

THE CONGRESS AND THE CAUSE.

[BY A DELEGATE FROM ENGLAND.]

The third Basle Congress opened auspiciously, for the one thing noticeable was that, just as the interest in the Zionist cause had undoubtedly deepened, so there was an absence of that wild form of enthusiasm which had been a feature in past years. The enthusiasm which marked the first and second Congresses had, it is true, "tickled the groundlings," but undoubtedly it gave the judicious pause, if it did not make them grieve. Writing last year upon the second Congress, I remarked that we had given Dr. Herzl our hearts, but that we must keep our heads. The prophecy I ventured—that the Congress seemed able to do so, and would do so—has been abundantly borne out by much that one has noticed this year. Zionism seems to have crystallised into a definite cult, a cult that rises above mere persons, and rests upon great principles first. Our trust in Dr. Herzl is unshaken by so much as the wave of an aspen leaf, our belief that he will see our efforts and his, crowned with success, is as strong as ever. But Zionists are learning that Zionism is very much more than any individual plan, is wider than even the personality of Dr. Herzl, larger even than the success of his scheme. They are beginning to see that he was right when he said, and repeated when demur was offered, that if—God grant the day may be far distant—he were called away from us the movement would not fail. To use his own words, we should "pronounce a Hespel, and proceed to the next business." It is towards the capacity thus to testify to the reality of Dr. Herzl's great work that the Congress has shown itself tending this year. For it is because Zionists generally beginning to recognise that Dr. Herzl's view was dictated by a stronger faith in the movement as a movement than some possessed, that those of us who regard Zionism in his highest aspects as the regeneration of Jewry rejoice at the signs of real strength made evident at the third Congress as compared with the mere froth of enthusiasm that so largely characterised the two previous ones.

Zionists cannot help it if they form to-day but a minority of the Jews of the world. There was no feeling of disappointment in the Congress that our movement had not made even more progress than it has. At least, the delegates who attend the Zionist Congress know the Jewish character. They know that what Carlyle called the "purblind obduracy" of our people will not be overcome in a moment. But let us not forget that anti-Zionists are themselves in a hopeless minority. Who are our opponents? Not, as would be supposed by the vehemence of the anti-Zionists, the whole of the civilised world, only the majority of the Jews of the world, for Dr. Max Nordau was right when he said that Zionism has no enemies outside the Jewish people. Personally, I attach no value one way or the other as to our being in a minority judged from one point of view, or as to anti-Zionists being in a minority judged from another. At least we have this on our side—the strong faith, the unbending purpose, the unswerving energy and the determination to succeed, which, unless the history of the world is to be belied, means that we have success on our side.

It is this feeling which, prevalent this year in so much larger proportion than in previous years, counts for the spread of a stronger and a soberer demeanour in the Congress, and it is this demeanour which superficial observers have mistaken for a waning of interest in the cause.

It follows, therefore, that the third Congress was businesslike: its chief results were the confirmation of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and the passing of a Code of Constitution, binding together into one immense organisation Zionist Societies throughout the world.

And this clearly goes to prove that it is our opponents and not we who are the impatient ones, that it is our opponents who expect that two thousand years of exile and suffering are to be remedied in a few months. It is the anti-Zionists who, without giving our great leader their hearts, have lost their heads; and who now have the temerity to taunt him with not having done what no Zionist ever intimated as possible. I know that such words as those used by Dr. Herzl at the Assembly Hall last October have been quoted, when he spoke of our movement taking definite shape at no very distant date. But such an expression must be comparative. Nine months, under some circumstances, might be a distant date, but nine months in comparison with two thousand years of exile needs no comparison!

Not that the Congress was by any means devoid of enthusiasm. Dr. Herzl's reception at its opening was a welcome that is only accorded to princes among peoples. The torrent of enthusiasm aroused by Dr. Max Nordau's address I have never seen equalled, except at the last Basle Congress. Anyone who saw all this will understand the futility of imagining for one single moment that Zionists will go back one single step in their determination to make Israel effectually what it is in fact—a nation. And to suppose that this aspiration is to be satisfied by treating Palestine as an archaeological curiosity, which is to be merely preserved and kept in repair like some ancient monument, is to misread entirely and to misunderstand completely the great and abiding faith which is the soul of Jewish Nationalism.

But all the enthusiasm of the Congress was not spent upon Dr. Herzl and Dr. Max Nordau. Dr. Mandelstamm, the professor beloved of all, with a calm, quiet exterior which hides the quenchless fire of a noble soul, received a perfect ovation when, as Vice-President, he took the Chair, and a greeting no less hearty was awarded to Dr. Gaster when he took his turn of presiding. The Haham holds an almost unique position in the Zionist world. Others have a larger general influence, but I can recall none whose personal influence is more extensive. For instance, the Russian "Chasid" Section are anxious about "Culture."—Dr. Gaster, as the only Vice-President who is an "orthodox" Jew, is appealed to. The Roumanians want larger representation—Dr. Gaster is a Roumanian. The Americans require something else—American Zionists are largely Spanish and Portuguese Jews, and Dr. Gaster is the Haham; while, naturally, among English Zionists he is *facile princeps* leader. If he is not precisely the Paul of Zionism—"all things to all men"—he is a remarkable instance of cosmopolitanism concentrated in the Jew. Friday in Congress Week was the birthday of the Austrian Emperor, and Dr. Gaster preached the sermon. He thus presented the curious spectacle of a Roumanian, who is an English Chief Rabbi, preaching in German a sermon in a Swiss town in honour of an Austrian potentate. Could Cosmopolitanism

further go! The reception accorded to Sir Francis Montefiore was a markedly hearty tribute to the great name he bears—one of the few Anglo-Jewish ones, by the bye, known in foreign Jewries apart from the Zionist movement. His fair-complexioned, closely-shaven face, his tall, well-knit figure and his somewhat *diletante* manner, all these stood out in singular contrast upon the background made up of Polish Rabbis, who stood behind him when he delivered his address.

And this brings me to ask, do these Congresses of Jews from all parts of the world present any definite type? I am told that when Mr. Zangwill asked himself the same question at the first Congress, he concluded, that no definite type was noticeable—that the Congress was composed just of Russians and Germans, French and English. If I may venture to say so—assuming what I am told, Mr. Zangwill really did say—my observation of two Congresses leads me to the conclusion that at most he was but partially right. It is a fact that it would not be a difficult thing to cut up the Congress into sections according to the countries in which the individuals composing the Sections reside. But, having done so you would not have bodies of English, French, Germans and Russians—in every case they would present a difference from the national types. And that difference is composed of just the Jewish characteristics which form the common psychological bond of the Congress. In truth "all Israel are brethren," but in something more than mere religious sympathy and traditional inter-communality. If men's features, manner and bearing are the outward and visible signs that tell of their inner natures and their upbringing, then the psychological bond of which I have spoken must betoken a common history with common aspirations, common hopes, stretching forward to a common future. And this identity between men is the essential elemental nucleus of all that we understand by nationality and national entity.

Some of the names of the delegates to whom reference has already been made, will tell that the Congress was attended by some eminent men. But they will give no idea of the strong intellectual force that was present. Well nigh everyone seemed either a Dr., a Professor, or a Rabbi—the "distinguished" ones were those of us who possessed no titular prefix to our names. To give a list of the delegates intellectually eminent in one branch or another would necessitate the cataloguing of two-thirds of the Congress. England once again showed up poorest in this respect. Our list included one Rabbi-doctor, two Rabbis, one Doctor of Medicine, and one Bachelor of Laws, out of some twenty-five—and the Doctor of Medicine was unable to be present. I mention the high intellectuality presented by the Congress, so that it shall not be thought, as has been often asserted, that Zionism appeals only to the "untrained mind."

Nor let it be thought that Zionism has made no progress during the last twelve months because so few new names were to be found amongst the delegates. Those of us who know the details of the returns presented by the various "Land-groups," or Federations, know that the number of adherents to the Cause has made large strides. A year which brought in the subscription to the Jewish Colonial Trust, and a largely increased shchel subscription as well, cannot be pronounced a year in which the Cause has gone back. For recollect, this is a people's movement—the rich men who are active Zionists would scarcely make Minyan. It is the ability to obtain a willing sacrifice which is the test of the strength of any movement, and I have no hesitation in saying that no Jewish movement in modern times has called for, and been responded to with anything approaching the willing sacrifice of time, money, energy and thought as has the Zionist Cause.

That Zionists have voted the Congress a complete success will easily be gathered from the observations I have already made upon it. For my part, I have no hesitation in declaring it the most successful of all the three Congresses that have been held. Because, it showed itself not alone able to devote itself to the practical side of our work but to do so without ebbing one iota from the high-water mark of idealism which our leaders have rightly fixed as the standard of our movement. The danger that it might not be able to do so, was one some of us feared and expressed. Our fears were groundless. If Bank and Organization are the fruits of the Congress—nothing called forth more real enthusiasm than the "Culture" Question, and no references in any of the speeches were more loudly cheered than those that made mention of the Jew's highest hopes and his highest aspirations.

So another Congress has been brought through its deliberations with conspicuous success! Who a few years ago would have believed it possible to form a Congress of Jews from all parts of God's earth—many of the delegates speaking only their own native tongue—most of them nurtured in all the suspicion, the distrust, the jealousy and the animus, that mark for the most part the "relations" between nation and nation, and that are inseparable from differences of religious thought and opinion? Let me say quite frankly, I believe it never would have been possible without a Herzl. His supreme powers of leadership, his wonderful never-failing tact, his capacity to subordinate trifles to great principles, his unbounded faith in the ultimate oneness of the Jewish people—these have endowed him with means which before he exercised them appeared in the region of the miraculous.

Well, our leader has pointed the way—we shall go steadily on; faltering not at the bidding of croaking prophecies, refusing to be lured by those who urge us to be content with the jerry-built shanty of mere colonisation, instead of the stately edifice of our national hopes, because the former is so much easier to attain than the latter. We shall go steadily on. The sneers and the jeers of those in whose behalf we are working—nay, whose rightful work we are doing—will not deter us. The Hebrew in Egypt, his limbs shackled with bonds of servitude, he—poor helot—was so steeped in the despair which slavery breeds, that he denounced his deliverer, and declared that Moses made his lot but the harder. Shall we then be deterred because Jews, to-day, not after 400 years but after 2,000 years of degradation, at the hands not of one single Power, but of the whole world, is sunk in a lethargy which has paralysed their moral fibre and which has left them but sufficient energy to beg to be left alone in the state to which their degradation has brought them? Our duty—those of us who from the higher plane of Zionism can descry the burdens of our people—our duty is clear. And if, as Dr. Max Nordau declared, "Israel expects every man to do his duty," Israel can rest assured that the Zionist at least, in that respect, will not be found wanting.

L. J. G.

[The Full Report of the proceedings at the Congress at Basle—continued from last week—is given on pages 18–22.]

THE THIRD BASLE CONGRESS.

[FROM OUR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.]

Having been able to give only a very brief account in my telegrams of the proceedings at the Congress on Wednesday and Thursday, I now report in full the meetings on those days, as well as on Friday, the concluding day.

SECOND DAY.—MORNING SITTING.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 16TH.

Dr. HERZL, in taking the chair, announced the receipt of a batch of telegrams, among them being one from Mr. Clarence de Sola, Montreal, in the name of the Zionists in Canada.

Dr. Herzl then vacated the chair, which was taken by Professor Dr. MANDELSTAMM, one of the Vice-Presidents.

Dr. FRIEDEMANN (Berlin) reported, in the name of the Committee for the Verification of Candidates' Mandates, that they were in the agreeable position of declaring all to be valid.

Dr. SOLIS COHEN, of Philadelphia, who had been chosen Chairman of the Finance Committee by his colleagues on that body, reported that they had appointed a Sub-Committee (Mr. J. Cowen being one of their number) to audit the accounts submitted the previous day by Dr. Kokesch, on behalf of the Actions Committee. The Sub-Committee had ceased work at one o'clock at night and had resumed it at eight o'clock in the morning. It may be mentioned here that so heavy was the work and so carefully must it have been performed, that the Finance Committee were not in a position to present their report to the Congress until seven in the evening.

Report of the Actions Committee.

The debate on the Report of the Actions Committee, which was adjourned on the previous evening, was then resumed. It occupied the whole of the sitting and had not concluded when the Congress adjourned at two o'clock. For the most part the discussion was a tedious affair; matters relevant and irrelevant were dwelt upon at great length, and when a Russian delegate happened to speak in his own language, the substance of his speech had to be translated.

The first speaker was Dr. MENSCHEL (Czernowitz), and as his theme, the condition of the Jews in Galicia, was one of general interest, some of his remarks deserve reproduction. He declared, as representative of the Galician Jews, that the distress in Galicia and the Bukovina could not be described in words, and that it was far worse than the lot of the Jews in Russia and Roumania. One must have a heart of stone not to do something for these poor people. The Actions Committee must in future carry on the propaganda more strenuously in Galicia, and must send such men as Dr. Herzl himself.

In connection with the propaganda, I may also quote the observation of Herr Birkenstein (Frankfort), who alleged that the Actions Committee did not devote sufficient attention to Germany, which should be the first aim of the agitation, for as soon as Germany were won over to the cause, the whole of Western Europe would follow suit. He also expressed a wish that next year the Congress might be held elsewhere. Herr Birkenstein does not stand alone in this desire, for Basle is not a lively place in which to spend several days; but from a reply that fell from the lips of Herr Marmorek in the afternoon, the Actions Committee are not likely to abandon that city.

Dr. Werner's (Vienna) speech may also be singled out from the rest as worthy of notice. In order to avoid misrepresentations by opponents, he asked Dr. Herzl for an explanation of the passage in his opening address, in which he spoke of obtaining "a Charter under the sovereignty of his Majesty the Sultan." Dr. Werner was anxious to know whether this passage denoted a narrowing down of the Programme, for while Dr. Herzl only spoke of a Turkish Charter, the Basle Programme spoke of publicly guaranteed rights, by which phrase all the Powers were understood to be included. Dr. Werner also criticised the insufficient data in the Report on the subject of internal propaganda, and he asked for the appointment of local committees in order that the agitation in Vienna and Berlin might be carried on more energetically.

Although Dr. Herzl's reply to Dr. Werner's question was not given until the following day, it will simplify matters if the reply be stated at once. Dr. HERZL said that his opening address had been submitted to and approved by the Actions Committee, and that, therefore, there could be no question of any limitation of the programme, the Magna Charta, of the Congress. The line he had sketched out was the first practical step to be taken.

After several other delegates had brought forward matters affecting the movement in their respective countries, a five minutes' rule for speakers was adopted, on the motion of Dr. SOLIS COHEN (Philadelphia).

An exception was made in favour of Herr MOTZKIN, whose speech caused considerable excitement. He complained that the decision of last year's Congress with reference to the Statutes of the Bank had not been carried out. The Bank, he said, must confine its operations to Palestine and Syria, and not extend them to any other part of the world. He had also to criticise the form of the agitation. Palestine was not to be obtained as quickly as some people imagined; and those who thought that this could be accomplished at once were not true Zionists. He, therefore, regretted to read a passage in Dr. Herzl's speech in London last October, on this point, and held that promises should not be made which could not be realised. Were they blind that they expected to have Palestine in two or three years. What they wanted was honesty, not bluff.

Great uproar followed, which lasted for several moments. A delegate sitting near to me, shouted: "We will not allow Dr. Herzl's words to be criticised." To which his nearest neighbour retorted: "We have not yet included a *lèse majesté* paragraph in our Statutes."

Dr. HERZL regarded the charge of Herr Motzkin of sufficient importance to intervene in the debate, and he took the opportunity to reply also to other speakers. Dr. Herzl said, as regards his London speech, that far from having said too much, he had said too little; new facts had arisen, of which many present were aware. He was addressing a meeting of poor Jews in the East End of London, and it was necessary to give a stimulus to their faith. As to the alteration in the Bank's statutes, Dr. Herzl read a telegram, sent last December to the Bank Committee, directing that the decisions of the Congress should be scrupulously carried out. He dwelt on the relations between local organisations and the Actions Committee, and then proceeded to speak of the Shekel Collection. This, he said, took the form of a contribution towards the costs of administration. The necessity for such a contribution was not shared by many who were yet good Zionists. He had reason, therefore, to believe that the Zionist army was much greater than appeared from the number of Shekel contributors.

He next touched on a delicate question—that of Culture. He could only, he declared, repeat the declaration that it was not the object of the Congress to discuss religious questions, if such questions were included in culture. In that respect, they were not a whit less Jewish than the Rabbis, who, when they met together, excluded religious matters from their deliberations.—(Laughter.) It would not strengthen their movement to allow such matters to be introduced. The Congress respected every shade of religious belief, just as it respected every shade of political opinion. Zionists were good, nationally-disposed Jews—(great cheering)—and broad humanity was the soil on which they worked. In conclusion, Dr. Herzl severely denounced the attitude of anti-Zionists. He could understand Jews not being Zionists, and he respected their opinion, but he could not understand Jews carrying on so virulent a campaign against Zionism, as many of them did. Amid the applause of the Congress, he expressed the hope that the time would come when justice would be done to the men who were working their best for the cause.

The morning sitting then terminated.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

Professor Dr. MANDELSTAMM again presided. At the outset he caused some amusement to the English present by reading a congratulatory telegram from, as he said, one of the most influential bodies in London—the Maccabæans. The delegates cheered vociferously, the Englishmen looked at each other, and then at the telegram, for they instinctively knew there must be a mistake. The telegram emanated from the "Ancient Order of Maccabæans" in the East End of London—a Society of which neither the Chairman nor the delegates had ever heard. Dr. Mandelstamm proved himself a weak Chairman. The five minutes' rule was in operation, but he allowed every speaker double that time before he "pulled them up," and then, when they pleaded for a few minutes longer, he permitted them to continue.

Dr. GASTER, who followed Dr. Mandelstamm, was a Chairman of a much firmer stamp. No matter who might be the speaker, when his five minutes expired Dr. Gaster stopped him, and he had to leave the tribune.

Nearly the whole of the afternoon was again devoted to the Report of the Actions Committee. The only incident worth recording was a statement deliberately made by Herr York-Steiner, that the Machnayim Colony of Galicians in Palestine is non-existent, and that when he was in Palestine he saw seven so-called colonists, of whom only one was physically fitted for work. He considered that Dr. Herzl had done wrong in shielding the Ahawas Zion Society in Tarnow (Galicia), which wished to betray him.

The tedious discussion at length came to a close, and Herr OSCAR MARMOREK briefly replied on the whole debate. He hoped the wish that had been expressed for a change in the place of meeting would not be pursued. The Jews had been wanderers long enough, and till they were able to go to Jerusalem let the Zionists adhere to Basle, which had received them so hospitably, and around which so many pleasant memories were clustered.

The Finances.—A Scene.

Dr. SOLIS COHEN brought up the report of the Finance Committee, which he read in English. It was to the effect that the Sub-Committee had examined the accounts, and had found them correct. The Committee expressed its thanks to Dr. Kokesch for his services, and its appreciation of the careful manner in which the Shekel collection (amounting in the aggregate to 114,370 francs) had been controlled.

Dr. FREUDENBERG, as representative of one of the greatest Jewish communities in the world, moved a vote of confidence in Dr. Herzl, in the Great and in the Vienna Actions Committees.

Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH then ascended the tribune and addressed the meeting in English as follows: I desire to associate myself in the vote of confidence which has been proposed, but on the question of the accounts I have a few remarks to make. In the discussion yesterday, objection was raised to the scant recognition given by the Actions Committee to the work of the English Zionists. For my own part I have no sympathy with the turn of mind which pretends to raise distinctions between Jew and Jew according to the countries in which they happen to live. On the other hand I protest most strongly against distinctions of this kind being raised against those who, like myself, are of English birth; as if we who have come to this Congress from across the seas have any other objects in view than those of the general body of Zionists. The strength of our movement lies exactly in this; that in these great international meetings—and later on in the greater national gathering in our promised land—we can bring together for our common cause the finest qualities, the most approved methods, and the best tried ideas of the countries in which we have spent the years of our dispersion. There should be no jealousy between us on this point, but rather the greatest emulation and desire to avail ourselves of the powers which each can bring to the development and security of the national movement. I think it is an objection to the report of the Actions Committee, and to their action in some minor aspects that they have not had sufficient regard to this policy, and that they have shown some distaste for, and restlessness under, criticism and advice directed to them from the point of view of English-



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THIS YEAR'S ZIONIST POSTCARD.
Facsimile, full size.

Zionists. It has not always been so, and I do not think it is the desire of the Congress, for when it was desired to found the Jüdische Colonial Bank as the financial instrument of Zionism, it was to England that the Congress turned, in order that this all-important agency for Zionist work might be regulated and controlled in accordance with the universally recognised traditions of British finance, which are the sample and type of solidity and regularity all the world over. We have endeavoured to uphold those traditions in the honourable work which has been delegated to us in the establishment of the financial instrument of the Congress, and perhaps so far as our own ease and comfort are concerned, we have performed that duty too strictly and too conscientiously; but at all events we have so far safe-guarded the interests of the Congress and the subscribers who have fixed their hopes on the success of the Jewish Colonial Trust. We have in the course of our work offended, perhaps, certain interests and certain prejudices, but we have never failed in our duty as Zionists and as Englishmen, bearing always in mind the maxim with which Dr. Max Nordau wound up his magnificent address: "England" (for us, "Israel") "expects every man to do his duty." In that same spirit of fulfilment of duty, apart from all consequences and all personal predilections, I come now to make one or two observations on the accounts of the Actions Committee which I find incomplete and unsatisfactory on several material points. I will not offer any elaborate financial criticism of the Committee's accounts, which are, without doubt, absolutely trustworthy so far as they go; but it is not right that we should be satisfied by an array of figures which do not give the information to which this Congress is clearly entitled, and which it is necessary for it to have if it is to appeal in future years for the support of those who send in their shekels to the Central Committee in the full assurance that they are forming a fund for the achievement of our National objects. I refer first to the so-called balance of 61,000 francs brought forward without explanation as the result of the first year's work of this movement. I was astonished when I first heard Dr. Kokesch's statement to find that the accounts presented were to begin with this sum, instead of giving the whole of the receipts and expenditure from the beginning of the movement. There were reasons last year which satisfied the Congress that it was not opportune, as Dr. Herzl expressed it, to disclose the details of the accounts at that time; but it may I think, be generally understood that the full publication of the accounts was only postponed, and I fail entirely to understand how it is that if the income and the expenditure for the current year can now be disclosed, the particulars necessary to explain how this balance of 61,000 francs for the first year was arrived at, are still withheld. But we see from the figures which are vouchsafed to us that this so-called balance of 61,000 francs never in fact existed, for there are deductions from it to the extent of some 26,000 francs for expenses, which reduce it to nearly one half the originally stated sum. On the other side of the accounts, while such items as 130 francs for the expenses of "Agitation" in Italy are set out, no less than 68,403 francs (or much more than one half the total shekels for the year) are disposed of under the heading of "Agitation and Travelling Expenses in other Countries." I have not the slightest doubt personally that every one of those 68,403 francs has been laid out in the furtherance of the Zionist Movement, according to the views of the responsible leaders at Vienna; but it is, I think, playing with the subscribers and the Congress to put forward such a statement as a proper financial account of the operations of the Actions Committee during the past year. We are entitled, and indeed bound to ask what is the meaning of this general description, "Agitation and Travelling Expenses in other Countries," which has absorbed more than half of the national subscription for the year, and none of us, I think, would be inclined or dare to ask our supporters to subscribe fresh shekels for the expenses of the Actions Committee, if we are not furnished, for the satisfaction of our constituents, with a proper explanation of the ambiguous description of expenses, which is put forward to stand service for an account in the so-called Treasurer's statement. It would be a bad precedent for the regulated conduct of our whole movement, whether in connection with this financial work or that of the Jewish Colonial Trust, if we were to accept such an account; and while supporting the vote of confidence, I move that the accounts be not now passed, but referred back to the Actions Committee with instructions to furnish within the next fourteen days a detailed account of the income and expenditure for the past two years to every delegate, for communication to their constituents in the different countries from which the subscriptions have proceeded.

Mr. A. SCHOENFELD (Glasgow) seconded the motion.

Dr. HERZL, in reply, said that it was difficult to give details of every item of a journey to this or that place in the interests of the movement. The details asked for by Mr. Bentwich had been laid before the Finance Committee.

A scene of considerable excitement then occurred. One delegate after the other rose and vehemently declared in the name of their respective countries that they did not wish to have any details and that they had the fullest confidence in the manner in which the Actions Committee had spent the money entrusted to them. Dr. Gaster then made the only *finesse* that can be laid to his door in connection with the whole Congress. Forgetting the dignity that should surround the Presidential chair, he allowed himself to be carried away by his feelings, and, in impassioned language, while sharing on behalf of English Zionists the fullest confidence in Dr. Herzl, he repudiated (not as erroneously telegraphed) Mr. Bentwich's action, but the insinuation of some of the speakers that that gentleman was actuated by doubts whether the money had been spent honestly. It is only just to Dr. Gaster, while criticising the form of his intervention, to state that he wished to vacate the chair in order to speak as an individual, but was not permitted to do so by those around him. I have reason to believe that underlying the manifestation of confidence in Dr. Herzl was a sentiment of hostility to the English generally. When the excitement had subsided,

Dr. HERZL, who was greeted with deafening cheers, said that there were no secret items in the balance-sheet, but they might compromise and lose the co-operation of valued workers on the Actions Committee, none of whom were paid for their services, if a discussion took place respecting sums paid to them in connection with journeys they had undertaken. It would be inopportune to go into details in public.

Mr. BENTWICH declared that he had only performed a public duty in the course he had taken. He had so acted not out of unfriendliness to the Actions Committee, but solely in the interests of the cause, and therefore begged to withdraw his motion.

The vote of confidence moved by Dr. FREUDENBERG was then carried by acclamation, every member of the Congress rising as it was put from the chair. The report was then adopted.

The Jewish Colonial Trust—A late Sitting.

Dr. Herzl then took the chair, and called upon Herr D. Wolffsohn (Cologne), Chairman of the Bank Committee, to read the report of that body.

The Report dealt with the labours of the Committee in bringing about the establishment of the Jewish Colonial Trust, and with its successful launching.

The matters touched upon are already public property, and need therefore not be repeated. Indeed, the Report was little more than a formal document.

As the evening was already advanced the sitting was suspended at nine o'clock for an hour, but it was nearly eleven o'clock before the proceedings were resumed, and it was a quarter past one before the sitting was brought to a close. As I surmised in my letter despatched prior to the opening of the Congress, the Russians had a great deal to say about the Bank, and the discussion was almost entirely confined to them. On their behalf a considerable number of proposed alterations were submitted. The principal alterations were directed to par. 1 of Article III. of the Memorandum of Association, which permits business being carried on elsewhere than Palestine or Syria. But apart from this point strong objection was raised to the issuing of Founders' Shares as being opposed to democratic principles.

Dr. HERZL announced that the Actions Committee were not prepared to accept most of the alterations proposed; and he begged the Congress not to upset in one short hour the work of six months. Some of the points raised could, however, be considered by the Committee, who, if they agreed with any of the suggested alterations, might submit them to the next Congress.

The discussion had not concluded when the meeting terminated.

THIRD DAY.—MORNING SITTING.

Dr. Herzl and Mr. Bentwich.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 17TH.

In opening the proceedings, Dr. HERZL said that since the previous evening he had re-considered Mr. Bentwich's request for details of the expenditure of 68,403 francs for "Propaganda and Travelling Expenses in the Remaining Portions of the World" (Russia, Roumania and Italy had been specifically mentioned). Mr. Bentwich had asked that this should be done in a fortnight, but a fortnight was too long; so much could happen in that time. While still adhering to his opinion that it would be impolitic to give particulars of outlays on behalf of individuals, he would furnish the different items which made up the sum of 68,403 francs. Dr. Herzl then read out a variety of figures. Some of the amounts were small, but the principal items were: 8,422 francs, expenses on account of travelling lecturers; 15,589 francs, travelling expenses in connection with propaganda; 7,200 francs, pamphlets; 16,376 francs, subventions; 12,957 francs press subventions. The newspapers subventioned were naturally not named, but Dr. Herzl mentioned that *Die Welt*, the official Zionist organ, had not received a single centime from the funds.

Dr. Herzl's statement was received with loud cheers.

The Colonial Trust.

The debate on the report of the Bank Committee was resumed and lasted throughout the morning sitting.

Dr. HERZL declared that the Actions Committee had promised to issue Founders' Shares to the Directors of the Bank who had rendered distinguished services to it, and who, far from receiving any payment, had themselves made considerable pecuniary sacrifices. That promise, which had been made in the name of the Congress, could not be withdrawn. If the Congress was against the distribution of further Founders' Shares this year, the Actions Committee would not oppose such a course, but he asked that the promise already made should be confirmed as an act of justice and gratitude.

A proposal to close the list of speakers—a heavy one—was carried, but when shortly afterwards the closure was moved, the tellers declared the numbers for and against to be equal. Dr. Herzl declining to give a casting vote the debate proceeded. As Chairman, it became his duty to interpose with some explanations, and no sooner did he resume his seat than a Russian, on a point of order, denounced Dr. Herzl's intervention. After it had been decided to close the list of speakers, a terrific din ensued. It was evident that many of the Russians, who formed half of the Congress, were showing a nasty spirit. To such an extent was this manifest, that

Dr. JASINOWSKY, of Warsaw, rose to pour oil on the troubled waters. He is a man of distinguished presence, with beard and hair turning white, and a speaker of great eloquence. He is one of the most distinguished of Russian lawyers, and was described to me as the Sir Charles Russell of his country. Dr. Jasinowsky implored the Congress to have the fullest confidence in their leaders, and he protested against the endeavours that were being made to alter laws before they had come into operation. Those who showed mistrust and pessimism were no longer Zionists, and were dangerous to the cause.

Herr WOLFFSOHN, on behalf of his co-Directors, declared their willingness to absolve the Actions Committee from their undertaking to issue them Founders' Shares. Their only object in accepting the offer was to serve the movement better.

Dr. TSCHLENOW (for Russian delegates) moved three resolutions to the effect: (1) That paragraph 1 of Article 3 of the Memorandum be altered so as to read: "To promote, develop, work and carry on Colonisation Schemes in the Orient, preferentially in Palestine and Syria," &c.; (2) That the other alterations proposed be submitted to a Committee, for consideration and report, to the next Congress; and (3) That until the alterations be accepted, no Founders' Shares shall be issued, and that no business shall be transacted except in Palestine and Syria.

Dr. BRUCK moved a vote of thanks to the Directors and the confirmation of the granting to them of Founders' Shares.

At the close of the discussion, Mr. HERBERT BENTWICH, Solicitor to the Jewish Colonial Trust, made the following statement: I ask the indulgence of the meeting in the first instance to express my thanks to Dr. Herzl for his prompt and courteous compliance with my request of yesterday to furnish explanations of the items in the balance sheet of the Actions Committee. There never was and never could be any question of my absolute trust and confidence in the work of Dr. Herzl and his colleagues, and I am glad that my interpellation has afforded him the opportunity of giving the necessary information to the larger public, who may learn it outside this Congress. I desire also to thank the eminent jurist, Dr. Jasinowsky, for the lucid statement made by him on the juridical aspects of the question raised during this discussion on the constitution of the Jewish Colonial Trust. I associate myself entirely with the view which he has expressed as to the undesirability and inefficiency of any discussion here of any questions of detail of the constitution, and on the necessity of recognising that, for the purposes of the Congress, the great object to be secured was the reservation of absolute control over the financial institution in the delegates of the Jewish people represented at the Congress from year to year. It has, of course, been a difficult matter to name that control, because the Jewish people is not at present "a juridical person," nor is the Congress, which has no permanent existence as a defined body or corporation. But so far as is at all practicable, the final and absolute control over the operations of this financial instrument of Zionism has been secured by a series of documents of which the Articles of Association of the Trust form only a part. The Trust Deed—which binds the holders of the Founders' Shares to utilise them, and the powers conferred by them simply and solely for such purposes or objects and in such manner and in all respects as the Council for the time being of the Company (which is practically the Actions Committee appointed by the Congress from year to year) may at any time appoint or direct—does in fact reserve for the Congress the full control over

all the operations of the Company. Objection has been raised during the discussion to the recognition, even to the limited extent shown by the prospectus, of nominated trustees or holders of Founders' Shares outside those who may be "representatives for the time being of the Actions Committee" which it has, with some fairness, been urged is a departure from the democratic principle on which the whole of Zionist movement and its financial instrument is intended to be based. The democratic principle cannot be imperilled if life-nominations are made by the Congress itself in favour of those who, in the words of the Trust Deed, "have rendered important services either to the cause of Zionism or the Company." But beyond and above this, it is specially provided in the Trust Deed that even such life trustees may be compelled to give up the Founders' Shares conferred on them if this shall be requested by a majority of five-sixths of the Trustees appointed by the Congress for the time being, to resign trusteeship, so that this supreme control even over their nominated Trustees is reserved to the Congress itself in the last instance. Apart from the matters of details which have been dealt with in the course of the discussion, there is only one other matter to which I need at this moment give particular attention, and that is the question of proposed alteration of the words of the Memorandum of Association which give power to extend the operations of the Trust to parts of the world outside Palestine and Syria. That is a matter of entirely verbal arrangement on which, naturally, laymen and jurists are likely to differ. It is necessary perhaps to explain that according to the universal practice in English company statutes the widest possible statement is given to the objects of the company and in the most general terms, so that every conceivable matter of business which may have to be undertaken by a company in the course of its unlimited existence may as far as possible be covered so that its operation may not be stultified by being *ultra vires*. It will be seen, therefore, that not only the clause in question, but every one of the thirty-one paragraphs stating the objects of the company are set out in such general terms that the subscribers and the Congress itself are absolutely protected against any misuse of powers. It would be irregular, therefore, and I think dangerous, even if it were possible, to make any alteration in the objects of the Company as stated in the Memorandum. I think that the desires of those who have spoken on the subject will be fully met by the passing of a resolution expressing in plain terms the desire of this Congress that the operations of the Trust shall be absolutely confined to Palestine and Syria without reference to any other land. Such a resolution, if properly carried out by a confirmatory meeting of shareholders of the Company, may be made to have an absolutely binding effect on the Council and Directors of the Company, and I should strongly recommend you to take that course rather than to commence tampering with the Statutes of the Company, which is always a dangerous process, and might create a bad precedent for future operations of the Congress, and the shareholders of the Company in their general meetings. You may accept my assurance that your desires will be fully carried out by the proposed resolution without altering the Statutes, and I hope you will not go beyond that step.

Dr. HERZL announced that the Actions Committee could not accept the first portion of the third resolution, but were willing, as already stated, to suspend the issue of further Founders' Shares.

The time had now arrived for a vote to be taken, but before this could be done, it was proposed that the vote should be adjourned until the afternoon sitting. The tellers reported 83 votes for and 91 against the motion; but as doubts were expressed as to the accuracy of the counting, Dr. HERZL, as Chairman, adjourned the vote.

AFTERNOON SITTING.

The Colonial Trust Again.

As soon as Dr. Herzl assumed the chair, he took the vote on Dr. Tschlenow's motions. Interest centred in the motion dealing with Founders' Shares, to which an amendment was moved on behalf of the Actions Committee, to the effect that the Founders' Shares already promised should be issued, but that the issue of further shares should be suspended.

When this amendment was put to the vote a forest of hands was held up in its favour and only seven against. The amendment was therefore declared carried amid great cheering. The other motions were adopted. The *colle facie* of the Russians is a tribute to the all-powerful influence of Dr. Herzl. During the adjournment they held a meeting and after an exciting discussion decided to give way. Thus a serious difficulty was removed, but as will be seen from the report of the meeting of the shareholders of the Trust, Herr WOLFFSOHN stated that in the circumstances the Directors would not accept the Founders' Shares.

The vote of thanks to the Directors was unanimously agreed to.

Drs. Herzl, Belkovsky, Bodenheimer and Rosenbaum were appointed a Commission to consider the proposed alterations in the Statutes of the Trust.

The Distressed Jewish Miners at Boryslaw (Galicia).

A suggestion by Mrs. Richard Gottheil that an expression of sympathy with the miners at Boryslaw, which should take a practical form, should emanate from the women in the Congress, was agreed to. Mr. Bontwich urged that the male members should join. This was agreed to, and a collection was made which realised 1,000 francs.

Speech by Dr. Gaster on Culture.

"Culture" may be regarded as the step-child of the Congress. The bulk of the delegates are but slightly interested in the subject, which is left almost severely alone to Rabbis and scholars. This year it was not specifically mentioned in the agenda, but was included in the item of Reports of Standing Committees. It is the one subject to which Dr. Gaster is especially devoted, and it affords him the opportunity of making speeches in German which lack nothing in vigour and eloquence, and which, in theatrical parlance, bring down the house. Only those who have heard him deliver these speeches know how thorough an orator he is.

Dr. GASTER received an ovation as he entered the tribune. He said: I had expected that the culture question would have formed part of Organisation, for practically it is incumbent on us to organise, not only the material strength, but also and especially the moral strength of our nation. I have, however, been called upon to communicate to you what the Culture Committee has to report. In accomplishment it is little, yet in reality much: little of what it has accomplished, much of what is hoped. I appear like a dreamer, and I must admit that I expect you will exclaim, as was the case in ancient times: "Here comes the dreamer again to tell us his dreams." As a matter of fact, our culture question is one of the greatest prophetic dreams of our people, the greatest prophetic vision, which our people have cherished throughout thousands of years; the greatest ideal which has hovered before the spiritual sight, and which has deeply influenced the lives of our people. Every people and every individual is influenced by an ideal, which dwells for a long time in their horizon. When a nation is attracted by the beauty of nature, its soul, its spirit involuntarily follows æsthetic beauty, and beauty is the result. When a people sets its eyes on an unwholesome ideal, such as vengeance and fury, then its ideal destroys all loftier aspirations, and it sinks by degrees, and loses its right to play a leading rôle in the affairs of mankind. We have always had a great ideal before us, which is not to be compared with the ideals that have influenced other nations, and we have pursued this ideal, undismayed, through thousands of years.

For we dream of possessing our own State on earth, where Justice and Love shall reign, and we name this heavenly State on earth the ideal of the Jewish people. It is entirely different to the efforts of the whole world, and therefore we have remained different, and—I assert it here—on a higher plane than all other nations of the world. For there is no other nation that can compare with ours. All the attempts that have been made against us, to degrade and persecute us, have failed, and we, as Zionists, now declare, we remain as true to our ideal as were our ancestors thousands of years ago. You will naturally ask me: What is the connection between this Heavenly state on earth with Zionism? In fact the connection is of the closest. The one is hope, the other is reality. We have now before our spiritual eyes the picture of the glorious future, and this is the secret of our eternity and indestructibility. If our bodies have been broken our spirit has never been broken. When the Temple of ancient times was destroyed the leaders of the spiritual party asked of the Roman conquerors not the liberation of the Jewish people from slavery; they asked that the Jewish spirit should be liberated; they prayed for one modest thing, only to open a school. This school has never ceased to exist. Its doors once opened have never been closed, and through these portals the spirit of mankind has been created to return here in a purified form. We have acquired knowledge from all quarters; but we have also worked in every direction as spiritual teachers of the highest teachings. For we have taught what enthusiasm and self-sacrifice are capable of achieving, and we have given the world by example, how a people scattered, enslaved and persecuted, is yet able to follow an ideal summons, that of Zionism, not instinctively but with a thorough understanding. It is necessary that I should lay special emphasis on this, as I did last year, because in our debates and in the programme we have not sufficiently occupied ourselves with idealistic questions. Material needs and momentary necessities have been pushed into the foreground. But it must not be said that we assembled here solely for the purpose of organising ourselves or to raise money. Before aught else, we come here to declare that these are but secondary matters, a means to an end, an end that is far higher than these petty questions. We work for the liberation of the mind, for the everlasting progress of mankind, and for everything that is great and powerful in its spiritual aspect. For this reason, the question of culture must not be stifled, but must be discussed in this connection with our present situation. When I commenced I said that I am really coming with empty hands, but with a full heart. Naturally, actual progress consists in our working systematically. We do not wish to achieve everything at once. When we learn discipline we shall gradually be able to understand the development of progress. We are now engaged in telling our people what we wish and in what manner our wishes can be accomplished. For the moment, we can only express a pious wish, for our means are limited. The mind of our people is not yet enlightened. We cannot write a catechism of Judaism. We cannot mix ourselves up in religious questions. We can only teach respect for the Holy Writ. We do not, however, bring these questions into our discussions. But if we are all of us on a ship which is propelled on the waves of hatred, there is yet a light-house which shows us the way to the haven of rest, of liberation, of spiritual bliss. This is Culture: the knowledge that there is somewhere a centre of light which shows us the direct path in life. Naturally, there is also a spurious culture. As everybody knows who lives on the sea-coast, there are false lights which are kindled by the hand of an enemy in order to send a ship out of its proper course and perhaps to dash it against the rocks of ignorance, fanaticism and intolerance. That is not culture. Against that we fight. What we aim at is to reach the true haven. But we must guard against displaying the golden calf on the flag which flutters in the wind, on the flag of Jewish enthusiasm, on the flag of Zionism. Let us guard against stopping up the ventilators with golden doors. It has happened to us as it did to the captain in olden times, who, on a stormy sea could not bear the deafening noise, and called out to his sailors: "Cover up this opening so that I may not hear the din." The noise became less and less, and the ship safely reached the harbour. But the passengers on the ship were suffocated. This must not occur in our case. We must enter our holy land spiritually fresh, and with new life. We must learn to free ourselves from the dross which has clung to our spirit for so many centuries. We wish to show the nations that there is a view of the world entirely different to that from which humanity suffers at present in Europe. Internal purification, the proper maintenance of the old ideal, the impulse that every Zionist, according to his own way of looking at things, should strive for in his own land—this is all that from this tribune we can proclaim to our Zionists and to our people. We say to our people: the dream is beginning to be realised, it depends on you in what form you shall participate in it. Not far from here, in Italy, there exist castles to which earth is brought from Palestine so that the dead may be buried in it. We also want a Campo santo, not for the purpose of burying the dead in earth which has been brought from Palestine, but a Campo santo, a Holy Camp, on the free soil of Palestine as a living nation. And now, in conclusion, what is there left for me to say? Only to remind you of an old legend, the legend of the Phoenix to which our wise men long ago compared our people. The Phoenix is immortal, but in a specified time it grows old and weak, and is consumed inwardly; it becomes ashes and only a very small germ remains. This the priest takes to Heliopolis, the city of the Sun, where he guards the germ and gradually the Phoenix develops, and when it is fully matured, it shakes its pinions and takes flight to the Sun to thank God for having permitted it to be born again. We also have been burnt and scattered like the ashes of the earth. Only the germ remains, and now we Zionists, the priests of the new age, we come to bring the germ to the City of the Sun, of truth, of fidelity, of devotion. We preserve it and shall preserve it until Judaism, like the Phoenix, rises again from its ashes and soars upwards to the sun of truth, carrying the nations with it. This is the Culture Question!

When Dr. Gaster concluded cheers renewed again and again broke forth, and as he returned to the platform everybody near him heartily shook him by the hand.

This subject may at once be dismissed in a few words. It came before the Congress on Friday, and several hours were occupied by a desultory discussion, during which able speeches were made by Herr Sokolow, Editor of the Hebrew paper *Hatzefirah*, of Warsaw, and Dr. Kahn, of Vienna. At one time less than thirty persons were present.

In connection with this subject I may state that earlier in the week a meeting of the Culture Committee was held, at which a speech of an hour's duration was made by Herr Aron Markus, now Chief of the Chassidim in Galicia, but formerly a merchant at Hamburg, where he was born. Herr Markus spoke without notes, and in the course of his speech he quoted from such well-known authors as Carlyle, Arnold, Ibsen, Mæterlinck, Tolstoi, Turgueneff, and others. He is a great linguist, and has a thorough mastery of the English language.

Organisation.

The subject of organisation was one of the most important before the Congress. It was down on the Agenda for Wednesday afternoon at four; but was not reached until Thursday afternoon at six o'clock. The delays and unpunctuality were the one unsatisfactory feature of the Congress, and they are to be attributable to the unpreparedness to which attention has already been called.

On behalf of the Organisation Committee, Dr. KLEE submitted a scheme, of which the following are the essential points:—

I. INTRODUCTION.

The Zionist Organisation comprises all Jews who declare themselves to be in agreement with the programme of the Zionist Congress and who are Shkel-contributors

The chief authority of the Zionist Organisation is the Congress, which is formed by the election of delegates by the various groups.

The Executive Power of the Congress is the Actions Committee.

II. ORGANISATION.

The Zionist Organisation is constituted in Land (Territorial) Committees and Districts.

The districts are divided for the general purposes of the movement into societies, and for the purposes of the election are divided into electoral groups.

The Societies are not limited as to membership. Each Society shall be governed by a Committee, elected by the members and approved by the Land Committee. Each Country has a Land Committee, but in extraordinary circumstances the Actions Committee has the right to establish Land Committees in different parts of a Country.

The Land Committee consists of the members of the Actions Committee of each country and the representatives of the various districts.

III. CONGRESS.

The Zionist Congress is held at least every two years at a place decided by the previous Congress. The Great Actions Committee is empowered in exceptionally important circumstances to convene the Congress earlier or elsewhere.

The objects of the Congress are: Consideration and adoption of reports of the Actions Committee. Drafting of the Zionist Programme. Consideration of programmes until the next election period. Election of Actions Committee and other Committees. Consideration of petitions and resolutions.

Only duly elected delegates elected by Shekel contributors shall take part in the Congresses.

Three weeks before the Congress, its Agenda shall be submitted to the various Land Committees. The Agenda shall be translated into the language of each country by the Land Committee.

The Reports of the Standing Committees to be presented to the Congress shall be printed in Hebrew, German, Yiddish, French, English and Russian, and shall be taken as read.

IV. ACTIONS COMMITTEE

The Executive Organ of the Committee is the Actions Committee, to be elected from one Congress to another, and only responsible to it, consisting of five members living in the same city (small Actions Committee), and of a Great Actions Committee.

The Smaller Actions Committee shall conduct the affairs of the Zionist movement, and for the consideration of weighty matters shall consult the Great Actions Committee at least once a year.

V. REVENUE OF THE ZIONIST ORGANISATION.

The revenue of the Zionist organisation consists of shekels, donations and contributions of all kinds.

The Shekel is the annual contribution of Zionists to meet the current expenditure of the Zionist movement.

Every member of an electoral group pays a Shekel, the minimum being (for England) one shilling.

Dr. Kokesch accepted the scheme, subject to two slight modifications, for the Actions Committee; and Dr. BODENHEIMER proposed that before the scheme was discussed it should be referred for consideration to the various Nationalities represented at the Congress. The motion was lost. But as a large number of delegates had given in their names to speak on the subject, and as an evening meeting was out of the question, owing to meetings having been fixed of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the discussion on Organisation was postponed until the next day.

FOURTH DAY.—MORNING SITTING.

Debate on Organisation.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 18TH.

The large number of empty seats which faced Dr. Herzl when he took the chair on Friday morning demonstrated the unwisdom of holding a meeting on that day. Several of the delegates had already left, either to find in the Swiss mountains relaxation from the heavy work of the week or to return to their homes. The feature of the sitting was a speech in German by Sir Francis Montefiore (who arrived late on the previous evening from Homburg) and who had a very enthusiastic reception. The name of Montefiore is still one to conjure with, especially among the Russian Jews, and the ovation which Sir Francis received would have been still greater had more of the Russians been present.

Speech by Sir Francis Montefiore.

The following is the text of Sir Francis Montefiore's speech:—
It is, I feel, necessary for me to commence my observations on this occasion with a couple of apologies. The first is that of addressing you, having but a recent official mandate to do so; but the fact is that it was quite impossible for me to have been able to be here at the commencement of the Congress, so that I could not attend here as the regular delegate of any Zionist Society, and yet I felt that it was quite impossible for me to absent myself from the people and the place to which my heart was so strongly drawing me, and, therefore, I can assure you, I do indeed feel most grateful to our honoured Chairman for his courtesy in thus permitting me to address you. My second apology is that I am compelled to read these remarks to you, instead of speaking them from the fulness of my soul, but my imperfect power to be able to express myself in the German language renders this step on my part desirable. Will you permit me to say that I offer my most sincere congratulations to all present for the great progress that Zionism is constantly making. It is, indeed, marvellous. For, just consider what the position of Zionism was but a short time back and what it is now. But a little time ago, the number of Zionists was a comparatively small one, now they are to be numbered by hundreds of thousands. It is only a short time since Zionism was denounced as the romantic folly of a few enthusiasts. Now even our most bitter opponents admit that it is a powerful movement, the strength of which is rapidly increasing. For my own part I do not think that there has ever in the whole history of the world been a cause which has excited greater enthusiasm. For remember that it has so strongly strengthened the national feeling in Israel that it has been able to bring back to a practical observance of their old faith many whose allegiance to Judaism had become but of the most nominal kind, and it must, I am certain, be clear to all of us how necessary that was. And then, see! It has been able now for the third time to draw together here to Basle from over the most distant lands and seas this band of men, who are determined to do their best to try to raise the people of Israel to their proper place among the nations of the earth. Surely the mere fact that Zionism has been able to do so much, and indeed it has done much more, proves in the most positive of all ways certainly far more eloquently than any words of mine could possibly do, how great is the Zionist movement and how deeply it has appealed to the Jewish people. It must ever be borne in mind that one of the great aims of Zionism is to try to relieve the condition of some of those of our ill-fated coreligionists whose lives are more unbearable than those of slaves. For many of them are compelled to dwell in lands where humanity and justice are practically non-existent, and too often, indeed, their whole existence is but one long misery. Never, I entreat you, abandon these unfortunate brethren of ours, but stand by them and uphold them to the best of your ability, and do we not all of us well know that the best and most practical way of helping those whom we desire to aid is to give them the means of helping themselves. Be not, I pray you, turned from your purpose by the absurd assertion of our enemies that Zionism will create ill-feeling between the Turkish Government and its Jewish subjects. It is quite untrue, for one of the great aims of Zionism is to endeavour to obtain from the Sultan, by peaceful and diplomatic means, such concessions as shall enable the Jewish people to establish legally safe-

guarded colonies in Palestine. To found colonies on a large scale without having legal safeguards is perfectly impossible, for what the Holy Land above all things requires, in order that it may be successfully developed, is the application of capital and labour, and assuredly no one ought to spend either capital or labour in a place where they are so insecure that they might any day be practically confiscated. Carelessness, and not want of fertility, is the reason for the present unsatisfactory state of Palestine, the natural resources of which might be so vastly developed that Major Conder, that greatest of all authorities on the subject, assures us that it could easily support a population ten times larger than the present one. Be not, I entreat you, stayed in your course by the scandalous assertion that Zionism is not orthodox, for, in the first place, Zionism has been approved of by many of the most pious members of our race. Men whose orthodoxy is world-renowned have adopted it without hesitation, and then, do we not all of us well know that our liturgy teems with passages praying that we may soon be restored to Jerusalem? Surely it cannot be unorthodox to believe in the efficacy of prayer? It must, I feel, have been a source of deep grief to all good Zionists to have found their aims and aspirations so shamefully misrepresented as they have been, for every species of abuse has been heaped on those who have taken up this great cause, and against many of our leaders the most dreadful accusations have been brought, and what has rendered this even more horrible, is the fact that a certain section of the Jewish Press have not hesitated to uphold those who thus traduce us. With regard, however, to this, will you permit me to offer you the same advice which I have already given to the English Zionists, namely, to avoid all undignified recriminations, and not merely to treat any calumnies which may be promulgated against us with the contempt which they deserve, but likewise to treat their authors with that courtesy and consideration which the supporters of a stronger and winning cause can so well afford to bestow on the supporters of a weaker and losing one. After all, let us remember that all this abuse has done us practically no harm, and has, indeed, generally recoiled on the heads of those who have published it. If only we are true to ourselves and our cause, we must eventually conquer. I do not, myself, think that any real danger will attack those who support Zionism, but even if it should be otherwise, remember that in such a case the post of danger becomes the post of honour, and it is, therefore, one which I feel convinced will be eagerly sought after by every loyal and patriotic Jew. There are some people I know who think that sentiment plays too large a part in the Zionist programme for that cause to be worthy of the consideration of serious people, but may I be allowed to remind those who hold these views that in the first place that Zionism has a strongly practical, as well as a deeply sentimental side, and that, moreover, that sentiment has always played so important a part in our history that without it the Jewish people would long ago have disappeared from off the face of the earth. The pioneers of almost every great movement have nearly always been held up to ridicule as being mere enthusiasts, and yet it should always be remembered that without enthusiasm no great work ever has been or ever can be accomplished. Let us also not forget that events march quickly, and that many things which a quarter of a century ago were regarded as impossible are at the present time within the range of practical politics. I do not deny the fact, for I am well aware of it, that Zionism has many difficulties to contend with. But what of that? Is that not the case with every great cause? And in the present instance there are assuredly none that may not be overcome by those essentially Jewish qualities, energy and perseverance. The way may be rough and stony, but just think how great is the prize to which it leads, for at the end of it there stands Jerusalem in all its glory. The great traveller, Burton, whose opinion on such a matter is certainly most important, tells us that if a million of Jews band themselves together, the Holy Land may be ours in the fullest acceptance of the term. Therefore, I entreat you, be not turned away from your purpose by those who say that the Zionist programme is an impossible one, and therefore ought not to be considered by us, for that is a gross and shameful libel. There are other things that are real and of importance besides the acquiring of wealth and the purchase of titles. But before bringing these few remarks of mine to a close, I feel that I must first tell you what very great pleasure it has given me to have been able to be present at this grand assembly of the élite of the Jewish nation, who are assembled together for the noblest of all purposes; for is it not one of the chief aims of Zionism to raise the people of Israel from their present position to one more worthy of their glorious traditions? And is not Zionism the beacon light which is showing us the way towards that land which for all true-hearted Jews must ever be the Land of Promise—that land which formerly belonged to our ancestors and which the Almighty Himself has declared shall once again be ours? And then let me entreat you, and most earnestly do I do so, to avoid every internal quarrel and dissension. Let no man strive for himself, but merely for the glory of the cause, while, speaking for myself, I can truly and honestly say, that though Zionism may have many more able and powerful supporters it has assuredly none more loyal and devoted than I am. Heart and soul am I with you. For ever since my earliest youth, ever since I first remember to have heard my uncle, Sir Moses Montefiore, talk on the subject, I have taken the deepest interest in all that concerns the Holy Land. My services, I can assure you, are ever at your command. For I shall, indeed, consider it the highest of all privileges if only, and in any way, be it even in the humblest of capacities, I can do but the least thing to further and promote this great and glorious cause.

Sir Francis was again greatly cheered when he resumed his seat.

The other speakers included Dr. SOLIS COHEN, Mr. DAVIS TRIETSCH and Herr BURER (Lemberg). The latter suggested that one of the days in Chanukah should be observed as a Zionist Day.

As there were still a large number of speakers, the debate was interrupted to permit of one speaker being selected for each country.

The Report was ultimately adopted.

Dr. HERZL's attention having been called to a printed invitation issued in the Hall to the delegates to attend a lecture on Socialist Zionism, in a public hall that evening, he severely censured this action which had been taken without previous application to the Executive. He also denounced any attempt to divide Zionists into cliques or parties.

FINAL SITTING.

Election of Committees.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON.

Dr. HERZL presided. The principal business was the election of Committees for the ensuing year. The two chief Committees were elected as follows:—

Greater Actions Committee: For Austria (exclusive of Galicia), Dr. Schreier, Brünn; and Dr. Weiss Gratz, Belgium, Herr Tompowsky, Bukowina, Dr. M. Ebner, Czernowitz. Bulgaria, Dr. Herbst, England, Sir Francis Montefiore; Mr. E. M. Cohen, London; and Dr. Umanski, Leeds. Egypt, M. Bogdadi. France, Dr. Alexander Marmorek, Paris. Galicia, Dr. S. Rosenheck, Kolomea; and Dr. Korkos. Germany, Dr. Bodenheimer, Cologne; and Dr. Rülfi, Bonn. Holland, Heer J. H. Kamm, the Hague. Italy, Dr. Ravenna, Ferrara. Roumania, Dr. K. Lippe, Jassy; Herr S. Pincus, Galatz; and Herr Stern, Bucharest. Russia, Dr. Jasinsky, Warsaw; Herr Tempkin, Elizabethgrad; Dr. Bruck, Hommel; Dr. Jacobson, Simferopol; Professor Dr. Mandelstamm, Kiev; Dr. Tschlenoff, Moscow. Professor Belkovsky, St. Petersburg; Herr Schiskin, Ekaterinoslaw; Rabbinder Rabinowitsch, Alexod; Rabbinder Jelski, Lodz; Dr. Kohan-Barnstein, Kischineff; and Dr. Bendelski,

Bessarabia, Switzerland, Dr. Friedemann, Basle. Transvaal, Mr. L. Kessler, Johannesburg. United States of America, Dr. Richard Gottheil and the Rev. S. Wise.

Vienna Actions Committee: Dr. Theodor Herzl, Dr. O. Kokesch, Dr. Leopold Kahn, Dr. Schnirer, and Herr Oscar Marmorek.

The English representatives on other Committees are: Colonisation Committee, the Rev. Dr. Gaster, Mr. Murray Rosenberg, and Mr. David Wolfe; Culture Committee, Dr. Gaster; Propaganda Committee, Mr. L. J. Greenberg and Mr. J. de Haas.

Mr. J. Cowen and Mr. Gustavus Cohen (Hamburg) were elected Auditors. Previously to the vote being taken for the election of the Greater Actions Committee.

Mr. L. J. GREENBERG entered the tribune, and said: I have been asked by my colleagues on the Permanent Committee to explain why Dr. Gaster and Mr. de Haas have not been nominated to serve on the Greater Actions Committee during the ensuing year, as they have during the past year. This statement has been asked for, so as to prevent the slightest possible misunderstanding as to the omission of these names, and especially that of Dr. Gaster. For it has been pointed out that some of our friends, the enemy, may not be slow to hint that Dr. Gaster and Mr. de Haas—and especially, again, Dr. Gaster—have not been nominated to the Actions Committee, either because of some difference between them and their English constituents, or between them and the Actions Committee. There is nothing of the sort, and any shot in that direction would go very far of the mark. The simple explanation is this. We, in England, have adopted a plan in Zionist matters which we believe will secure the cause being placed effectually always above persons. In our Federation we have arranged that each year one-half of the Executive Committee shall retire from office, and these members so retiring shall not be eligible for re-election for one year from the date of their retirement. Following the same principle, we have no fixed President. Each of the eight members of the Executive Committee in turn becomes Sessional Chairman for a period of three months, so that the same individual cannot be Chairman more often than once in every two years. The result of this is that whereas on the one hand there is no one man power in the Federation, each member of the Executive is absolutely equal in the Zionist ranks. We have a gradual education in the work of Zionism continually going along—fresh recruits continuously being passed through the Committee—and no one or two men hence become as it is termed indispensable to the movement. Whatever happens to the individual the cause goes on—the cause remains independent of the person. This is precisely the principle we have followed in these nominations. Dr. Gaster and Mr. de Haas served on the Actions Committee last year, this year they give way to others who in their turn will next year give way to fresh members. And I may say that as Dr. Gaster is himself the originator throughout our organisation of this principle, and has insisted upon its being carried out, and Mr. de Haas is in perfect accord with it; they are both fully at one with their colleagues in the nominations that have been made. And, moreover, there is a tacit understanding that, so that the rule shall not be circumvented, they will not act on the Actions Committee even as representatives of other constituencies for at least one year from the date of their retirement. I have no hesitation in saying that when the principle I have explained is adopted throughout the Zionist movement then will Zionism show itself strong—able to rely upon its ideals, and not only upon those who profess them. We are fortunate in being able to apply this principle for the first time to Dr. Gaster and Mr. de Haas. Mr. de Haas is so abundantly esteemed by us, and Dr. Gaster brings such distinction and eminence to our ranks, that everyone will be able to understand and appreciate how highly we value the principle we have laid down when we do not hesitate to apply it at the very first opportunity, even though its application fall on such men as Dr. Gaster and Mr. de Haas.

Dr. GASTER said that he entirely associated himself with the observations of Mr. Greenberg.

Report of the Colonisation Committee.

Mr. L. J. GREENBERG, the Hon. Secretary, read the following report (in English) of the Colonisation Committee:—

The Colonisation Committee, which was appointed by the Second Basle Congress, had little opportunity during the past year for the exercise of its functions. One of the first considerations that the Committee had before it was the acquisition of lands at Modin, in Judaea, comprising the birthplace as well as the tomb of the Maccabees, which had been secured by the Chairman (Mr. Herbert Bentwich) in his private capacity. For the acquisition of this historic site about £1,000 would have to be raised, and in order to form a living Maccabean memorial by the utilisation of the lands for some practical purpose, such as an Agricultural Training School or other Institution a much larger sum, estimated in the first instance at £10,000, would have to be found. In view of the fact that the whole energy of Zionists and all their available financial power were during the past year being devoted to the successful flotation of the Jewish Colonial Trust, the Committee, while approving the scheme, felt that no general appeal for so large a sum could for the time being be made. Steps have however been taken both in England and America to obtain through private sources the money required for securing the Modin site, and the Committee hope that their successors in the duty of representing Zionism as a colonising agency will take up this work at the first opportunity, for utilising the funds of the Jewish Colonial Trust, which, under the resolutions of the Congress, may be applied in assisting this and similar projects. An application which was made to the Actions Committee by a small colony at Jericho for assistance was remitted to this Committee, who obtained the co-operation of the English Zionist Federation, with the result that the amount required for the colonists has been virtually secured, and some evidence of the sympathy of Zionists with the existing colonies in Palestine thus afforded. The Committee felt strongly that joint action with the Jewish Colonisation Association was very desirable, and with this view opened negotiations with that body, suggesting co-operation in the work that was common to them. The Jewish Colonisation Association however has not yet responded to this appeal, and the Committee can only express its regret that its well-intentioned efforts at joint action with other bodies, in accordance with the repeated resolutions of the Congress, have so far been unsuccessful. Independent work in the direction of colonisation cannot of course be effectually undertaken without large means, and the Committee trusts that now these have been found through the establishment of the Jewish Colonial Trust the funds which have hitherto not been at their disposal, so that it has necessarily been impossible to undertake any large work in the direction of colonisation, will be energetically and continuously applied to this essential object of the Zionist movement.

Colonisation of Cyprus—A Scene.

At the close of the reading of the report, Mr. DAVIS TRIETSCH brought forward his plan for the Colonisation of Cyprus. He had not proceeded far before his remarks were met angry cries from Russian delegates, who worked themselves up into a state bordering on frenzy. It was in vain that Dr. Herzl appealed for a hearing for Mr. Trietsch. Dr. Herzl begged that the Congress should permit him to continue; they could express their views when he had finished, but the honour due to the tribune must be observed. Dr. Herzl bitterly regretted that an unpleasant scene should have marred the closing half hour of the Congress.

Mr. Trietsch was then summarily dealt with by the adoption of a motion that he should no longer be heard.

The Colonisation Report was then adopted, and referred to the Actions Committee for consideration.

The Closing Scene.

When calm had been restored, Dr. HERZL delivered a brief closing address. He had necessarily to be brief, for the Sabbath was rapidly approaching. During his speech the silence was as impressive as it was intense. He said that the Congress, which had lasted four days and had been peaceful throughout, except during its last moments, must now end, for they were on the threshold of the Sabbath, and by their ceasing their labours they would prove that there was no antagonism between Zionism and religion. There had not been so great an expression of enthusiasm as at previous Congresses, and therefore more work had been done. Their work would not be completed when they parted, for the Executive would continue their labours, which would have to be carried on daily. From unexpected and the remotest parts of the world—and he took the opportunity to pay a tribute to the delegates from South Africa who had been so silent that their presence was hardly known—comrades had come to work with them and had been inspired with enthusiasm for Zionism. Something had been done; much remained to be done. He would no longer hold them back from the Sabbath rest, which was now awaiting them, and he earnestly besought them, while retaining old associations, to work with new associates for the glory of the cause.—(Prolonged cheering, during which every one rose.)

Before the Congress separated, Mr. J. COWEN, without making any speech, moved a vote of thanks to Dr. Herzl, which was heartily carried.

Summing up the results of the Congress, it must be admitted, in the words of Dr. Herzl, that more solid work was done than at the previous Congresses. This was due in large measure to the fact that most of the preparatory work was done in Committees, and as the various nationalities were amply represented on those Committees, their views were well known to their delegates on those bodies by whom they were frequently consulted. Hence it was, for example, that the recommendations on Organisation—the very Constitution of the Zionist movement—found such ready acceptance. Dr. Herzl again proved himself to be a thorough leader. It was no easy task to manage so heterogeneous a body as the cosmopolitan Congress, for if they were united in regard to Zionism, they now and then displayed considerable national differences. Dr. Herzl owes his success to his consummate tact, for, though he has the iron hand, he wears over it the velvet glove. He is a keen satirist and his thrusts are as sharp as the point of a rapier. He has also a lively sense of the ridiculous, and often overcame opposition by a free use of this weapon.

One of the best managed departments was the press bureau, under the able direction of Dr. Werner, of Vienna, by whom the journalists were promptly supplied with all documents submitted to the Congress.

Two minor incidents may be mentioned. One was a luncheon given to the press on Wednesday, the other a special service held in the synagogue early on Friday afternoon by the Austrian delegates, to celebrate the birthday of their Emperor, at which Dr. Gaster, by invitation, delivered a short discourse.

B'NEI ZION ASSOCIATION.—At the King's Hall, Commercial Road, on Saturday evening last, Mr. I. L. Brit delivered an address upon the Basle Congress, Mr. H. Lazinsky, Senior Vice-President, in the chair. Mr. S. Chait and the Chairman also having spoken, a vote of confidence in the leaders of the Zionist Movement was passed by acclamation.

THROAT AFFECTION AND HOARSENESS.—All suffering from irritation of the throat and hoarseness will be agreeably surprised at the almost immediate relief afforded by the use of "Brown's Bronchial Troches." These famous lozenges are now sold by most respectable chemists in this country at 1s. 1d. per box. People troubled with a "hacking cough," a "slight cold" or bronchial affections, cannot try them too soon, as similar troubles, if allowed to progress, result in serious Pulmonary and Asthmatic affections. See that the words "Brown's Bronchial Troches" are on the Government stamp around each box. Of all Chemists.—[ADVT.]

GET WHAT YOU WANT.

If a Grocer told the truth when he said "something just as good," he would say "something I make more money out of," but that would not sound so well, and you would not take the substitute for the article you asked for—say Brown & Polson's Corn Flour. The next time he says it to you, remember what it really means, and refuse to accept the substitute for the article you want. Brown & Polson's 40 year's experience in the manufacture of this delicate article puts them in the first place as to quality.

BROWN & POLSON'S

"Patent" Corn Flour.

Is Economical to use and very delicate in flavour.