

THE ZIONIST CONGRESS.



Dr. N. BIRNBAUM (of Berlin).



Dr. THEODOR HERZL.



Dr. DAVID FARBSTEIN (of Zurich).

THE ZIONIST CONGRESS.

Full Report of the Proceedings.

[BY OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENTS]

BASLE, AUGUST 29TH, 1897.

THE event which has been looked forward to with so much interest in a large section of the Jewish people and severely criticised in anticipation by another section has at length arrived—the Zionist Congress has met. When it is remembered that the movement—the *leit motif* of which is the acquisition of Palestine and its conversion into a Jewish State—was advocated in the now famous pamphlet written by Dr. Theodor Herzl as the remedy against the prevailing anti-Semitism, it would seem as the irony of fate that the Congress should have assembled in Basle. For is not Basle in Switzerland, and did not anti-Semitism break out in a very pronounced form a few years ago, when through persistent agitation Shechita was prohibited in this country? Let not the reader, however, imagine from this reminder that the considerable Jewish congregation in this city and its thoroughly Orthodox Rabbi, Dr. Cohn, are obliged to eat trifa meat. Jewish ingenuity has driven a carriage and pair through the prohibition sanctioned by the authorities. Animals are killed kosher at the nearest German town, a very short distance, and the meat is sent over the frontier and sold as fresh as though the slaughtering-place were in Basle itself.

The Christian population, it must be stated to their credit have shown themselves most sympathetic towards the Congress and its leaders. The Government of the Canton generously placed an entire suite of apartments on the Freie Gasse at the disposal of the Congress for a bureau, and the Cantonal President gave a very cordial reception to Dr. Herzl, who waited upon him on Friday. He promised to attend the Congress, if possible.

The interest excited by the Congress outside the Jewish community was evidenced in a striking manner. The Turkish Government actually sent an official to Basle to draw up a report on the movement, and it is understood that before forwarding his report he submitted it to Dr. Herzl.

Whatever divergence of view may exist as to the feasibility or otherwise of the scheme advocated by Dr. Herzl, there can be no two opinions about the enthusiasm it has kindled in those who have put their faith in it. International Jewish Congresses have been held before now, and have been attended by men whose names were household words throughout Jewry. This can be said of a fraction only of the members of the present Congress, but what they lack in eminence they make up for in quantity and in the fervour with which they have taken up the cause. Nothing but the most ardent zeal and a cause which they regard as noble could have brought here men, and women too, from so many parts of the world. Even Christians have been infected, for, as the list given below will show, the members of the Congress include the Chaplain to the British Embassy at Vienna, and a lady residing at Ashford (Kent).

Mention has been made of the bureau opened in the Freie Gasse. This bureau was placed in charge of Dr. Dornreich, of Vienna, whose task has been no easy one and who has discharged it with a degree of ability and urbanity deserving all praise. Friday witnessed the arrival of most of the delegates and members, and, guided by a poster affixed at the two railway stations, they all made their way to the Freie Gasse, where they were received by Dr. Dornreich, and, in the case of those who had not previously engaged rooms, were directed to numerous hotels in Basle. The Bureau was regarded in the light of a rendezvous, and throughout the day people

poured in. Friends living far from each other exchanged hearty greetings, new acquaintanceships were formed, and altogether the scene was very interesting. A brisk sale, for the benefit of the cause, was made of commemorative postcards, a specimen of which accompanies this letter. Much business concerning the Congress had to be transacted by the delegates, who alone had the right to attend the meeting. At the approach of the Sabbath, a motion was proposed and carried that an adjournment should be made to enable the delegates to attend service in the synagogue. As the meeting, over which Dr. Herzl presided, broke up, he laughingly remarked that the Cantor had promised to sing *Lecho Dodi* in especially fine style, and that it was long since he had heard the hymn. The synagogue is situated in what would be considered in a non-Democratic place as the aristocratic part of the town, and is a large and handsome edifice of Mauresque architecture. Even Saturday was not a day of rest at the Bureau. There was a constant coming and going, and more meetings were held. A Programme Committee was appointed, with Dr. Max Nordau as Chairman, and Professor Schapira, Dr. Bodenheimer, Dr. Birnbaum, Dr. Bromberg, Dr. Muntz, and Dr. Landau, as members. Dr. Landau, who is editor of the organ of the Zionists, *Die Welt*, in Vienna, and Herr Sokolow, the well-known editor of the *Hazejira* in Warsaw were deputed to look after the representatives of the press (mainly non-Jewish) some twenty-five in number, and it is but the barest duty to acknowledge the extreme readiness with which these gentlemen afforded to us all the information they possessed.

The large Concert Room of the Casino had been engaged for the meetings of the Congress, and the opening session was announced for nine o'clock this (Sunday) morning. It was, however, nearly half an hour later when the distinguished educationalist, Dr. KARPEL LIPPE, of Jassy (Roumania), as the oldest member of the Congress, took the chair. By this time, nearly two hundred gentlemen, most of them in evening dress, and a few ladies, had assembled in the body of the hall, and in the gallery were a considerable number of spectators, among whom were a sprinkling of Jewish Socialists from Zurich.

The following is a list of the delegates and members:—

BASLE: Dr. Albert Dornreich, T. Picard, M. Jacobson, S. Drurjan, B. L. Wittes, I. I. Weil.

BALOSZFALVA: Dr. Jonas Ronai.

BALTIMORE and BOSTON, U.S.A.: Rev. Dr. J. Schaffer.

BARTFALVA: Julius Davidovici.

BERLIN: Willy Bambus, Dr. N. Birnbaum, L. Mozkin, L. Synkin, Theodore Hocisti, Fraulein Hilda Tomaschewski, Rabbi Braunn, Lazar Kuuin, Israel Eljaschoz, L. Lubinski, Samuel Posner.

BELGRADE: Dr. D. Alkalay, Frau Alkalay.

BOBRINSK: Isaac Turov, Moses Losinski.

BRÜNN: Siegmund Kohn, Berthold Feiwel.

BIALYSTOCK: Joseph Mohilewer, D. Litman Rosenthal.

BIELGOROD: Boris Kazmann.

BREST: Moïse Padua.

BREST LITWISK: Noah Finkelstein.

BREST WITEBSK: Leon Horodisch.

BERNE: S. Lewiasch, Moses Gelis.

CHARKOW: Ester Giteletitsch, A. Ovschawsky, Dr. M. Schlapossnieff.

COLOGNE: Dr. J. Bodenheimer, D. Wolfson.

CONSTANTINE: Eugene Valensin, Edouard Attali.

CRAJOW: Benjamin Spira.

CRAJOVA: I. Silbermann.

CZERNOWITZ: Dr. Mayer Elsner, Dr. J. Schnierer, S. L. Pierer.

DARMSTADT: Joseph Rosenblum.

DROHOBYCZ: Dr. M. Berkovicz.

DÜNABERG: Albert Saets.

DWINSK: S. T. Sachs.

EKATERINOSLAW: M. Usischkin.

ELIZABETHGRAD: Leo Amtschilovski, Rabbi Wladimir Teonkin.
 FRANKFORT: Heinrich Birkenstein, J. Goietein.
 FREIBURG: M. Brande.
 FREISTADT: Dr. M. Kommblich.
 FIUME: Joseph Lazarus.
 GALATZ: Adolf Stand, Sam Pineles, Dr. Abraham Sa'z.
 GRODNO: L. Jaffe, M. Urjasachsohn.
 HAGUE: J. H. Kann, E. M. Kann.
 HEIDELBERG: Joseph Meludi, Prof. Dr. D. Schapira.
 HOMEL: Marc Kahan.
 JAFFA: Dr. H. Loewe, Wilhelm Gross.
 JASSY: Fraulein Clara Hirschensohn, Jacob Hirschensohn, Dr. K. Lippe.
 JERUSALEM: A. T. Jehuda, S. A. Rufkin.
 KISCHINEFF: Jacob Bernstein Cohan.
 KATTOWITZ: Moritz Moses.
 KIEFF: Prof. Mandelstamm.
 KOROBOW: Hillel Benjomoires.
 KOLOMEA: Dr. Rosekheck, S. Singer.
 KREMENTSCHUG: Dr. Leo Wilenski.
 LONDON: J. Cowen, J. De Haas, E. Isch-Kischor, S. B. Rubinstein, I. Zangwill, Lieut. Bentinck
 LEEDS: Dr. D. Farbstein (of Zurich).
 LEMBEG: J. E. Low, S. Schiller, A. Hausmann, Adolph Korkis
 LEIPSIK: Dr. S. Mandelkern.
 LIVERPOOL: A. Ginsberg.
 MANCHESTER: J. Massel.
 MARIAMPOI: Gustav Gitelivitz.
 MAYENCE: L. Friedman and Leon Friedman.
 MOHILEV: Elias Davidsohn.
 MONOSTASYKA: Dr. F. Fernhoff, Benjamin Safrin.
 MONTPELIER: Joseph Mirkin.
 NEW YORK: Dr. Tritzsch, Adam Rosenberg.
 ODESSA: Joseph Krausner, U. Gunzberg, M. Rabinowitz, Abraham Elia Lubersky.
 OSTROG: Joshua Buchmal.
 PALFSTINE, Rehoboth Colony: D. Markus Teutelbaum.
 PARIS: Dr. Max Nordau, Abraham Ludvipol, F. Beer, Kalman Schorstein, J. Behar and Mme. Behar.
 PINSK: Gregor Lourie, Saul Lourie, Jehuda Leb Berberg.
 POLTAWA: Susskind Rabinowicz, Nathan Wessilowitz.
 PRAGUE: Dr. Kaminka.
 RAKONITZ: Dr. David Neumark.
 RIGA: Dr. Leo Schalit.
 ROWNE: Hirsch Movilkovics.
 SMOLENSK: Nicolas Rappaport.
 STOCKHOLM: Dr. Joseph Seligmann.
 ST. MIKELE, Tyrol: Baron Manteufel.
 ST. PETERSBURG: M. Ividirichin.
 SILESIA: Emil Fried.
 SILESIA (East): L. Huppert, B. Krauss.
 SLUTZK: A. Feinberg.
 SOFIA: I. Caleb, Karl J. Herbst, Prof. Dr. G. Belkovsky.
 TARNOW: Eduard Schwager, Sigmund Bromberg, Dr. David Maltz.
 TOLNA: Moritz Banyar.
 VIENNA: Dr. Theodor Herzl, Dr. S. R. Landau, Dr. A. Muntz, Dr. Steiner, Arch. O. Marmosek, Prediger Grün, Dr. M. F. Schnierer, Dr. M. T. Schiner, Josef Zeidener, Siegfried Rosenbaum, Dr. I. Schalit, Rev. P. Hechler (Chaplain to the British Embassy).
 WARSAW: Isidor Jasmowski, Dr. Z. Bychowski, N. Sokolow (editor of the *Hazefira*), Adolf Landau (editor of the *Woschod*), Dr. Sam. Poznanski, Heinrich Farbstein.
 WILNA: D. Epstein, P. Rabinowitz, J. L. Goldberg, A. Berlis.
 WITEBSK: Emanuel Solowi.
 WELESCH: B. Günzburg.
 ZURICH: M. Asarch, Charles Wortsman.

Miss Antonia Zimern, of Ashford (Kent) Mrs. Rosa Sonnenschein (Editor of the *American Jewess*) Tobias and Frau Bertha Markus, Rabbi Dr. Ehrenpreis and Frau Ehrenpreis, Marie Remusz, Fraulein Marie Sokolow, Nahum Koppelovicz, Dr. Klugmann.

Dr. K. LIPPE, in his address opening the Congress (which was delivered in German, the official language of the Congress), said that a letter which he received seventeen years ago gave the signal for the inauguration of the Zionist agitation. A meeting was held in Jassy, and twenty-seven Committees were founded in Roumania. They succeeded in establishing two colonies, which were fortunate later on in passing into more important hands. Since the inauguration of the movement he had attended Zionist meetings as delegate for Roumania. The meeting of that day, for the first time, represented the whole of Judaism.—(Cheers.) That was a great day in Jewish history.—(Cheers.) That day was to witness the inauguration of the third return to Palestine—(cheers)—the land promised to their ancestors. They desired, however, to return in a peaceful manner with the consent of the Sultan. They would look upon his Majesty, if he would accept them, as their Messiah. The Jews had their mission; they had given to other peoples the pure form of worshipping God, the highest and best moral law and even the hymns they sung. That mission they had fulfilled; for the other nations could not give up what they had taken from the Jews without destroying their entire civilisation. The Jews could, therefore, now go back to their own land; but to those who were afraid or who were opposed to the new movement, he would say, "Return ye to your tents." For the past 3,000 years the Jewish people had a national history and a national literature; the only thing they needed was a Fatherland.—(Cheers.) The fear entertained of the Zionist movement was groundless, for Jewish colonies had existed in Palestine, without any injury being caused to the Jews. The laws of modern States were liberal. Had any people done more for the world than the Jews? But what had the world done for them in return? Although the Jews had preached neighbourly love, they had not received such love from others. The time had now come for them to return to Palestine, "for from Zion the Law had gone forth, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem."—(Loud cheers.) In conclusion, Dr. Lippe moved that the Congress should, through the medium of an address, place on record its gratitude to the Sultan for his kind treatment of his Jewish subjects.

This motion was heartily adopted.

Dr. Herzl's Address.

Dr. Herzl then ascended the tribune in order to deliver the address of welcome. To say that he received an ovation is to use too mild an expression. Such cheering, such excitement is rarely experienced in England, and it was some minutes before the meeting resumed the calm that had hitherto characterised it. A less strong man than Dr. Herzl would have been unnerved by his reception.

Dr. HERZL said: As one of the conveners of this Congress the honour devolves upon me of welcoming you. I will do so as briefly as possible, for everyone among us will well serve the cause if he makes sparing use of the

precious minutes of the Congress. We wish to lay the foundation stone of the cause which the Jewish nation once harbored. The cause is so great that we can only speak of it in the simplest language. So far as can be judged at present, during the three days of our Congress, a review will be given of the present position of the Jewish Question, the materials for which are in the hands of our reporters. We shall hear reports on the condition of the Jews in certain countries. You all know that this condition, with a few exceptions, is not a happy one. We should scarcely have met here had it been otherwise. Our common history has suffered a long break, and only in our own times, through the latest marvel of travelling communications, has an understanding and a union between the separated sections of our people become possible. And in our own times still, which are otherwise so great, we see and feel ourselves surrounded by the old hatred. Anti-Semitism is to you but the too-well-known modern name of the movement. The first impression which the Jews of to-day gained of it was surprise, which ultimately changed into sorrow and pain. Our enemies probably do not know how deeply they have wounded in their innermost hearts those among us whom they probably did not wish in the first instance to attack. The modern, cultured, and ghetto-emancipated Judaism has been stabbed to the heart. We can say this quietly to-day, without incurring the suspicion of appealing to the tears of our enemies. We are quite clear on this point. The world has from olden days been ill-informed about us. The feeling of communion, of which we have been so bitterly accused, had commenced to weaken when anti-Semitism attacked us. Anti-Semitism has restored it. We have, so to speak, gone home. Zionism is the return home of Judaism even before the return to the land of the Jews. We returned Jews have found in the paternal home much that requires improvement. We have brothers steeped in the deepest misery. But we have been welcomed in the old home, because it is well-known that we do not entertain any presumptuous ideas or wish to rebel against authority. This will be shown in the development of the Zionist programme. Already has Zionism achieved something remarkable, which formerly had been regarded as impossible—the close union of the most modern elements of Judaism with the most conservative. That this has been accomplished without any unworthy concessions or sacrifice of intellectual opinions on one side or the other is one proof the more of the communion of the Jews. The existence of such a union is only possible under the condition that both belong to one and the same nation. Debates will take place with regard to an organisation, the necessity of which everybody admits. Here is, however, a point, which cannot be sufficiently enough emphasised. We Zionists desire for the solution of the Jewish Question, not the formation of an International Association, but an International Discussion. The difference is of the greatest moment for us; this difference legalises the summoning of this Congress. We have not to deal with federations or secret intervention, but with a voluntary and free discussion under the complete control of public opinion. So great a popular movement must be taken up from many sides. The Congress will, therefore, have to occupy itself with the means for ensuring and protecting the Jewish national existence. Also in this respect we have to fight against misunderstandings. We have no intention of abandoning one iota of the culture we have acquired; we think only of a wider extension of that culture. Moreover, the spiritual life of the Jews left so little to be desired; all that was needed was to assure their physical needs. This was perceived by the practical forerunners of Zionism, when they commenced by creating Jewish agriculturists. Of these colonisation movements in Palestine and the Argentine we can only speak with the utmost gratitude. But these were only the first words of the Zionist movement; they are not the last. If colonisation is to go on at all, it must be continued on a larger scale. A people can only help itself; if it cannot do this, it is not to be helped. We Zionists wish to urge self-help on the people; thereby no exaggerated and unsound hopes will be awakened. On this ground, also, publicity in dealing with this point is of the highest value. Whoever calmly considers the matter must admit that Zionism cannot attain its aim without a thoroughly open discussion with the political factors concerned. The difficulties of colonisation were not created by Zionism in its present form. We must ask ourselves, what interest did our calumniators intend to serve by spreading such tales? The confidence of the State, which is necessary for a settlement of large masses of Jews, can only be gained by publicity and by loyal action. The advantages which offer themselves to an entire people are so important that the negotiations must be carried on, from the very outset, with thorough earnestness. To talk much to-day about the form which the Agreement between all parties concerned would eventually assume, will be a useless beginning. One thing only can be confirmed: the basis can only be an acknowledgment of right and not toleration. We have had enough experience of tolerance and of protected Judaism. Our movement has only one sound direction, it aims at securities laid down by law. The Colonisation movement, as hitherto pursued, has accomplished as much as the lines on which it was started enabled it to do. It has made apparent the much-contested capacity of the Jews for agricultural pursuits. But it is not the solution of the Jewish Question, and cannot be so in its present form. It also has not accomplished very much. Why? When we consider that there are nine million Jews, and if we assume that the Colonisation Movement could settle 10,000 Jews a year in Palestine it would take 900 years to solve the Jewish Question. This appears impracticable. But we know that the figure of 10,000 settlers a year is illusory under existing circumstances. Should the immigration into Palestine attain this figure, the Turkish Government would at once renew the old prohibition against the admission of Jews in large numbers, and it would be right. For whoever believes that the Jews could thus smuggle themselves into the Land of their Ancestors deceives himself or deceives others. Nowhere is the arrival of Jews so quickly noticed as in the historical home of the people, because it is their historical home, and it would not be at all in our interests to go there too soon. The immigration of the Jews is an influx in force of an unexpected wealth for this poor country; yes, even for the whole Ottoman empire. His Majesty, the Sultan, has had the best of experiences of his Jewish subjects, just as he has always been towards them a kind Sovereign. Therefore, we are confronted with conditions which, by a wise and fortunate treatment of the whole affair, may lead to the goal. The financial help which the Jews are able to offer to Turkey is not small, and would serve to put an end to many an evil from which the country is suffering. If a part of the Oriental question can be solved, together with the Jewish question, this surely is in the interest of all nations. The settlement of the Jews in the Orient would also lead to an amelioration of the condition of the Christians there. But not alone on this ground may Zionism reckon on the sympathy of the nations. You know that anti-Semitism has brought calamity on the Governments of some countries. If one takes the part of the Jews, one offends the excited masses; if one is against the Jews, this, thanks to the peculiar influence of the Jews on the world's commerce, may have very grave economic consequences. We have proof of this in Russia. If the Government remains neutral, the Jews see themselves, as in their present state, without protection, and fly into the arms of revolution. Zionism, the self-help of the Jews, opens up a new path out of these various and remarkable difficulties. Zionism is simply the peacemaker. It meets with the same fate as do peacemakers usually. But, if under the more or less honest arguments against our movement one figures that we are wanting in patriotism, this low suspicion condemns itself. A complete exodus of the Jews from any place is naturally not to be thought of. Those who can or wish to assimilate themselves, will remain and become absorbed. When after a perfect understanding with the political factors concerned, the emigration of Jews begins systematically, it yet will last only as long as any

country will allow its Jews to go. How is this cessation to come to pass? Simply by the gradual decrease and final end of anti-Semitism. In this way we understand, we expect the solution of the Jewish Question. All this, my friends, I have often said. We will spare no pains to repeat it again and again, till we are understood. On this solemn occasion, when Jews from so many countries have met, at one call, the old call of the Nation, let our confession be solemnly repeated. Must not a presentiment of great events come over us, if we think that at this moment the hopes and expectations of many hundreds of thousands of our people rest on our assembly. To distant countries, yes, over the ocean in the next few hours, the news of our deliberations and resolutions will fly. Everywhere people will hear that Zionism, which was regarded as a chimerical terror, is in reality a lawful, law-abiding, humanitarian movement in the direction of the old desire of our people. What we individually said and wrote might be neglected, but not that which emanates from the Congress. Therefore, may the Congress, which from now will be master of its debates, act as a wise master. Lastly, the Congress will look after its own duration, that we do not part without making a mark and producing some effect. In this Congress, we procure for the Jewish people an organ which till now it did not possess, and of which it was so sadly in want. Our cause is too great for the ambition and wilfulness of a single person. It must be lifted up to something impersonal, if it is to succeed. And our Congress shall be eternal, not only till we are redeemed from the old state, but still more so afterwards. To-day we are in this hospitable and free town—where shall we be next year? But wherever we shall be, and however long we shall have to wait till we have achieved our aim, let our Congress be serious and lofty, a blessing for the unfortunate, offending nobody, to the honour of all Jews and worthy of a past, the glory of which is far off, but everlasting.

Loud cheers greeted Dr. Herzl as he left the tribune, and from all parts of the room men flocked to shake him by the hand.

Constitution of the Bureau.

On the motion of M. Sam Pineles, of Galatz, Dr. Herzl was elected President, and Dr. Max Nordau, Dr. Salz and M. Pineles, first, second and third Vice-Presidents respectively, and Secretaries for Hebrew, German, Russian and English were appointed, the latter being Mr. J. de Haas. Dr. Ehrenpreis was appointed on the Executive.

On Dr. Herzl taking his seat as President, he was again heartily cheered.

Dr. Max Nordau on the Situation of the Jews.

Dr. Herzl then called upon Dr. Max Nordau to give his report on the general situation of the Jews. Dr. NORDAU'S reception was scarcely less warm than that of Dr. Herzl, and as he proceeded with his speech he roused his audience to a fever heat of enthusiasm. Again and again was the orator obliged to pause until the enthusiasm had for the time spent itself. In speaking of the minute extent in which anti-Semitism existed in England, Dr. Nordau spoke of it as "imported from abroad," upon which a member exclaimed: "Made in Germany." At the conclusion of his address, the Congress rose to a man and cheered Dr. Nordau again and again. [A *verbatim* report of the Address is given on page 7.]

On the motion of Dr. MARMOREK (Vienna) it was resolved that the speeches of Dr. Herzl and Dr. Nordau should be printed separately from the official transactions of the Congress, and a vote of thanks should be accorded to those gentlemen.

Special Reports.

Extracts from papers on the positions of the Jews in Galicia, the British Empire, Algeria and Roumania, were read by Dr. Salz (Tarnow), Mr. J. de Haas (London), M. Behar (Paris), and M. Pineles respectively. The information supplied by Mr. de Haas was mainly statistical. He surmised that the Jews in Great Britain and Ireland numbered 150,000, the native born being probably 20 per cent., the German 7 per cent., the Dutch 5 per cent., the Russo-Polish 58 per cent., and other foreigners 10 per cent. Mr. de Haas gave 29,732 as the figure of Jews receiving religious education, viz.: 25 at Colleges, 7,906 at London Schools, 9,000 at Religious Classes, 1,200 at Talmud Torahs, 6,000 at Chedorim, and 5,601 at Provincial Jewish Schools. In treating of the social life of the Jews in the East End, Mr. de Haas said that there were three bodies living distinct lives, the English born, the Russo-Polish and the Dutch. The antipathy between the latter two was as a rule greater than between the former two, both of which sections had no sympathy whatever with the Zionist movement.

After M. Pineles had finished his paper,

Mr. S. B. RUBINSTEIN (London) appealed to the Chairman to allow the Congress to come to the business for which it had been convened. The papers they had heard were interesting, but they were more suited to a statistical gathering. The real business was immense, and if too much time was occupied with general matters, the Congress would be unable to complete its labours.

The PRESIDENT, in reply, expressed the hope that gentlemen who would follow with reports would confine themselves to the most essential points.

It being now past noon, the Congress adjourned until three o'clock in the afternoon.

An immense number of telegrams were received offering best wishes, some of them in poetry, for the success of the Congress.

The majority of the Congress took their lunch at the Braunschweig Hotel, where they were addressed at the close of the meal by Professor Schapira, who is Professor of Mathematics at Heidelberg University. It appears that differences have manifested themselves in some sections of the Congress, and Professor Schapira in impassioned language urged on all to sink differences and any personal predilections and to work together with heart and soul as one man for the common cause. A dramatic incident followed. The Professor asked every man to raise his right hand, and as they did so they repeated after him in Hebrew the verse from Psalms *אם אשכחך ירושלים תשכח ימיני*. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning."

After the interval the reading of papers on the condition of the Jews in various countries was resumed.

Dr. MUNZ (Vienna) treated of the situation in Austria. Naturally the leading feature of his paper was the triumph of anti-Semitism. He represented anti-Semitism as a victory of the people over the Government, and as being directed against the Jews as a race; the attacks on the Jewish religion being only a means of attaining their object. Even in the eyes of the anti-Semite, baptism does not better the position of the man who belongs to the Jewish race. Austrian anti-Semitism looked upon Jews as the foundation of all evil; even the Socialists are not in their favour. Pathetically, Dr. Muntz remarked that in a foreign country it would be too painful for him to speak against his fatherland. His Jewish compatriots had made sacrifices of blood and money for the Germans, Poles, &c., as the case might be, having regard to the portion of the Empire in which they lived. But now they had begun to think of themselves. They wanted a home of their own, and their hope was in Zion. (Applause).

Dr. EBNER spoke of the state of affairs in the Bukovina (a section of the Austrian Empire), and Dr. SCHAUER on Germany. Dr. Schauer observed that the picture which Dr. Nordau had drawn of the Western Jew generally applied specially to the German Jew. It was, therefore, needless to speak more than a sentence or two. In Germany the Jews lacked self-confidence, because they

had no religious or Jewish literary education. The German Jews knew only of Judaism from their enemies. Zionism promised to alter all this.

Professor Dr. BELKOVITZ read a paper on Bulgaria, and Dr. RONAI on Hungary. The latter mentioned that as Liberalism was still triumphant in Hungary active Zionism was not necessary in that country. He declared that as long as they remained in Hungary, the Jews would remain good patriots.

The last speaker on the situation was Mr. ADAM ROSENBERG, a lawyer in New York. He declared that 25 per cent. of the immigrants who had left Europe for the New Land of Promise now lovingly turned their eyes to the Old Promised Land, and he predicted that the other 75 per cent. would follow in the same direction. In concluding he expressed the hope that the result of the present gathering would be such as to permit the next Congress being held in Jerusalem.

Dr. NORDAU submitted a motion formulated by Dr. S. R. Landau and Dr. Werner: That for the preparation of statistics on the occupations of the Jews a Committee of three members be appointed for every land, with the object of obtaining an intimate knowledge of the economical situation and social differentiation of the Jews.

In support of the motion, Dr. LANDAU said that sufficient statistical information had not been given by the several speakers. The first thing to be done was to look through the ranks of their people and to review their army. His motion had nothing to do with the Zionist organisation, but with the general situation of the Jews, and therefore appropriately came up for discussion in connection with the first item on the Agenda.

An amendment by Dr. KAMINKA—that the consideration of the Landau-Werner motion be deferred until the question of organisation was reached—was carried.

At this period of the meeting, Dr. NORDAU relieved Dr. Herzl by taking the chair.

The way was now open for matters really dealing with the Zionist movement. These were reports, or rather papers, by Dr. N. Birnbaum and Dr. D. Farbstein on the Foundation of the Zionist Programme. Many in the meeting had tired of hearing a number of essays, interesting in themselves but conveying nothing new to the hearer. At last they were coming to the point. But to a considerable extent they were again doomed to be disappointed. Dr. Birnbaum seems to be a man high in favour with the Zionists, for they gave him a splendid welcome; and it must be acknowledged that his paper was an able composition of high literary value; but it merely dealt with the fringe of the question, and then only to a limited extent.

Dr. BIRNBAUM mentioned that it had often been contended that Zionism was but a reaction against anti-Semitism. It had not been denied that the growth of Zionism coincided with that of anti-Semitism, and, therefore, the conclusion was arrived at that the former only existed at the mercy of the latter. This was a complete mistake. It should be remembered that every movement had its causes and impetus. Through the former it obtained its pioneers, and through the latter its troops. Zionism could proudly say of itself that all who stood at its head had either long left the anti-Semitic impetus behind them, or that from the beginning their belief originated in the anomaly of the existence of a Jewish people. The want of a land of their own caused this anomaly to be the greater. There was a sentimental feeling in favour of Palestine, but sentiment would not suffice because the land whither they would go did not need special attraction; any country in which their distress would cease would be attractive; what they required was a land which would be able to keep them once they were there, till the grand process of converting them from a mercantile people into a people devoted to all callings, especially agriculture, had been completed, and they would no longer hanker after the flesh pots of Egypt. Palestine was the only country able to accomplish this. The second reason in favour of Palestine was the benefits that would be conferred not on Jews alone, but on mankind in general. A Jewish people in Palestine would not alone be the medium between the social-ethical and political-aesthetical elements of Europeism, but also the long-sought medium between the East and the West. No people is so apt for this as the Jews with their inherited Oriental qualities and their acquired European character. No country is so fitted to be the territorial medium as Palestine, with its proximity to Europe and to the Suez Canal, and as being the inevitable station on the railway to India. Fears had been expressed for the future of the Holy Sepulchre if Jews became the masters of Palestine, but by making the Christian holy places extra-territorial the difficulty would be overcome and all fears would be dissipated.

Dr. FARBSTEIN followed with another paper on the same subject. He belongs to the school of Radical Zionists, and his views, as expressed in his paper, were largely of a Socialistic tendency. Incidentally he made a big attack on capitalism.

The sitting closed at seven o'clock. Dr. NORDAU mentioned that in addition to the telegrams already referred to about 150 letters of adhesion had been received together with many memorials, one of them bearing over 50,000 signatures.

The result of the day's proceedings cannot better be summed up than in the remark made by one of the biggest men at the Congress, "it has been a day lost." So much time was literally wasted by the reading of papers, most of them not even bearing indirectly on the movement, that the most important item on the agenda for the day, "The Zionist Organisation," could not be reached, and had to be deferred until to-morrow. We have been assured that to-morrow the Congress will be more practical. It is to be hoped that it will, for some of the members have declared that if to-morrow be a mere repetition of to-day's weariness—which was increased by the great heat of the weather—they will pack up their portmanteaus and leave.

In the evening Dr. Herzl made a remarkable statement to a few gentlemen, who were seated with him on the balcony, with the Rhine flowing at their feet. The Bulgarian Jews have long believed that the Messiah would be born on a 29th of August. They were right, said Dr. Herzl to us, the Messiah has been born to-day in the Zionist Congress.

SECOND DAY.

BASLE, 30TH AUGUST.

Punctuality does not seem to be one of the virtues of Zionists. We were half an hour late yesterday both at the morning and the afternoon sessions, and we were more than that time behind this morning when Dr. HERZL took the chair, and called the meeting to order by the ringing of the presidential bell.

The PRESIDENT reported that the 550 telegrams and other communications from all parts of the world, giving adhesion to the movement, bore 6,000 signatures. Many of these emanated from popular assemblies, and from religious communities. It was noteworthy that the signatories included Orthodox and Reform Rabbis, and in Russia, also "Crown Rabbis" (*i.e.*, Rabbis appointed by the Government). The telegram from one Russian town contained the signature of the Mayor. Loud cheers greeted the announcement that the telegram from Memel had been signed by Rabbiner Dr. Rülff. The Jerusalem

telegram bore 25 signatures. Dr. Herzl mentioned that the total of the signatures to the memorials far exceeded 50,000, the figure given by Dr. Nordau on the previous evening.

The event of this portion of the proceedings was the reading, by Dr. Armand Kaminka, of a Hebrew letter which had been sent by Rabbi Mohilewer in Bialystock. The high reputation which this distinguished Rabbi deservedly enjoys, and his intensely strong Jewish religious spirit, caused his missive to be regarded as of the greatest importance, and it was received with the utmost enthusiasm.

Rabbi MOHILEWER wrote that as the state of his health did not permit him to travel, he sent the Congress his blessing in writing. He urged that the Congress should only consider things which were possible of attainment. Nothing should be said which was contrary to the laws of the country, and especially a discussion should be avoided on the state of the Jews in Russia. Harmony and concord should exist among all Zionists, even if their religious views should differ. The colonisation of Palestine was recommended as a religious duty; religion should, therefore, be a leading factor in the Zionist movement. They should also bear in mind that it was a duty to construct and not to demolish, and they should preserve the honour of the Rabbis, who were thoroughly patriotic as regarded the land in which they lived. For the past 2,000 years the Jews had awaited the advent of the Messiah who would take them back to the land of their fathers. But in our century men had risen who had abandoned this hope, and had eliminated it from the prayer book. Several of the Rabbis in Western Europe had declared against the Zionist movement, and one of them had gone so far as to assert that the movement was contrary to the Biblical prophecies, as the Messiah was only to be symbolical, and the Jews were to remain in exile. He declared this to be wholly untrue. Their faith was that God would send a Redeemer to bring back his Chosen People to their own Land, and that the Jewish people would, once again, be honoured among the nations.

A letter was also read addressed by M. ZADOC KAHN, Grand Rabbin of France, to Dr. Herzl. Having had occasion to forward a letter from Dr. Braun in the United States, the Grand Rabbin wrote that he profited by the opportunity to state that he would not fail to follow with much interest the deliberations of the Congress at Basle. Whatever might be the opinion as to the utility and opportuneness of the Congress, he would not deny that it merited every attention. Differences of opinion were inevitable. But he prayed with all his might that God might guide and inspire all the leaders of the movement, and that the debates and the resolutions which would be arrived at would tend to the benefit of Judaism and of their coreligionists throughout the world.

The Zionist Programme.

The complimentary proceedings having ended, Dr. NORDAU ascended the tribune and read the Programme agreed upon after three long sittings by the Committee appointed on Saturday. Their task had been surrounded with the greatest difficulties, but they had been unanimous in arriving at their decision.

The Programme is as follows:—

The aim of Zionism is to create for the Jewish people a legally assured home ("rechtliche gesicherte Heimstätte") in Palestine. [The phrase was subsequently altered so as to read: "a publicly, legally assured home."]

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

1. To promote the settlement in Palestine of Jewish agriculturists, handicraftsmen, industrialists, and men following professions.
2. The centralisation of the entire Jewish people by means of general institutions agreeably to the laws of the land.
3. To strengthen Jewish sentiments and national self-conscience.
4. To obtain the sanction of Governments to the carrying out of the objects of Zionism.

It will be seen that there is no mention in the programme of a "Jewish State." The substitution of the term "legally assured home" is a compromise to meet the fears and objections of the delegates and members from Russia.

The Congress had now, at length, something practical before it, and it at once became evident that there existed considerable difference of opinion on questions of policy, and that the Congress was divided into two parties, the Extreme Radical and the Conservative.

The first note of opposition was sounded by

Herr SCHACH, who strongly objected to the term "legally assured home." He said that in all Western States the Jews already enjoyed such a home. What they required was an assured home recognised by the laws of the nations ("völkerrechtliche"). According to the programme, the Jews settling in Palestine would be subjects of the Sultan and nothing more.

A motion to defer consideration of the Programme until after the reading of Dr. Bodenheimer's paper on the Zionist Organisation having been rejected, the Congress adjourned for the purpose of selecting two speeches, *pro* and *con*, on the crucial point of the Programme. During this adjournment the utmost excitement prevailed, but Dr. Herzl succeeded without difficulty in securing order. Indeed his thorough command over the varied elements composing the Congress is one of the features of this gathering and is a high tribute to the confidence he has gained. As he faces the meeting he looks a born leader of men.

Herr MOTZKIN was the speaker against a "legally" assured home. He said that those who held the same view as himself demanded the inclusion in the Programme of the term "völkerrechtlich," in the sense that it was first expressed by Dr. Herzl in his pamphlet. The Programme omitted the leading principle of Zionism. The Jews wished to be a nation and as a nation they desired to have their own home. Under the Programme, they would not attain much more than the existing colonisation. Colonisation was not their aim.

Dr. ALEXANDER MÜNTZ, in defending the Programme, said that its framers were animated with the desire to give a home to the whole Jewish nation. This simple fact showed that they meant something more than a mere change of existing affairs. They used the word "rechtlich," because it was necessary to have regard for the position of some of their fellow members, and of the millions whom they represented. Did not clause 4 specify that negotiations were to be opened with Governments, and did that not imply that the Jews desired a State guaranteed by public law? For the sake of the great cause, he implored the Congress to vote the Programme by acclamation.

Dr. HERZL suggested, with the view to remove objections, the addition of the word "öffentliche" (public) before "rechtliche," and he moved that with this object the Programme be referred back to the Committee for reconsideration.

The motion was agreed to, and another adjournment took place. Herr Schach attempted to speak, but on being ordered by Dr. Herzl to resume his

seat as the general discussion was closed, he quitted the Congress. Rumour has it that Herr Schach is personally opposed to Dr. Herzl.

On the resumption of the meeting, Dr. NORDAU said that the Committee, in obedience to instructions, had considered Dr. Herzl's suggestion. They were of opinion that the addition of the word "öffentliche" would not make their object clearer, but "in the interest of opportunism" they would accept the word.—(Loud cheers.)

The Programme as amended (the preamble of which now reads that the Jews in Palestine are to have a "publicly legally assured home") was then carried by acclamation. The cheering had hardly ceased, when they were renewed and heartily joined in by the Executive on the announcement by one of the advocates of the term "international," that they were quite satisfied with the alteration made.

The Zionist Organisation.

Rechtsanwalt Dr. BODENHEIMER (Cologne) read a paper on the Zionist Organisation. Referring to existing bodies, among which he named the Alliance Israélite Universelle and the American Order "Beni Berith," he declared that none of these organisations, which were mainly of an assimilative tendency, offered means for promoting the development of the national idea. Zionism required an organisation. The foundation of such an organisation must be a clear and concise programme, and this programme must contain only that which united them all. No one need be disquieted by that programme. It would attack no nation and no religion, and would not injure property. On the contrary, Zionists wished to do away with all causes of discontent and dissension, by preparing an asylum for those of their common race who are injured in their religious or national feelings. Also the Turkish Government would not be menaced by their endeavours. The Jewish people gratefully acknowledged the tolerance which they have enjoyed at the hands of the Sultans, and they can never forget that at the time of the expulsion from Spain, Turkey hospitably opened its doors to the refugees. Zionists have the earnest desire to found an international understanding on the basis of mutual interests without injuring the sovereignty of the Sultan. For the creation of a national Jewish organisation the Zionists needed no mandate, as the "Protesting Rabbis" alleged. The men who are animated by the desire to rescue their people from oppression and injustice and to give them their freedom need no formal mandate. The object is two-fold: The organisation of a national Jewish feeling, and its union with the ultimate object of acquiring a definite country. Whether under these conditions a State can really attain this, and whether the summit of national culture can be reached, these questions could safely be left to the future and to Divine Providence. The Congress is to be the principal medium of the Zionists throughout the world. Each Congress shall elect a Central Committee to prepare for the next Congress, and to transact current business. The Central Committee shall appoint out of its midst three Special Committees: 1, for agitation; 2, for diplomatic and financial action; 3, for colonisation and practical activity. There shall be a Central Bureau with three departments, corresponding with the three Commissions, and of the members of the Central Committee, at least nine must live in the city where the Congress has its meeting. Each territorial Committee shall transact the current work, and carry on the correspondence with the Central Bureau. By diplomatic and financial action is understood action with the object of negotiating with the Turkish Government for the purpose of securing colonisation, and of obtaining international guarantees, and with the object of negotiating with the world of finance for the means necessary for colonisation activity. In order that the organisation may accomplish its object, large funds are necessary. Three proposals had been made on this point by Professor Dr. Schapira for a fund which must not be touched till it has reached a maximum of ten millions; by Herr Moses, of Katlowitz, for the creation of Mutual Provident Societies, each subscriber receiving land in return for the amount contributed; and by Dr. Ruben Bierer, in Sofia, and Herr Brociner, for a fund to which every head of a family shall contribute annually. This latter proposal would only be practicable in Eastern Europe. He believed that the solution of the financial question was easier than people thought. At the commencement voluntary contributions would suffice for the preliminary agitation. The first duty of the Finance Commission would be to create a specifically Jewish Bank, for the purpose of furthering agricultural, industrial and mercantile undertakings of Jewish colonists in Palestine and Syria. As long as no need existed for the use of the capital for its own specific objects, the bank would be at liberty to devote the capital to general industrial and commercial objects. The capital, subscribed either by Jews or non-Jews, must be applied exclusively to productive purposes. In addition to the bank, a National Fund should be created, by collections or gifts to be employed only in creating colonies or for such other objects as the donors may specify. As to agitation, funds would not be required in Eastern Europe because the masses among the Jews have been gained over to the National Idea. Money would be needed only to further Hebrew literature, to found popular libraries, to publish cheap Hebrew Classics. The bulk of the money for purposes of agitation would have to be spent in Western Europe and America, both among Jews and non-Jews. In every country there should be at least one daily or periodical paper, which would treat the Zionist movement partly in a polemical, partly in a scientific sense; and wherever possible, an existing paper would be utilised. A suggestion had also been made that Gymnastic and Students' Clubs should be established as means for furthering the movement, the former especially to assist in the physical development of the Jews. The principal thing, in Dr. Bodenheimer's view, was personal agitation. In the concluding passages of the paper he stigmatised the opponents of Zionism as traitors, and compared them to the Hellenistic High Priest Menelaus, and to Flavius Josephus.

Dr. Bodenheimer's references to Turkey and its Sultans were loudly applauded. It is evident that the Congress are Philo-Turks to a man.

The morning sitting then closed.

The afternoon sitting was honoured with the attendance of Dr. Preiser, President of the Canton of Basle. Exciting as were the incidents of the morning, the afternoon's proceedings were almost devoid of interest. Several hours were occupied in discussing whether proposals bearing on the subject of organisation, as reported upon by Dr. Bodenheimer, should be considered by the plenary Congress, or should, in the first instance, be submitted to special Committees for deliberation. Several adjournments took place to afford opportunities, especially to the Russian section, for coming to a decision, and at length it was resolved that these various proposals should be referred to a Committee *ad hoc*. Eleven was suggested as the number of members of this Committee. But here another difficulty arose. Objection was taken by some members to a cut and dried nomination list emanating from the Executive; whilst from another side it was contended that members were not sufficiently acquainted with each other to enable them to elect a thoroughly representative Committee. After another adjournment, the Gordian knot was cut by a decision to elect a Committee according to nationalities. The Congress then divided itself into national groups, reminding one of the different markets in the Stock Exchange. Here was the Austrian, there the Russian, in another corner the English group, and so on. The result of the Election, as declared by Dr. Herzl, was as follows: America, Mr. Adam Rosenberg; England, Mr. J. de Haas; Austria, Dr. Kaminka, Dr. Salz and Director Steiner; Roumania, Herr S. Pineles; Germany, Drs. Bodenheimer and Birnbaum; Bulgaria, Professor Belkovsky; Russia, Drs. Kohan-Bernstein and Mandelstamm. Dr.

Herzl declared that the English members of the Congress had refused to make any nomination from their midst. They considered a division into nationalities to be contrary to the principles of the Congress. The English member of the Committee was, therefore, elected by the Congress at large.

The remainder of the sitting was occupied with another paper on the subject of organisation, by Dr. KOHAN-BERNSTEIN, as particularly affecting countries in Eastern Europe. He suggested, among other points, a species of Jewish University Extension.

The day was wound up by a "Kommers," given in the evening at one of the public places of entertainment in the city. Patriotic (in the Zionist sense) speeches were delivered, and toasts were proposed, the healths of Dr. Herzl and Dr. Nordau being honoured with unbounded enthusiasm. Not the least successful item in this function was the singing of some German songs by the Rev. Sigmond Druyan, the Chief Cantor of the Basle Hebrew Congregation. This gentleman has a magnificent voice, and he used it with splendid effect.

THIRD DAY.

BASLE, 31ST AUGUST.

We were a full hour late this morning before we settled down to business. But there was some justification for this delay. The Committee, which had been appointed yesterday to report on the subject of organisation, had not completed their labours, and another meeting was necessary this morning.

In opening the proceedings of this, the final day of the Congress, Dr. Herzl announced that several more letters and telegrams had been received. The only one he would mention was that sent by the Rev. Dr. Gaster, Haham of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in England—(cheers)—who wrote to express his sympathy with the objects of the Congress.—(Renewed cheers.)

Dr. STEINER, as Reporter, submitted to the Congress the recommendations which resulted from the deliberations of the Committee on Organisation. The various details of these recommendations gave rise to much discussion, which was not always of a harmonious character, so that Dr. Herzl, whose tact was equal to his good humour, more than once had to call the speakers to order. The Congress began to display evident symptoms of weariness, which found frequent expression in demands for the closure, that in every instance were agreed to by immense majorities. The closure was not palatable to a few, and one of the minority gave vehement expression to his dissatisfaction.

During the course of the debates, a Russian member, speaking most volubly in Hebrew, attacked the German and Austrian elements in the Congress, and he regretted that owing to the lack of interest taken in the study of Hebrew, the German language had been used so extensively at the Congress instead of the sacred tongue. In the latter part of the morning sitting it became manifest that there was an acute division into political parties, Radical and Conservative, in the Congress. This division was particularly exhibited in connection with the proposed mode of nomination and election of the Central Committee, and of the General Secretary, and the question whether he should or should not have a seat on the Committee. In impassioned terms, Dr. HERZL protested against party politics being introduced and against any attempt by one party or another to capture the Congress. Dr. Herzl's emphatic declaration was greeted with uproarious applause.

The recommendations of the Committee underwent considerable modifications. In their amended form as adopted, they are as follows:—

1. The chief medium of Zionism is the Congress.
2. (a) Every Zionist, who wishes to possess the right of electing delegates to the Congress voluntarily pays every year, for Zionist purposes, at least one shekel, *i.e.*, 1 franc, 1 shilling, 25 cents, half a florin, 40 kopecks, 1 mark.—(b) Every Zionist local body elects a delegate to the Congress if the number of members exceeds 100. They elect for each further 100 one other delegate. Each delegate can act for several bodies, but cannot give more than 10 votes.
3. The Congress elects by ballot a Zionist Executive Committee for carrying out the resolutions adopted by Congress, for transacting Zionist business, and for preparing for the next International Congress.
4. The Executive Committee has its seat in Vienna, and consists of 23 members, 5 of whom must reside in Vienna, while the others are divided among the different countries in the following manner: Austrian Crown Territories (with the exception of Galicia and Bukowina), 1; Galicia, 2; Bukowina, 1; Germany, 2; Russia, 4; Roumania, 1; France, 1; England, 1; United States of America, 2; Bulgaria and Servia, 1; Palestine, 1; other Oriental Jews, 1. The members of the Executive Committee not residing in Vienna are elected after nomination by their fellow-countrymen. The five members who reside in Vienna are to be elected by the entire Congress.
5. Each member of the Committee not residing in Vienna has the right after communicating previously with the Vienna Committee, to nominate a trustworthy person on the Executive Committee.
6. The members of the Executive Committee are the Executive of their Territorial Committees.
7. The Executive Committee nominates the General Secretary, who shall reside in Vienna.
8. The Executive Committee nominates Sub-Committees as required.
9. The Organisation and Agitation of the Zionists in their respective countries are carried on according to the requirements and the laws of their respective countries, and their form is to be communicated to the Executive Committee.

Election of Central Executive Committee.—Lively Scenes.

At the afternoon sitting the first jarring note was struck. Human passions were let loose, and scenes were enacted that tended to weaken the excellent impression which the earlier proceedings had created. The business was the election of members to form the Central Committee. The list submitted for Vienna consisted of Dr. Theodor Herzl, Dr. Schnirer, Dr. Koglech, Dr. Birnbaum, and Herr Josef Meyer Kremenzky. The name of Dr. Birnbaum, who has done so much for the Zionist cause, was received with tremendous applause. M. PINELES moved that the members be elected *en bloc* by show of hands, whereupon an amendment was proposed by Dr. BLUMENFELD, that the names be voted upon singly. The amendment was rejected, and the motion was agreed to. The list having been adopted, Dr. BIRNBAUM rose and declined to accept the election. A member then jumped up and declared that it had reached his ears that Dr. Birnbaum had been compelled to decline. This was the signal for uproar. Cries of "name," "name," were raised, and Dr. Herzl was also pressed for a clearer statement. The member responded that he was unable to give any names, but had been informed that the pressure came from an influential quarter. Dr. Herzl thereupon gave an emphatic assurance that neither from the Executive nor from the Committee on Organisation had the slightest pressure been brought to bear on Dr. Birnbaum. Fuel was added to the flames, and the incident assumed a still more personal character, when Dr. Malz said that while recognising the value of Dr. Herzl's labours, yet without Dr. Birnbaum, neither a Herzl as Zionist, nor the Congress would have been possible. Dr. Malz added that it was

because Dr. Birnbaum was a comparatively poor man his presence on the Committee was not considered desirable. This latter expression gave rise to considerable uproar, which Dr. Max Nordau (in whose favour Dr. Herzl had temporarily withdrawn, in order not to exert any influence on Dr. Malz's liberty of speech), was only able to quell with some difficulty.

Dr. LOEWE, a delegate from Palestine, appealed for peace in the name of the Colonies, and declared that Dr. Birnbaum had voluntarily retired. Dr. Steiner, the Reporter, threw oil on the troubled waters by stating that Dr. Birnbaum was ineligible because, in accordance with resolution 4, passed in the morning, the delegates for Vienna must reside in that city. The incident then closed.

[It appearing to us an anomaly that the Committee on Organisation should have recommended a gentleman who was ineligible for election under regulations which they themselves had proposed, we asked Dr. Steiner for an explanation. He informed us that the name of Dr. Birnbaum was placed on the list in deference to the request of the majority of the Congress, who on being informed that their favourite was not eligible, declared that he would remove from Berlin to Vienna.]

The election of delegates for other countries passed off harmoniously. Dr. Max Nordau declined to represent France, as he said that he could serve the cause better unofficially. On the meeting being called upon to elect a representative of England,

Mr. S. B. RUBENSTEIN said: We regret not being in a position to appoint our representative to the Executive Committee as decided, not because we wish to separate ourselves from the body of the Congress, or to display the English national character of isolation. Here in this room we are all united regardless of the various countries where we reside. We sympathise with the Zionist Movement and pledge ourselves to endeavour to exert our utmost for its realisation. But as we do not presume to be the best representatives for England, we wish to postpone our election so as to give an opportunity to our representative English coreligionists openly and publicly to join the movement and to make a proper selection.

The election of a delegate for America was also postponed, only two representatives of the United States being present.

The following is the complete list of the Executive Central Committee:—
VIENNA: Dr. Herzl, Dr. Schnirer, Dr. Koglech, Dr. Muntz, Herr Joseph Meier Kremenzky.

AUSTRIA (other than Galicia): Primarius Kornfeld.

GALICIA: Dr. Salz, Dr. Kortjes.

BUKOWINA: Dr. Meier Ebner.

FRANCE: M. Bernard Lazare.

GERMANY: Rabbiner Dr. Rulf, Dr. Bodenheimer.

RUSSIA: Rabbiner Mohilewer, Dr. Mandelstamm, Dr. Kohan-Bernstein, Rechtsanwalt Jassinowski.

ROUMANIA: Dr. K. Lippe, Herr Sam Pineles.

BULGARIA AND SERVIA: Professor Belkowsky.

JEWS IN THE ORIENT: M. J. Behar.

National Fund.

On the motion of Dr. BODENHEIMER it was resolved: This Congress declares that it deems the creation of a National Fund necessary, and refers the preliminary organisation of the Fund to the Executive Central Committee with instructions to report to the next Congress.

The Colonisation of Palestine.

Dr. M. T. SCHNIRER gave a brief verbal report on Colonisation in Palestine. He said that as far as the Zionists were concerned, there was only one point to be considered: Should they go on colonising while they had not yet received legal guarantees from the Government? There was considerable opposition to further colonisation until those guarantees had been obtained. They would not acquire colonies by corruption or bribery, because such a course would demoralise their people. Others saw in the Palestine Colonies excellent experiments for the cause. His personal opinion was not in favour of sending any more colonists, but to await the results of the existing colonies and to assist them, if necessary, to become self-supporting. The system of maintaining externally the colonies had demoralised them. He recommended the appointment of a Committee to examine the view he had expressed.

Dr. ARMAND KAMINKA followed with a history of the Colonisation movement, with the details of which the readers of the *Jewish Chronicle* have been made sufficiently acquainted.

Mr. ADAM ROSENBERG (New York) spoke from personal experience of the suitability of Palestine for agricultural pursuits, and of the advantages it afforded for international commerce through the existing railways and harbours, and through others already projected. Mr. Rosenberg also dealt with the question of Colonisation.

Herr WILLY BAMBUS expressed regret that Dr. Kaminka had only mentioned the colonisation work performed by the Chovevi Zion Society in Odessa. He stated that much work in this direction had been performed by the Jews in Western Europe, and if they had not succeeded in accomplishing much as yet, this proved how difficult was the task.

Much enthusiasm was aroused when Dr. H. LOEWE, of Jaffa, declared in the name of the Colonies in Palestine that they would gladly bear any sufferings in addition to those they had already borne if the Zionist movement should tend to solve the Jewish Question.

A debate on general subjects followed, among the speakers being Dr. EHRENPREIS on Hebrew Literature, Dr. ROHENHECK on the neglect of the Study of the Hebrew Language, and Professor Dr. SCHAPIRA.

A Committee for Hebrew Literature.

The practical outcome of the debates respecting Hebrew was the election of a Committee for Hebrew literature, consisting of Herren Sokolow, Dr. Ehrenpreis, Dr. Kaminka, Rabinowicz, Katrenelson and Abramovitch.

THE FINAL SITTING.

BASLE, 1ST SEPTEMBER,

Owing to the lateness of the hour, it was decided to defer the formal closing of the Congress until yesterday evening.

At half past nine, when Dr. HERZL for the last time took the chair, the Hall was completely filled. The storm and stress of the afternoon had passed away, for the knowledge that the hour of parting was at hand had a calming influence on those who had earlier displayed a somewhat unruly spirit. The sitting, though brief, was not without its incidents. Some formal matters had to be dealt with, including a proposal of Dr. S. R. Landau for the preparation of Statistics of the Jews, and another by Mr. Massel of Manchester, for union with the existing Chovevi Zion Societies. When these had been disposed of, came the sensation of the evening. Dr. Herzl called upon

Dr. KOHN, Rabbi of Basle, who on making his way to the tribune, was hailed with deafening cheers. Dr. Kohn declared that the reason why the Movement had made little progress in Germany and why Orthodox Rabbis had

not shown favour to the Zionist movement arose from the fear that in the new conditions that would arise in Palestine, the advanced party might compel the Orthodox to perform acts which would be hurtful to their religious sentiments. Could they be assured that this would not be the case, then none would work more heartily for the cause than he and his Orthodox colleagues in the Rabbinate.—(Cheers.)

Dr. HERZL said that the Congress had not entered into religious discussions, but he could assure Dr. Kohn that Zionism did not intend to do anything that would injure the innermost sentiments of Judaism.—(Great applause.)

Amid an impressive silence, Dr. HERZL then delivered a short farewell speech. He said it was a duty to thank the hospitable city of Basle, which had so kindly received them; and the Government, for many tokens of sympathy, as specially testified by the presence at one of the meetings of the President. (Cheers.) They must thank also the Christian Zionists, whom they might call their friends, such as M. Dunant, founder of the Red Cross Society; the Rev. John Mitchell, the Rev. Mr. Hechler, of Vienna, and Baron Manteufel—(great cheering)—who had so diligently followed the proceedings by attending the meetings. If he (Dr. Herzl) had proved himself sometimes too firm, sometimes too weak, in presiding over them, he assured them that he had been actuated by the best intentions. He felt that the Zionists need not be ashamed of their first Congress; and though he could not then speak about the future of the work, he felt certain that if they would act in union they would be paving the way for the relief of their oppressed brethren. On the day when the Jews again held the plough in Palestine, on that day would the Jewish Question be solved.

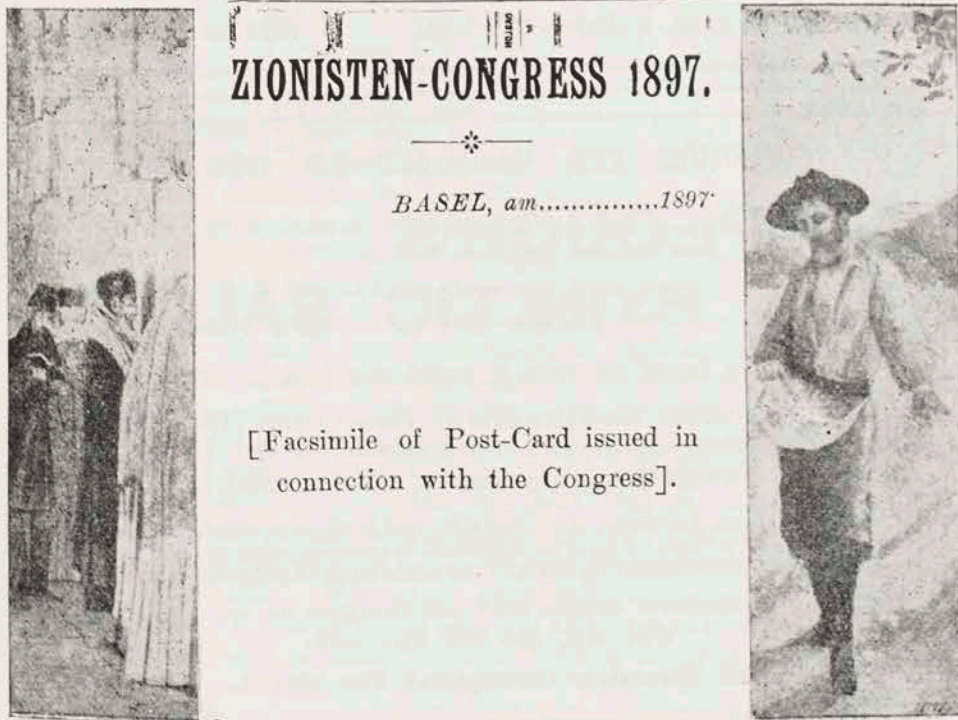
To describe the fervid enthusiasm which ensued is well nigh an impossible task. No hero ever received a greater ovation than did Dr. Herzl. Men who by their nature are not usually demonstrative caught the infection, and shared with the rest the emotions of the moment. The tremendous cheering and the waving of handkerchiefs were renewed again and again, when, on the motion of Dr. MANDELSTAMM, of Kieff, thanks were voted to Dr. Herzl and Dr. Nordau. Both these gentlemen satisfied themselves with bowing their acknowledgements, and with the simple announcement from Dr. Herzl that the sitting was concluded, this unique and memorable gathering came to an end. The parting between Dr. Herzl and many of the members was most affectionate, tears were in many eyes, and one and all wished each other a happy reunion in the ensuing year: "Next year in Jerusalem."

A word or two should be said concerning the individuals who formed the Congress. Nearly all of them appeared to be men of high intellectual power, and not a few are of commanding presence. Among these cultured representative men, was a Chazan belonging to the Chassidim in Russia, who is conversant with a number of Western languages, including English, in which he expresses himself with clearness. The splendid types of Russian and Polish Jews who attended the Congress in such large numbers would have been a revelation to many Londoners, apt to judge the standard of their brethren in those countries by the specimens they habitually see in the East End.

One of the results of the Congress has been the establishment, on the initiative of Dr. S. R. Landau, of Vienna (appointed its President) and M. Jacques Bahar, of Paris, of a Syndicate of Journalists whose object it will be to further the interests of Zionism in the press.

Although the Congress has terminated, many of the members are not yet leaving, for this evening a meeting will be held "to discuss Jewish literature as a means for elevating the people."

A ZIONIST POST-CARD.



[Facsimile of Post-Card issued in connection with the Congress].

A ZIONIST BADGE.

A Badge was also issued in connection with the Congress. It consists of a Shield of azure blue, with a red border, bearing the following German inscription: Die Bildung eines Judenstaates ist die einzig mögliche Lösung der Judenfrage. (The organisation of a Jewish State is the only possible solution of the Jewish Question.) Twelve stars (representing the Twelve Tribes) surround a "Shield of David," in the centre of which is a Lion rampant, the crest of Judah.

Mr. Oswald J. Simon, in a letter published in the *Times* of Monday, writes to point out that nothing could be more untrue than the impression calculated to be given by the Zionist Congress, that the Jews throughout the world are contemplating taking steps to effect a speedy restoration of the ancient polity and home of their race. Mr. Simon points out that the Congress does not represent a single section of the Jewish community of any one country, and that, in fact, it represents no one but the individuals who compose it, and the few societies who have elected representatives. Of those societies, neither London, Paris, Berlin, nor New York has any share whatever. Mr. Simon concludes his letter as follows:—

It may be well to state the reasons why such a congress for such a purpose utterly fails to attract the co-operation of any considerable section of the people of Israel.

In the first place, there are two distinct schools of thought among the Jews everywhere in regard to Palestine. The most orthodox, who believe in the literal fulfilment of Hebrew prophecy, consider that any attempt to get Palestine by purchase or by human diplomacy would be a violation of the spirit of our religion. The restoration, in which they fervently believe, is to be a miracle wrought by the Divine decree. The other school, not necessarily unorthodox, believe that the restoration is to be to a New Jerusalem, a figurative name representing the universal spread of the religious ideal of our race. To

both these schools of thought the plan of Dr. Herzl and those who are supporting him is equally obnoxious.

But there is another reason why to an English Jew, and possibly to a French one, the present movement is unacceptable. The agitation in Vienna has been the direct outcome of anti-Semitism. To found a new Jewish State as an escape from the worries of anti-Semitism is entirely opposed to the traditions of the Jewish race, who have never in the course of their history shrunk from any inconvenience, persecution, or martyrdom in holding their own. If a Jew has the misfortune to live in an atmosphere of anti-Semitism his duty is to stand his ground, to fight it if he can, and if not to endure it till it dies a natural death.

There is one further consideration which of itself would condemn such a movement as is contemplated in Basle. The movement is initiated by those who are only Jews by race and not by religion. The vast mass of the Jews throughout the world regard, very properly, their racial distinctiveness only as a means to an end, their religion being the end. To divorce the one from the other seems to most of us to be a repudiation of the covenant of our fathers. Nay, more, the survival of the race separateness where the religious faith has departed is of no good to Judaism. On the contrary, the supreme ideal of Judaism is that our religion shall survive the ancient Jewish nationality—that its intrinsic power of spiritual life and of universalism shall burst asunder the artificial limits of race, and shall be the direct means of establishing a common worship and promoting the human brotherhood when the words "Jew and Gentile" shall become expunged. To restore Jewish nationality with a geographical local in the East would be a restoration to primitiveness, not a development.

The Rev. Haham, Dr. M. Gaster, has written the following reply to Mr. Simon's letter:—

Sir,—My friend, Mr. Oswald John Simon, has been led astray by scant and incorrect information. He would otherwise not have written the letter under above heading in *The Times* of August 30. He knows sufficiently the suffering of the Jews in the East of Europe, and I know he feels with them. His late lamented father, Sir John Simon, has often lifted his voice in defence of his unfortunate brethren. It would, besides, be following the policy of the ostrich should we choose to shut our eyes to the moral suffering which the Jews endure in consequence of the modern plague called anti-Semitism. But these are, after all, minor considerations. The awakening of the Jewish spirit from the long torpor, and the deeper understanding of the Divine promises, which have gone hand in hand with the political and social emancipation of all the nations of Europe and that of the Jews has given to the words of the prophets a significance pregnant with actuality. The question, first slowly and stealthily, asked some thirty or forty years ago, Why should the Jews not bring about their fulfilment? has since been repeated over and over again with increasing force. The voice that was first heard in the desert reached the peopled land, and now it is getting a tangible expression. The Jews all over Europe have been stirred to their innermost depths. As it happens with every movement, some of the leaders are still hanging back; a few are opposed, not knowing and therefore dreading the consequences. But these can only be beneficial, as the movement has only a humanitarian and religious purpose. The only plausible excuse for withholding their sympathy can be their ignorance.

Mr. Simon's attempt to minimise the importance of the Congress, or to deny it altogether, because certain bodies named by Mr. Simon are not represented, shows how little he understands the character of that Congress. It is called for the purpose of exchanging views, of gathering accurate information from all the countries in Europe where Jews live, and so formulate certain resolutions. It will be time then to approach already existing bodies with tangible results or with clear resolutions.

The movement aims at the solution of one of the most complex modern social problems in Europe, and the means which are to be employed towards that solution are the realisation of deep-seated religious hopes and ideals. For this very reason men from all the ranks of Jewish society and all shades of Jewish religion are here united in one common, noble, lofty, and humanitarian purpose—the restoration of Israel, which is, moreover, the true fulfilment of the words of our Prophets.

It is misleading to state that no invitations have been sent to the Anglo-Jewish Association or to the London Committee of Deputies of British Jews, since invitations have not been sent to anybody whatsoever. The Congress and its Programme and its object were advertised for months. At the recent annual meeting of the Anglo-Jewish Association I distinctly invited that body, to which I have the honour to belong, to take an interest in the Zionist movement, I had no authority to go beyond pointing out to the Council the grand work that lay before them and of suggesting that they might take it up and, after sifting it, come to definite conclusions upon which to act.

Entirely contrary to facts is the statement that the Orthodox Jews are against this agitation. Mr. Simon was present last year at the mass meeting held in the East End of London and attended exclusively by Orthodox Jews. Dr. Herzl, who developed there his plan, received an ovation, the audience rising as one man. There was an outburst of enthusiasm seen only among people moved by deep religious feeling. This demonstration repeated itself at the other meeting convened a short time ago for the appointment of the delegates, I being both times in the chair.

It is furthermore surprising to find Mr. Simon repeating the incorrect statement that this agitation is the outcome of anti-Semitism. It existed long before that word even was coined. It prompted the Jews of Roumania and Russia many years ago to found colonies in Palestine. But this movement is felt to be inadequate to cope with the whole question. The political education of the Jews has since made enormous strides. The number of Zionists with a definite aim before their eyes has grown rapidly. They are recruited from among the young; the enthusiasts on the Continent, University professors and students, scholars and workmen, are joining hand. They belong most exclusively to the orthodox and embrace the vast majority of Jews. The Bible and the old Prayer Book are the text, and this agitation is merely the practical commentary. Mr. Oswald Simon, who does not belong to the orthodox, knows the orthodox Jew in his unadulterated and unsophisticated form, merely by hearsay, and surely he himself, with the fairness that characterises him, would not claim to be the exponent of their views concerning the restoration. I, as an orthodox Rabbi, beg to differ radically from him and to assure him, that the views with which he credits the orthodox Jews are *totally* different from those which they actually cherish. It is not here the place to enter upon dogmatic questions and I therefore refrain from discussing the "miracles" that are to happen, on that day when Israel is to return to the land of his fathers. God chooses human agencies to carry out His will, and it is after it has been accomplished that we become aware of the many circumstances, unexpected and unlooked for, which have all contributed to bring about the result, which before would have appeared to be short of a "miracle." Whether the restoration will be accomplished by the purchase of Palestine, or by unexpected political combinations or by other peculiar circumstances, it would be idle to dogmatise about.

One thing is certain. The whole orthodox and realistic Jewry, which does not volatilize the words of the Prophets, and does not look upon Divine promises as so many spiritual symbols to be interpreted away according to each one's fancy, is now assembled in spirit at the Congress, and watches its deliberations with sympathy and elevated hope.

The delegates may not be rich in earthly possessions, nor may they claim to wield a certain amount of social power, but they are rich in hopes, in faith, and in ideals. They belong to the class of men who made our martyrs in the past and aye, if required, will make them in the future.

Stock of Every Description

Bought at a moments' notice for immediate Cash

From £50 up to £5,000.

Address—

N. P. TANCHAN,

34, Pandy Square, Tonypany, Rhonda Valley,

OR

7, Maurice Road, St. Andrew's Park, Bristol.

the public eye. But they can scarcely lay claim to have much in common with those Jews who thrice daily pray with devout piety that the Temple may be speedily rebuilt. There are not a few Jews who now add to this prayer the further supplication that God may avert the danger which the Congress will probably cause to those Jews who are already settled peaceably in Palestine as humble tillers of the soil. The grandiose talk of creating a Jewish State by purchase is one which believing Jews, statesmen and financiers agree in regarding as unworthy of approval. Dr. Herzl announced that a telegram had been sent to the Sultan, acknowledging the favourable position of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire. But, as we must point out on the other side, fears are expressed in letters from Palestine that serious restrictions will be placed on the Jewish settlements, owing to the creation of a "Jewish Question," in addition to the many other "Questions" which perplex the soul of the Sultan. The friendliness spoken of by Dr. Herzl is a broken reed. The Jewish Question remains exactly where it was before Dr. Herzl flashed across the Viennese horizon. It will not be solved by artificial attempts to convert the religious consciousness of Judaism into a pseudo-nationalism. Prophecy will be fulfilled in God's own way. But in the meantime the Jews, instead of wasting their energies on the unattainable, must concentrate them on an effort to live up to those of the ideals of their religion which are well within their reach. Dr. Herzl's movement has not been altogether fruitless. It has demonstrated that after all Judaism is a real, living force. For the keenness of the opposition to his Scheme, for the earnestness of its hostile critics, few were prepared. This opposition will, we hope, translate itself into an active rousing of the Jewish conscience all the world over, so that Zionists and anti-Zionists will in the end be able to co-operate in the general cause of Judaism, in the promotion of those great and enduring ideals of righteousness and faith for which Israel has been preserved.

The Practical Outcome of the Congress.

We have already said that the Basle Congress will not prove unfruitful of good result. The spirit which animated Dr. Herzl's opening address, his vigorous appeal to Jews to aim at their own emancipation, was one which is bound to exercise a powerful influence. The eloquent, though pessimistic, address of Dr. Max Nordau was also a valuable contribution towards a comprehension of the Jewish Question as it strikes one who is able to view it from an intellectual height. There was only too much truth in the remark of Dr. Schauer that the German Jews know Judaism only from anti-Semitic writings. Again, there was a frequent appeal at the Congress for further knowledge of the kind provided by Dr. Max Nordau in his able speech. There is, in truth, a sad lack of accurate Jewish statistics. These are all directions in which Dr. Herzl's movement may attain profitable ends. What all this, however, has to do with a "national" revival was not made so clear. In point of fact, the national element was remarkable for its absence in the discussions, for no sooner was the topic reached than deep divergences of opinion revealed themselves. Dr. Herzl's masterly capacity, his business-like tact, his eloquence, all threw a glamour over the assembly which, while it speaks much for his own personal power, obscured the failure to come to the real point at issue. Not that we blame the Congress for this result. On the contrary, the further the Programme, as finally drawn up, departs from the original scheme of a Jewish State, the more it meets with our approval. If Zionism is merely to create for the Jewish people a "legally assured home" in Palestine, then all Jews are at one with the Zionists. That Jewish colonies should be absolutely unfettered in the Holy Land, is an object for which we have ever contended. But we hardly see that so much pother need be made on behalf of a scheme to convert the subjects of European powers into subjects of the Sultan. Our sympathies are, again, entirely with Dr. Herzl in his desire to plead the Zionist cause openly in the light of day. He has earned the approbation of all Jews by his frankness, especially as it has been allied on the one hand with so much moderation, and on the other with so enlightened an earnestness. But the impossible project of raising ten million pounds for the Zionist Scheme at once brings the enthusiasm down to earth. We cannot away with the thought that the Biblical prophecies of a restoration to the Holy Land are to be fulfilled by a Joint Stock Company, with its shares perhaps quoted on the Stock Exchange! Yet the Congress was not lacking in idealism. "If I forget thee O Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning." This text, quoted at the Congress with such dramatic effect, will go home, and find a resting-place in many a hitherto callous heart. This triumph Dr. Herzl has no doubt won, and we heartily congratulate him upon it. This practical outcome of the Congress must not be allowed to rust. We must use it and develop it in the days to come.

Dr. Gaster on the Zionist Congress.

It is, of course, inevitable that questions of Jewish interest, including those concerning which there is no general agreement among Jews, should sometimes be discussed by Jews in newspapers which appeal chiefly to non-Jewish readers. And no one who is familiar with English institutions can object to such discussions, provided that the writers do not claim greater authority for their utterances than rightly belongs to them, or give the impression, when stating their own views, that they are speaking with a mandate from the community as a whole. Unfortunately, Dr. Gaster, in his letter on the Zionist Congress which appeared in Wednesday's *Times*, does not observe these conditions. Writing as "an Orthodox Rabbi," he asserts that "the whole orthodox and realistic Jewry, which does not volatilise the words of the Prophets, and does not look upon Divine promises as so many spiritual symbols to be interpreted away according to each one's fancy, is now assembled in spirit at the Congress, and watches its deliberations with sympathy and elevated hope." It is, of course, only reasonable that Dr. Gaster should wish to reply from his own standpoint to the criticisms on the Zionist Congress by Mr. Oswald J. Simon which were published in

the *Times* earlier in the week. But the whole tone of his letter, and his reference to his official position, would lead the reader to believe that he had been authorised to express sympathy with the objects of the Congress on behalf of the community. Dr. Gaster must know quite well that the majority of the Jews of England have refused, as have many of the best-known Rabbis of Germany, to identify themselves with the Zionist movement; and that the impression which his letter is calculated to create is an inaccurate one. The Jews of England have fought, during the last seventy years, for admission to the full constitutional rights and privileges of Englishmen. The chief obstacle which they had to overcome was the opinion, once widely held, that they owed to the British Government only a divided allegiance. They lived down that prejudice; they convinced Englishmen that English Jews are as whole-hearted in their patriotism as English Christians; and they gained the privileges which they sought. The great body of English Jews at the present day are enthusiastically faithful to the conditions on which they were relieved from their disabilities, and no misrepresentation of their feelings could be more serious than the suggestion that they are ready to forfeit their right to the privileges which they have gained.

A Family Dispute.

We are less surprised than amused to read that a pretty quarrel has broken out in Austria between two sections of the anti-Semitic propaganda. The quarrel, if entertaining to interested outsiders, does not on that account lack bitterness to those concerned. Is it not delightful to find an anti-Semitic organ describing another as a "blot on modern civilisation"? We fully assent to this view, except that we perceive two blots where the *Reichspost* sees but one. Briefly told, the *Deutsches Volksblatt* boldly maintains that the baptised Jew remains an object of hatred because he remains a Jew. "Race" is the original sin which no hallowed waters can wash away. True, anthropology denies the existence of "races," but anti-Semitism is not very easily moved by mere science. A science that gives it missiles to hurl at a Jew is good enough science for it. On the other side, the *Reichspost* contends that its brother-in-arms against all that is Semitic overshoots the mark. "Religion," not "Race," is the true sin of the Jews. Were not, it asks, the Apostles Jews? Was not Jesus a Semite? And so forth. Really our friends the anti-Semites must make up their minds. Do they wish to convert us to their side, and preserve us to mercy, or is their aim an exterminating crusade against us? It will take more than they to do one thing or the other, but it would be agreeable to know exactly what they are driving at. Seriously, does not this incident demonstrate how insecure anti-Semitism is of its own ideals? We have never denied the existence of an antipathy against Jews on the Continent of Europe, and perhaps elsewhere. But this antipathy is superficial and soon wears off. A new coating then replaces the old and this gives an appearance of permanent freshness. Surely there is little to fear in so variable an antagonism. Anti-Semitism will not survive the century. The best proof we can offer of it is—the difficulty which anti-Semites themselves experience whenever they attempt to formulate their creed or justify their propaganda. Their attempts are always forced and unnatural—they lack the spontaneity of life.

The School Board Election.

The School Board Election, which is to take place in November, is one of those coming events which cast their shadows before them. Although most people are at present taking holiday from public affairs, the air already resounds with the strife of tongues and the din of discussion. However desirous party leaders may be of a truce upon the Religious Question, there are those who will not let that question rest if they can help it. Prebendary Reynolds, the Senior Inspector in Religious Knowledge for the Diocese of London, belongs to this number. Undeterred by former failures in the same direction, he thinks the time has now arrived for Churchmen to make a determined effort to get the Apostles' Creed included in the Board's syllabus of religious instruction. He has a notion that there would be very little opposition to such inclusion, and he bases his belief on the ground that the Apostles' Creed is virtually accepted by all parties of Christians. The Bishop of Rochester has been expressing a similar opinion. There would be little fault to find with the conclusion if the premise on which it rested were correct. But is it correct? We rather think that the Apostles' Creed is just one of those statements upon which the different Christian sects are not agreed. Mr. Howard Evans, in a recent letter to the *Times*, endorses our view. We are glad, therefore, to note that the Church party and its organs are not so eager to follow wherever the Bishop of Rochester and Mr. Reynolds may wish to lead them. The public have had enough of the religious question for the present.

The Education Question in Manitoba.

The remarkable volume of Special Reports on Educational Subjects which has just been issued by the Education Department contains a careful history of the most exciting of all recent controversies on the subject of religious education, viz., that which has raged in Manitoba since 1890. Much information about the progress of the controversy has been published in the English Press during the last few years, but it has been scattered and unsystematic, so that the connected account now given will be very welcome. Mr. Morant, the author of the Report, traces the history of education in Manitoba from the annexation of the Province to the Dominion of Canada in 1870. Before that time there had been no system of public education, and the only schools had been those which were supported by the members, and taught by the clergy, of the various religious denominations. In the Manitoba Act it was provided that the right of dealing

with educational matters should rest with the Provincial Legislature, and that no act should be passed which might prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to Denominational Schools which any class of persons possessed at the Union. When a system of state-aided education was introduced in 1871, the latter provision was interpreted in a manner very favourable to the supporters of denominational education. The public Board of Education which was then constituted was composed of a fixed proportion of Catholics and Protestants; and arrangements were made to enable children of all denominations to be educated in denominational schools, and to exempt ratepayers of one denomination from payment towards the support of the schools of any other denomination. This system of religious toleration, theoretically perfect, was maintained from 1870 to 1890. But for some years before the latter date it had begun to be unpopular. Manitoba is a remarkably heterogeneous province. It contains, side by side with a majority of English-speaking Protestants, "15,000 German-speaking Mennonites, some 10,000 or 12,000 French-speaking half-breeds, a considerable number of Polish Jews, many Hungarians and Finlanders, and a Gallic-speaking crofter settlement." The maintenance of a system which undertook to provide separate schools for each denomination tended to perpetuate differences of language and of racial feeling. Moreover, there was a widespread belief that the education of the smaller denominations was inefficient. Accordingly the Provincial Legislature passed in 1890 an Act by which the old system was swept away; State aid was withdrawn from Denominational Schools; and there were established Unsectarian Schools in which there was allowed only such religious teaching as was considered unlikely to hurt the susceptibilities of any denomination. The Catholics fought with might and main against the new system. They appealed to the Privy Council to set aside the Legislation of 1890, but their appeal was dismissed. They fought the elections to the Provincial Legislature on the Education question; but they were beaten. Their final hope was to obtain in the Dominion Parliament, with the help of the great Catholic province of Quebec, a majority in favour of Denominational Schools. The victory of the Liberals in 1896 frustrated this hope; and, as matters now stand, the Catholics have apparently determined to accept Sir Wilfrid Laurier's compromise, by which, while State aid is still withheld from Denominational Schools, Catholic teachers are, under certain conditions, provided for Catholic children in the National Schools. Nevertheless, the compromise was not accepted without bitter protests; and it is stated on good authority that the French-Canadian Catholic Bishops wished to withhold the Sacraments from all who accepted Sir Wilfrid Laurier's terms, and would have carried out their intention but for the opposition of the English Bishops.

The Tombs of the Kings. M. Clermont-Ganneau, in a memoir presented to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres, has offered a new solution to the problem, "Where are the Tombs of David and the Kings of Judah?" to which so frequent allusion is made in Scripture. The sepulchre situated to the North of Jerusalem, and named significantly *Kobour el Moloukh*, has been identified with the required site, but M. Clermont-Ganneau pronounces this tomb, obviously of Greco-Roman style, to be the sepulchre of the Queen Helena, of Adiabene, a royal convert to the Jewish religion, and a celebrated figure in the Talmud. The learned Academician now points to a certain subterranean aqueduct more than 500 metres long, which, an inscription asserts, was cut in the rock beneath Mount Ophel in the reign of Hezekiah. This aqueduct or tunnel makes a great southerly detour at right angles. What caused this mysterious twist? M. Clermont maintains that it was here that the aqueduct came against the Royal Sepulchre, and that the detour was the natural consequence of this proximity to the hallowed resting-place of the Judean Kings. The author of the theory offers many arguments and facts in its favour, and asserts that it is now easy to find the entrance from above. The mistake of former inquirers has lain in their expectation of finding some gorgeous monumental gate or approach. Mr. Clermont-Ganneau would rather look for a single opening in the earth, similar to the entrances to tombs in ancient Phœnicia and Egypt. The failure of Dr. Bliss to discover the site is due, according to Mr. Clermont-Ganneau, to a misunderstanding on the part of the former. The excavation must be begun anew. If it is not very pleasing to find so distinguished an expert expressing so unfavourable an opinion on part of Dr. Bliss's work, it is nevertheless by no means regrettable to find that French savants are willing to contemplate the possibility of making further and independent excavations in the Holy City. From such an enterprise nothing but gain could result.

Congregational Singing. Westminster Abbey has been trying an experiment, the successful results of which have a direct interest for Jewish congregations. For the first time in its history, congregational singing, without the assistance of a choir, has been introduced into the evening service, during the latter part of the month of August. In former years, in consequence of the absence of the choir at this season, evening service was dispensed with. This year it has been restored by Canon Gore. The congregation were informed beforehand that they would have to make their own music on the last two Sunday evenings in August. The prospect of having to depend on their own efforts was evidently not a disagreeable one, for long before the commencement of service there was not an inch of standing room in the nave. We are told that the singing was a great success. It could not compare with the singing of the choir on ordinary Sunday afternoons, but it was more reverent than it sometimes is when the choir are present. The courageous example set by so important a body as Westminster Abbey ought not to be lost upon our own congregations. A professional choir—even the most highly trained voices—is at best but a poor substitute for congregational singing. But our synagogues have never aspired to highly-trained choirs, which

are beyond their means. They have to be content with second or third-rate singing, and this is a perpetual source of irritation to those who are so fortunate or unfortunate as to possess a musical ear. In some congregations, we do not hesitate to say that the congregations would be better off if they had no choir at all, while those who are responsible for the management of the services would be relieved of no little anxiety. But so long as congregations have paid choirs, however indifferent, they apathetically leave the singing to take care of itself. They are too lazy or modest to join in the tunes. If they knew that they had to rely on their own efforts exclusively, the effect might not improbably be more satisfactory. The Hammersmith Synagogue is a case in point. Recognising from the outset their inability to support an efficient choir, they courageously set to work to introduce congregational singing. The result has been an unqualified success. What has been accomplished at Hammersmith ought not to be impossible in larger and wealthier congregations.

A Visit to the Jewish Colonies in Palestine.

[FROM OUR JERUSALEM CORRESPONDENT.]

JERUSALEM, 17TH AUGUST, 1897.

I have just returned from a trip to some of the Jewish Colonies, and can report that the vintage has this year been exceptionally productive. The joy and eagerness with which the colonists engage in their work of gathering the grapes day and night, at this season, needs to be seen to be appreciated. One who saw the struggle of the colonists of Gadrah in former years, and sees now their contented condition, is reminded of the words of the Psalm, that "those who sow in tears shall reap in joy." In this country it does one good to see a happy face. In Gadrah I saw many, hard-working, but happy, doubly happy, because they are independent, they have no external administration. The fear has been expressed that the colonists would not be able to manage their own affairs. Gadrah proves that they can. It is true that they required some subsidies until they reached their present condition, and they will still require a little more until they will be able to supply for themselves the communal wants of the colony. But the success of Gadrah appears to be secured. It has a very healthy position. The houses are nicely but not extravagantly built, just as is suitable for a colony. No French is taught in the schools, but Hebrew is; and the elementary studies are free from the modern *Chauvinism*. I am sure the sons and daughters of these colonists will be good vine growers and simple, though capable and honest people. There are nineteen families in the colony, which has only about 800 acres of land.

A colony of good promise is Kastinje, or Beer Tobias. This colony has only recently been re-colonised by the Chovevi Zion on a system of self-support, which is the same as that undertaken by Baron Edmond de Rothschild in Mtulleh. Kastinje has nearly 6,000 dunams of land, and nineteen families. It offers a very poor appearance, not having yet permission to build stone houses, but the colonists look hopeful and content in their cleanly-kept wood houses. Having several years worked as day labourers, they are just the material for successful colonists. This land is only fit for agriculture—not viniculture. The colonists plant wheat, barley, sesame, and crops for feeding cattle, of which they have over 200. This year's harvest, especially sesame, was not favourable, on account of the lack of latter rains. Yet there is every prospect that they will, in two years, be independent and self-supporting.

Quite a singular sight was afforded me in Rishon-le-Zion, in the wine cellar, where the work of wine-making commences at midnight, and goes on with great enthusiasm, and is most imposing because of its proportions.

It is very natural that Dr. Herzl's Scheme and Congress should be lively discussed, from a practical standpoint, in the colonies and in Jerusalem where opinions are divided. Some fear it will call forth from the Government more severe obstacles. Others are of opinion that the backsheesh system, as carried on till now, is no basis to work upon, and they hope rather for an improvement of things, when some systematic steps, certainly not so far reaching as Herzl's Scheme, are taken to secure some definite legal rights for colonisation, which would not be dependent on the mercy, good humour and whims of officials. It will be of passing interest to hear that the views of some most Orthodox Rabbis here are not in accord with the protest of the German Rabbis. They cannot find that Herzl's Scheme is opposed to religious traditions as long as he only proposes to bring about the desired result by moral means.

A telegram from Hamburg announces that a high medal has been awarded to the Rishon-le-Zion wines by the jury of the Exhibition there.

Dramatic and Musical Notes.

The very successful performances of "Under the Red Robe," given at the Grand Theatre, Islington, during the present week, have been preceded by a graceful little *lever de rideau*, somewhat misnamed a comedy in one act, from the pen of Re Henry. "Norah" is the story of a pretty young village girl married to a big, rough, good-hearted workman some years older than herself. A disturbing element in the happy home is Philip, a young fellow whom Joe, and his mother before him, have befriended and brought up as one of the family. Philip is in love with Norah, and though the young wife is really indifferent to him she is very anxious to keep the knowledge of his passion from her husband. At last she begs him to be manly and go away, but when simple honest, Joe finds the lad starting forth, not guessing the reason of his departure, he begs Norah to bid him stay and is deeply incensed with her because she will only say "Philip, go." In his anger he utters harsh words that sting her tender heart, and she runs out of the home and to the water-side in her despair, where she is overtaken and rescued by Philip. Philip brings her back, and then, ashamed of his own treachery, confesses the whole story to Joe. The husband at first recoils from him, but finally, at Norah's persuasion, extends a hand of forgiveness to the young man, who goes away to work out his own redemption. There is an agreeably healthy tone about the little play, and it is pleasantly free from pessimism, whilst there are many touches of pathos. Skilfully played by Miss Winifred Fraser, Mr. Frank Macvicars and Mr. Fred Emery, it was received on the first night with very hearty commendation by the large audience at the Grand Theatre.