the American people for assistance in the establishment of the State of Israel.

**I** spoke of the religious background of the people who came here during the formative decades of American colonization which proved favorable to our cause. There were of course also political factors. These same religious sects, Puritans and Anabaptists, brought with them as a corollary of their ideas of religious independence also concepts of freedom from political tyranny. Friends of democracy on occasion forget the religious origin of the democratic revolution in the Western World. Modern democracy was born out of the struggle for religious freedom in the 16th and 17th centuries. Out of that victorious struggle there streamed other victories for man; political, economic, and social. Thus when, in the 18th Century, the founding fathers of our Republic wrote into the Declaration of Independence, "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with

certain unalienable rights," they were giving political expression to what was fundamentally religious doctrine. These doctrines were stressed as having divine sanction and Biblical authority by all the warring religious sectarians of the 16th and 17th centuries. When our founding fathers proclaimed that resistance to tyrants is obedience to God; or when they engraved upon the Liberty Bell the Biblical verse: "Ye shall proclaim liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof"; or when Franklin and Jefferson, in drafting the first seal of the United States, engraved on it the figure of Moses, the first emancipator of men, as he stood on the shores of the Red Sea and caused its waters to overwhelm the Egyptian Pharaoh and his host, they were marshalling religious truth and authority to underwrite their political revolution. These religiously inspired ideals of human freedom which were associated in the minds of the American people with the Bible and, therefore, also with the people of the Bible, were not without their influence in creating that climate of sympathy and understanding which in the decisive hour proved so tremendously helpful to our cause.

Again, many of the immigrant peoples who later came to these shores hailed from lands of oppression and tyranny. Many of them were themselves members of nationality groups which had suffered from alien domination and exploitation. They, too, had been denied the right of self-determination, the right to be masters over their own destinies. They had a natural fellow-feeling for the Jewish people which pre-eminently among the rightless peoples of the world had suffered so much through the long centuries.

The Government of the United States, reflecting these prevalent sentiments of its citizens, was, therefore, not unwilling to help as far as it could, all oppressed peoples and minority groups who were struggling for their rights or their national independence. Appeals came to our Government throughout the 19th Century as they have continued to come to this day from all parts of the world, and seldom did our Government turn a deaf ear to them.

In the struggle of liberation of the Greeks from Turkish rule, of the Hungarians from Austrian domination, and of Poland from Czarist Russia, the sympathy of the American Government, reflecting the overwhelming sentiment of the American people, was definitely with the revolutionists against tyranny, and our Government evidenced it in many ways. It is therefore not at all surprising that the Congress of the United States adopted a joint resolution in 1922 favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and reaffirmed its position in 1944. It is not surprising that the two major political parties of our country included in their party platforms in 1944 a plank favoring a Jewish national home in Palestine. Nor is it surprising that our appeal for support received such ready

and hearty endorsement from the American clergy, the American press, from governors and legislators throughout the nation, in fact, from all section of American public opinion.

I believe that this reservoir of good will and sympathy for Israel still exists. Here and there hostile propaganda may have caused confusion in the minds of some of our fellow citizens but in the main, that historic, religiously and politically motivated attitude of good will continues and will I believe, continue indefinitely. Our difficulties were never with the American people, but with certain narrow sections in Government circles who, for one reason or another, under pressure of one group or another, resisted the legitimate claims of our Movement. In spite of these centers of resistance in Government circles, the historic fact to be kept in mind always is that the American Government did finally rally to our side and voted and encouraged other nations to vote with it, in November, 1947, for the acceptance of the majority report of the United Nations Special Commission on Palestine which recommended the establishment of an independent State of Israel in a part of Palestine. While it is true that a reversal of this position on the part of our Government took place in March of the following year and a new temporary trusteeship was proposed by our Government at a specially convoked Assembly of the United Nations, the historic fact again remains that when the citizens of Israel proclaimed the establishment of their sovereign state on May 14th of that year, it was the President of the United States who, within a few moments after that proclamation, granted *de facto* recognition to the Government of Israel.

It is well to bear these facts in mind. In the years to come there will undoubtedly be many issues on which the Government of the United States may take positions which will not be entirely favorable to the State of Israel. Insofar as these positions will appear to us to be unsound, unjust, or ill-advised, our people should most decidedly oppose them. They should not accept or concur in any foreign policy of our Government, whether in relation to Israel or for that matter to any other country, which does not appear to them to be just and good for the American people. Governments from time to time adopt unwise foreign policies which they later revise and correct. International relations are always fluid and subject to change. However, when we criticize our Government for wrong policies toward Israel, we should never lose sight of the basically friendly and cooperative attitude which has persisted through these many decades and years. We should not interpret all actions of which we do not approve as stemming from ill-will or malice. We should build upon the historic attitude of friendship, retaining the right to reason with the responsible heads of our Government and to persuade them whenever we believe that a different course is indicated.

Over and above this sentiment of good will, which is an heritage of the American people, there is also a growing realization on its part that the international interests of the United States and the cause of the free world generally stand to gain from having in the Near East a dependable nation committed to the principles of democracy and human freedom and eager to cooperate with the Western World in all things which will contribute to the progress and freedom of men and nations, a realization that Israel is eager to return friendship for friendship, and that this friendship is valuable to America.

REVIEWING the story of the last three hundred years, I believe that the Jews of America have reason to be proud of the contributions which they made to American life and of the manner in which they served the cause of Judaism, the Jewish community of America, and world Jewry.

Our beginnings here were humble, as were the beginnings of all peoples who came to these shores. Steadily through the years, and more rapidly in the last one hundred years, our numbers increased and we came to share eagerly and gratefully in the growing and evolving life of America. Our people became in outlook true children of the New World, and in service and devotion, loyal and proud citizens of the United States. They served it patriotically in peace and in war. They made creditable contributions to its material prosperity, its political and social progress, its democratic institutions, to labor and industry, to its arts, science, literature, and music. They supported generously all the philanthropic and social agencies and institutions of our land—Jewish and non-Jewish alike. They have been not an unworthy or unimportant part of the colorful, unique, and noble mosaic which is America. Of this record we may be proud.

There are, in my judgment, four other moments of which the American Jewish community has reason to entertain a feeling of pride. In the first place, American Jews did not ignore or forget their religious heritage. They remained faithful to it. Upon the shores of the new land they built their synagogues, their schools, and their institutions of Jewish learning which have always embodied the ethical ideals and the way of life of our people. The process is continuing with unabated vigor in our own day. There is, of course, much room for improvement in the religious life of our people, as there is in the religious life of all of our fellow citizens. There is much to be done in this age of monopolizing material interests, by way of intensifying the spirit of religion among our people and to improve the agencies of religious instruction of our youth. By and large, however, the American Jewish community has been loyal to its religious heritage. While some of our people, in certain periods more than in others, drifted away from their religious moorings, the great body of our people

has remained fully identified, loyal and steadfast.

The second factor which may well serve as a source of pride to us is that the American Jewish community has built up through the years noble institutions of philanthropy and human service. There is hardly a Jewish community in the United States today which does not possess its quota of eleemosynary institutions and social agencies, hospitals, orphanages, homes for the aged, family services, social centers, all of them expressing the traditional humanity of our people. The Jews of America proved to be pioneers in quite a number of philanthropic fields. It has been a generous community, fully alert to the responsibilities of the needy and the distressed in their midst. Many of our sons and daughters, far out of proportion to our numbers, were found among the brave, free spirits of our country who fought for social justice, the rights of labor, and in defense of the underprivileged.

The third factor to which the American Jewish community may point with pride is the fact that it never isolated itself from the lot of its fellow-Jews in other parts of the world. They remained bound to them in fraternal solicitude. They helped them in their needs. They came to their defense when attacked. They poured out their generosity when tragedy overtook them. They remained loyal to the Jewish tradition of one universal Jewish community wherein all members are responsible one for another.

And finally, the American Jewish community is able to point with pride to the fact that when the historic moment of consummation of our millennial national hope arrived, American Jews rallied almost as one man to the task of building the State of Israel, and they have undergirded it with their support and unflagging interest since then.

THIS is not the occasion to review what the American Jewish community contributed to the reestablishment of the State of Israel. This is the work for future historians whose conclusions will not be slanted, I am sure, or guided by jaundiced party interests. But I believe, and I believe that you will agree with me, that without the remarkable rallying of the forces of American Jews in the critical years which preceded the establishment of the State, without their monumental activities in arousing and marshalling public opinion in this country, without their forceful political activity, and without their generous outpouring of substance and financial support, the State of Israel would not have been established. This is not to say that the entire credit for this heroic achievement is to be given to the American Jewish community—far from it. Many important forces merged in the final achievement, and in the first instance the heroic self-sacrifice on the part of the fighting Jews of Palestine. But the fact remains that the great political victories which culminated in the decision of the United Nations, and in the



recognition of the State of Israel by the American Government, were due, in a very large measure, to the activities of the American Jewish community.

It should be noted here with gratitude that while the American Jewish community had been sharply divided on the issue of Zionism and the house of Israel had been, for many years, beset with the clamor of ideological controversy, when the great decisive moment arrived, it rallied, under the leadership of the organized Zionist forces, with remarkable solidarity to the cause. This solidarity was evidenced first in the extraordinary mobilization of American Jews in behalf of the Jewish Commonwealth at the American Jewish Conference in September, 1943, and again in the historic year of 1947. Even those who refused to abide by the decision of the 1943 conference were found in the decisive hour loyally active in the ranks of the supporters of the cause.

This fact may well serve to an encouragement for the future. There is an historic sense among our people which asserts itself commandingly in critical hours, which, under the stress of urgency, brushes aside secondary and collateral issues and makes collective action mandatory. There is a lesson here for all Jewish leaders in the future. While the significance of divisions of opinion among our people should not be underestimated or ignored, they should not be overestimated either. Our leaders should have the confidence and the historic perspective to realize that when great issues call for decision, the overwhelming majority of American Jews will be found on the side of all that is constructive, historic, and forward-looking in Jewish life. For at such moments it is not definitions and ideologies which come into play, but timeless and unexpugnable loyalties.

Encouraging, too, is the fact that the American Jewish community has been able to produce leaders when leaders were needed, whether in the field of religion, social service, or education, or in our movement of national renaissance. These leaders emerged from all walks of Jewish life, from the rich and the poor, from labor and capital, from native-born and immigrant. They came from the circles of the Orthodox, the Conservative, and the Reform. The cause of Judaism and of the Jewish people was able to draw response, support, and leadership from all sections of our people. This fact, too, we should bear in mind in the years to come. No one group has a monopoly on Jewish loyalty and Jewish service, and the destiny of our people is in the hands of no single group or section of our people. It would be well in the future to spend less time and energy in mutual recrimination, in partisanship, or in prestige rivalries. It will be wiser by far to conduct our variegated communal life in reasonable restraint, in mutual respect, seeking always ways of understanding and cooperation. There never will be uniformity in American Jewish life. There can be an adequate and workable unity.

WE have now closed three centuries of living in this country. We are on the threshold of the fourth. In no other country on earth have our people been privileged to enjoy so long a period of uninterrupted and peaceful dwelling and labor. In no other country of the world, since the Dispersion, have our people enjoyed a continuous period of three hundred years of equality, freedom, and dignity, free from persecution and legal disabilities. For all this we should be grateful to a kind Providence and to the traditions of this gracious land. For all this we should be daily resolved to contribute of the best of our heart, mind, and hand to the preservation of the great traditions and institutions of this country, and to the enhancement and enrichment of its cultural and spiritual life.

What of the future? I believe that the future is rich in promise for the American Jewish community if the catastrophe of war does not shatter its security and life. As a minority we are helpless against the ravages of hate and demagoguery which war and economic depressions unleash. But given peace and economic stability the American Jewish community will move forward and develop. It will expand its cultural and religious life and institutions, and will make worthy contributions to the total life of America and world Jewry. If the American Jews of the coming decades will carry on uninterruptedly and with wisdom and discrimination, putting first things first, and accentuating the positive and indisputable enterprises of Jewish life, they will make this, the numerically largest Jewish community in the world, also one of the greatest in terms of faith, culture, and scholarship. What may endanger our Jewish future here is not conscious escapism or deliberate assimilationist tendencies such as characterized some Jewish communities at other times in other parts of the world—rather an unconscious drift and a carefree relaxation of all disciplines, not out of conviction but out of sheer indifference.

The American Jewish community will survive if it will remain faithful to the basic dogma of Jewish existence—the sense of group solidarity, of peoplehood, of belonging to an historic Jewish community which cuts across time and space, and which is centered in a life covenant with the eternal principles of Judaism and with universal Israel. The American Jewish community of tomorrow will draw strength from continued and increased cultural and spiritual contacts with Israel. Israel may draw cultural and spiritual strength in the future from contacts with the American Jewish community if this community will be strong in Jewish learning and vital. Often in the past, Jewish life in Palestine was replenished by spiritual and cultural influences coming from Jewish centers outside of Palestine. Both Judaism and the Hebrew language at times had to struggle for survival even in Palestine. At this very time Judaism is passing through a severe crisis

of adjustment in Israel. The guiding principle should be maximal participation in American life and maximal devotion to its progress and security, along with maximal interest in, and support of, Israel. The guiding objective both for the Jews in America and the rest of the Diaspora, as well as the Jews in the State of Israel, should be the survival of Judaism, which alone has given meaning and glory to our history.

I am persuaded that the synagogue will be the institution primarily responsible for the survival of the American Jewish community, as it has been responsible for our survival throughout our Dispersion. To fulfill this task, the synagogue must become much more a place of religious education than it has been heretofore. An essential feature of this Jewish religious education is the teaching of the Hebrew language, in which our religious culture has most fully expressed itself. No Jewish community ever survived for long which ignored Hebrew. No Jewish community ever contributed culturally to Jewish life which did not foster the Hebrew language and literature. The Hebrew language is not only the repository of our most glorious cultural trophies. It has been a powerful instrument for progress and renewal in Jewish life, and the bond of union, and the chain of continuity. The Hebrew language served our people as the weapon with which to batter down the spiritual and intellectual walls of the ghetto. It was the highway along which our people moved into the modern world. One cannot, of course, think of our national renaissance movement from the early *Hibbat Zion* days to the recent crowning days of struggle and victory without thinking of the brilliant galaxy of Hebrew writers, poets, and essayists who inspired and sustained it.

If we are thinking of any cultural link in the future between Israel and the Jews of the Diaspora, then we must be thinking in terms of the Hebrew language. We must raise generations of Jews who will be able to read the language in which the future cultural creations of Israel will be cast.

To sum up, the American Jewish community of tomorrow will, in the main, be what American Jews will make it. External pressure may from time to time be massive, but the internal motivations will be decisive. It should be remembered that always it was not external compulsion nor persecution nor any historic dialectics which kept the Jewish people alive, but fierce, stiff-necked voluntarism, flowing out of a profound, treasured and greatly beloved faith and a sense of religious destiny. Given devoted and well-informed leadership and adequate religious training of our youth, we may look to the future of the American Jewish community, barring disastrous revolutionary changes in the structure of American government and society, with a good measure of confident hope.



## THE OBSERVANCE IN ISRAEL

# ZOA HOUSE MARKS THE TRICENTENARY

A nine-day series of observances in the ZOA-Daniel Frisch House in Tel Aviv comprised Israel's celebration of the American Jewish Centenary.

The gala program, which took place at the beginning of the Tricentenary year, included addresses and lectures by Israeli and American officials, musical and dance recitals, renditions of American poetry, and films.

At the opening session a message from President Dwight D. Eisenhower, addressed to the Israel community, was read by Francis H. Russell, American Charge d'Affaires for Israel. The text is given on the cover of this Bulletin.

President Eisenhower's message on the Tricentenary, together with Mr. Russell's address of which it was the climax and conclusion, has been transcribed on a fifteen-minute recording intended for radio use. The recording, which opens with an introduction by Mortimer May, ZOA President, has been made available to Districts for broadcasting over their local stations. If your District has not yet done so, you are urged to arrange for its early use. The disc will be sent promptly, on request.

The program of Israel's Tricentenary celebration was the following:

**SUNDAY—Messages:** Moshe Sharett, Prime Minister; Peretz Bernstein, Minister of Trade and Industry; Francis H. Russell, Charge d'Affaires, United States Embassy.

**American Music:** Kol Israel Orchestra and "Kol Zion Lagolah" Vocal Ensemble; Mark Lavry, Conductor.

**MONDAY—Recorded American music:** Introduction, by Dr. Lincoln B. Hale, Country Director U. S. Operations Mission in Israel; Commentary, Menasha Ravina.

**TUESDAY—In the Auditorium:** Variety program, "Ohel Yaakov," auspices El-Al. In the Session Room: *Lecture*, "American Drama," Dr. H. Gamzu; Introduction, Mrs. Eleanor Templeton, U. S. Information Service.

**WEDNESDAY—American Film Evening:** *Lecture*, "At the Cradle of Talking Pictures," Jacob M. Alkow, Director ZOA House; Introduction, Simha Greenwald.

**THURSDAY—Lecture**, "The Jew in American Music," Menasha B. Ravina; Introduction, Dr. Lincoln B. Hale.

**FRIDAY—Lecture**, "Spiritual Qualities of America," in English, Dr. Thomas McGrail, Cultural Attache of U. S. Embassy; in Hebrew, Jacob M. Alkow. *Recitation*, poetry of Edgar Allen Poe

and other American poets, in Hebrew, Shimon Finkel, Habima Theatre. *Vocal Ensemble*.

**SATURDAY—In the Auditorium:** *Recital*, American Yiddish poetry, E. Goldenberg; Introduction, M. Gross Zimmerman. In the Garden: *Piano Recital*, Menahem Pressler, Philadelphia Symphony Orchestra. Introduction, "Israeli Musicians in the United States," Dr. E. Gradenwitz.

**SUNDAY—Children's afternoon program** of song and dance, children of U. S. Embassy staff and Israeli children. In the Auditorium: *Concert*, Contemporary American music, members of Israel People's Orchestra. In the Library: *Lecture*, "American Poetry," Reuben Avinoam. Introduction, Robert D. Davis, American Vice-Consul.

**MONDAY—In the Garden:** *Dance Recital*, Katya Delakova. In the Auditorium: *Lecture*, "American Art," Dr. H. Gamzu. Introduction, Dr. Zed L. Foy, Chief, Division of Education, American Embassy.

The ZOA House, soon to celebrate its third Passover since it was officially opened, is dedicated to the memory of the late Daniel Frisch, ZOA president who initiated construction of the magnificent building in Tel Aviv.

In its short span the ZOA House has already won a place of central importance in the cultural and communal life of Israel. Holiday observances, public events, receptions to visiting dignitaries,

and a multiplicity of educational undertakings are all a part of the constant round of activities making up its program.

Besides the celebration detailed above, the ZOA House also staged an impressive exhibit, "Three Hundred Years of United States Jewry," dealing with the American Jewish Tricentenary. Recently the American Embassy held a formal reception there, and functions in honor of American notables are a frequent occurrence.

In January nine *Ulpanim* (intensive Hebrew courses) were started at the ZOA House, which also sponsors four classes in English language and literature. A new class in music appreciation was opened, with a capacity enrollment. The youth club Moadon Lanoar reached a capacity registration of one hundred within a few days, and a membership of two hundred only awaits greater facilities. For, capacious as the structure is, its accommodations are already being taxed!

These are some of the activities of special interest to Americans. But many more projects and functions are continually on the program of like appeal to other Jewries as well as (and especially) Israelis, young and old.

A Tourist Department serves effectively in assuring the comfort and enjoyment of visitors and in promoting tourism, which can mean so much to the economic progress of Israel.

## PROGRAMMING

# HISTORY WEEK IN APRIL

Jewish History Week, sponsored by the American Jewish Historical Society, will be observed April 17-23.

Its celebration is an especially fitting part of this Tricentenary Year when the Jewish community is taking stock of its 300 years of history in America.

The Society has prepared a catalog of materials relating to American Jewish history. Some of these are listed on the last page of this Bulletin. The Society has a travel exhibit available for rental and photographs of the exhibit which can be purchased for display purposes. Catalogs of the exhibit may be had on request.

Your District is urged to take the lead in an observance of Jewish History Week within the community—your congregation, religious school, and Center—and also to utilize all available means,

such as press, radio, television, and exhibits, to acquaint the community at large with the significance of American Jewish history.

Your National Organization will cooperate with the Society to lend you every assistance in carrying through your local effort. You may have a complete list of available materials by addressing the American Jewish Historical Society, 3080 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. The catalog includes books, pamphlets, periodicals, study courses, teachers' aids, scripts for pageants and plays, films and film strips, and exhibit items.

For special materials or simply for information and advice, inquiry is cordially invited by your ZOA Program and Education Division. We shall be glad indeed to help in every possible way.

## PROGRAMMING:

# THE TERCENTENARY and HEBREW MONTH

Hebrew Month has become a time-honored institution in American Jewish life. Its celebration is sponsored by the Histadruth Ivrit of America, the Hebrew Language and Culture Association, in cooperation with the ZOA and many other organizations and institutions.

Traditionally set for the period from Purim to Passover, Hebrew Month this year will take cognizance of the Tercentenary currently being observed by American Jewry. Thus, from March 9 to April 6, ZOA Districts, in common with other groups in the community, will find it fitting to conduct programs combining the two themes—Hebrew as a cultural force, and the three hundredth year of Jewish settlement in America.

In connection with the Tercentenary it will be especially appropriate for District programs to emphasize the significant role that Hebrew has played in American life. The Old Testament was a potent force in moulding the character and culture of the Colonies. The study of Hebrew was required in the colleges first established in North America. And throughout its history the United States has shown the impress of the Hebraic spirit.

Today the Hebrew language is offered in hundreds of colleges and other schools. The rebirth of the Jewish State has given powerful stimulus to the general interest in Hebrew studies. As a living language, the vernacular of the developing Jewish community in Israel, Hebrew has undergone a renaissance unique in history and of widespread interest to linguists and scholars. To American Jews, Hebrew can serve as an enduring spiritual link with the Yishuv, and add to their own cultural enrichment. As the Histadruth Ivrit puts it, Hebrew should become the language of the heart in Jewish homes across the United States.

The Histadruth Ivrit urges that communities make Hebrew Month an occasion for bringing young and old together in a quest for Hebrew knowledge. Following are suggestions for celebration of Hebrew Month, particularly as a means of initiating the systematic fostering of Hebrew culture.

ZOA Districts should integrate the Hebrew Month period in their programming, in part on their own and in part together with other groups as may be found mutually helpful.

A Hebrew Evening may comprise your District meeting, or it may be more feasible to devote only part of the meeting to a Hebrew program.

Organize a *Chug Ivri* or Hebrew-speaking group for adults; initiate a Hebrew study course among the members; if possible, organize a *Noar Ivri*, a Hebrew Youth group. The Histadruth Ivrit, in cooperation with the ZOA and

its Regions, will be glad to provide guidance and materials for programming these groups.

Communitywide observance of Hebrew Month, with the participation of all Jewish groups, is of course the ideal to be striven for. Zionist groups ought to serve as the spearhead in Community Councils and Centers, to effect as broad a basis of participation as possible. This year, local committees for the Tercentenary observance may appropriately be called upon for joint action. The program, whether on a District basis or in conjunction with other groups, may feature—

An address by a scholar or communal leader on a facet of Hebrew Month;

An address on the American Jewish Tercentenary;

Hebrew music, songs, and dance.

The Month may also include a series of lectures on the modern Hebrew renaissance and the importance of Hebrew to the American Jewish community. A symposium or panel can be conducted with the participation of several prominent speakers. Among the subjects that might be covered are:

The Influence of Hebrew Culture on America: "Hebraic Mortar Cemented the Foundations of American Democracy";

Hebrew Literature in America from 1640 to the Present;

Hebrew in Colonial America;

American Hebrew Authors;

American Hebrew Periodicals;

Three Hundred Years of Hebrew in American Colleges.

It may be found practicable to conduct an exhibit featuring Hebrew. The exhibit can include the seals of American colleges—Yale, Dartmouth, and Columbia—which have Hebrew words; Hebrew books and periodicals published in America; ceremonial objects with Hebrew inscriptions; reproductions of historical documents with Hebrew; a map of the United States marked with the biblical names of cities and towns. Such an exhibit may be held in the public library, Community Center, or synagogue.

A film on life in Israel would furnish a dynamic program, followed by a talk or discussion on the phases of the film touching on Hebrew language and culture. There are many suitable films available, as well as the ZOA series of film strips. The National Office will be glad to advise you, upon request.

A radio program, and a series of articles in your local Anglo-Jewish paper, are valuable for stimulating community interest. Your publicity materials should also be sent to the daily press. Let everyone know about your Hebrew Month activities!

Hebrew Sabbath has been scheduled in the synagogues for Saturday, March 19. Rabbis are urged to preach on the importance of Hebrew in American Jewish life today. It is also suggested that they invite guest speakers from among the many Israelis now in the country, to speak either from the pulpit on Hebrew Sabbath or before the various synagogue groups during the Month.

The children, of all ages, should be drawn into suitable activities for Hebrew Month. Children love to act, dance, and sing; they would welcome participation in a play, pageant, or skit, performed before an audience of their elders. An essay contest, in English or Hebrew, could be held on subjects such as—

Hebrew: Tongue of Prophets—  
Language of Children;  
Hebrew in Colonial America;  
Hebrew in American Jewish Life;

Or, for the very young:

Why I Like Hebrew;  
A Hebrew Fairy Tale.

Finally, a children's assembly could be conducted, with a program consisting of recitations, songs and dances, utilizing available Hebrew records, audio-visual aids, and dramatic materials.

Many of the suggestions given are in the sphere of the synagogue or school rather than of the District. But cooperation will prove of common benefit, and in any event the initiative of Zionist members may well make the difference between action for Hebrew Month and lack of action.

A selection of literature bearing on Hebrew Month is listed on page 14 of this Bulletin. All these materials, as well as full information and cooperation, may be had from the Histadruth Ivrit or the ZOA National Office. Your inquiry is invited . . . your action is urged!

## SPECIMEN PROGRAM for HEBREW MONTH

(\*Indicates materials available through ZOA)

A—Hebrew community singing, teaching of new songs\*

B—Panel discussion or symposium, on

1. Can there be Zionism without Hebrew? (or:)
2. The influence of Hebrew culture in Israel upon American Jewish life. (Or:)

C—A play on Hebrew in Hebrew:

1. "Ellenor Ben Yehuda," a dramatic sketch prepared for Hebrew Month\*
2. "Gneivat Mishloach Manot," a Hebrew play by D. Bersky\*
3. "Nefesh Means Soul," by Muriel Kishorn\*

D—Hebrew games: Yesh'ce\* or Charades\* (or:)

E—A film in or on Hebrew\*

F—Playing of Hebrew records\*

# A Record of American Zionism

## FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE PRESENT

In this Tercentenary Year it is fitting to reexamine the Zionist role in the shaping of our community life here, as well as the share of American Zionism in the achievement of that tremendous phenomenon, the rebirth of the State of Israel.

To that purpose the following review of Zionist thought and deed in the United States is addressed. It consists of ten chronological sections. Of these the first four, dealing with Colonial times and the earliest years of the Nation, are adapted and greatly abridged by permission, from "The Forerunners of American Zionism" (Israel Horizons, 1953). This valuable monograph is by Professor Raphael Mahler, noted historian, formerly of Poland and the United States and now settled in Israel. The remaining sections are based on various records, largely of the Zionist Organization of America—which is natural, since the history of American Zionism is predominantly the history of the ZOA.

This record and the analysis following, entitled "Looking Back—and Ahead," are recommended for reading and discussion by study groups, leaders, and individual members of all our Districts. — D. E. H.

### 1. THE STATUS OF COLONIAL JEWRY

*Turn our captivity, O Lord,  
As the streams in the dry land.  
They that sow in tears  
Shall reap in joy.—Psa m 126.*

IT is a popular belief that the era of Emancipation marked a turning point in the ideology of the Jewish people, disrupting their traditional ties with the Land of Israel and reconciling them to the prospect of remaining forever "a people scattered and dispersed among the nations."

This notion is inaccurate in its generalization, even in regard to European Jewry. Historians have neglected the fact that the Jews of Eastern Europe—who constituted the bulk of world Jewry—remained faithful during the 19th and 20th centuries to the ideal of national restoration. Even in the Western part of Europe not all Jewish communities followed the example of those prominent Jews in Germany and France who with the coming of Emancipation hastened to renounce Jewish national aspirations as incompatible with their new enfranchisement. In Italy and England the official representatives of the Jewish communities remained steadfast in their nationalist hopes for long decades during the 19th Century. And in other parts of Western Europe the masses of the lower middle class opposed the assimilationist trends fostered by their estranged leaders.

But the classic example of a community staunchly holding to its historic love for Zion through the era of Emancipation is presented by American Jewry. Far from shaking nationalist aspira-

tions, the Emancipation gave them fresh impulse as well as a modern realistic meaning. Due to conditions here, the links of continuity between the religious idea of restoration and the rise of modern Zionism came nowhere so clearly into view as on the American continent—as we shall presently see.

At the end of the 18th Century, the Jewish settlement in America, the first in the world to be emancipated, was one of the smallest communities of the Diaspora. On the eve of the American Revolution there were only 2,500 Jews in the thirteen colonies, and even as late as 1818 Mordecai Manuel Noah estimated the total at 3,000. This tiny settlement, one per thousand of the general population, was concentrated in New York City, Newport, R. I., Philadelphia, Charleston, S. C., and Savannah, Ga., with small groups scattered in Pennsylvania and New York State. The largest community, that of New York City, numbered 300 to 350 souls.

The civil status of American Jews, even before their enfranchisement by the Revolution, was the best in the world. There was practically no exaggeration in the statement contained in a Hebrew letter sent in 1795 by two leaders of the New York Jewish community, Solomon Simpson and Alexander Ben Zvi, to the Chinese Jews in Kaifung:

"And on this occasion I wish to inform you that we live here in the country of America, in New York and in other places, in great security. And Israelites together with Gentiles preside in court in both civil and criminal cases . . . and they all live in great security."

The active share of the Jews in the American struggle for independence is too well known to need recounting. Their patriotic attitude in general was so evident that they could refer to it proudly in petitions and official addresses, as in the petitions of Philadelphia Jews in 1783 and the message of the New York Jewish community to Governor Clinton in 1784.

The small Jewish settlement which existed in America toward the end of the 18th Century ranked highest among Jewish communities in economic welfare, in civil equality, and in its integration in the social and political life of its country. But, though highly advanced in the process of lingual and cultural integration with the general population, American Jewry at that time had no conscious assimilationist tendency.

### 2. MESSIANIC IDEAS IN THE COLONIES

*And the Lord said unto him, 'This is the land which I swore unto Abraham, unto Isaac, and unto Jacob, saying: I will give it unto thy seed. . . .—Deuteronomy 34.4.*

PRIOR to the Emancipation, belief in the coming of the Messiah and the restoration to the Land of Israel was common to all Jewish communities the world over. This belief was the very foundation of the Jewish religion as well as the source of the moral strength of the Jewish communities.

In *An Historical, Geographical, Commercial and Philosophical View of the United States*, issued in 1796, W. Winterbotham writes of the "peculiar" custom of the Jews of Charleston who put a small bag of earth brought from Jerusalem under the head of the deceased:

"It is in token of their remembrance of the Holy Land and of their expectations of returning thither in God's appointed time . . . They flatter themselves that the period of their return will speedily arrive. . . ."

This custom obtained also in other American Jewish communities.

Those segments of American Jewry which assimilated with respect to language nonetheless held fast to belief in the restoration to Zion. In 1761 Isaac Pinto issued in New York the first English translation of a Jewish prayer book, *Evening Service of RosH Hashana and*



*Yom Kippur*, the preface of which states:

"A veneration for the language sacred for being that in which it pleased Almighty God to reveal himself to our ancestors and a desire to preserve it, in firm Persuasion that it again be reestablished in Israel, are probably leading reasons for our performing Divine Service in Hebrew: But that, being imperfectly understood by many, by some not at all, it had been necessary to translate our Prayers into the language of the country wherein it hath pleased the divine Providence to appoint our lot . . ."

In the diary of the renowned theologian, Ezra Stiles of Newport, there are many entries relating to American Jewry's hopes of the approaching advent of the Messiah. Under date of July 26, 1769, Stiles records:

"Mr. Treat [a Protestant pastor in New York] tells me that the Jews in New York expected the Messiah in 1768 and are greatly disappointed, that this expectation was excited by some computation on the prophetic numbers by the Rabbins of the present day."

While all Jews of those times were imbued with the hope of deliverance, those in America cherished a particular longing for a reunion with their brethren over the ocean. Of all elements in the Messianic vision, the idea of the ingathering of the exiles had a special appeal to the lonely, isolated American Jewish community.

An added impulse to the Messianic hopes of American Jews came from the fact that many of them were of Marrano descent and some themselves Marranos who had been raised as Christians and returned to Judaism—either in their childhood (e.g. Isaac Seixas, the father of Gershom Mendes Seixas, who figures most prominently later in this account) or even at a mature age (e.g. Aaron Lopez of Newport). As is known, it was mainly the Messianic idea which gave the Marranos moral support in their secret adherence to the faith of their fathers.

As in all countries in the 18th Century, in America too the regular aid given to the Jewish settlement in Palestine strengthened the ties between the two communities. Such help was given mostly through the Palestinian *shlikim* (messengers), whose trips to America were quite frequent considering the enormous difficulties of the journey. New York was the seat of the collector of Palestine funds for the entire Jewish community, and prominent merchants such as Hyman Levy and Daniel Gomez were successively elected to this post.

Rabbi Hayim Isaac Karpigal's sermon, preached in the Newport synagogue on Pentecost, 1773, in Spanish, and published in English translation by Aaron Lopez, was significantly entitled "The

Salvation of Israel." It contained an appeal to the parishioners to "have a firm belief in the innumerable prophecies that predict our restoration," and voiced the prayer "that a happy and so long wished for time may draw near, when the disgrace of our nation shall for ever be at an end." In a conversation as recorded in Dr. Stiles' diary the same year (July 15), Rabbi Karpigal stated he did not believe that "the Rabbins of this Age" had "any particular reasons for expecting the Messiah immediately," but "he thought it was high time for him to come."

At the time the two theologians held their conversation the American Revolution was already brewing; two years later the war for independence broke out. American Jews were the first in the history of Diaspora Jewry to take up arms voluntarily in solidarity with their neighbors for their common liberation. That great historical event in which they were active participants stirred their hopes for the speedy coming of the Messiah.

### 3. THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND AFTER

*And I will turn the captivity of My people Israel, And they shall build the waste cities, and inhabit them.—Amos 9:14.*

THE American colonies' war against England was in itself a factor for reshuffling the balance of world power which seemed to echo the first "steps of the Messiah." The ideological atmosphere of the "War of the Lord" that prevailed during the Revolution revived American Jewry of the ancient Judaism and glory of Israel. Likewise, many American revolutionaries looked upon the struggle as a repetition of the fights of ancient Israel against its oppressors. The Republican system was believed to be founded on the political principles of the Old Testament.

These ideas encouraged the Jews to manifest their pride in their own national history. In a congratulatory address sent to President Washington, the Jewish congregation of Charleston, S. C., assured him:

"We and our posterity will not cease to chronicle and commemorate you, with Moses, Joshua, Othaniel, Gideon, Samuel, David, Maccabees and other holy men of old, who were raised up by God for the deliverance of our nation, His people, from their oppression."

The replies of Washington to the addresses of the Jewish congregations, were written in the same vein:

"May the same wonder-working Deity, who long since delivering the Hebrews from their Egyptian op-

pressors planted them in the promised land—whose providential agency has lately been conspicuous in establishing these United States as an independent nation—still continue to water them with the dews of Heaven and to make the inhabitants of every denomination participate in the spiritual and temporal blessings of that people whose God is Jehovah."

A people thus officially distinguished felt confirmed in its Messianic faith, for how should it fare worse than other nations that wished to participate in its blessings?

At the end of 1783, with the victory of the Revolution, most of the Jewish patriots, who had fled from New York rather than serve the British, returned from voluntary exile to their home town. Shearith Israel (Remnant of Israel), New York's first congregation, was reorganized under the leadership of the patriots. In January, 1784, the new leaders presented an address of loyalty to George Clinton, Governor of New York, and soon afterward a patriotic prayer was composed for the congregation by one of its prominent members, Rabbi Hendla Yochanan van Oettingen. The last passage of this prayer pleads for the restoration of Israel in these unusual words:

"As Thou hast granted to these thirteen States of America everlasting freedom, so mayst Thou bring us forth once again from bondage into freedom and mayst Thou sound the great horn of our freedom . . ."

The striking originality of this prayer is in the inversion of the usual parallel between America and Israel. Here America serves as the pattern for Israel's liberation, and not vice-versa as was customary in similar prayers. This parallel lends to the prayer for Jewish restoration a realistic element which marks the transition from purely messianic belief to the modern, political concept of Zionism.

It is now time to examine the life and thought of the most remarkable of the earliest forerunners of Zionism, Gershom Mendes Seixas, first minister of America's oldest synagogue, already mentioned—Shearith Israel (known also as the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue, and since 1907 under the spiritual leadership of Rabbi David de Sola Pool).

A native New Yorker, Seixas was born in 1745 into a family of Marrano descent. At the age of 22 he was elected Hazan (reader) of Congregation Shearith Israel, where he served also as the teacher of the Talmud Torah. He remained in his post for forty-nine years, until his death in 1816. Active in educational and charitable affairs, Seixas was as highly esteemed in the broader community as among his own parishioners. He was frequently called upon to address Christian congregations, and served as a trustee of Columbia College.



Seixas probably was the first to introduce the English sermon in a New York synagogue—perhaps the first to do so in all America. Among his many sermons (included in the Lyons Collection of the American Jewish Historical Society, to whom we are indebted), there is hardly one in which the ideal of Zion Restored does not constitute one of the main topics, if not the main one. The first of two sermons by Seixas published in his lifetime, and probably the first he ever delivered, dated November 26, 1789, is devoted principally to his favorite theme:

"From his [Moses'] time even unto Malachi . . . the same assurances are given of our restoration, when that we should return unto the Lord with a contrite heart, a true spirit and sincere repentance; that He will then hearken unto our prayers and supplications, and cause us to be again established under our own government as we were formerly."

And as if he had foreseen modern objections to Zionism on the part of a group in American Jewry, this 18th Century preacher goes on to say:

" . . . Though we are through divine goodness made equal partakers of the benefits of government by the constitution of these States, with the rest of the inhabitants, still we cannot but view ourselves as captives in comparison to what we were formerly, and what we expect to be hereafter, when the outcasts of Israel shall be gathered together, as it is said in Isaiah Ch. XXVII, v. 12. . . ."

Thus the minister of the New York Congregation emphasized his conviction that American Jews should view themselves from the perspective of their people's history and aspirations for the future, "in comparison to what we were formerly, and what we expect to be hereafter."

Here again, as we have seen in Rabbi van Oettingen's prayer, is no craven fear of the modern bogey, dual loyalty. On the contrary, the recent success of the Revolution and their own enfranchisement stimulated further the Messianic dream among the congregants of Shearith Israel. Seixas was the first to link the emancipation of the Jews with their longing for reestablishment in Zion.

#### 4. FIRST YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

*The Lord will set His hand again the second time to recover the remnant of His people.—Isaiah 11:11.*

THE second of Seixas' sermons published as a pamphlet was delivered nine years after the first, in 1798. In ad-

dition to the ideas expressed in the first sermon, it reveals a conviction that the Messianic era was approaching.

In the war between revolutionary France and England, American shipping was being interfered with by both powers. The Federalist Party in the United States was using the situation for war propaganda against France as well as to attack the Republicans for their sympathy with the masses in the European revolution. Seixas was one of the few among the clergy who called for peace in their sermons on the fast day proclaimed by President John Adams.

In Seixas' sermon a call for an end to internal strife in America and to wars among the nations is interwoven with a vision of the restoration of Israel. Jews, and the "sons of Noah" as well, should conduct their lives in brotherly love in order to hasten the redemption of Israel which will bring about peace on earth.

Seixas' estimate of the world situation as the "birth pangs" of the Messianic time seemed confirmed by events of the next year. In 1799, after his conquest of Egypt, Bonaparte marched into Palestine, took the ports of Gaza and Jaffa, and moved up the coast to Akko (Acre). In a manifesto issued from his headquarters, Jews all over the world were called upon to stand by Napoleon's army in order to rebuild their own State in their ancient homeland. Although his expedition soon proved a failure, the hope of an approaching restoration continued to stir Jews everywhere.

As several years passed with no show of interest by the world powers in the restoration of the Jewish homeland, Seixas appeared somewhat shaken. In an undated fragment of a sermon, preached after 1801, he pointed to "this long and miserable captivity," whose end could not be predicted "by human skill."

In another undated sermon, probably of 1804, the traditional religious motivation for the return to Zion was rendered in modern terms:

"Although we are so happily situated in this country, so much preferable to our Brethren dispersed in other parts of the world, yet we cannot perform the rites and ceremonies of our temple service, which was only given to be observed in the Holy Land, and until we are again embodied and settled as a Nation we cannot comply with that part of our holy Law. . . ."

Another motif rings out in the Charity Sermon delivered by Seixas on January 11, 1807—apprehension in regard to the future of Jews in all countries, including America: "For although, we are through divine mercy in favor with the people of these states, yet we cannot boast of what may be hereafter. . . ."

At the time Seixas preached this sermon he believed he had even more reason than before to interpret world

events as the prelude to Israel's restoration. The Notables' Assembly convoked by Napoleon in 1806 and, even more, the Assembly's call for a Sanhedrin (Jewish Council) to come together in Paris, had imbued Jews throughout the world with new hopes. This expectation prevailed among many religious leaders, even some so far removed from political realities as the *Masidic* rabbis. Political writers in many lands credited Bonaparte's pompous acts with substance. Thus an English edition of the *Transaction of the Notables' Assembly* carried a preface which represented the conference as a means of forming the Jews into "a distinct nation of their own." And an American analyst, writing in the Virginia press speculated on the practical effects of Jewish resettlement on the Near East, and on how many Jews would respond; even if one-fourth of all the Jews went to Palestine, he judged, they would form a respectable national state.

No wonder that in his Charity Sermon Seixas dwelled on the sensational event of the Notables' Assembly, pointing to it as an infallible sign of the approaching deliverance.

While he believed the restoration would come as a fulfillment of Divine prophecies, Seixas did not conceive of the return to Zion as a supernatural phenomenon, but rather expected it to be accomplished as a result of the interplay of interests among the world powers. In this respect as in his emphasis on Jewish statehood, he may be justly regarded as a pioneer of modern Zionism.

Seixas was realist enough not to place his trust in Napoleon without reservation. Yet he was firmly convinced that the world situation had brought forth the conditions for the restoration in Zion.

Only one year later, on March 17, 1808, Napoleon issued his "infamous decree" which not only exploded the illusions of restoration attached to him but drastically curtailed the emancipation rights granted to the Jews by the French Revolution. Though deeply disappointed in Napoleon as an agent of providence, Seixas remained to the very last unshaken in his absolute faith that Israel would one day go home.

With the death of Gershom Mendes Seixas on July 2, 1816, the first chapter in the forerunners of Zionism comes to a close. The second chapter, comprised chiefly of the work of Mordecai Manuel Noah, begins scarcely two years later. But before leaving this account of early beginnings, let us analyze briefly the main causes of the basic contrast in attitude toward the idea of restoration in Zion between American Jewry and the spokesmen of West European Jews at the turn of the 18th Century.

This contrast was a result of political, social, and cultural differences. Unlike the French Revolution, the revolution in America had no need to overcome a

feudal system of political particularism, either among the general population or in the Jewish community. The absence of separatism in the organization of the Jews made unnecessary any effort on their part to prove their patriotism by giving up their own national ways of life.

Even more decisive was the fact this country was built as a multi-national and multi-religious state. Under such conditions the adherence of the Jews to their national cultural traditions and their historical aspirations was regarded in the same light as that of any other nationality or religious group in this country.

Lastly, in contrast to France, Germany, and other lands, atheism did not become the fashion with the ruling classes here. This resulted in a longer persistence of religious traditions among American Jews; and on the part of the general public it brought sympathy and understanding based on the prophecies of Scripture, sacred to Christian as well as Jew.

These circumstances account also for the fact that the ideas of Gershom Mendes Seixas continued to permeate American Jewry for many decades, until the 80s of the 19th Century, when they were succeeded by the trend of *Hibbath Zion* and later by political Zionism.

## 5. FROM MORDECAI NOAH TO THEODOR HERZL

*The only solution is . . . the auto-emancipation of the Jews, their return to the ranks of the nations by the acquisition of a Jewish homeland.*  
— Leo Pinsker, "Auto-Emancipation" (1881).

**MORDECAI MANUEL NOAH** (1785-1851) delivered a *Discourse* at the consecration of the rebuilt synagogue of Shearith Israel in 1818, two years after the death of Gershom Mendes Seixas. In that address he proposed the reestablishment of the Jewish State in Palestine by the united efforts of the Jews themselves. Thus Noah, usually designated as the first American Zionist, was descended in a direct line from that remarkable man to whose position he succeeded in the Congregation and whose fervently preached ideas on the restoration of Zion he had absorbed.

The son of Manuel Noah of Philadelphia, who had rendered distinguished patriotic service in the American Revolution, Mordecai achieves a career of bewildering variety and color. He was a journalist, playwright, lawyer, surveyor, army Major, Consul to Tunis, High Sheriff of New York—and these do not exhaust the list!

Noah sent his *Discourse* on the dedication of Shearith Israel to Thomas Jef-

erson, John Adams, and James Madison, all of whom answered him. Adams responded, with somewhat dubious sympathy:

"I really wish the Jews again in Judaea as an independent nation; . . . once restored to an independent government, and no longer persecuted, they would soon wear away some of the asperities and peculiarities of their character."

In 1825, Noah launched a far-fetched, quixotic scheme which had been on his mind for over five years. It was to help solve the Jewish problem by providing the Jews of the world with an enclave of their own, within and under the protection of the United States. This extraterritorial home was to be on Grand Island, about five by thirteen miles in area, in the Niagara River, near Buffalo, New York.

A dramatic call to the Jews of the world to assemble for the founding of the "City of Refuge" was published in Noah's paper, *The National Anthem*. And in September, 1824, the self-designated Governor and Judge of Israel appeared in a grand procession, followed by dedicatory ceremonies, at Buffalo. The City of Refuge was to have been but an interim settlement, to be followed by permanent establishment of the Jews of the world in Palestine. But after a magniloquent proclamation issued upon his return to his home in New York, Noah seems to have dropped and forgotten the project.

Despite all his theatricals, Noah held a sustained belief that the Jewish nation would arise again. In 1844, nearly

twenty years after his eccentric Grand Island venture, he presented his memorable *Discourse on the Restoration of the Jews at the Tabernacle*, a Protestant church in New York. The address, which was printed and widely distributed, is remarkable as a foreshadowing of political Zionism. We almost hear Herzl, a half-century later, in Noah's words:

"The first step is to solicit from the Sultan of Turkey permission for the Jews to purchase and hold land; to build houses and follow any occupation they may desire, without molestation and in perfect security. . . . The whole territory surrounding Jerusalem . . . will be occupied by enterprising Jews. The valleys of the Jordan will be filled by agriculturists from the North of Germany, Poland, and Russia. Merchants will occupy the seaports. . . . Those who desire to reside in the Holy Land and have not the means will be aided by these [proposed] societies to reach their desired haven of repose."

He supplements appeals to humanitarian motives with pleas directed to practical interest and telling argument based on Jewish and Christian prophecy. "The time will come, the promise will be fulfilled." The whole is a masterpiece of pleading, and a summation of the Zionist case which, in essence, is astonishingly modern.

Equally with his absurdly romantic essay in the realm of action, Noah's spoken and published appeals came to nothing. The Jews in fact evinced less enthusiasm than did many of the Protestants. Noah was too far in advance of his time. But his name occupies an honored place among the pioneers of Zionism.

In the quarter-century following Noah's *Discourse* the interest of American Jews in their people's problems was confined to domestic charity. There were efforts here on behalf of Jewish settlement in Palestine, but these came from non-Jews. In the '50's and '60's at least three thorough-going projects were launched by well-meaning Christians; all led to actual colonization, but all ended in failure.

During this period, however, advocates of Jewish restoration were not wanting abroad. In 1862 Moses Hess published the classic *Rome and Jerusalem*. The '70s produced a remarkable ferment in European Jewish literature, leading to the birth of the *Hibbath Zion* (Love of Zion) movement. Among its progenitors were Aaron David Gordon, who in 1870 published in the journal *Hamaggid* a series urging Jewish colonization of Palestine as a prelude to nationhood; Eliezer ben Jehudah (later the lexicographer of modern Hebrew and heroic exponent of its secular use in Palestine), who in 1879 was already insisting, through his articles in *Hahashar*, upon Hebrew as the daily language of the settlers; and Leo Pinsker, whose epoch-

### From THE BANNER OF THE JEW

O for Jerusalem's trumpet now,  
To blow a blast of shattering power,  
To wake the sleepers high and low,  
And rouse them to the urgent hour!  
No hand for vengeance—but to save,  
A million naked swords should wave.

Oh! deem not dead that martial fire,  
Say not the mystic flame is spent!  
With Moses' law and David's lyre,  
Your ancient strength remains unbent.  
Let but an Ezra rise anew  
To lift the banner of the Jew!

A rag, a sack at first—ere long,  
When men have bled and women wept  
To guard its precious folds from wrong,  
Even they who shrink, even they who wept,  
Shall leap to bless it and to save.  
Strike! for the brave revere the brave!

Emma Lazarus.

making *Auto-Emancipation* in 1881 anticipated in its essentials Herzl's formulations.

The influence of the *Hibbath Zion* movement and the many *Heverei Zion* (Lovers of Zion) societies which sprang up in Russia and Romania spread with the immigrant influx to the United States. The first societies in this country were established in New York, Chicago, and Philadelphia in the early '80s. In New York two such groups merged as the *Hevra Ohavei Zion*. About 1890 some of the Hevra's leaders organized the *Shovai Zion* (Returners to Zion), whose members planned to settle in Palestine. A committee was sent to buy land but the effort was a failure and the enterprise fell into inactivity.

The movement in this country was composed mostly of Russian immigrants together with a number of prominent Rabbis such as Sabato Morais, Henry Pereira Mendes, Benjamin Stold, Aaron Wise, Gustav Gottheil, and Marcus Jastrow. The active leadership however was in the hands of men of East European descent. Among these were Joseph I. Bluestone, a physician, president of the New York organization; Joseph H. Cohen, well-known merchant and manufacturer; Alexander Harkawy, Hebrew and Yiddish lexicographer, and Zevi Hirsch Bernstein, publisher of the Hebrew paper, *Hatzofeh Ba'aritz Ha-Hadasha*.

Such were some of the activities and leading spirits in the pre-Herzlian period. But before the trumpet call of the *Judenstaat* resounded from across the Atlantic there were two more Zionist developments here deserving of note.

Emma Lazarus (1849-87) was a New York Jewess of Sephardic ancestry, a descendant of Gershom Mendes Seixas, early forerunner of political Zionism (see Sections 1-4). Her poetry had won the admiration of Emerson, Bryant, and other giants of American letters. Deeply moved by the Russian pogroms of 1881, she poured out her feelings in a series of essays entitled "Epistles to the Hebrews," published in 1882 in the American Hebrew, in which she pleaded for "a home for the homeless . . . a free Jewish state." "All suggested solutions of the Jewish problem other than this," she wrote, "are but temporary palliatives."

In *Songs of a Semite*, *By the Waters of Babylon*, and *The Banner of the Jew*, she struck out at her people's persecutors and called for a rebirth of the ancient Jewish spirit: "Wake, Israel, wake! Recall today/the glorious Maccabean rage. . . ." She died a decade too soon to see "an Ezra rise anew/to lift the banner of the Jew."

Emma Lazarus' nationalistic inspiration came in the last few years of her tragically short life. But her stirring songs live in the literature of Zion reborn.

In 1891, William Blackstone, a Prot-

estant minister of Chicago, presented a petition to President Benjamin Harrison urging "the holding, at an early date, of an international conference to consider the condition of the Israelites and their claims to Palestine as their ancient home, and to promote, in all other just and proper ways, the alleviation of their suffering condition."

The President and his Secretary of State were asked in the memorial to use their influence with the governments of Europe to bring about the proposed conference. The document was endorsed by Chief Justice Fuller, Cardinal Gibbons, John D. Rockefeller, J. Pierpont Morgan, Russell Sage, and Cyrus W. Field, as well as other eminent citizens in great number.

Blackstone had visited Palestine and had seen the miserable conditions of the Jews of Europe. His memorial was presented on behalf of a conference of Christians and Jews previously held in Chicago. It was a noble and painstaking effort, but a futile one, without effect. Somewhere in the National archives presumably it gathers dust along with the other forgotten curios of bureaucracy.

#### THE BASLE PROGRAM

Zionism seeks to establish a publicly recognized and legally secured home in Palestine for the Jewish people.

In order to attain this object the Congress adopts the following means:

1. The systematic promotion of the settlement of Palestine with Jewish agriculturists, artisans, and craftsmen.
2. The organization and federation of all Jewry by means of local and general institutions in conformity with the local laws.
3. The strengthening of Jewish sentiment and national consciousness.
4. Preparatory steps for the procuring of such Government assents as are necessary for achieving the object of Zionism.

#### 6. THE FIRST ZIONIST CONGRESS

*It is a national question, and in order to solve it we must first of all transform it into a political world question, to be answered in the council of the civilized peoples.—Theodor Herzl, "The Jewish State" (1896).*

MODERN political Zionism dates from the First Zionist Congress, convoked by Herzl in 1897 at Basle, Switzerland.

Unlike the leaders of *Hibbath Zion* and earlier predecessors, Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) had but meager knowledge of Judaism and Jewish affairs. In fact he was unacquainted with the theories of Hess, Pinsker or other nationalists when, stirred by the treason trial of Captain Alfred Dreyfus in Paris (1894-5), he wrote *Der Judenstaat* (The Jewish State) and thus changed the course of Jewish history. [For a chronology and other materials see *ZOA Program Guide and Sourcebook* for the Herzl Anniversary Year.]

The First Congress served to combine into a permanent body—the World Zionist Organization—the older colonizing groups, together with new supporters all over the world. Among the newcomers were notables such as Max Nordau and Israel Zangwill, world-known writers. Their influence was invaluable in countering the opposition of powerful forces aligned against Herzl's "mad scheme."

The First Congress adopted as the charter of the Zionist movement what has since been known as the Basle Program. It declared that "Zionism seeks to establish a publicly recognized and legally secured home (or homeland) in Palestine for the Jewish people." The Basle Program listed four means to be used for the attainment of this objective. This text remained unchanged through the years. But as the movement developed, succeeding Congresses gave various interpretations to the Basle Program which in effect were amendments or modifications.

Thus through the inspired leadership of Herzl modern Zionism became a political movement with a definite goal to be achieved through political negotiation. Its organization fulfilled the prime condition set forth in *Der Judenstaat*: "...In order to solve (the Jewish question) we must first of all transform it into a political world question, to be answered in the council of the civilized peoples."

In America the call for the first such Jewish assemblage in two millennia stirred enthusiasm here and there—mainly, though not entirely, among those of East European stock. Interest had indeed begun with the publication of *The Jewish State* the year before, and steps to form Zionist societies in the United States antedated the Congress.

The first actual organization was launched in Chicago in 1896, at the initiative of Harris Horwich. The group, which called itself Chicago Zionist Organization Number One, shortly after the Congress became the Knights of Zion, an inter-community fraternal order. The officers of this first Zionist Organization in the United States were Bernard D. Horwich, president; Wolf Sudowsky, secretary; Elias Epstein, treasurer. The organizers included the noted journalist, Leon Zolotkoff; the venerable Reform Rabbi, Bernhard Felsenthal; Dr. A. P. Kadison, and Wolf Shure. Among early leaders who rose



to National position were Max Shulman and Nathan D. Kaplan.

In New York and other large centers organization came too late for formal representation at the Congress, and the only official delegate from this country was Chicago's Leon Zolotkoff. Still, a number of other Americans attended, according to the Congress record: Richard Gottheil, who had been invited; Adam Rosenberg, one of the committee dispatched by *Shovai Zion* to buy land in Palestine, who stopped at Basle on his return trip; Rabbi Scheftel Schaffer of Baltimore, and Mrs. Rose Sonnenschein of New York.

In May, two months before the First Congress convened, Herzl noted in his diary: "The movement is starting in America. Michael Singer, publisher of a new weekly, *Tolerance*, sends me reports of meetings in New York. A conference of rabbis headed by Dr. Gustave Gottheil [of Temple Emanu-El] declared itself in favor of our movement. The New York *Sun* of May 10th published an article on Zionism. . . . Jacob de Haas writes that there is a desire in America that I come there on a lecture tour."

## 7. TO THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

*The Zionists are no party—they are the Jewish body itself. Judaism is Zionism, and Zionism is Judaism.*  
—Max Nordau (1897).

THE Federation of American Zionists, which later became the Zionist Organization of America, was organized at an interstate conference held in New York City in 1898. Prof. Richard Gottheil, who had taken the lead in calling the conference, became its first president, and Rabbi Stephen S. Wise its first secretary.

The mass response in the early years came almost entirely from the immigrants of Eastern Europe, and even so it came from a small minority. On the other hand, the leaders were almost all "Westerners." Besides those already mentioned, they included Benjamin Szold and Dr. Aaron Friedenwald of Baltimore, Rabbi H. Pereria Mendes of New York and Louis N. Dembêz of Louisville.

Among the younger men, who later rose to eminence in the movement, may be mentioned Rabbi Max Heller, Louis Lipsky, Rabbi Judah L. Magnes, Rabbi Max Raisin, and Cyrus Sulzberger. Others who responded at the beginning or not long after, were Senior Abel, Maurice L. Avner, Israel B. Brodie, Jacob Fishman, Israel Matz, Louis Robison and Bernard G. Richards.

Forerunners of Young Judaea, the national Zionist youth organization formed

in 1909, included several groups from whose membership emerged some of America's foremost Zionist leaders. In 1901 a Philadelphia youth group called Aids of Zion was organized by Israel H. Levinthal, Louis Feinberg, C. David Matt, Joseph Kohn, David J. Galter, and others. The Dr. Herzl Zion Club, a New York schoolboys' Hebrew speaking group founded in 1904 by the brothers Abba Hillel and Maxwell Silver, numbered on its roster, among others, Barnett R. Brickner, Israel Chipkin, Sol Cohen, Reuben Grossman, Reuben J. Holland, Emanuel Neumann, David W. Pearlman, Jesse Schwartz, Eliezer Sheinmark and George Sokolsky. A Hebrew-speaking body of New York boys calling itself Pirchei Zion, organized in 1905, had among its members Max Artzt, Samuel Borowsky, Louis Gribetz, and Abraham A. Redelheim. The same year another schoolboys' society, the Nordau Zionist Club, was formed by Samuel Blitz, Morris Margulies, and Charles Passman. These groups were the nucleus for Young Judaea, now approaching the half-century mark.

The offspring and kin of the Federation were many and varied. The Order Sons of Zion (B'nai Zion), founded as a fraternal Zionist organization in 1907 under the leadership of Dr. Judah L. Magnes and Joshua Sprayregen; the Mizrahi (1911), whose Zionist motivation was essentially religious; the Poale Zion (1907), socialist Zionists; Hadassah, women's Zionist organization (1912)—these are enduring offshoots which took shape with the approval and aid of the main body.

Specialized interests led to the development of separate Parties within the World Zionist Organization, while those cleaving to the central program eventually became known as General Zionists. It is the General Zionists, whose objective was the creation of a Homeland in Palestine—with no adjective save "Jewish" as a condition precedent—that have made up the bulk of the movement in the United States. American Zionist manpower, influence, political activity, and material aid are incomparably the contribution of the General Zionists. The history of Zionism in the United States, then, is in overwhelming degree the history of the Zionist Organization of America.

In the early years the movement grew but slowly. The immigrant masses were struggling with the problems of daily living in a new land. Many of the Orthodox religionists looked upon the Zionist program as a flouting of Divine law, which had ordained a Messiah, to come without human tampering. Modernist intellectuals for the most part either subscribed to the assimilative philosophy of Emancipation or were under the influence of revolutionary socialism. The well-to-do of Reform tendencies were in those days primarily assimilationist in their thinking, though as has been observed, dissidents from this segment of Jewry provided much of the leadership.

Zionist Congresses, which took place yearly through 1901 and then were scheduled biennially, furnished Zionist rallying points on the calendar. Men of East European origin like Hirsch Masliansky, the "national preacher," and Joseph Barondess, labor leader, combined the gifts of orator and theoretician in remarkable degree and attained a tremendous ascendancy among the masses.

Other powerful propagandists of varied talents came from abroad over the years. Among them were Jacob de Haas, an associate of Herzl who arrived in 1901 and assumed the Federation secretaryship; Schmarya Levin, a member of the short-lived Russian Duma (parliament), who made a national tour in 1906 and on another visit in 1914 was compelled to remain here through the First World War; and Nahum Sokolow, preeminent scholar and diplomatist, later president of the World Zionist Organization, who made his first trip to this country in 1912.

Of American-born pioneers of the cause, perhaps the most memorable contributions were made by Henrietta

## WORLD ZIONIST ORGANIZATION PRESIDENTS and Years Served

Theodor Herzl	1897-1904
David Wolffsohn	1905-1911
Otto Warburg	1911-1920
Chaim Weizmann	1920-1931
Nahum Sokolow	1931-1933
Chaim Weizmann	1936-1946

[No President Since.]

## ZOA PRESIDENTS and Years Served

Prof. Richard Gottheil	1897-1904
Dr. Harry Friedenwald	1904-1911
Louis Lipsky	1911-1915
Judge Julian W. Mack	1915-1917
Dr. Harry Friedenwald	1917-1918
Judge Julian W. Mack	1918-1922
Louis Lipsky	1922-1930
Robert Szold	1930-1932
Judge Morris Rothenberg	1932-1936
Rabbi Stephen S. Wise	1936-1938
Rabbi Solomon Goldman	1938-1940
Edmund I. Kaufman	1940-1941
Judge Louis E. Levinthal	1941-1943
Dr. Israel Goldstein	1943-1945
Dr. Abba Hillel Silver	1945-1947
Dr. Emanuel Neumann	1947-1949
Daniel Frisch	1949-1950
Benjamin G. Browdy	1950-1952
Rabbi Irving Miller	1952-1954
Mortimer May	1954-



Szold, founder of Hadassah and mother of Youth Aliyah (children's rescue mission), and Louis Lipsky, leader to the present time, of whom Federation President Gottheil wrote to Herzl in 1901 that "a promising young Zionist" had become editor of the newly launched *Maccabaeus*, official organ of the Federation.

One of the decisive developments in American Zionism came with the winning over of Louis D. Brandeis, not yet a member of the Supreme Court, but nationally famed as "the People's Lawyer." He first expressed interest in the Zionist cause in 1910, an interest variously attributed to de Haas, Sokolow, Levin, and Bernard G. Richards. To whomever the credit belongs, the conversion of the soon-to-be Justice undoubtedly marked a turning point in the fortunes of American Zionism.

Brandeis' prestige drew many of the most influential among American Jewry into the Zionist orbit. His proud championship of the cause silenced the hostile and heartened the timid. "Let no American imagine that Zionism is inconsistent with patriotism," he argued in 1915 before a conference of Reform Rabbis, in a classic statement. "Multiple loyalties are objectionable only if they are inconsistent. . . . Every American Jew who aids in advancing the Jewish settlement in Palestine, though he feels that neither he nor his descendants will ever live there, will likewise be a better man and a better American for doing so."

Brandeis' influence and thought were supplemented by a prodigious energy in his leadership and practical support of the Zionist program. His devotion remained constant throughout his tenure of the exacting Supreme Court post to which he was appointed in 1916 and despite the dissensions on basic policy which later created a split in the Zionist ranks. His Zionist activity in fact ceased

only with his death in 1941, one of his last acts having been to sign a check in payment of his dues for membership in the Zionist Organization of America.

When the cataclysm of war descended on the world in 1914, it engulfed the Zionist world structure in Europe and threatened the infant *Yishuv* (settlement) arising in Palestine. In this emergency American Zionists sprang into the breach with resolute vigor. A month after the outbreak of hostilities, at a national conference in New York, the Provisional Executive Committee for General Zionist Affairs was organized with Brandeis as its chairman. Under his vitalizing direction a campaign for an emergency fund of \$200,000 was launched which, less than a year later, had forwarded \$350,000 to the war-stricken *Yishuv*.

Up to this time the Federation had been feeble, in numbers and in productivity. The organization, maintained on a "per capita" basis, made for loose group alignment; and though the Federation had absorbed the older *Hovevei Zion* societies, so large a territorial unit as the Knights of Zion had become affiliated only the year before, and even then continued for some years to operate on an autonomous basis. The Jewish Colonial Trust, organized in 1899, had not achieved conspicuous success in the United States. The *Keren Kayemet* or Jewish National Fund, the agency for land purchase established by the World Zionist Organization, had opened its American bureau in 1910, and its great popularity with the Jewish masses was still a thing of the future.

The challenge of the war crisis, coupled with the leadership of Brandeis, wrought a transformation in American Zionism. The direction of world Zionist activities shifted of necessity to the United States. The number of shekel payments, betokening Zionist adherence, doubled in the first year of war. Distinguished newcomers appeared on the Fed-

eration roster: in the East, Judge Felix Frankfurter, later Supreme Court Justice; Nathan Straus and Mary Fels, philanthropists; Bernard Flexner, economist; Louis E. Kirstein and Colonel Harry Cutler, leaders in industrial and civic life; in the Midwest, Julian W. Mack, Hugo Pam, and Harry M. Fisher, Chicago jurists; Horace M. Kallen, famous educator and philosopher *in futuro*—and many others.

The Provisional Executive Committee was in the fourth year of its arduous task when the world strife brought a development of electrifying import. It came in the form of the statement since known as the Balfour Declaration, issued by Britain on November 2, 1917. By it a government for the first time ranged itself behind Jewish aspirations to statehood. Its calculated effect was to make Jews of the world look to the Allies rather than to Germany and her partners as the carriers of the Jewish hopes. It stated that "His Majesty's Government view with favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people," promised Britain's "best endeavors" for its achievement, and stipulated only the safeguarding of the rights of "non-Jewish communities in Palestine" as well as those "enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

In Britain's decision to issue the Declaration the approval of the American President, Woodrow Wilson, was a prime factor. In the winning of his support, the principal role was taken by Brandeis, assisted by Stephen S. Wise, Richard Gottheil, and others. The assuring of American concurrence in the Declaration was a historic service to his people which possibly no one but Brandeis could have rendered.

The Balfour Declaration was a pronouncement to which Zionists could assent with fervent thanksgiving. In effect this was the Charter which Herzl had sought. Jewish battalions were with Allenby when he captured Jerusalem, ending centuries of Turkish rule in Palestine. Later, the Mandate for Palestine, given to Britain in the peace treaty, ushered in an era of discord and strife marked by Arab intransigence and British betrayal. Nonetheless, the issuance of the Declaration was an epochal event in Jewish history, a thrilling climax in the Zionist struggle. It laid the foundation for the Jewish State.

## THE BALFOUR DECLARATION

Foreign Office,  
November 2nd, 1917

Dear Lord Rothschild,

I have much pleasure in conveying to you, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, the following declaration of sympathy with Jewish Zionist aspirations which has been submitted to, and approved by, the Cabinet:

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country."

I should be grateful if you would bring this declaration to the knowledge of the Zionist Federation.

Yours,

ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR.

### 8. BETWEEN THE WORLD WARS

*Do we Jews care enough for the things worth while in life to take the necessary part in that adventure? . . . Do we care enough, not only to contribute some money but to be a part of the undertaking?*—Louis D. Brandeis (1923).

**I**N 1918, the year when the First World War ended, the Zionist Organization of America came into being.

## THE PITTSBURGH PROGRAM

*Adopted at the Convention of the Zionist Organization of America,  
June, 1918*

1. We declare for political and civil equality irrespective of race, sex, or faith of all the inhabitants of the land.
2. To insure in the Jewish National Home in Palestine equality of opportunity we favor a policy which, with due regard to existing rights, shall tend to establish the ownership and control by the people of the land, of all natural resources, and of all public utilities.
3. All land owned or controlled by the whole people should be leased on such conditions as will insure the fullest opportunity for development and continuity of possession.
4. The cooperative principle should be applied so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings.
5. The system of free public instruction which is to be established should embrace all grades and departments of education.

It replaced group affiliation with individual membership, absorbed autonomous affiliates into one cohesive national organization, and established the geographical District as the Zionist unit.

The national officers elected at the convention which enacted these changes, all of whom had been active on the Provisional Executive Committee, were Justice Brandeis (now the "Silent Leader"), honorary president; Judge Julian W. Mack, president; Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Harry Friedenwald, vice-presidents; Jacob de Haas, executive secretary; Louis Lipsky, secretary for organization; Henrietta Szold, secretary for education; E. W. Lewin-Epstein, treasurer.

The convention adopted a resolution known as the Pittsburgh Program, relating to the upbuilding of Palestine. It declared for political and civil equality of all inhabitants; the vesting of land ownership and control in the people; application of the cooperative principle "so far as feasible in the organization of all agricultural, industrial, commercial, and financial undertakings"; and a system of free public education.

With the reorganization by which the ZOA replaced the Federation, there came a proliferation of Zionist activity in the United States. But a critical schism was in the making, with regard to the economic basis to be established for Palestine's development. On this issue the "Brandeis-Mack" faction clashed with the president of the World Zionist Organization, Dr. Chaim Weizmann, and his supporters. At the London Conference of 1920 the American leadership voted against the decision of the majority regarding the methods and instruments to be adopted. Specifically the split was over the establishment of the Keren Hayesod (Palestine Foundation Fund), as approved by the Conference.

This was to succeed the temporary Palestine Restoration Fund, on a much expanded scale. The ZOA Administration leaders objected to what they termed a commingling of gift and investment funds. Of the large amounts envisaged, part was to be applied to public works and part to economic projects. Brandeis insisted that the latter undertakings be financed by investment and not gift funds.

In 1921 Weizmann, who was destined to become the first President of the re-born Jewish State, came to America on the first of many trips to follow. With him came Albert Einstein, already established as an immortal of science, and M. M. Ussishkin, Zionism's "Iron Man" and upbuilder of the Jewish National Fund. While here Weizmann instituted a branch of the Keren Hayesod, with Samuel Untermyer as president and Emanuel Neumann as director. Later in the year the controversy came to a head at the ZOA convention, held in Cleveland. Lipsky and Abraham Goldberg, brilliant Yiddish writer and speaker, led the opposition to the Brandeis-Mack view. After heated and bitter contention the Weizmann forces prevailed. Brandeis, Mack, Wise, Silver, Robert Szold and a majority of the national executive committee withdrew from the Administration. Leadership was taken over by a collegium consisting of Lipsky, Goldberg, Neumann, Morris Rothenberg, Bernard A. Rosenblatt, Herman Conheim, Louis Topkis, and Peter J. Schweitzer. Lipsky headed this governing body until 1926, when he assumed the presidency, serving in this post to 1930.

Eventually the breach was healed and those who had resigned from the leadership returned. By the decade's close, the Brandeis-Mack faction constituted a majority of the ZOA Executive, with Szold as its chairman and Mack as

honorary chairman. Meantime the two opposing views on economic procedures brought each its own fruit. The Brandeis-Mack followers devoted themselves to economic activity leading to the establishment of the Palestine Economic Corporation. This became a prime factor in developing private investment, industry, and credit institutions in Palestine, under the successive presidencies of Bernard Flexner, Julius Simon, an industrialist, and Szold, its present head.

With Neumann at the helm, the Keren Hayesod established itself securely, and amply fulfilled the expectations of its proponents. With its sister fund, the Keren Kayemet, it constituted the United Palestine Appeal. The UPA and the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee (the combined "War Relief" funds) became the main partners in the United Jewish Appeal. In progressively larger campaigns the UJA taught American Jews "how to give" and furnished the huge sums which meant survival itself to the Poles and other Jewries in the grim decades ahead.

The first year of Lipsky's administration (he had been president before, 1911-15) saw an outstanding political achievement in the Joint Resolution adopted by Congress in 1922 favoring the National Home promised by the Balfour Declaration. The securing of this action was largely the work of Elihu D. Stone of Boston and his Zionist colleagues of New England. The resolution was promptly signed by President Harding. It may be noted that every President since Wilson to the present time has given public expression to his support to the Zionist program. This, in the face of powerful opposition from within and without the Jewish ranks, is a tribute to the statesmanship and the zeal of the Zionist leadership, backed by the sound instinct of the people.

In 1929 came the enlargement of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, by which it was hoped non-Zionists would enter into a partnership with the Zionists for the upbuilding of the National Home. Up to then the World Zionist Executive had served as the "appropriate Jewish Agency" to represent the Jews of the world in relation to the Mandate-holder. Now, years of arduous preparation found consummation in the expanded Agency wherein non-Zionists would make up one-half the membership. Of the Americans, who were to have forty per cent of the seats allotted to non-Zionists, Louis Marshall was designated chairman of the Agency's Council, and Felix M. Warburg chairman of its Administrative Committee.

But in spite of an auspicious beginning the project was still-born. The expected participation by non-Zionists in Zionist responsibilities never materialized. Well-meaning philanthropists could be induced to give generously but, in the main, they could not be endowed by others with Zionist vision, which came from within or not at all. Gradually the Agency reverted in fact to the original

status. Zionists were "on their own" again.

Through the 20's and 30's constructive work in Palestine, given immense impetus by the sanction of the nations, met with two grave obstacles. One was the attitude of the Mandatory Power itself, whose governments whittled down the intention of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate, and whose representatives in Palestine were in many cases viciously hostile to the Jews. The other obstacle was the growing resistance of the Arabs, marked by periodic outbreaks of violence. The most serious of such attacks came in 1921, '29 and '36. It was scandalously evident that they were tolerated, when not indeed encouraged and aided, by the British. A series of investigating Commissions and White Papers followed which increasingly impeded Jewish immigration and land purchase and were calculated to lend weight to the British contention that the Mandate was "unworkable." The final act of betrayal came with the MacDonald White Paper of 1939, which would freeze the Yishuv into a permanent minority.

These developments took shape against a background of world upheaval and colossal Jewish catastrophe. The Nazi terror had been in power in Germany since 1933. Vowed to extermination of the Jewish people, it had created a refugee problem of frightful dimensions. In the light of this dire need, Britain's breach of her solemn obligation—as Churchill called it in Parliament—was the more reprehensible.

American Zionists denounced the betrayal and were joined by other Jewish bodies in their protest to the British Government. But Hitler was now ready for world conquest. The Twenty-first Zionist Congress, held in August 1939 at Geneva, met under the lowering clouds of World War II.

as if there were no war." The Haganah ("Defense") outwitted many a British patrol in order to debark "illegals" on Palestine beaches or smuggle them in by land. Yet Jewish valor and Jewish matériel helped to swing the tide of battle when the Axis forces struck to drive the British out of Egypt, while in Alexandria the Arab leaders were preparing a conqueror's welcome for the Nazi commander, Rommel.

In its struggle for survival and independence, the Yishuv found in American Jewry an indispensable ally. A vital part in the developments which eventuated in statehood was played on the "second front" in the United States as American Jews, led by the Zionists, rose to the responsibilities which history thrust upon them.

American Jewish help included equipment, experts and technicians (for war and for peace), and what is perhaps best known, financial assistance: In the decade 1939-48 the United Palestine Appeal alone furnished more than two hundred million dollars, besides the many millions made available by separate groups. But the greatest American contribution, in which organized Zionism played the leading role, was in the political sphere.

After nearly two decades of emphasis on financial support of Palestine settlement, the coming of the second World War marked a change in American Zionist policy. It brought a period of systematic political and public relations work designed to achieve American support for the establishment of the Jewish State. This new period was highlighted by the creation in 1943 of the American Zionist Emergency Council, consisting of representatives of the major Zionist groups in America.

Beginning with 1940, largely through the initiative of Dr. Emanuel Neumann

a basic political and public relations program was conceived. The program was directed to the complex problems centering around the longtime hostility of the State Department and the American Foreign Service; the Middle East, as a newly vital area of strategic and political concern to the United States; the growing coalition of anti-Zionist forces, including oil interests, missionaries in Middle East institutions, and other pro-Arabs within as well as outside the Jewish fold.

Under the leadership of Dr. Abba Hillel Silver and Dr. Stephen S. Wise as co-chairmen, and later with Dr. Silver as chairman and Dr. Neumann as vice-chairman, the Council performed a prodigious task in marshalling public opinion in support of the Zionist cause. Just as the years 1914-20 may be looked upon as the Brandeis epoch, so the years 1939-48 may be termed the Silver epoch. Each was the dominant and decisive figure in his period. But for them the history of American Zionism might have been utterly different, and the State of Israel might never have come into being.

A Washington bureau was established, headed by Rabbi Leon I. Feuer. The Council's public relations program was under the direction of Harold P. Manson, while Harry L. Shapiro provided overall executive direction.

Among the major developments of the 40's was the mobilization of the non-Jewish friends of Zionism into the American Palestine Committee and the Christian Council for Palestine. Combining later as the American Christian Palestine Committee, which has continued to the present, these bodies of pro-Zionist political leaders, clergymen, educators, and other outstanding citizens proved staunch allies in the mounting struggle. In petitions and demonstra-

## 9. TO STATEHOOD

*... The inescapable logic of events will in due time make Palestine a Jewish State. ... When all the doors of the world will be closed to our people, then the hand of destiny will force open the door of Palestine.—*  
Abba Hillel Silver (1943).

**I**N the gigantic conflict of World War II Palestine Jewry faced a bitter dilemma. If England and her allies fell before the Nazi-Fascist onslaught, the Jewish fate was sealed. On the other hand, the White Paper, backed by British bayonets, had closed the gates of Palestine to all but a trickle of the flood of Jewish refugees fleeing the monstrous blood-bath that was to claim six million victims.

Resolutely meeting the situation, Palestine Jewry launched a twofold struggle: "We fight the war as if there were no White Paper; we fight the White Paper

## THE BILTMORE PLATFORM

*Excerpts from the Declaration Adopted by the Extraordinary Zionist Conference, May 11, 12-13, at Hotel Biltmore, New York*

6. The Conference calls for the fulfillment of the original purpose of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate which "recognizing the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine" was to afford them the opportunity, as stated by President Wilson, to found there a Jewish Commonwealth.

The Conference affirms its unalterable rejection of the White Paper of May, 1939. . . . The policy of the White Paper is cruel and indefensible in its denial of sanctuary to Jews fleeing from Nazi persecution; and . . . in direct conflict with the interests of the allied war effort.

8. The Conference declares that the new world order that will follow victory cannot be established on foundations of peace, justice and equality, unless the problem of Jewish homelessness is finally solved.

The Conference urges that the gates of Palestine be opened; that the Jewish Agency be vested with control of immigration into Palestine and with the necessary authority for upbuilding the country, including the development of its unoccupied and uncultivated lands; and that Palestine be established as a Jewish Commonwealth integrated in the structure of the new democratic world.



tions, through the press and publications, and by personal effort in communities throughout the country, the members of the American Christian Palestine Committee performed an invaluable service in aligning American support for Jewish Palestine.

The early 40's also marked the beginning of economic and technical planning for large-scale development in Palestine by American experts. Dr. Walter C. Lowdermilk's proposal for a Jordan Valley Authority was later worked out in detail by eminent American engineers grouped in the Palestine Surveys Commission.

The Biltmore Platform, adopted at an extraordinary conference called in 1942, was a signal contribution by American Zionists to the Movement. This declaration for the first time clearly defined the goal of Zionism as the establishment of a Jewish Commonwealth. The Biltmore Platform, later adopted by the World Zionist Executive and the postwar Zionist Conference in London, may be said to have cleared the way to statehood.

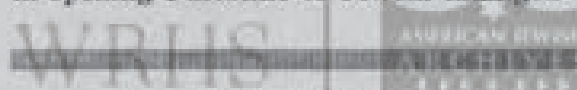
ZOA leaders took a preeminent part in organizing the American Jewish Conference, which took shape in 1943. The Conference was formed to unify American Jewish effort on behalf of world Jewry in meeting postwar problems. It was comprised of democratically elected representatives of 64 national organizations and 136 communities. A resolution embodying Zionist aims was overwhelmingly adopted. Among those prominent in the work of the Conference throughout the six years of its existence were Daniel Frisch, Dr. Solomon Goldman, Dr. Israel Goldstein, Judge Louis E. Levinthal, Louis Lipsky, Mortimer May, Rabbi Irving Miller, Judge Morris Rothenberg, Dr. Abba Hillel Silver, Robert Szold, Dr. Stephen S. Wise. It may be noted that these were all past or future presidents of the ZOA.

Destructive and implacable opposition, not alone to Zionism in process but to the State in being as well, came from a small number of fear-ridden individuals banded together as the American Council for Judaism. Throughout years of desperate struggle, with Jewish life and Jewish lives in the balance, these self-hating assimilationists sought every opportunity to flout the democratically expressed will of the vast majority. Their well-financed propaganda, parroting that of the oil-stained pro-Arab outfits, consistently strengthened the hand of the enemy.

Such were some of the obstructions encountered by the Zionist leaders in their struggle for American opinion and favorable governmental action. Throughout this struggle the Zionist Organization of America provided most of the leadership and a great share of the mass support for the tasks at hand. These tasks were pressed with devoted zeal and growing intensity under the successive presidencies of Dr. Israel Goldstein, 1943-45, Dr. Silver, 1945-47, and Dr. Neumann, 1947-49.

The Republican platform of 1944 advocating "the opening of Palestine" to "unrestricted immigration" was followed by a Democratic plank for an eventual "free and democratic Jewish commonwealth." This latter provision was endorsed by President Roosevelt in a letter to the 1944 ZOA Convention. The Zionists strove for formal commitments by authoritative bodies. Passage of a bi-partisan resolution by Congress was sought twice in 1944, in early spring and late fall, and both times Administration pressure prevented action. The President asked Zionist leaders to leave the matter to him without involving Congress. At that time many Zionist leaders failed to grasp the extent to which this position of the Administration was a reflection of the pro-Arab and anti-Zionist attitude of the State Department "career men." After these leaders yielded to the pressure of the Administration the second time, Dr. Silver was forced to withdraw from the co-chairmanship of the American Zionist Emergency Council.

For several months thereafter the Council leaders patiently tried to persuade the Administration to act on the pledges previously given. In July, 1945 communications were forwarded to President Truman over the signatures of 40 Governors, 53 Senators and 245 Congressmen, urging him to take the lead in opening Palestine to Jewish immigration.



## From ISRAEL'S PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

*THE STATE OF ISRAEL will be open to the immigration of Jews from all countries of their dispersion; will promote the development of the country for the benefit of all its inhabitants; will be based on the principles of liberty, justice and peace as conceived by the Prophets of Israel; will uphold the full social and political equality of all its citizens, without distinction of religion, race or sex; will guarantee freedom of religion, conscience, education and culture; will safeguard the Holy Places of all religions; and will loyally uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter.*

tion and in establishing the Jewish Commonwealth. However, the Administration did not act; and, in response to the insistent demands of the Zionist rank and file, Dr. Silver was recalled to leadership.

Thereafter the Zionist movement took its grievance against the Administration to the American public, including the opposition party in Congress. And in December, 1945 a Concurrent Resolution was finally adopted by both Houses of Congress in favor of "the upbuilding of Palestine as the Jewish national home" and "as a democratic commonwealth in which all men, regardless of race or creed, shall have equal rights."

A new phase in American policy began with the letter of August 31, 1945, sent by President Truman to Prime Minister Attlee, advocating the imme-

diately admission to Palestine of 100,000 refugees from the Displaced Persons camps in Europe. The British Labor Party, which assumed power in the summer of 1945, following the cessation of hostilities in Europe, had denounced the White Paper of 1939 as betrayal of a trust. Once in power, however, the Attlee-Bevin government held fast to the inhuman policy which kept the doors of Palestine all but shut. In the fall of 1945 President Truman agreed to a British proposal for an Anglo-American Commission of Inquiry, scored by Dr. Silver as a transparent device for delay.

Then came many months of uncertainty and inconsistency. On the one hand, on a number of occasions the American Government acted in support of the Zionist program. On the other hand, the anti-Zionist elements in the Government, reinforced by British, Arab, and special interest groups, often succeeded in inducing the Government to take an anti-Zionist stand. Thus the supporting moves in Washington lost much of their value, encouraging the British and Arabs in their intransigence. But, despite vacillation and frequent reversal, the positive steps taken by the United States comprised a most significant contribution to the ultimate establishment of the State.

There followed the British rejection of the Anglo-American Commission's report, which recommended abrogation

of the White Paper and immediate admission of 100,000 Jews; the Grady-Morrison plan, calling for division of Palestine into cantons under British control, which was disapproved by the Twenty-second Zionist Congress and rejected by the American Government; the spreading conviction that the time had come to relieve Britain of a Mandate for which she was proving increasingly incompetent; and, in February, 1947, the British decision to place the Palestine problem before the United Nations.

Two months before this British action, in December, 1946 the Twenty-second Zionist Congress had met at Basle. The policy adopted there took an unyielding stand against the Mandatory Power. The "militants" defeated the "moderates" who still believed in the possibility



of negotiation with Britain. The Congress voted down the Grady-Morrison plan, disapproved the Jewish Agency's previous announcement of readiness to consider a partition plan for Palestine, and rejected an invitation to Bevin's round-table conference in London. The majority upheld Dr. Silver's contention that any proposal for partition must come from Britain or the Arabs if the Zionists were not to lose their bargaining position beforehand.

The uncompromising stand of the Congress, bluntly reaffirming the Biltmore Platform, may have hastened Bevin's decision to bring the Palestine case before the UN.

The months preceding the vote in the UN were a time of supreme testing for the Zionist forces and their now vastly augmented supporters. In this hour, for which generations of Zionist striving had been preparation and prelude, a Jewish unity was forged that was all but complete. Of the momentous decision for the recreation of the Jewish State, Abba Hillel Silver has stated (*Palestine Year Book*, Volume 4):

"Altogether, it was a magnificent achievement which was made possible only by colossal effort, by careful and skillful planning and execution, and by boundless devotion on the part of unsummed men and women here and in many other parts of the world."

The one who penned these words was himself perhaps the single person most responsible for the "magnificent achievement." Upon Silver the main burden of command had fallen—in the Emergency Council, at the Zionist Congress, and as chairman of the American Section of the Jewish Agency. His inspired eloquence at the UN hearings was not the least of his services; it powerfully buttressed the Jewish case and fittingly crowned his leadership on the way to victory.

By September of 1947 the American delegation at the UN Assembly took a generally favorable attitude toward the plan for partitioning Palestine which had been proposed by the majority of the UN Special Committee on Palestine (UNSCOP). Yet through October and November American delegates and officials of the State Department pressed for modifications of the proposed partition boundaries in favor of the Arabs, and also for interim control of Palestine by the British. During these months hints were given to other UN delegations that the United States was indifferent to the outcome of the vote on partition.

At the eleventh hour the traditional attitude of the American people was clearly expressed when the American delegation urged the adoption of the partition resolution. On November 29, 1947, by a vote of 33 to 13, with 11 abstentions, the necessary two-thirds majority was secured in the General Assembly of the United Nations in favor of the resolution. By an unprecedented

concurrence between the United States and the Soviet bloc on a major issue, the epochal event had come to pass. Herzl's vision of "a legally secured and publicly recognized" Jewish State had been validated by "the council of the civilized peoples."

Between the decision and its implementation, however, there came an agonizing half-year—a period of sordid maneuverings to upset the partition resolution, to discredit it with the public, to browbeat the Jews into accepting less than statehood. The decision for partition was the signal for Arab infiltration, violence and terrorism throughout Palestine. Looking to its imminent departure, the British Administration gave the disturbers all possible aid and comfort, dismantling installations and disrupting essential services with the evident intention of leaving chaos behind.

With heroic determination the Yishuv fought off its assailants and their abettors. Despite State Department backing-and-filling, despite an American embargo on arms and other moves designed to prevent it, the Republic of Israel came into being on May 14, 1948. And once again the true feelings of the American people were manifested when President Truman granted de facto recognition to the State of Israel within a few moments after its proclamation.

WRHS

## 10. THE THIRD COMMONWEALTH

*We have been given only the opportunity, the clay with which to mold the Jewish nation. Let us not miss our rendezvous with history—*  
Chaim Weizmann (1948).

**E**NTERING upon the historic new era of Jewish statehood in those turbulent and fateful days of 1948, the infant Republic threw itself into the manifold tasks of nationbuilding. It fought off the invading armies of six Arab countries, and it was they, not Israel, that had to be rescued by UN action for truce. It opened its gates to all Jews who needed a haven or home; by the end of 1951 nearly 700,000 had poured in, creating a resettlement problem of staggering proportions. Throughout all the years of its existence the young State has had to maintain its armed forces at full strength, draining its resources. For the Arab governments have obstinately rebuffed all attempts to make peace, maintaining a mutually costly boycott and blockade against Israel, accompanied by murderous forays and boasts of a "second round."

Nor have the other enemies of the Third Commonwealth ever given up their efforts to "strangle the infant in its cradle." In the UN, on the economic front, and in the spheres of education and public opinion, they engage in

incessant attack. In America, anti-Israel propaganda is rife, pressed by well-financed bureaus. Persuasive speakers appear throughout the country, before influential groups. Literature circulates plentifully. Certain elements in the State Department cooperate vigorously. And over it all may be detected the smell of oil, mingled with the stench of a decayed feudalism.

With the establishment of the State the emphasis was shifted to material support for Israel. The United Jewish Appeal was supplemented by the Israel Bond campaign. United States governmental grants-in-aid helped substantially. And additional efforts for gift or investment funds aided in the strengthening of Israel's economy.

In the first five years of its existence a total of one billion dollars was reported to have been raised for Israel from all sources throughout the world. Almost half of this, 416 millions, was contributed by American Jewry; 138 millions came from United States grants; 135 millions from the United States Export-Import Bank; and 311 millions from Israel Bonds, loans, private investments, and gift campaigns in other countries.

In 1950, following his resignation from the chairmanship of the American Section of the Jewish Agency, Dr. Silver retired as chairman of the American Zionist Emergency Council. He was succeeded by a presidium of four. Later Louis Lipsky became chairman of the American Zionist Council. In 1953 the Council convoked the first American Zionist Assembly, a step toward joint action by the several Zionist parties in the fields of Zionist education, youth activity and cooperation in communal endeavor. In a correlated move, political activities were taken over by the newly organized American Zionist Committee for Public Affairs, of which Mr. Lipsky became chairman, later being succeeded by Rabbi Philip S. Bernstein. Rabbi Irving Miller is the current chairman of the Council.

Throughout the years of statehood much discussion has centered around the future role of the Zionist Movement. The discussion has brought out sharp differences of outlook and opinion concerning the relationship of the Zionist Organization to the State of Israel, the authority, structure and scope of the Movement, and the responsibilities of Zionists under the new conditions. Notwithstanding prolonged deliberations by the World Zionist Congress and Actions Committee and by the Jewish Agency Executive, these problems were not satisfactorily resolved, and they still await solution.

The presidency of the ZOA had been assumed in 1949 by Daniel Frisch. In his administration the Organization aimed at constructive adjustment to the changed conditions. His program reflected Mr. Frisch's deeply-held convictions on the organic unity of Judaism and Zionism, and the interdependence of Israel and the Diaspora. Mr. Frisch's administration saw the launch-

## THE GROWTH OF ERETZ ISRAEL

(Figures refer to Jewish population)

	1898	1921	1948	1953
Total population	48,000	80,000	713,000	1,483,505
Rural population	2,960	14,500	110,600	330,000
Settlements	22	75	471	853
Land holdings (dunams)	105,000	590,000	2,023,000	20,500,000
Area cultivated (dunams)			1,650,000	3,650,000
Schools	20	135	836	3,621
Pupils	700	12,830	98,000	365,000
Hospitals (beds)		372	4,626	10,609
Infant mortality (per 1,000)		132	52	40
<b>Industrial Development</b>				
Enterprises		171	8,207	20,301
Workers		2,300	62,000	123,000
Power consumption (mo. average 1,000 kwh.)			7,000	17,000
<b>Transport and Communications</b>				
Highways (km.)			1,380	2,600
Trucks			7,100	16,852
Buses			800	1,721
Automobiles			4,850	14,433
Ships			10	31
Gross tons (ships)			21,000	121,000
Civil aircraft			0	8
Telephones			18,286	47,430

ing of a major project in Israel, the ZOA House in Tel Aviv, which today bears his name.

His leadership was tragically cut short by death after less than a year in office. He was succeeded by Benjamin G. Browdy, who served to 1952. During his term Mr. Browdy strove energetically for greater understanding with Israel. Under his direction the ZOA took the leading part in the inception of the Israel Bond campaign. Not only did the Zionists show the way in Bond-selling, but without their services in breaking ground and "opening doors" the whole enterprise—so vital to Israel—could never have gotten under way. Also during Mr. Browdy's administration, a major contribution to Zionist thought,

*The Zionist Quarterly*, was launched.

Following the election of Rabbi Irving Miller as president, the ZOA in 1952 established a Commission on Israel and the Middle East, which, through area conferences, personal contacts, and bulletins, alerts community leaders to the problems and dangers facing Israel. Important ventures in this and other spheres have been intensively carried forward by the administrations of Rabbi Miller and Mortimer May. A Department of Economic Development fosters private investment and promotes the sale of Israel merchandise by means of trade exhibits, fashion shows, "Buy Israel" campaigns, and the distribution of specific products. Related to this field is the activity of the Tourist Department,

which has substantially increased travel to Israel. Intensification of effort on behalf of the United Jewish Appeal, the Jewish National Fund, and the Bond campaigns has also held a high-priority place on the program.

The ZOA likewise undertook two major projects in Israel. The ZOA Daniel Frisch House, in its third year, is one of the show-places of Tel Aviv and the premier center in the cultural and communal life of Israel. Kfar Silver, named in honor of Abba Hillel Silver, is an agricultural school undertaken jointly with the General Zionists Organization of Israel. Scheduled to open this year, with planned accommodations for 300 students, it represents a contribution of the greatest significance to the upbuilding of the country.

The year 1952 saw the inception of the Department of World Zionist Affairs, whose task it is to maintain and expand ZOA relations with the World Zionist Organization, the General Zionists Organization in Israel, the World Confederation of General Zionists, and General Zionist organizations in all countries.

The World Zionist Affairs Department is also engaged in systematic education of the ZOA constituency on all problems of the world Zionist Movement and General Zionism. The work of this Department assumes special importance in view of the forthcoming Twenty-fourth Zionist Congress.

This year, under the presidency of Mortimer May, the ZOA has established the Department of Public Information, which supervises the work of the Commission on Israel and the Middle East, the Press and Publicity department, the Program and Education division, and the Speakers' and Artists' Bureau. This is a step toward coordination of related operations making for more effective functioning.

These departments represent a constructive adjustment to new needs and new opportunities for service. They supplement ZOA's traditional services to its local groups, to youth and the Hebrew movement, to the community and Jewish life. They represent the spirit in which the Zionist Organization of America goes forward into the future.

... Even after we have obtained our country, Palestine, the Zionist Movement will not cease to be an ideal. For Zionism as I understand it contains not only the effort for a legally secured piece of land for our poor nation, but also the desire and effort for moral and spiritual fulfillment.

—Henzl, "Diaries," (1904)

## LOOKING BACK – and AHEAD

**A**T the Tercentenary of Jewish settlement in the United States we can look back on nearly two centuries of recorded Zionist or pro-Zionist thought; something over half a century of political Zionism; and a mere seven years of the new era that came with *Medinat Israel*.

A definitive history of the Zionist movement in America has yet to be written. Such a history would trace out the interaction of Zionism and American Jewry, and analyze the effects of each upon the other in the shaping of today's realities. This reciprocal process has profound implications for a community still maturing. What follows is a summary appraisal of some of the influences exerted by Zionism and American Jewish life upon each other, and their indications for the future.

### 1. AMERICAN INFLUENCES ON THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

Even a casual estimate of events and personalities must grant the decisive quality of the American impact upon the course of Zionist history. To cite two towering instances, in their simplest terms, without Brandeis the Balfour Declaration era might have been very different, and without Silver there might have been no UN decision for statehood. An even more obvious example is the material help that came from America; without it we cannot imagine the program of land reclamation, the rescue of refugees, the meeting of the Yishuv's fiscal problems, or the repulse of its military attackers.

These and similar credit items bulk large on history's ledger. But the ledger also contains substantial entries on the debit side. There were the earliest years when settlement went forward scarcely at all, while Herzl's message was almost unheard in America: It was *ko'el kore bamidbar*, a voice crying in a wilderness of mass indifference and hostility in high places. There was the later time, after the Mandate was given when the Land was open and the Britain of Balfour, Lloyd George, and Smuts was watching the response of the Jews to the historic opportunity. But even as America was shutting her gates in the 20's, those who held the philanthropic purse-strings rejected the Zionist solution in favor of palliative relief. And Europe's Jews remained trapped in the teeming ghettos to await the catastrophe Herzl and Nordau had foretold.

No one can estimate how many more would have been saved, if some of the wealthy among our people could have been convinced of the soundness, the inevitability, of the Zionist thesis. Again we can only speculate how different the position and prospects of Israel would be today if those eager hundreds of thousands in Eastern Europe, the flower of

Jewish culture and Zionist aspiration, had been enabled to throng into *Eretz Israel* when Britain's statesmen still intended to "use their best endeavors to facilitate the achievement" of the Jewish Homeland.

This tragic short-sightedness was of course not confined to America. Those in the high places of British and German Jewry also sought to discredit and thwart the Zionist program, right from the beginning. Herzl's bitterest reproaches were reserved for "the practical people, the overwise," those responsible for "stones hurled in our path" and those "who stand aside today with a malicious smile and with their hands in their trousers' pockets." In his autobiography, *Trial and Error*, Weizmann tells how Jewish anti-Zionists of England caused delay in the issuance of the Balfour Declaration and, worse, amendments in its text—ambiguities in place of the original forthright text—which later proved calamitous to the Jewish cause:

"... From the individual expressions of opinion which had come from its [the War Cabinet's] members, there cannot be the slightest doubt that without outside interference—entirely from *Jeica!*—the draft would have been accepted early in August, substantially as we submitted it."

Thus, the purblindness of some of the wealthy and their advisors was not peculiar to America. But the disastrous element in such American opposition lay in the fact that in the early, determinative years of the Mandate the First World War had already broken or impoverished the other large Jewries. The Jewish community of the United States was the only one left in the world with the means to help adequately. When 150 prominent Jews petitioned President Wilson, urging him to oppose Zionism at the Peace Conference, they did not succeed in swerving him; but this move, like many others of the kind, had its effect on public support for the Zionist enterprise. In 1925, when Sir Herbert Samuel ended his five years' service as the first High Commissioner of Palestine, he sorrowfully chided the Zionists for failure to supply capital and to initiate development projects on a scale which would have permitted a policy more favorable to the Yishuv.

Through the years, what Stephen Wise called "the accursed rule of philanthropy" opposed the Zionist program with all its power—in the organizing of the American Jewish Congress in World War I and of the American Jewish Conference in World War II; in representations to the Government; in attempts at a constructive solution to the refugee problem—in short, in every action involving the assertion of Jewish peoplehood or national aspirations.

As events grievously fulfilled Zionist predictions, mass indifference began to melt away and the opposition was forced to retreat. During the Second World War, Zionist effort was powerfully aided by other organizations, led by the American Jewish Conference, the American Jewish Congress, B'nai B'rith, the Jewish War Veterans and others. So that when the issue was joined before the UN the Zionist cause had the solid backing of American Jewry—with a few dishonorable exceptions that must be counted enemies of their people.

To sum up: The American contribution toward the achievement of Jewish statehood was vital in political and material aid and in leadership at certain junctures. But, save for a heroic vanguard, the full understanding and support of American Jewry came after the catastrophe had already begun in Europe. One may note, finally, that *aliyah* from the United States has been of minor proportions, which fact may in a negative sense be included in an inventory of American influences on the Zionist Movement.

However magnificent its achievements in the past, however tragic its failures, events have thrust American Jewry into the forefront of responsibility in Zionist affairs. As the only large and powerful Jewish community left in the Diaspora it is destined to play a determining part in the continuing struggle for the future of Israel and of our people the world over. And there is good hope that American Jewry is ready for its fateful role.

### 2. ZIONISM'S EFFECTS ON AMERICAN JEWRY

The main influences which Zionism has brought to bear upon the Jewish people were foreseen by Herzl with prescient clarity.

"Among the arguments in favor of Zionism," he declared, "one of the best was the bankruptcy of assimilation. Now we have a new one: the insolvency of philanthropy." Further, "We shall ask our Jewish opponents what they have done in all these years to relieve the frightful distress of our brothers. Where are the results of their work? What have they achieved? Have they created anything practical?" Again, in another vein, "Zionism is a homecoming to the Jewish fold even before it becomes a homecoming to the Jewish land." And to these extracts from Congress addresses may be added his diary entry observing that his achievement was "to turn a rag into a banner and transform an abject rabbe into a nation which rallied erect to that banner."

Such statements by Herzl accurately envisioned the impress of Zionism on Jewish life. These effects are too likely to be taken for granted by a generation



reared in the self-belief and self-esteem propagated by Zionism. Yet they had to be fought for, in arduous, sustained combat against indifference, skepticism, and prejudice.

Zionism exposed the "insolvency of philanthropy"—its treadmill futility and its shirking of the real problem, Jewish homelessness. Zionists stormed the bastion of *shtadlanut*, the traditional "hush-hush" or backdoor diplomacy, and unabashedly tilted with its august practitioners, the *Nagidim*, self-appointed leaders of the community. These battles were part of a long struggle for democracy in Jewish life in which Zionists have been the shock troops. For, as Brandeis said many years ago, "the demand for democracy in the consideration of the Jewish problem is not a matter of form; it is of the essence."

While attacking reaction on the Right, Zionists boldly besieged the powerful forces of the Left flying the banner of universalism. And the Zionists had to take still another stronghold, that held by the ultra-Orthodox, who condemned self-emancipation as a profane tampering with the messianic timetable. It is true—to their honor be it said—that many recruits came over from the enemy and progressively reinforced the nationalists. Yet it was something of a wonder that the Zionists could prevail against the formidable opposition that came from three directions at once.

The secret was a mighty *shofar* which the Zionists possessed: the complete rightness of their program for the Jewish future. With this trumpet of Joshua they learned "to blow a blast of shattering power." It crumbled alike the walls of selfish privilege, utopian illusion, and medievalism.

The truth proclaimed by the Zionists stemmed the assimilationist trend sweeping the intellectual and secularist elements of Jewry. It halted the aimless drift of the masses. It nurtured an attitude of proud identification with one's people and its fate. It popularized an assertion of Jewishness resting squarely on a self-respect that commanded the respect of others. Zionism indeed was "a homecoming to the Jewish fold." It turned "a rag into a banner" by endowing "an abject rabble" with inspiring purpose and by providing a rational and practical means for attaining that purpose.

All these effects of Zionism upon the Jewish people hold equally true for the American segment of Jewry, though perhaps less obviously and in certain respects to a lesser degree. Zionism has transformed the Jew, in his attitude toward himself, in his outlook and his prospects. The changes, to be sure, have been immensely accentuated since the advent of the State of Israel. But the State is itself one of the effects of Zionism—its greatest!

### 3. LOOKING AHEAD

The question of Zionism's future will be answered according to one's understanding of the objectives of the Move-

ment and one's grasp of our people's needs in the foreseeable time ahead.

Considering the problem in its most immediate terms—aid to Israel, and confining ourselves to the decisive Diaspora area—America, we must on thoughtful appraisal be convinced of the continuing need for a mass organization whose members are unswervingly devoted to Zionist aims.

Even in its most elementary aspect, namely material assistance, support for Israel requires such backing as a bulwark and safeguard. Nor is the time past for work in the areas of public information and democratic mass action; with Israel's enemies relentlessly active, it is only ordinary prudence to uphold that force which during the crucial struggle led so effectively in aligning American support for a Jewish State.

Similarly, in community education, in fostering understanding and building the "two-way bridge" between Israel and American Jewry, sustained Zionist programming is a requisite. And what of our youth? Can we believe that the rising generation will be inspired and trained to service without systematic guidance?

These are, in the best sense of the term, practical tasks—and of the utmost moment to the safety and progress of Israel. They are tasks which fundraising organizations cannot perform, which diplomats, *shtetniks*, or bureaus cannot discharge. Dr. Abba Hillel Silver put the matter succinctly, when the State was set up:

"I caution you, we must remain mobilized in the strongest numbers. Israel will require Zionist support for a generation to come—not merely Jewish but Zionist support."

The need for recognizing the role of the Zionist Organization was also emphasized by Rabbi Irving Miller in the early years of statehood, in these words:

"It is clear to everybody that for many years to come the State of Israel will need economic, political, and moral support from the outside. To secure this assistance it is vital that the State should have a faithful ally upon whom it can rely forever. Where can the State find such an ally outside of the Zionist movement? Who else but the Zionists are the pillars upon whom the structure of all activity for Israel rests?"

Dr. Emanuel Neumann, drawing the conclusion which flows from the premise of the quotations above, has stated:

"Partnership is not a one-way affair. If the [Zionist] Movement has the obvious duty of standing by the State . . . there rests a corresponding obligation on the State to strengthen its ally and partner and to do so actively, consciously, and consistently."

Such statements emphasize the need for continuing and strengthening the Zionist Organization for the sake of Israel. "Friends of Israel" are indeed

to be warmly welcomed, in the greatest possible numbers. But the spirit of benevolence, however generous, is not to be equated with Zionist dedication. Ambassador Abba Eban has observed:

"It is not difficult to define a Zionist . . . by his greater devotion, his closer sense of identity, his more direct service, and his willingness for heavier sacrifice."

But it is not only for Israel's sake that a vital and vibrant Zionism is needed. From its very beginning the Movement asserted that the State was a means; the Land was to exist for the People. The strengthening of Jewish life and the fortifying of the Jewish spirit are Zionist ends which have to do with Jewish communities everywhere.

We have a Jewish life to mold, and a Jewish community to serve, *here*. Zionism was intended to sustain and enrich that life also. It will make an immense difference to the future of American Jewry whether, on the one hand, a sterile philanthropy-Judaism dictates the communal program or, on the other hand, Zionist fervor and ferment are at work in the community in effectively organized fashion. The difference is indeed fundamental, for it is a difference in belief as to how Jewish life should be lived.

Mortimer May, ZOA president, recently summed up the *credo* of American Zionism in these words:

"Zionism is a movement that believes in the Jewish People and its survival. The State of Israel became the focus of Zionist activity because without such a state survival seemed impossible, either in the physical or the cultural and spiritual sense.

"Yet we do not negate the Diaspora. This is in keeping with Jewish history and tradition. The State was brought into existence by a joint effort of the Diaspora and the people of Palestine. It came into being for the good of both. As always, the Jewish fate is inseparable: If the State of Israel fares well, as we are determined it shall, we in the other lands shall be the gainers; and any failure on the part of the State, in whatever respect, will not leave us untouched. For good or ill, the unity of the Jewish people is indivisible.

"We have a profound confidence in the greatness of Israel's future. We believe it will have messages of spiritual and moral value for mankind, as had Israel of old. This is the rock of our Zionist faith."

Not yet is the Zionist mission accomplished. The Movement has tasks before it as compelling as those which found fulfillment on May 14, 1948. They are linked not only with Israel but with *klal Israel* as well. In the new era which opened with the rebirth of the Jewish State, Zionists will understand their continuing role and rise to its needs. —D.E.H.



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#### American

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by Abba Hiler Silver. Papers and addresses which helped influence the course of history, \$2.50

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by Daniel Frisch. Selected writings on Jewish education, Zionism, and creative Jewish living, \$2.50

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##### THE JEWISH PROBLEM—HOW TO SOLVE IT,

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##### YOUR ZOA—ITS PLACE IN THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

ZOA Pamphlet No. 4, 10c

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Selected essays, edited by Leon Simon, \$2.50.

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Speeches, essays and biographical notes, \$2.50.

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By Emanuel Neumann. The story of Herzl's life. ZOA Pamphlet No. 11, 25c.

##### THE JEWISH STATE,

By Theodor Herzl. Introduction by Louis Lipsky, biography by Alex Bein. Cloth, \$1; paper 50c.

##### HERZL: EXTRACTS FROM HIS DIARIES, \$1.

##### ZIONIST HANDBOOK

A Dictionary of Zionist Terms and Information, ZOA Pamphlet No. 7, 10c.

##### THE ZIONIST IDEA,

By Joseph Heller. The philosophy and ideology of the Zionist Movement. \$3.

##### THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT,

By Israel Cohen. Chapter on American Zionism, by Bernard G. Richards. \$3.

##### FULFILLMENT: THE EPIC STORY OF ZIONISM,

By Rufus Lears, \$5.

##### NEXT YEAR IN JERUSALEM,

By Nina Brown Baker. A fictionalized biography of Herzl for the teen-ager, \$2.

#### Program Materials

##### HERZL ANNIVERSARY YEAR.

Program Guide and Source Book, ZOA, 25c.

##### HERZL, PROPHET OF INDEPENDENCE.

Jewish Agency materials, 25c.

##### TO THE YOUNG A VISION,

By Rufus Lears. ZOA one-act play on Herzl and Baron de Hirsch. 4m., 1 f., 40 min., 35c.

##### ADDRESS TO THE WORLD,

By Jerome Bayer. ZOA. A piece for informal theatre, on Herzl's "Jewish State." 6 m., 5 f., 30 min., 25c.

##### RADIO RECORDING:

Dramatized life of Herzl. 15-minute disc for radio program. Includes "spaces" for enrollment appeal and local material. Available to Districts.

##### HEBREW AND HEBREW MONTH HEBREW:

The Story of a Living Language, by William Chomsky. ZOA Pamphlet No. 5, 10c.

##### HEBREW SELF-TAUGHT,

By Zvi and Ben-Ami Scharfstein. ZOA's popular text for individual or classroom study of modern conversation, \$2.95.

##### HAYYIM NAHMAN BIALIK,

Complete poetical works, edited by Israel Efros, illustrated by Lionel S. Reiss. Volume 1, \$4.

##### BIALIK,

By Israel Efros, 15c.

##### JEHUDA HALEVI AS THINKER AND POET,

By Israel Efros, 10c.

##### THE GROWTH OF MODERN HEBREW LITERATURE,

By Hillel Bavli, 15c.

##### LIFE AND SELECTED POEMS OF SAUL TCHERNICHOWSKY, 25c.

##### SERIES EDITED By A. H. Friedland. (mimeographed):

J. L. Gordon, 50c.

I. L. Peretz, 40c.

Z. Schnaiur, 50c.

Achad Ha'am, 50c.

##### SHORT HEBREW CLASSICS,

with English translation, by A. H. Friedland, 15c.

##### HEBREW LITERATURE IN AMERICA,

By Elsig Silberschlag, 10c.

##### HEBREW LITERATURE IN AMERICA,

By Chaim Leaf, 10c.

##### HEBREW LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND CULTURE IN AMERICAN UNIVERSITIES,

By Abraham I. Katsah. A study of the role and influence of Hebrew on American civilization \$1.00.

##### WHY HEBREW?

By Samuel M. Blumenfeld, 10c.

#### Publications:

Hadoar, weekly (including supplements), \$9 per year.

Hadoar Lanoar, children's bi-weekly supplement, \$1.75 per year.

Musaf LaKore Hatzair, bi-weekly supplement for youth and adults, \$1.75 per year.

Sheviley Hahinuch, education quarterly edited by Zvi Scharfstein, \$3 per year.

#### Children's Hebrew Literature:

Em Ha-Shomrim, by Aliza Chomsky. Vowel-pointed story, for schools, 48 pp., illustrated, 60c.

Hozeret L'Talmidim, by S. Shalom. Pupil's brochure containing selections from the poet and introductions, 15c.

Hasod, translated by E. Indelman. Vowel-pointed and illustrated story, 60c.

Chana Senesh, by Aharon Meged. Vowel-pointed and illustrated story, 60c.

Harambam, by E. Indelman. Vowel-pointed and illustrated story, 75c.

#### Audio-Visual Aids

##### FIVE 4-MINUTE HEBREW SONG FILMS,

with translation, 16 mm. sound, \$4 each; all five on one reel available for rental.

##### MASSAD FILM.

Life in an all-Hebrew children's camp. Technicolor, 30 min. Bookings free, on advance notice.

##### RECORDS.

A large variety available at ZOA Book and Gift Shop; catalog on request.

#### Dramatic

##### OUR BIALIK,

A cantata by Judith and Ira Eisenstein, \$1.50.

##### BEN YEHUDA.

Eternal Light script, 10c.

##### ELIEZER BEN YEHUDA.

Prepared by Jewish Education Committee for Hebrew Month, 35c.

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MATERIALS. *Continued*

**THE TERCENTENARY  
AND HISTORY**

(Items marked with an asterisk (\*) may be obtained direct of the ZOA; for others, please send to the source, as identified by number below.)

**Program and Calendar**

- 1) LISTING of TV and Radio schedule, exhibits, and other events.
- 1) COMMUNITY MANUAL; materials for programs, etc., \$2.
- 2) JEWISH CENTER PROGRAM AIDS, 75c.
- 2) LECTURERS available for Tercenary programs.

**Music**

- 3) MUSIC FOR THE TERCENTENARY, a bibliography, 25c.
- 3) THE JEWISH MUSIC MOVEMENT IN AMERICA, a Tercenary lecture, by A. W. Binder, 25c.
- 2) HERITAGE, a cantata, 10c.

**Books and Pamphlets**

- \*) THE JEWS IN AMERICA: A HISTORY, by Rufus Lears, \$6.
- \*) EARLY AMERICAN JEWRY, By Jacob R. Marcus, 2 vols., \$7.50.
- 2) STORY OF JEWS IN THE U. S., 32 pp., 10c; and leader's guide, 4 pp., 5c.
- 5) READING LIST FOR TERCENTENARY: history, biography, fiction, reference.
- 6) A TERCENTENARY SERVICE, Prepared by Rabbi Albert S. Goldstein; responsive reading in Hebrew and English, 14 pp., 20c.
- 7) JUDAISM, A QUARTERLY JOURNAL: Tercenary Issue—520 pp., \$2.
- 9) BUILDERS OF AMERICAN JEWRY, by Isaac Friedlander; album of 8 portraits, \$3.
- 4) RECORDS OF THE EARLIEST JEWISH COMMUNITY IN THE NEW WORLD, by Arnold Winitzer, \$3.

- 4) AN INVENTORY OF AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORY; contains extensive bibliographies, \$1.75.

- 9) BOOKS ON AMERICAN JEWISH LIFE, by Harold U. Ribikow, bibliography of 75 novels, 50c.

**Dramatic**

- 8) BRANDEIS, a radio script about Brandeis and Jewish workers; 30 min., 10c.
- 8) STEPHEN S. WISE—A Voice for Justice, a radio script, 10c.
- 8) NO WREATH AND NO TRUMPET (Emma Lazarus), a TV script, free.
- 2) WE CAME TO AN ISLAND, 1-act play of first Jews in America; 10 min., 1 fl., 45 min., 50c.
- 9) THE FOUR CHAPLAINS, simulated broadcast on incident of World War II; adaptable for stage production, 17 char., 20 min., 35c.
- 9) MOTHER OF EXILES; simulated broadcast, on Emma Lazarus; adaptable for stage production, 16 char., 20 min., 35c.
- 9) MR. LINCOLN AND THE SOLDIER, radio script adaptable for stage production; 4 char., 20 min., 25c.

**Films**

- 10) SONS OF LIBERTY, fictional story of Haym Solomon, Jewish Revolutionary patriot; color, 16 mm., 20 min., rental \$4.
- 10) MUSIC IN AMERICA, Contributions of outstanding Jewish musicians; 16 mm., 20 min., rental \$5.
- 10) OF THESE OUR PEOPLE, Contribution of Jews in America; 16 mm., 17 min., rental \$5.

**Miscellaneous**

- \*) RADIO RECORDING: Address by Francis H. Russell, U. S. Charge d'Affaires, at Tercenary observance at ZOA House, Tel Aviv; includes message from President Eisenhower, introduction by Mortimer May, 15 min. LP.
- 2) CHILDREN'S BOOKS on American Jewish history, catalog, 8 pp.
- 2) THE PRICE OF LIBERTY; radio script (or simulated) for ages 8-15; 8 males, extras, 25 pp., 25c.
- 2) JEWISH CHILDREN GIVE THANKS TO AMERICA, a pageant expressing appreciation for American freedoms; 6 pp., 10c.

**Key to SOURCES**

- 1) American Jewish Tercenary Committee, 3 E. 65 St., New York 21, N. Y.
- 2) National Jewish Welfare Board, 145 E. 32 St., New York 16, N. Y.
- 3) Jewish Music Council, 145 E. 32 St., New York 16, N. Y.
- 4) American Jewish Historical Society, 3080 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.
- 5) Jewish Publication Society of America, 222 N. 15 St., Philadelphia 2, N. Y.
- 6) Synagogue Council of America, 110 W. 42 St., New York 36, N. Y.
- 7) American Jewish Congress, 15 E. 84 St., New York 28, N. Y.
- 8) Eternal Light, 3080 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y.
- 9) Jewish Education Committee, 1776 Broadway, New York 19, N. Y.
- 10) Jewish Education Film Library, 13 E. 37 St., New York 16, N. Y.