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Mr. Webster with Mr. Linthicum.
 Mr. Woods of Indiana with Mr. Sisson.
 Mr. Stiness with Mr. McClintic.
 Mr. Hukriede with Mr. Rucker.
 Mr. Larson of Minnesota with Mr. Blanton.
 Mr. Robison with Mr. Wise.
 Mr. Taylor of Tennessee with Mr. Taylor of Arkansas.
 Mr. Strong of Pennsylvania with Mr. Lyon.
 Mr. Nolan with Mr. Fulmer.
 Mr. Kiess with Mr. Ward of North Carolina.
 Mr. Paige with Mr. Fields.
 Mr. Ellis with Mr. Humphreys.
 Mr. Patterson of Missouri with Mr. Rainey of Alabama.
 The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.
 A quorum being present, the doors were opened.
 On motion of Mr. ZIEHLMAN, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the bill was passed was laid on the table.
 The bill H. R. 11155, of similar title, was ordered to lie on the table.

NATIONAL HOME FOR THE JEWISH PEOPLE.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I submit the following privileged report from the Committee on Rules, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House Resolution 360 (Rept. No. 1172).

Resolved, That upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order for the Committee on Foreign Affairs to call up for consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 322), being a joint resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. That there shall be not to exceed two hours debate on said joint resolution, to be controlled by the gentleman from New York, Mr. FISH.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Rules, having this measure before it, decided upon one hour of general debate. There is a general desire to expedite matters. The purpose of the resolution is well understood, having been considered in the Committee on Foreign Affairs. I therefore offer the following amendment, which I send to the desk.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment offered by Mr. FESS: Line 5, after the word "people," strike out the remainder of the paragraph.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, this strikes out all provision for general debate. [Applause.]

Mr. WALSH. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. FESS. Yes.

Mr. WALSH. Does that contemplate also shutting out debate on any amendment?

Mr. FESS. It does not; this is general debate.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the amendment.

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Joint Resolution 322, which I send to the desk and ask to have read.

The Clerk read as follows:

House joint resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

Whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

Whereas, owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein the Jewish people are to be enabled to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers, which will give to the House of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

Mr. FISH. Mr. Speaker, this resolution favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and is based on justice and humanity. It has been given full consideration in the Committee on Foreign Affairs and that committee has reported it out practically unanimously. It is almost similar in wording to a resolution passed a month ago in the other branch of the legislative body. The only difference is that we changed the word "the" to the word "a," so that instead of its reading "the national home" it reads "a national home." The House has had this matter under consideration for the past week and Members are familiar with the contents of the resolution. The passage of this resolution does not commit us to an entangling alliance or to any obligation to use military or naval force or the expenditure of any money.

It is merely an expression of our sympathetic and favorable attitude in establishing in Palestine a refuge for the persecuted Jews of the world where they can develop their own culture, law, and ideals in the ancient land of their fathers, given by Jehovah to Abraham and consecrated in the hearts of the Jewish people as the birthplace of their traditions.

This resolution has nothing to do with the League of Nations or the mandatory power under the league. We are not a party to the league, and it would be a piece of impertinence for us to attempt to dictate to the membership of the league. Those who are for or against the league, reservationists and irreconcilables all alike, can support this resolution with equal fervor, as it expresses the moral encouragement of the Congress of the United States to a project already indorsed by Great Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and other great nations.

I append hereto a copy of House Joint Resolution 322 and a copy of the report.

Joint resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

Whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

Whereas, owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein, the Jewish people are to be enabled to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers, which will give to the House of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

[Report No. 1038, House of Representatives, Sixty-seventh Congress, second session.]

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred House Joint Resolution No. 322, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, having considered the same, report favorably thereon, with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.

This report expresses our moral interest in and our favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. It commits us to no foreign obligation or entanglement. The protection of the holy places is carefully provided for, as well as the rights of Christian and all non-Jewish communities. There is a strong religious and humanitarian appeal in this recognition accorded to the Jewish people that goes beyond its purely material aspects and the discharge of such obligations assumed by the allied governments as expressed in the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917, which has been indorsed by France, Italy, Japan, and other nations.

The Jews of America are profoundly interested in establishing a national home in the ancient land for their race. Indeed, this is the ideal of the Jewish people everywhere, for despite their dispersion Palestine has been the object of their veneration since they were expelled by the Romans. For generations they have prayed for the return to Zion. During the past century this prayer has assumed practical form.

Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jew, is to-day a comparatively sterile country, due to the wanton and deplorable policy of desolation systematically carried out by its rulers, the Turks, for many centuries. What was once the country of milk and honey has become, through misrule and oppression, a devastated and sparsely settled land. Jewish colonization began in Palestine over 40 years ago. In 1897 Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, established an organization for the purpose of securing legal recognition of the Jewish right in Palestine and began the practical work of settling the land. A great deal of labor and effort has been put into Palestine by Jews. They have established 72 flourishing colonies on a soil which, before they reclaimed it, was merely sand, stone, and swamp. With the investment of Jewish capital and labor part of this land has been transformed into beautiful gardens that evoke the admiration of visitors to the Holy Land. They have created and maintain a modern school system, and laid the foundations of a national Jewish university in Jerusalem. They have introduced modern sanitation, opened hospitals and clinics, and founded many industries. Banks have been established to provide credit for the smaller trade and business man. They are now prepared to develop a plan for harnessing the water power of the Jordan River, which will provide Palestine with ample electric light and power for a large industrial development.

In this work of regenerating a land that has become desolate and waste through governmental oppression, the Jews of America have participated to a large and generous extent, maintaining the American Zionist Medical Unit and making large contributions to the purchase of land and for the creation of credit institutions.

We of America should be glad to give our moral support to a project which is based upon justice and humanity. To give this recognition to so laudable an endeavor of a people seeking to create a haven of refuge for the oppressed and homeless of their race is to act in consonance with the loftiest American ideals. The Jews have suffered greatly during the war. There are now countless thousands of innocent members of the Jewish race in Poland, Galicia, Russia, Hungary, Ukraine, and Rumania who have been utterly ruined and for whom there is no place in the lands where they had formerly lived. The World War has overwhelmed them. They are seeking a home where, with the generous help of their brethren of other lands who are in more comfortable circumstances, they may re-create their own forms of life and realize their ideals.

The hope of a return of the Jewish people to Zion has had the good wishes of our foremost American statesmen. President Woodrow Wilson, in a letter dated August 31, 1918, wrote as follows:

"I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement in the United States and in the allied countries since the declaration of Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the British Government, of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and his promise

that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries."

President Harding on June 1, 1921, expressed his friendly interest in and for the Zionist movement, and said:

"It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity."

Again, on May 11, 1922, President Harding wrote to a Zionist committee:

"I am very glad to express my approval and hearty sympathy for the effort of the Palestine Foundation Fund in behalf of the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people. I have always viewed with an interest, which I think is quite as much practical as sentimental, the proposal for the rehabilitation of Palestine, and I hope the effort now being carried on in this and other countries in this behalf may meet with the fullest measure of success."

Leaders of the Jewish people here and abroad, who have studied Jewish conditions and needs and are thoroughly familiar with the problems of Jewish life, anticipate the eventual creation of an enlightened state which shall be a center of Jewish culture, a blessing to humanity and to the Jewish race in that ancient land which was given by Jehovah to Abraham, and which is consecrated in all Jewish hearts as the birthplace of their traditions and ideals. The realization of this hope should be given the moral encouragement of the American people speaking through their Representatives in Congress.

Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the resolution.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from New York moves the previous question on the resolution.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the resolution.

The joint resolution was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time, and was read the third time.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the preamble.

The preamble was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The question is on agreeing to the resolution.

The resolution was agreed to.

On motion of Mr. FISH, a motion to reconsider the vote by which the resolution was agreed to was laid on the table.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to extend my remarks in the RECORD on this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. GALLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, this resolution gives expression to sentiments of justice and humanity which are in perfect harmony with the great traditions of our country. It is clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected. The hope of being restored to the land of their forefathers was never forsaken by the Jewish people, a hope which was sanctified throughout the ages by the tears and blood of the martyr of humanity—the Jew.

Let it not be forgotten that during the 2,000 years of Hebrew occupation of Palestine the land was coveted by all ambitious conquerors as a land of flowing milk and honey. After the destruction of the second Jewish commonwealth by the legions of Titus the land became more and more barren, laid waste by the sword, famine, plagues, and the sweeping sands of the desert. Nevertheless Jewish emigration into the Holy Land was never interrupted. The poet Judah Halevi left prosperous Spain for desolate Judea, meeting death in the attainment of his ideal.

Half a century ago the modern Zionist movement made its appearance. It was endowed with a "King Midas touch," turning into gold everything it attempted in Palestine. In spite of a hostile and indolent Turkish Government it succeeded in building up 50 model colonies, which are regarded by the veterans of Allenby as veritable oases in a desert of general stagnation and slothfulness. Only self-sacrifice of heroes could accomplish this result. The ambitious pan-Germans, headed by the Kaiser, lavished millions on their settlements in Palestine and failed. Just before the final collapse of the Central Powers the largest of the German colonies was sold to the highest bidder, the Jewish people. I can only mention cursorily the most efficient system of elementary and secondary schools which the Zionists established there and their having recently laid the foundation for a Hebrew university on the Mount of Olives, to which a critic like George Brandes and a philosopher like Henri Bergson have offered their inestimable services.

The geniuses of world imperialism—Alexander, Caesar, and Napoleon—divined the rôle of Palestine as the gateway between the Orient and the Occident and always regarded the Jews as the natural gatekeepers. The Hebrew people, originating

in the east and living in the west, possess the mystic heart of the oriental and the critical mind of the west European. The symphonic union of these two qualities might still "put it over" our dear Kipling, who standardized the phrase that "East is east" and "West is west." The gulf will be bridged.

The Jews in Europe are oppressed both physically and spiritually. The Slavs massacre them, the Huns bar their children from their schools and generally boycott them in social life. While some contented Jews in America ride their electric limousines to the luxurious temple, the charred bodies of their unfortunate brethren in Galicia lie buried under the ruins of the burned synagogues of Lemberg and Cracow.

Palestine, to be sure, will not harbor all the Jews of Russia and Poland, but it will remove from them the stigma and the accompanying suffering of a homeless wanderer.

When anyone says that millions of Jews are opposed to Zionism, he forgets that, after all, we have only a few million Jews in all the world, and the fact is that the traditional Jewry is nearly unanimous in support of Zionism, and even members of the so-called reform group are rapidly and surely entering its ranks.

America's sympathy, as expressed through this resolution, will be a source of encouragement to the Jewish people in their struggle to repatriate themselves to the land from which they were exiled by force. There in Palestine we shall see in evidence concrete expressions of the prophetic ideals of Judaism—the ideals of justice, peace, and equality to all children of man regardless of race or creed.

Mr. MONDELL. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that Members may be given five legislative days within which to extend their remarks in the RECORD on this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection?

Mr. LONDON. Mr. Speaker, reserving the right to object, of course it will be just an extension of remarks?

The SPEAKER. It can not be in any other way. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

The extension of remarks referred to are here printed in full as follows:

Mr. APPEBY. Mr. Speaker, under the leave granted to me to extend my remarks in the RECORD I desire to make brief comment and express my views on House Joint Resolution 322, now pending before the House, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. That we may have clearly before us the exact language of the proposed legislation I would like to preface my remarks by the insertion of the resolution, which reads as follows:

Joint resolution (H. J. Res. 183) favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

Whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

Whereas, owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein, the Jewish people are to be enabled to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers, which will give to the House of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

Hearings covering four days were given on the resolution by the Committee on Foreign Affairs, and many witnesses appeared offering arguments for and against the legislation. In submitting the resolution to the House with a favorable recommendation for its passage the committee stated:

This report expresses our moral interest in and our favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. It commits us to no foreign obligation or entanglement. The protection of the holy places is carefully provided for, as well as the rights of Christian and all non-Jewish communities. There is a strong religious and humanitarian appeal in this recognition accorded to the Jewish people that goes beyond its purely material aspects and the discharge of such obligations assumed by the allied Governments as expressed in the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917, which has been indorsed by France, Italy, Japan, and other nations.

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Jewish colonization began in Palestine over 40 years ago. In 1897 Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, established an organization for the purpose of securing legal recognition of the Jewish right in Palestine and began the practical work of settling the land. A great deal of labor and effort has been put into Palestine by Jews. They have established 72 flourishing colonies on a

soil which, before they reclaimed it, was merely sand, stone, and swamp. With the investment of Jewish capital and labor part of this land has been transformed into beautiful gardens that evoke the admiration of visitors to the Holy Land. They have created and maintained a modern school system, and laid the foundations of a national Jewish university in Jerusalem. They have introduced modern sanitation, opened hospitals and clinics, and founded many industries. Banks have been established to provide credit for the smaller trade and business man. They are now prepared to develop a plan for harnessing the water power of the Jordan River, which will provide Palestine with ample electric light and power for a large industrial development.

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We of America should be glad to give our moral support to a project which is based upon justice and humanity. To give this recognition to so laudable an endeavor of a people seeking to create a haven of refuge for the oppressed and homeless of their race is to act in consonance with the loftiest American ideals. The Jews have suffered greatly during the war. There are now countless thousands of innocent members of the Jewish race in Poland, Galicia, Russia, Hungary, Ukraine, and Rumania who have been utterly ruined and for whom there is no place in the lands where they had formerly lived. The World War has overwhelmed them. They are seeking a home where, with the generous help of their brethren of other lands who are in more comfortable circumstances, they may re-create their own forms of life and realize their ideals.

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Leaders of the Jewish people here and abroad, who have studied Jewish conditions and needs and are thoroughly familiar with the problems of Jewish life, anticipate the eventual creation of an enlightened state which shall be a center of Jewish culture, a blessing to humanity and to the Jewish race in that ancient land which was given by Jehovah to Abraham, and which is consecrated in all Jewish hearts as the birthplace of their traditions and ideals. The realization of this hope should be given the moral encouragement of the American people speaking through their Representatives in Congress.

Many Jews reside in the third congressional district of New Jersey. As their Representative in Congress I was naturally much interested in this legislation. It was my privilege and pleasure to attend the hearings. Following closely the testimony submitted, I am frank to say there were many arguments presented in favor of the resolution which appealed to me strongly. Palestine of to-day, the land we now know as Palestine, was peopled by the Jews from the dawn of history until the Roman era. It is the ancestral homeland of the Jewish people. They were driven from it by force by the relentless Roman military machine and for centuries prevented from returning. At different periods various alien people succeeded them, but the Jewish race had left an indelible impress upon the land. To-day it is a Jewish country. Every name, every landmark, every monument, and every trace of whatever civilization remaining there is still Jewish. And it has ever since remained a hope, a longing, as expressed in their prayers for these nearly 2,000 years. No other people has ever claimed Palestine as their national home. No other people has ever shown an aptitude or indicated a genuine desire to make it their homeland. The land has been ruled by foreigners. Only since the beginning of the modern Zionist effort may it be said that a creative, cultural, and economic force has entered Palestine. The Jewish Nation was forced from its natural home. It did not go because it wanted to. A perusal of Jewish history, a reading of Josephus, will convince the most skeptical that the grandest fight that was ever put up against an enemy was put up by the Jew. He never thought of leaving Palestine. But he was driven out. But did he, when driven out, give up his hope of getting back? Jewish history and Jewish literature give the answer to that question. The Jew even has a fast day devoted to the day of destruction of the Jewish homeland. Never throughout history did they give up hope of returning there. I am told that 90 per cent of the Jews to-day are praying for the return of the Jewish people to its own home. The best

minds among them believe in the necessity of reestablishing the Jewish land. To my mind there is something prophetic in the fact that during the ages no other nation has taken over Palestine and held it in the sense of a homeland; and there is something providential in the fact that for 1,800 years it has remained in desolation as if waiting for the return of its people. In testifying before the committee a representative of the Zionist organization of America said:

There are 14,000,000 Jews in the world. The fundamental question is that of what is to be done for a homeless people of 14,000,000, whether they now enjoy a certain amount of liberty in one country at a certain time or not. There are 3,000,000 Jews in the United States, but the World War comes along and destroys the very foundations of life of 8,000,000 of them in other countries, and these 8,000,000 are entitled to justice and right dealing in view of the fact that this war was fought for certain ideals, and certain readjustments are being made, certain nations being set up that did not have a ghost of a chance two years before the war to set themselves up without assistance; certain nations have been set up on credit of the American Government; certain nations have been put into position where they have control of millions and millions of people, because it was felt that that was the right thing to do. And here are 14,000,000 Jews, with the very foundations of their lives removed, who find themselves in such a predicament that they appeal to the conscience of the world for a haven of refuge. They are absolutely without the means of reviving themselves without this assistance. We speak to the enlightened nations, "Give us this haven of refuge; we go in there with no intention of oppressing anybody or taking away from anybody what they have or taking away from any individual the rights, the religious liberties, or civil liberties which they have."

One of the greatest sources of pride of an American-born citizen is to hold aloft the land of his birth. The oft-repeated refrain of the poet—

Breathes there a man with soul so dead,
Who ne'er unto himself has said,
This is my own, my native land?—

is but an outburst from one of the deepest wells of the human heart. And for the Jewish race, which gave Christianity to the world and brought to civilization its highest and noblest inspiration; a race which embraces some of our greatest bankers, merchants, lawyers, educators, and leaders in every line of the world's activities, to be longer denied a country which they can call their own is a humiliation too deep for the pride of an American. Fellow Members, the resolution before you embodies the faith of the Jewish people and gives expression to a longing which has never forsaken them. It should be the privilege of the House of Representatives to pass this resolution. It should be the privilege of any Christian nation to help make the cradle of Christianity again the center of civilization instead of permitting it to remain a land of devastation and epidemics, which it has now been for centuries. I believe the House in considering this matter should not consider it purely as if they were economists trying to decide whether this is a good thing for the Jewish people to do, but consider it as an expression of the sentiment and feelings and ideals of the Jewish people, of the soul of the Jewish people for generations. Any nation which attaches itself to this act of redemption of the Jewish land is a party to an epochal event in Jewish history. The adoption of this resolution will be a source of strength and inspiration to us and will be in harmony with the great ideals and traditions of the American people.

The extension of remarks referred to are here printed in full as follows:

Mr. HAWES. Mr. Speaker, this resolution contains a message of good will to Jewish citizens of the world. More important still, it is by indirection a national reply to the spirit of intolerance which unfortunately is developing in our own country.

I vote for the resolution most whole-heartedly, because it must show to the bigoted and narrow intolerant that the great American people do not indorse their activities.

The foe of religious liberty has always been intolerance, sometimes disguised but always the same. It rises for brief periods to considerable strength, but always falls back to its obscure cave of bigotry before the enlightened criticism of good citizenship.

Our danger will not come from a change in our laws, but from an intolerant spirit which would evade the established law and by indirection do those things which the law prohibits.

The friend of religious liberty is not concerned with the difference between creeds, nor, in fact, with the difference between faith and unbelief. Nor can he be satisfied alone with the political separation of church and state. He must oppose the invisible government, the secret cabal, or the political movement which attempt to do indirectly the thing which is prohibited by law.

The honest friend of religious freedom can not without protest permit any man's creed to be made the subject of persecution or the sole measure of his fitness for public office.

We can not lose religious freedom without losing civil freedom, so both must be guarded by zealous citizens.

The American Catholic, the American Protestant, and the American Jew must stand united in firm opposition to any intolerant movement which deprives any creed of the fullest freedom and equal rights under the law or curtails personal liberty of conscience or religion.

The extension of remarks referred to are here printed in full as follows:

Mr. CHANDLER of New York. Mr. Speaker, as an introduction to my speech I desire to read House Joint Resolution 322:

Joint resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

Whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland; and

Whereas owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein, the Jewish people are to be enabled to re-create and reorganize a national home in the land of their fathers, which will give to the House of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc., That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

Mr. Speaker, I am in favor of the pending resolution and shall vote for its passage because it embodies the highest and noblest ideals of liberty, humanity, and civilization.

It is a similar resolution to the one already unanimously passed by the United States Senate, and congressional action in this matter is entirely consonant with the spirit of our free institutions and with our oft-repeated official proclamations of national sympathy with the hopes and aspirations of struggling races for freedom and independence.

This resolution does not propose to involve our country in any foreign entanglements or to bind us by any financial obligations whatsoever. It simply expresses our sympathy, as the representatives of a free people, with the national desires and aspirations for a homeland in Palestine of a scattered and persecuted race, whose contributions to the intellectual and spiritual wealth of the world have been unequalled by those of any other people.

Our sense of justice and our sentiment of freedom alike should dictate the immediate passage of this resolution. National gratitude also demands its passage, for our country, like every other civilized nation on the globe, is under a heavy debt of gratitude to the Jews for their marvelous contributions to the uplift of mankind and to the civilization of the earth.

Aside from the lofty inspiration and the rich heritage of Jewish genius in history, of which we are the direct beneficiaries along with all the other races of mankind, Jewish sacred influences confront and surround each and all of us at all times and in all places—at the prayer meeting, in the Sunday school, in the church, in the cathedral, and in the synagogue.

When the Chaplain offers prayer at each day's opening of this House he invokes upon its Members the benedictions of a Hebrew God and the intercessions of a Hebrew Savior.

The three great events of man's existence are said to be: Birth, marriage, and death. The spiritual food, solace, and inspiration of each of these great events are furnished by the Jew. The hallowing influence of Hebrew scriptures is invoked when infancy is christened into religious life. Jewish music, Mendelssohn's wedding march, furnishes the entrancing accompaniment when bride and bridegroom meet at the marriage altar to pledge eternal love and to be bound to the duties of wedded life by the obligations of Hebrew sacred law. And, lastly, at every open grave in Christendom is read the funeral sermon of St. Paul, a Jew. Thus the Jew goes with us from the cradle to the grave as our spiritual guide and savior. I respectfully submit that every sentiment of decent gratitude should prompt us to help him when we can, and never to persecute him at any time.

The gratitude that should prompt the adoption of this resolution is born not merely of the priceless legacy of spiritual hope, consolation, and assurance that he has bequeathed to us through the centuries. It springs, too, from the contributions of the Jew to the liberties of the human race in every land and time, for the Jew has been the child of revolution and the friend of freedom in every age.

The Mosaic commonwealth was theocratic in origin and character but democratic in function and effect. All the prophets of Israel were fearless champions of human rights. Isaiah and Jeremiah were the first great revolutionists of earth.

Not only have the Jews been friends of freedom in every age; the friends of freedom of every age—Montesquieu and Mira-

beau, Cromwell and Macaulay, Cavour and Mazzini, and Washington—have been friends of the Jews. What more fitting tribute, then, could be paid, what finer, what more appropriate expression of appreciation could be offered by the Representatives of a free Nation than to vote this resolution of sympathy and encouragement to the people of a race that has always, in Senate and in Parliament and upon the battle field, been found foremost among the champions of human freedom and of human rights?

The project of founding a new Jewish commonwealth in Palestine is familiar to all readers of the daily press. The so-called Zionist movement has many ardent advocates and able supporters among Jews and gentiles throughout the earth. The overwhelming majority of the Jews of America, from all that I can learn, are enthusiastically in favor of it.

The great world struggle has given a powerful impetus to the movement. Besides, the national idea and the religious self-consciousness of the Hebrew race in all ages have been seeds awaiting ripening for such an event. It has been truly said that—

since the destruction of the second temple by Titus, since the dispersion of the Jews throughout the world, this ancient people has not ceased to long fervently for a return to the lost land of their fathers nor to entertain for it a determined hope.

If I forget thee, O Jerusalem,
Let my right hand forget her cunning;
Let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth,
If I remember thee not;
If I prefer not Jerusalem
Above my chief joy. (Psalm cxxxvii, 5, 6.)

This plaintive and pathetic song was chanted in Babylonian exile more than 2,000 years ago, and it finds to-day a sacred echo in the heart yearnings of every Zionist in the world.

To high patriotic purposes and to deep-seated race feelings and impulses is added the religious belief of millions of orthodox Jews that the time has come for the fulfillment of divine prophecy and promise in the gathering of the children of Israel again into the ancient homeland. The foundation of this prophecy is found in Deuteronomy xxx:

If any of thine be driven out unto the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather thee, and from thence will he fetch thee: And the Lord thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thou shalt possess it; and He will do thee good, and multiply thee above thy fathers.

And in Amos, ix, 14-15:

And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens and eat the fruit of them.

And I will plant them upon their land, and they shall no more be pulled out of their land which I have given them, saith the Lord, thy God.

Patriotic pride, race impulse, and religious faith, fed and sustained by ancient prophecy and promise, are undoubtedly the great mainsprings of motive of the Zionist movement. Subsidiary and contributory to all these things is without question the cumulative effect of Jewish persecution of every age from the ancient Egyptians to the anti-Semites and Jew baiters of modern times.

Mr. Speaker, in all the history of prejudice the persecution of the Jew has no parallel. Whether born of human wickedness or divine vengeance, Jewish persecution is the strangest of all historical phenomena. When and where it originated and what have been its intensifying and perpetuating causes are still subjects of grave doubt and speculative debate. In any case it represents one of the blackest phases of human life, for it invariably involves all the elements of ignorance and bigotry, of cowardice and cruelty. I never hear any man engaging in wholesale slander of the Jewish race that I do not say to myself: You are either an ignoramus, a bigot, a coward, or all combined in one. Moreover, you are an ingrate of the meanest type, for you are the direct heir and beneficiary of all that the Jew has ever said or done to elevate and save mankind.

To describe the horrors and cruelties of Jewish persecution would be to narrate the history of the Jewish race during 2,000 years. Time does not permit and the occasion does not demand such a narrative. I will only quote in this connection Rabbi Ben Ezra's "Song of Death," which gives pathetic utterance to the agonizing cry of his people of all ages to the God of their fathers for protection and relief:

By the torture prolonged from age to age,
By the infamy, Israel's heritage,
By the Ghetto's plague, by the garb's disgrace,
By the badge of shame, by the felon's place,
By the branding tool, the bloody whip,
And the summons to Christian fellowship.

In this poetic plaint are crowded the cruel memories of a thousand years of Jewish persecution.

But only yesterday in private conversation with a Member of this House, himself a Jew, while discussing this resolution,

I was told that the days of Jewish persecution had practically passed forever, that the age of freedom and enlightenment was at hand, and that Jewish persecution was no longer a valid motive, a rational excuse, for the Zionist movement. I was astonished to hear him say this.

It is a truth well known to all intelligent men that racial prejudice against the Jew has not completely vanished from the minds and hearts of gentiles; that political freedom in an enlightened age has not brought with it full religious tolerance and social recognition; that the Jew enjoys the freedom of the letter but is still under the ban of the spirit. It is not necessary to go to Russia or Rumania to prove this contention.

In 1896 Adolph von Sonnenthal, the greatest of modern actors, who covered the Austrian stage with glory, celebrated the fortieth anniversary of his entrance into theatrical life. The city council of Vienna refused to extend him the freedom of the city because he was a Jew.

In 1906 Madame Bernhardt, the most marvelous living woman, while acting in Canada, was insulted by having spoiled eggs thrown upon the stage amidst shouts of "Down with the Jewess!" This outrage called forth a letter of apology, which appeared in public print, from Sir Wilfred Laurier, Prime Minister of the Dominion.

In the summer of 1907 the sister of Senator Isidor Rayner, of Maryland, was refused admission to an Atlantic City hotel because she was a Jewess. Be it remembered that these several acts of prejudice and persecution did not happen in the Middle Ages or under the Government of the Romanoffs. Two of them occurred at the beginning of the twentieth century, beneath the flags of two of the freest and most civilized nations of the globe. What have Americans to say of the exclusion of a virtuous, refined, intelligent sister of a great American Senator from an American hotel for no other reason than that she was a Jewess; that is, that she was of the same race with the Savior of mankind?

What have you to say, my colleagues, of the Leonard Kaplan incident at Annapolis, an occurrence of the last four weeks? Does this tend to show that the age of enlightenment and freedom is here and that Jewish persecution has ceased? The severe reprimand of the Government administered to the Christian midshipman for "cruelty"—to use a word of Mr. Roosevelt—to his Jewish classmate and comrade was a fitting and necessary rebuke, but it did not and will not cure Jewish persecution, for the very week following the Kaplan incident we learned from the public press that Harvard University, one of our greatest and oldest schools of learning, was to limit Jews among its students.

These considerations, among others, lead me to lend enthusiastic support to the passage of the pending resolution, for I want the Congress of the United States, of which I have the honor to be a Member, to express its sympathy with Jewish hopes and aspirations, register its approval of Jewish national rights, and condemn, indirectly at least, the spirit of bigotry and race prejudice that gives the lie to the Bill of Rights in our Constitution and brands with hypocrisy our national professions of equality of citizenship in America.

If ungenerous and un-American impulses and fierce and unbridled passions must kindle the fires and stir the hatreds of religious bigotry among the people at large, let us here at least, in the sacred confines of this Hall, preserve a dignified and patriotic equanimity, a statesmanlike composure, and a courageous attitude as the legislative guardians of civil and religious freedom on this continent. Let us, above all things, not forget that this Republic was not designed by the Revolutionary fathers to be Protestant, Catholic, or Jewish, but was intended as a perpetual asylum of religious freedom, where Protestant, Catholic, and Jew might each worship Almighty God after the dictates of his own conscience and in his own way.

To say the least of it, if we are to continue to persecute the Jew we should as a matter of simple justice be willing to aid him in the establishment of a homeland beyond the seas where he can be free from persecution. There is all the greater truth in this, since we are practically shutting out from our shores by unreasonably rigid and discriminating immigration laws struggling and persecuted Jews, the majority of whom would be a benefit rather than a hurt to our citizenship and our country.

In a speech delivered by me in this House on April 20, 1921, in opposition to the immigration bill of that year, I used the following language with reference to Jewish immigrants to our shores:

Note numerous exceptions to the general provisions of this bill, and I unhesitatingly declare to you, my colleagues, that if I had the framing of the measure for final passage I would make a distinct exception of the Jews. I would do it upon no ground of sentiment or whim. I would base the exception upon righteousness and eternal justice. In the framing of the bill and the enactment of the law I would boldly

declare to America and to the world that the Jews are a distinct race, with a distinct history, presenting a distinct and irresistible appeal to the judgment and conscience and mercy of mankind. I would declare them to be a scattered race, with no willing and capable protectors against persecution and oppression. I would call the attention of the people of the earth to what they already know, that the Jews gave to Christianity its Savior, to mankind its noblest religion, and to civilization much that is grandest and most beautiful in literature, music, and art. These considerations I would make the basis of an exception to the general provisions of this bill—that all Jews, from whatever parts of the earth they came, who satisfied the requirements of the general immigration laws regarding tests of health, sanity, morals, and good citizenship, should be admitted. An exception of this kind would be in keeping with our national traditions of refuge and asylum for the down-trodden of the earth, and would be a fitting acknowledgment of our indebtedness to the authors and finishers of our religious faith, whose code of morals lies deep at the foundation of all our secular laws, State and national.

I wish to repeat and emphasize in this speech what I said in that one. I shall probably go a step further when the next immigration bill is offered in this House. I shall probably propose an amendment embodying the principles and providing for the privileges for the Jews that I merely suggested in my speech of April 20, 1921. If I accomplish nothing more, I shall at least test the sentiments and feelings of the Members of this body in relation to the Jews and Jewish immigration.

Is there doubt and has there been discussion, you may ask, concerning these sentiments and feelings? Yes, indeed; more than once in the deliberations of committees and in the debates on the floor of this House concerning Jews and Jewish immigration. The question arose at the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee on this resolution before us in a colloquy between Mr. SMITH of Michigan, a member of the committee, and Mr. Abraham Goldberg, of New York City, representing the Zionists of America. Mr. Goldberg seemed not willing to declare that our present immigration laws were aimed at the Jews, but merely contented himself with asserting that the Jews were of all races most severely affected by them. Mr. Goldberg, being a Jew, doubtless felt a certain delicacy and timidity in expressing his real sentiments on the subject. Being a gentle Congressman, I have no such feelings of delicacy and timidity, and I declare to you that it is my sincere conviction that a desire to exclude both Jews and Catholics from our shores has been one of the most potent influences in modern American immigration legislation.

I declared this conviction in a speech against the Burnett immigration bill that I delivered on the floor of this House on March 25, 1916. In that speech I elaborated arguments in favor of my contention and was supported in the debate by ex-Representative William S. Bennet, of New York, and by my distinguished colleague, Mr. GALLIVAN, of Massachusetts, who still is an honored Member of this body.

At the hearings of January 20, 1916, before the Immigration Committee, Miss Grace Abbott, of Chicago, a Protestant lady of fine character and extensive experience in immigrant affairs, who is at the present time the efficient head of the Women's Bureau, gave expression to the following deeply significant sentiment:

I think many people oppose the recent immigration because it is Catholic and Jewish instead of Protestant, as the earlier was. I am neither Catholic nor Jewish.

This declaration was born of the experience and observations of many years of devoted service spent in helping immigrants, and Miss Abbott knew full well whereof she spoke.

But why devote so much time, you may ask, to discussing the immigration question in its relation to the pending resolution providing for a homeland in Palestine for the Jews? The reason is that if we are to shut the Jew from our gates by stringent immigration laws, we should at least be willing to do what we can to aid him in the establishment of a country of his own where he can live in peace and happiness. The plainest dictates of humanity suggest and demand it.

A year and a half ago I traveled extensively in Germany, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Russia, and Lithuania. I studied the Jewish question at first hand, especially in Poland. I was amazed and shocked at what I saw and heard. Persecution, poverty, misery, disease, death, and destruction confront the Jew everywhere in southeastern Europe. He is at times hunted like a wild beast, for no other reason than that he is a Jew, and there is no boundary of territory that he can cross for refuge and asylum. He is brutally and cruelly chased by one band of pursuers only to be even more brutally and cruelly thrown back by another. And supposedly free America, with continental expanse of territory, with boundless natural resources, with the Mississippi Valley that, if intensively cultivated, would feed the human race for a thousand years, with the Goddess of Liberty in the harbor of New York brandishing forever a torch of freedom and of welcome to the oppressed and distressed of all mankind, and with professions of faith in Jesus,

the Jew of Nazareth, forever upon our lips, this supposedly free America is willing to adopt and execute rigidly a 3 per cent immigration law that practically shuts these wretched beings from the hospitality of our shores and the shelter of our flag.

There are about 15,000,000 Jews in the world. There are about 3,000,000 Jews in the United States. There are about 12,000,000 Jews scattered over the earth outside the United States. Considering the appalling state of affairs in Europe and the prospects of an indefinite continuance, I declare to you in all sincerity, my colleagues, that if I had the power I would bind my country by definite obligations to aid substantially the Jews in establishing a permanent home in Palestine. I would then admit the remaining millions of Jews who could not find room in their ancient homelands to our shores to become citizens of this free Republic, to enjoy the benefits of its citizenship, and to render obedience to its institutions and its laws.

I would, of course, demand satisfactory answers to the following questions from each and all and every one of them: Are you sound and healthy in body, mind, and morals? Do you believe in our Constitution and our laws and will you loyally obey them? Do you love our flag, and will you patriotically follow and uphold and defend it at all times?

Upon receiving satisfactory answers to these questions I would say: "Children of Abraham, descendants of the descendants of the creators of monotheism, who consented that their country should be conquered, their nationality destroyed, and their race dispersed throughout the world in order that this best and noblest gift of God to man, monotheism, might not be sacrificed to pagan and barbarian superstition but might instead be transmitted as a heavenly heritage to all future generations of men, I welcome you to America and bid you be at home."

Mr. Speaker, the obstacles to this new plan of erecting an independent Jewish State in Palestine are many, but not insuperable. The British Government and her allies, under the Balfour declaration, propose to guarantee to the Jews the return of the territory of their ancient Jewish fatherland after the country has been sufficiently colonized by the Jews under the British mandate.

Palestine is about the size of the State of Vermont and has a present population of about 700,000 souls. There are about 15,000,000 Jews in the world. It is reasonably contended that one-half of all the Jews of the earth could live in Palestine under methods of modern intensive farming and under the electrification and irrigation of the country through plans of harnessing the water power of the Jordan and Yarmuk Rivers, plans that have been submitted by the great Jewish engineer, Pincus Ruttenberg.

Palestine is about the size of Belgium, which has a population of 7,600,000. If the plans of Ruttenberg for the redemption of the barren and waste places of the country around Jerusalem, through electrification and irrigation, by utilizing the waters of the Jordan and the Yarmuk are successful, and there is no earthly reason to believe that these plans will not succeed, then Palestine should be able to sustain a population as large as that of Belgium.

A successful culmination of the Zionist movement would probably realize, in time, an emigration of 7,000,000 Jews from other lands, as the innate love of the average Jew for the cradleland of his race, coupled with glorious and thrilling memories of long ago, and the hard lot of misery and grinding toil now endured by many of them in different parts of the world, would be a powerful incentive to join the new settlements in the East. The tide of emigration is already beginning to flow strongly that way, and many flourishing Jewish colonies already exist in Palestine.

There is no reason from a physical viewpoint why Jerusalem and the surrounding country should not become the seat of a prosperous and successful State. The popular notion that Palestine is altogether a barren country, not capable of yielding rich harvests, is a mistaken one. Its appearance is barren only during the dry season, when the grasses which cover the greater part of it are dried up and the herdsmen retire with their flocks of sheep and goats to the loftier mountains. The alluvial lowland to the south of Mount Carmel is as fruitful as ever, and it only needs an honest and vigorous administration, under the plans for electrification and irrigation devised by Ruttenberg, to create in Palestine a land of intensive farming as well as a center of industrial activity. There is no reason why Palestine should not be to the eastern Mediterranean what Belgium is to the North Sea, a perfect beehive of industrial creation and commercial output.

An enlightened political management would not only rekindle the olden Jewish love of agriculture, but would revive

the ancient glories of Phoenician commerce through the ports of Acre and Jaffa, which would give an outlet to all the world.

All the spiritual and intellectual elements would certainly be present in the building and perpetuating of a new Jewish commonwealth in Palestine. The Bible and the Talmud would again be their religious guides and the charters of their freedom. A Maccabean soldiery would again defend their national frontiers. A Jerusalem parliament would be heard to echo the splendid eloquence of new Disraelis, Gambettas, and Castellers. Some new Josephus would record the growth of the expanding State, and the melodies of Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer would cheer and sanctify the domestic circles of happy Jewish homes. Such a commonwealth or republic is a consummation most devoutly to be wished if Jewish genius and civilization are to be lost, as is now feared, in some great maelstrom of war and in the readjustment of the boundaries of states and the realignment of races.

Why should not the nations of the world join in such an enterprise if the Jews desire it? Every kingdom of the earth has tried its hand at exterminating them and has failed. Why should they not now change the program for awhile and extend to the patriarch of the tribes, the old man of the centuries, a kindly and helping hand? England will turn Palestine over to the Jewish people at the proper time. Can we not afford—does not a solemn obligation rest upon us as a free and Christian people, to lend sympathy and support to the millions of struggling Jews who desire to link their lives and fortunes to the land of their fathers and with the early memories of their race?

But why should we give legislative sanction, even in the mild form of a mere resolution of sympathy and encouragement, to this movement, you may ask? What business is it of ours where they go and where they stay? Who are the Jews, anyway, that they should be claiming the special attention of the congresses and parliaments of the nations of the earth?

My reply is that the Jews are the most extraordinary people that ever inhabited this earth and that they have been throughout all history the chief benefactors of mankind. Their achievements and benefactions have in every age been out of all proportion to their numbers. They have never numbered and do not now number more than 1 per cent of the human race, and yet it has taken most of the time of the other 99 per cent to keep up with them and find out what they were doing. No other race has contained and exhibited such dynamic energy in small compass. Somebody has said that one Jew in town creates a sensation, two a riot, and three a revolution. A man like this not only deserves but always commands special attention and respect not only from individuals and groups but from congresses and parliaments as well. This fundamental notion of race superiority and race achievement is one of the great reasons for national legislative approval of this resolution.

Another cogent political reason is that an overwhelming majority of the approximately 3,000,000 Jews of America desire the passage of this resolution, and we should certainly pay some little respect to the desires of so important and respectable an element of our population and citizenship, especially when the action contemplated can do no possible harm to the balance of the country.

But how do you know, you may ask, that the majority of American Jews desire the passage of this resolution? I candidly admit that there has been no direct referendum on the subject among the Jews themselves, but I learn from the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee that there was an American Jewish Congress held not very long ago at Philadelphia at which delegates representing some 360,000 Jewish voters adopted a resolution by a practically unanimous vote indorsing the Zionist movement. In this connection I wish to quote a paragraph from the hearings containing the statement of Mr. Louis Lipsky, of New York City, who represented the Zionist Organization of America:

The Jews of the United States held a congress two years ago, after the Balfour declaration of the British Government, prior to the peace conference. There were over 360,000 Jews who voted for the delegates who attended that congress. In addition to the 360,000 voters, who elected 300 delegates, there were also 100 delegates elected by the following organizations, practically every national Jewish organization: The American Jewish Committee, of which Mr. Louis Marshall is chairman; the Independent Order B'nai B'rith, of which Mr. Adolph Kraus, of Chicago, is chairman; the Order B'rith Abraham; the Association of Orthodox Rabbis; the Independent Western Star Order; the Independent Workmen's Circle of America; the Progressive Order of the West; the United Synagogues of America, composed of the conservative congregations in the United States; the United Hebrew Trades, which represents an association of the Jewish trades-unions in New York City; the faculty of the Rabbinical College of America, of which Dr. Revell is the president; the Union of Orthodox Jewish Congregations, which is an organization of orthodox Jewish congregations somewhat similar to the United Synagogues, except that it is more

orthodox. The United Synagogues of America represents those organizations that are affiliated with the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York, of which the late Doctor Schechter was president.

At this congress the following resolutions were adopted practically unanimously. There was one gentleman who voted against them:

The American Jewish Congress, speaking for the Jews of America, expresses its appreciation of the historic and epoch-making declaration addressed by His Majesty's Government on November 2, 1917, to the Jewish people, through the Zionist organization, in which it approved of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and pledged to use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of this object * * * it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

It seems to me that the indorsement of the Zionist movement by an American Jewish congress, composed of delegates who were elected by the votes of 360,000 American Jews, is very good proof that the Jews of America very generally favor the pending resolution.

My personal observations and investigations also convince me that a large majority of them favor it. I represent a district in New York City in which at least 40 per cent of the people are Jews. They represent in a high degree the wealth, culture, and refinement of American Jewry. I have talked with hundreds of them and have received letters from hundreds of others, and an overwhelming majority have expressed themselves in favor of the resolution before us. On this point the opinion of Dr. Stephen S. Wise is the valuable testimony of an expert witness. The following telegram, signed by him, was sent during the hearings on the measure:

Regret impossible to appear before Foreign Affairs Committee meeting Friday morning. Earnestly hope for favorable action by committee on your resolution which represents the sympathies of the American people and meets the hopes of vast majority of American Jews.

STEPHEN. WISE.

I am proud to say that this brilliant Hebrew clergyman is one of my constituents and that I number him among my best personal friends.

I am well aware that no considerable number of American Jews will ever go to Palestine to live, even if a permanent homeland of their race is established there. But if they desire a refuge and an asylum in the land of their fathers for their suffering coreligionists scattered throughout the earth, it is our duty to pay some attention to their wishes in the matter of the passage of this resolution.

In the beginning of my speech I stated that our sense of justice and our sentiment of freedom should prompt us to pass this measure. I added that national gratitude should also prompt us, and with the subject of the gratitude of all the nations of the earth towards the Jews for immeasurable benefits received, I want now to deal briefly. I want to state why I believe that the nations of the earth are under a heavy debt of gratitude to the Jews and why they should all cooperate in the reestablishment and maintenance of a homeland in Palestine for the Jews, and in doing this I must of necessity attempt to define the just cause of gratitude and to describe the real attributes of true greatness.

I respectfully submit, my colleagues, that the true benefactor of mankind, the really great character of history, is not necessarily the king on the throne who, perchance, may have nothing upon a brainless head but a tinsel crown, nor the vulgar conqueror on the field of battle whose only title to greatness may be in the fact that millions of human beings have been slain through him. The true benefactor of mankind, the greatest character of all the race, is he who has contributed most substantially to the sum of human happiness and human good in the proclamations of the revelations of true religion, in the writing of good books, in the discovery of remedies for disease, in the founding of universities, libraries, hospitals, and asylums, and in those acts of personal service that alleviate human suffering, promote human joy, and elevate and ennoble human life.

The French people evidently acted according to the test of true greatness that I have just described when, a few years ago, at a popular election to determine which were the three greatest names in French history, they voted Pasteur first, Victor Hugo second, and Napoleon third. There are no gorgeous tombs, fit for dead deities, for Pasteur and Hugo, such as holds the ashes of the Corsican in the Invalides. No Arc de Triomphe is erected to their memory and to perpetuate their deeds. But the sane French judgment declared the physician and the writer greater than the warrior, and proclaimed the discoverer of the remedy for rabies and the author of *Les Misérables* greater than the victor of Austerlitz and Marengo.

Under this test of greatness the Jew is the greatest man of all this world, and to him should go out the deep gratitude and unstinted praise of all the nations, for he has been the unchal-

lenged leader of the race in religion and a close and dangerous competitor in every form of intellectual triumph.

In the British House of Lords recently Lord Balfour, author of the Balfour Declaration, delivered a powerful and impassioned speech in favor of a homeland for the Jews in Palestine. In a cable from London to the New York Herald of Thursday, June 22, I find the following paragraph:

An interesting feature of Lord Balfour's speech was a long and eloquent passage dealing with the tribulations of the Jewish race, their valuable contributions to art, philosophy, science, and religion, and the suggestion that Christendom should take the chance of giving the Jews a home where, in peace and quietness, they might develop their culture and traditions.

The sentiments attributed to Lord Balfour by this cabled dispatch are, in my humble judgment, the most just and powerful plea that can be made for Jewish rights to a distinct nationality and a separate home, namely, that his sufferings and tribulations, which I have sought to describe in the course of my remarks, as well as his spiritual and intellectual triumphs, which I shall now attempt briefly to describe, entitle him to special consideration and kindly treatment at the hands of the Christian nations of the world.

JEWISH ACHIEVEMENTS AS A GROUND FOR GRATITUDE. AS RELIGIONIST.

In the religious triumphs of history the Jew has been incomparable and supreme. In the beginning God appointed him his vicegerent on earth, clothed him with authority plenipotentiary in divine affairs, and revealed to him his oracles, with instructions to teach them to his own and to transmit them to all future generations of men.

The three great monotheistic faiths of mankind are Judaism, Christianity, and Mahometanism. The second is derived from the first and the third from the other two. All had their origin in Judean hills; all their birth and inspiration in the Old Testament of the Jews.

The mountains and valleys of Palestine are dotted with Jewish synagogues, Christian temples, and Mahometan mosques in which native worshippers and pilgrims from all the world kneel at the shrine of the Hebrew prophets.

On the top of Mount Sinai—

Says Disraeli in *Tancred*—

are two ruins, a Christian church and a Mahometan mosque. In this, the sublimest scene of Arabian glory, Israel and Ishmael alike raised their altars to the great God of Abraham.

Montesquieu likens the Jewish religion to the trunk of an old tree that has produced two branches which cover the earth. These branches are Christianity and Mahometanism. Again, he compares Judaism to a mother who has given birth to two daughters that have turned upon and covered the aged parent with wounds:

La religion juive est un vieux tronc qui a produit deux branches qui ont couvert toute la terre, je veux dire le Mahométisme et le Christianisme; ou plutôt c'est une mère qui a engendré deux filles qui l'ont accablée de mille plaies. (*Lettres Persanes*, LX.)

It must be remembered that Mahometans do not reject Moses and the prophets; nor do they reject Jesus. Mahomet believed and taught that Jesus was inspired but not divine. Mahometans class Jesus among the great prophets of Jehovah, but deny that he was a man-God by immaculate conception. Mahometanism rests upon the double basis of Judaism and Christianity. Paganism enters as an element but can not be considered as a basic principle.

We follow—

Says the Koran—

the religion of Abraham the orthodox, who was no idolater. We believe in God and that which hath been sent down unto Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, and that which was delivered unto Moses and Jesus, and that which was delivered unto the prophets from the Lord. We make no distinction between any of them, and to God we are resigned. (*Koran*, chap. 2.)

Mahometans contend that the Pentateuch was the moral and legal code of men in the early ages of the world; that when Jesus Christ appeared the law of Moses was superseded by the Gospels; and that with the coming of Mahomet the Koran displaced them all and became the final guide of men. This book they declare to be the completion of the law, since no more divine revelations are to follow, and they worship Mahomet as the last and very greatest of the prophets that have revealed the will of God to man.

It may be added that there are, in round numbers, about 565,000,000 Christians, 240,000,000 Mahometans, and 15,000,000 Jews on the earth, a total of 820,000,000. These numbers are in the aggregate only about one-half the population of the globe, but they represent the progress, enlightenment, and civilization of mankind.

The Jew is thus the founder and master builder of the great spiritual temple of the human race, whose corner stone is

Hebrew prophecy and whose gorgeous domes are the claims of Jesus and Mahomet to the messiahship of God.

All mankind should be profoundly grateful to the Jew for the precious gift of monotheism, which is the basis of all these faiths, and every nation should help restore him to his ancient homeland, in which monotheism flourished in pristine glory and in mortal combat with polytheism and paganism in the early ages of the world. No praise too high can be said, no help too great can be rendered to the children of the race that emerged from the plains of Mesopotamia in the twilight of history and from their Lilliputian kingdom in Palestine sent forth a religion not only for the earth but for the universe.

All praise, all honor, and all gratitude to the Jew for the gift of the Bible, whose Mosaic code is the most potent juridical as well as spiritual agency in the universe and whose Gospels are the most perfect flowers of all the religious literature of the world. The Bible is everywhere to be found—in the jungles of Africa, while crossing burning deserts, and amidst Arctic snows.

No ship ever puts to sea without this sacred treasure. It is found in the cave of the hermit, in the hut of the peasant, in the palace of the king, and in the Vatican of the pope. Its divine precepts furnish elements of morals and manliness in formative life to jubilant youth; cast a radiant charm about the strength of lusty manhood; and when life's pilgrimage is ended, offer to the dying patriarch who clasps it to his bosom a sublime solace as he crosses the great divide and passes into the twilight's purple gloom. This noble book has furnished not only the most enduring laws and the sublimest religious truths, but inspiration as well to the grandest intellectual triumphs. It is literally woven into the literature of the world, and few books of modern times are worth reading that do not reflect the sentiments of its sacred pages. All honor to the Jew who wrote it and gave it to us!

All praise, all honor, and all gratitude to the Jew for the gift of the Talmud, defined by Emanuel Deutsch as "a Corpus Juris, an encyclopedia of law—civil and penal, ecclesiastical and international, human and divine."

To appreciate the message and mission of the Talmud its contents must be viewed and contemplated in the light of both literature and history. As a literary production it is a masterpiece—strange, weird, and unique—but a masterpiece nevertheless. It is a sort of spiritual and intellectual cosmos in which the brain growth and soul burst of a great race found expression during a thousand years. As an encyclopedia of faith and scholarship it reveals the noblest thoughts and highest aspirations of a divinely commissioned race. Whatever the master spirits of Judaism in Palestine and Babylon esteemed worthy of thought and devotion was devoted to its pages. It thus became a great twin messenger, with the Bible, of Hebrew civilization to all the races of mankind and to all the centuries yet to come. To Hebrews it is still the great storehouse of information touching the legal, political, and religious traditions of their fathers in many lands and ages. To the biblical critic of any faith it is an invaluable help to Bible exegesis. And to all the world who care for the sacred and the solemn it is a priceless literary treasure.

As an historical factor the Talmud has only remotely affected the great currents of gentile history. But to Judaism it has been the cementing bond in every time of persecution and threatened dissolution. It was carried from Babylon to Egypt, northern Africa, Spain, Italy, France, Germany, and Poland. And when threatened with national and race destruction the children of Abraham in every land bowed themselves above its sacred pages and caught therefrom inspiration to renewed life and higher effort.

The Hebrews of every age have held the Talmud in extravagant reverence as the greatest sacred heirloom of their race. Their supreme affection for it has placed it above even the Bible. It is an adage with them that "the Bible is salt, the Mishna pepper, the Gemara balmy spice," and Rabbi Solomon ben Joseph sings:

The Kabbala and Talmud hoar
Than all the Prophets prize I more;
For water is all Bible lore,
But Mishna is pure wine.

More than any other human agency has the Talmud been instrumental in creating that strangest of all political phenomena—a nation without a country, a race without a fatherland.

AS PHYSICIAN.

Jewish achievements in medicine have been unsurpassed by those of any other race. To carry healing, both spiritual and physical, to the nations seems to have been the peculiar mission of the Jew. To preserve the body on earth and to save the

soul in heaven have been the chief objects of his care and solicitude in history.

In human history as a whole the Jew has had less formidable competition in medicine than in any other science. He was the physician par excellence of the Middle Ages. A superstitious reverence attached to his healing powers, so much so that when he became a convert to Christianity he was rejected as physician, because it was supposed that the change of religion had robbed him of the secrets of his art. Francis I. King of France, refused to employ a converted Jew as court physician for this reason. Thus closely were Jewish genius and the science of medicine identified in olden days.

The practice of medicine was an integral part of the religion of the ancient Hebrews, who regarded health and disease as emanating from the same divine source. "I kill, and I make alive; I wound, and I heal," suggested to the Hebrew mind the origin of every malady to which the flesh was heir. Medicine, then, was a sacred science; its practice was a divine calling, and the physician was the messenger of God. The strength of this sentiment may be imagined when it is remembered that the Bible identifies the blood with the soul. (Genesis ix, 4.) The Talmudists regard blood as the essential principle of life. (Hul. 125a.)

Time forbids an enumeration of all the kings, emperors, and popes who had Jewish physicians. Just a few may be mentioned by way of illustration. Maimonides was court physician to the Turkish Sultan Saladin, and, according to the Arabian historian Al-Kitti, he declined a similar position offered him by Richard Coeur-de-Lion, afterwards Richard I, King of England. Queen Elizabeth of England had as court physician Rodrigo Lopez, a Spanish Jew. Farragut, a Jew, was court physician to Charlemagne. Jacob Ben Jehiel Loans, a Jew, was physician to Emperor Frederick III, of Germany, and received from that monarch the order of knighthood. Elias Montalto, a Jew, was physician to Maria di Medici. King Charles IV, of Denmark, had as court physician Benjamin Musafia, a Jew.

A complete list of popes and potentates who employed physicians of Jewish blood would be too long to read. And let it be understood that popes and princes had no monopoly upon the medical skill of the Jews. Their beneficent deeds enrich the pages of all history. Maestre Bernal, ship physician, and Marco, ship surgeon to Columbus, were both Jews. Suffice it to say that in all ages and in all lands, from the hut of the peasant to the palace of the king and the Vatican of the pope, they have crept silently in to minister to the sufferings of humanity.

And it may be confidently asserted that the modern Jew as physician is not unworthy of his people's illustrious past. While the Jews can not justly claim monopoly in the triumphs of modern medicine, every race having its great ornaments and lights, yet it can not be truthfully denied that they are most worthy among the disciples of Aesculapius, of Hippocrates, and Galen.

It may be safely asserted that before the Great War the medical department of the University of Vienna was without a superior in the world. Students from every continent flocked in great numbers to this celebrated school of medicine. Suffice it to say, as a final tribute to the skill of the Jew as physician, that 12 of the professorships of this famous university were held by the Jews in 1900.

AS PHILANTHROPIST.

Closely identified with religion and medicine, in the matter of healing, mercy, and love, is philanthropy.

One of the most stupendous acts of charity recorded in history was that of a Jew, Baron Hirsch, who donated \$100,000,000 to philanthropic purposes. This donation was made to help his suffering and struggling coreligionists throughout the world.

A single sentence is a key to the character of this magnanimous, generous-hearted man. A friend sent him a message of sympathy when he lost his only child in 1887. Hirsch sent this reply:

My son I have lost, but not my heir; humanity is my heir.

Another distinguished Jewish philanthropist was Sir Moses Montefiore, who devoted his life and fortune to works of charity. The celebration of his one hundredth birthday was almost a national event in England. Telegrams of congratulation were received from Queen Victoria, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, as well as from thousands of beneficiaries of his philanthropy throughout the world.

The charity of no other race is so well organized, so systematic, and so universal as that of the Jew. Like everything else Jewish, it has a scriptural basis. "Thou shalt open thine hand wide unto thy brethren and shall surely lend him suffi-

cient for his need in that which he wanteth" is the foundation of all Jewish philanthropy.

More than 200 years ago the burghers of New Amsterdam gave permission to a few Jews to settle among them "upon condition that they should always support their own poor." In the light of history, ancient and modern, this condition was superfluous and even amusing. In no age of the world have Jews permitted gentiles to take care of their poor. They have frequently contributed generously to gentile charity funds, but have generally refused to receive anything in return. Sir Moses Montefiore, at the age of 76, went to the office of the London Times after midnight to solicit relief for the Christians of Syria. He himself subscribed £200 and personally collected over £20,000. These things he did for the persecutors of his race.

In 1860 Adolphe Crémieux, the celebrated Jewish advocate of France, addressed an impassioned appeal to his coreligionists throughout Europe in behalf of the starving Christians of Lebanon. Was this appeal not genuinely of the spirit of Christ? Did not Crémieux ask his fellow Jews to "turn the other cheek" and to "do good for evil"?

Even the munificent gifts of Baron Hirsch were not confined to members of his own race. He is recorded as saying:

In relieving human suffering I never ask whether the cry of necessity comes from a being who belongs to my faith or not; but what is more natural than that I should find my highest purpose in bringing to the followers of Judaism who have been oppressed for a thousand years, who are starving in misery, the possibilities of a physical and moral regeneration?

AS PHILOSOPHER.

Philo, Maimonides, Spinoza, and Mendelssohn were great Jewish philosophers.

Philo was an Alexandrian philosopher and a contemporary of Jesus. His learning was prodigious. He was deeply versed in grammar, rhetoric, music, Greek literature, and all the physical and mathematical sciences of his age as well as in everything that was Hebrew in religion and philosophy.

Maimonides, "the Jewish Aristotle," possessed the finest intellect of all the learned men of the Middle Ages. His great endeavor seems to have been to reconcile divine with human wisdom as manifested by Aristotle.

Spinoza was a Dutch Jewish philosopher, a pupil of the Amsterdam Talmud Torah, a man whose utter intellectual fearlessness embroiled him constantly, in matters of religion and philosophy, with his coreligionists, causing the rabbis to try him and to place him first under the lesser and later under the great ban, and finally to drive him to a renunciation of Judaism.

In Professor Herz's studio at Berlin is a bust of Mendelssohn, upon which is the following inscription:

Moses Mendelssohn,
The greatest sage since Socrates,
His own Nation's glory
Any Nation's ornament,
The confident
Of Lessing and of Truth,
He died
As he lived
Serene and wise.

AS HISTORIAN.

Josephus, Neander, Graetz, Palgrave, and Geiger were Jewish historians, who rank among the greatest in the world.

Josephus, after nearly 2,000 years, is the great authority on Jewish history of ancient times. His only rival for the first place among Jewish historians is Graetz, author of "The History of the Jews from the Earliest Times to the Present Day."

AS ASTRONOMER AND MATHEMATICIAN.

The greatest astronomer and mathematician of Jewish blood was Sir William Herschel. Other great mathematicians were Sylvester, sometime professor of mathematics at Johns Hopkins University; Jacobi, German Jewish mathematician, after whom certain intricate functions are termed "Jacobians"; Filipowski, compiler of antilogarithmic tables; Gomperts, Terquem, and Kronecker.

The fame of Dr. Albert Einstein is not yet permanently established, but there are many competent judges in the world who believe that he will yet take his place in the history of the science of astronomy and mathematics at the side of Sir Isaac Newton.

AS ORATOR AND STATESMAN.

Disraeli, Gambetta, Castelar, Lasker, Benjamin, and Rathenau were Jews.

Benjamin Disraeli in England, Leon Gambetta in France, Emelio Castelar in Spain, Judah P. Benjamin in America, Edward Lasker and Walter Rathenau in Germany, were types of all that is superb in oratory and profound in statesmanship.

As British Prime Minister, Disraeli launched the world policy of Queen Victoria and made her Empress of India. The high-water mark of Jewish success in statesmanship was reached

by this eminent Hebrew, and when he died the English laid him to rest in Westminster Abbey among their kings, statesmen, and heroes.

Gambetta, of Genoese-Jewish extraction, was the greatest orator of the French, with the possible exception of Mirabeau. He was a fierce and uncompromising republican, and his grandest oratorical efforts were panegyrics of republicanism.

Emelio Castelar, a Jew, was the most famous Spanish orator of any time. Instances are related where strangers traveled from distant points in Europe to Madrid to hear him speak an hour before the Cortes. When he addressed this body in later life the chamber was always crowded and cards of admission commanded an exorbitant price. His genius was so pronounced that all parties delighted to honor him. His oration on the candidacy of Amadeus for the kingship of Spain is the most gorgeous production in oratorical literature. It is a perfect "field of cloth of gold" in metaphor and imagery. He was chief magistrate and virtual dictator of the short-lived Spanish Republic from September, 1874, to January, 1875.

Judah P. Benjamin was the ablest and most illustrious Jew ever born in the Western Hemisphere. He was very great as orator, statesman, and lawyer. His political career was comprised in public service within the offices of United States Senator from Louisiana and of Attorney General, Secretary of War, and Secretary of State, successively, of the Confederate States of America.

Edward Lasker, once leader of the Liberal Party in the German Reichstag, was the only man whom Bismarck ever feared in parliamentary debate. He was an enthusiastic patriot and altogether above reproach. In general outline he closely resembled the late Carl Schurz in independent notions and lofty ideals.

Walter Rathenau, late Minister of Foreign Affairs of the German Republic, was a Jew. He was the mainstay of the cabinet of Chancellor Wirth, and the Germans were beginning to look to him as the Moses who would lead them out of the wilderness of economic disaster and death. His assassination a few days ago was an irreparable loss to Germany and a distinct menace to the peace of the world.

AS FINANCIER.

Jewish genius in finance has become proverbial and need not be discussed by me. Suffice it to say that the Rothschilds determined for decades in Europe questions of peace and war. Other great Jewish financiers in Europe are the Bleichröders, of Germany. The Schiffs, Seligmans, and Guggenheims are well-known American financiers.

AS LABOR LEADER AND POLITICAL ECONOMIST.

The world has been so long accustomed to regard the Jew as a financier and to identify his genius and achievements with finance, that the statement may seem strange to some that several among the world's greatest labor leaders have been Jews. The average Jew can not decry either capital or labor without denouncing the occupations and assailing the reputations of many of the most illustrious of his race. If capital has numbered among its greatest exponents the Rothschilds, Bleichröders, and Seligmans, labor has counted among its grandest champions other great Jewish names: Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, Victor Adler, and Samuel Gompers.

AS ACTOR AND ACTRESS.

Jewish genius has been incomparable on the stage. The greatest actress dead, with the possible exception of the English actress, Mrs. Siddons, was Rachel, a Jewess. The greatest living actress, indeed the greatest actress that ever lived, is Sarah Bernhardt, a Jewess. The greatest of modern actors was Adolph von Sonnenthal, a Jew, the dramatic idol of the Austrian capital during three decades. A few years ago the New York Herald printed an article on Sonnenthal. The following are two paragraphs from that article:

In 1881 was celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of his connection with the Hofburg Theater. The people went wild with enthusiasm. After the performance they took the horses from the carriage and drew him through the streets. Among the distinguished persons who witnessed the performance was the Emperor of Austria, the Crown Prince, and all the members of the court.

There is in Austria an imperial mandate forbidding audiences to call actors before the curtain, but on this night it was revoked by special permission and Sonnenthal was called out no less than 42 times.

AS MUSICIAN.

Mendelssohn, Meyerbeer, Offenbach, Goldmark, Joachim, Rubinstein, and Strauss were Jews. It may be contended, and with truth, that no one of these musicians possessed the musical genius of Wagner, Mozart, or Beethoven; but, nevertheless, each one of them was a master of his art and the history of music would not be complete without mention of the names of all of them.

AS POET.

The author of the Book of Job and the author of the Book of Psalms were doubtless Hebrews, and were the greatest of all Hebrew poets, for the poetry of Job and the poetry of the Psalms are incomparably the noblest of all poetry of all the literature of the earth.

The greatest of modern Jewish poets were Jehuda Halevi, of Spain, author of the "Elegy of Zion," and Heinrich Heine, of Germany, author of "The Lorelei."

AS PAINTER AND SCULPTOR.

Hebrew civilization has not been very greatly enriched by triumphs in art. In neither painting nor sculpture have the sons of Israel succeeded grandly. The annals of Hebrew great names reveal no Phidias, no Appelles, no Canova, no Raphael. In every sphere of intellectual and spiritual activity, excepting art, Hebrew genius has scored magnificent victories. And failure in art was not remotely due to barrenness of intellect or soul but to the heavenly decree, "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of anything that is in the heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth." During all the ages this divine command from Sinai paralyzed and destroyed Hebrew creative genius in works of art. More than once Josephus calls attention to the effect of this ordinance upon the national life of Israel.

It is worthy of note that the express command of the law forbidding images was not more potent in the destruction of plastic art than was the spirit of the Hebrew faith in its warfare upon idolatry among pagan nations. Graeco-Roman polytheism offered the highest incentive to the development of art. To bring the gods in ever more beautiful forms before the eye of the worshipper was the great aim of the Greek and Roman artists.

But diametrically opposed to the pagan conception of the forms and number of the heavenly powers was Hebrew monotheism that believed in but one God, who was purely spiritual, and therefore invisible, intangible, and unapproachable. Judaism delighted to lift its Deity above the sensual, material, and corporeal things of earth and to represent Him as a pure and sinless spirit. This conception of the Creator of the universe and this monotheistic faith, which was in direct antagonism to polytheistic belief, were equally destructive of plastic art with the express command of the law itself. And this is more certainly true since the highest inspiration to triumphs in art in every age have been the actions of the gods and goddesses themselves. The masterpiece of ancient art was the Olympian Zeus of Phidias. The masterpiece of modern art is the Sistine Madonna of Raphael. And when the Hebrews forbade the representation of their Deity in plastic form they shut out the highest inspiration to artistic triumph.

Again, the Hebrew sense of chastity was offended by the immorality of pagan myths as embodied in plastic form. The artistic beauty of certain Greek and Roman statues the Hebrews believed was better fitted to deprave than to purify the moral sentiments of mankind. They saw that the Rape of Ganymede, sanctifying pederasty in marble, was a masterpiece of Grecian sculpture. They felt that the painting of Aphrodite, ensnared and caught in a net with Ares, was not too well calculated to instill pure and virtuous thoughts in the minds of tender youth and of modest maidens who looked upon and contemplated it. They knew that every street corner of Athens and of Rome was marked by an image of some god whose mythic history was filled with inebriety and lust. The Hebrew conscience shrank with terror and with loathing from the serpent of immorality coiled beneath the marble flowers of Grecian and Roman art.

The blighting effect of the Sinaitic condemnation of art fell upon architecture as well as upon painting and sculpture. The houses of ancient Palestine were wholly destitute of artistic beauty, and the palaces and the temples at Jerusalem were constructed after non-Jewish models. Roman architecture was employed in the building of the magnificent palace of Herod; and Phoenician workmen from Tyre and Sidon were imported to build the temples of Solomon and of Zerubbabel. (Ezra iii, 7.)

Let it be said, however, that modern Judaism seems to have broken completely away from the ancient prohibition concerning images, and modern Jewish art is beginning to develop into forms of great beauty and power. Solomon J. Solomon ranks among the greatest of English artists, and Joseph Israels has glorified the art of painting in his celebrated delineations of Dutch fisher life. It is probable that the greatest of all Jewish sculptors was Moses J. Ezekiel, born in Richmond, Va., whose works have been exhibited in the chief art centers

of Europe, and whose statue of "Religious Liberty" adorns Fairmount Park, Philadelphia.

Mr. Speaker, I could spend the entire day telling the Members of this House about the triumphs of Jewish genius in religion, literature, science, and art if time permitted and occasion demanded, but I must stop. I could proceed to further describe his triumphs in fiction and romance and in the minor subjects of botany and biology and philology and chess playing, in all of which Jewish genius has shone brilliantly. But I repeat that I must stop.

The only justification for this lengthy discussion of Jewish achievement is that it serves to emphasize my hearty approval of the contention of Lord Balfour in his recent speech before the House of Lords that Jewish achievements, constituting civilization's most valuable contribution, entitle the Jew to the sympathy, encouragement, and aid of the civilized nations of the earth in the matter of helping to reestablish for him a homeland in Palestine.

Reduced to the plainest terms of colloquial formula, the Jew may say this to the Christian peoples of the earth: I have given you the sublimest religious truths in the laws of Moses, in the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, in the songs of David, and in the teachings of Jesus of Nazareth. In these laws and prophecies and songs and teachings I have pointed you the way to a blessed and an eternal life. I have given you much that is grand and beautiful in literature, music, and art. With my hands tied behind me and my heart burdened to the breaking point with a bitter load of hatred and persecution, I have yet managed from the cave of the prophets and from the manger of the Christ, from the filth of the Judengasse, and from the darkness of the hovels of the Ghetto to contribute more than my share to the great cause of liberty, humanity, and civilization among men. Now, will you not help me? Will you not aid me in the reestablishment of a homeland among the sacred places of my race, where I can escape persecution, where I can once again feel the pride and thrill of free and national life, and where the banner of the Jew can once again float proudly from the battlements of Jerusalem? If mankind is not ungrateful and if civilization is not craven, the answer to this question will be "yes" in language, and assistance in action translated immediately into deeds.

OBJECTIONS TO THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT.

But are there no objections to the Zionist movement and consequently to the pending resolution, you may ask? Certainly. There was never a noble enterprise or a great movement in the history of the world that somebody did not rise and object. Christianity itself was not founded without the crucifixion of its Author and without centuries of persecution of His followers. The American Republic was not established until after the English people had offered bitter and bloody objection during seven years and eight months of arduous toil and bitter struggle. Tariff bills are never passed in this House without serious objection from the Democrats, and rivers and harbors bills providing for the irrigation of southern rivers would go through if objections were not made by Republicans. We should not be bothered by objections, but we should hear them freely and answer them candidly and fairly.

It must be candidly admitted that a considerable number of very intelligent and patriotic Jews in America are opposed to the Zionist movement and object to the passage of this resolution. I believe that they are in a decided minority, but the very structure and genius of our Government, as well as its finest traditions, demand fair play for minorities and protection for their rights whenever possible, and we must hear and consider their plea in this case patiently and fully. To this end I have read the hearings on this resolution before the Foreign Affairs Committee carefully three times from beginning to end. I resolved in the beginning of the consideration of this subject not to act hastily, and I have arrived at my conclusions after prolonged and diligent research.

The time at my disposal does not permit me to consider other than the leading objections that have been made to the project of founding for the Jews a homeland in Palestine and to the passage of this resolution, and, in order to proceed clearly and systematically, I shall classify at once these objections.

The opponents of political Zionism, which is proposed by this resolution, as opposed to orthodox Zionism and to economic Zionism, about which there seems to be little dispute among the Jews, make the following main contentions:

1. That political Zionism—that is, a political State in Palestine for the Jewish people—is not desirable or permissible, since Judaism is a religion and not a nationality, and since the Jews are nationals of the country in which they are born and

in which they live and should be faithful to the land of their birth and of their domicile.

2. That political Zionism can not be realized in Palestine; that is, that a political State can not be established with the Jews in dominant control without violating the rights, under principles of self-determination, of the non-Jewish races of the country.

I believe that this is a full and fair statement of the two great objections of the opponents of the pending resolution, and I shall discuss them as briefly as possible in the order in which I have stated them.

Regarding the first objection, I wish to quote Rabbi Philipson, of Cincinnati, one of the opponents of this resolution. At the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee, Doctor Philipson said:

There are those of us who feel that Jewish nationalism does not express the true interpretation of Judaism. We feel that Judaism is a religion and that we are nationals of the country in which we are born and in which we live.

In support of his views and contention, Doctor Philipson read the following resolution of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at one of their meetings at Richmond, Va.:

We are unalterably opposed to political Zionism. The Jews are not a nation but a religious community. Zion was a precious possession of the past, the early home of our faith, where our prophets uttered their world-subduing thoughts, and our psalmists sang their world-enchanting hymns. As such it is a holy memory, but it is not our hope of the future. America is our Zion. Here, in the home of religious liberty we have aided in founding this new Zion, the fruition of the beginning laid in the old. The mission of Judaism is spiritual, not political. Its aim is not to establish a State, but to spread the truths of religion and humanity throughout the world.

This is all splendid and inspiring sentiment, and when the Jews at Richmond proclaimed America their Zion we are compelled to applaud their patriotism. But I know that they will pardon me if I remind them, even with a slight touch of sarcasm and cynicism, that the Zionist movement is not intended primarily for American Jews, who are happy in the possession of American citizenship and in comparative freedom from religious persecution. It is intended primarily for the wretched Jews of Russia, Rumania, and Poland who are practically shut out from this American Zion by foolishly rigid immigration laws.

Doctor Philipson and the Jews at Richmond, in drawing too nice distinctions concerning the meaning and mission of Judaism, seem to have forgotten that there are certainly differences at times between a Jew as a man and a Jew as a religionist. A certain analyst is said to have discovered that Jews and Judaism are identical, and that if Jewish blood be examined under a microscope floating particles of the Bible and the Talmud may be found. This is all well as a matter of humor, but I insist that there is such a thing as a Jew who is a man, a human being, a citizen and a patriot, and this aside from any consideration of religion or religious belief. I further contend that this man is entitled to the rights of a freeman, which include benefits of independent nationality and citizenship, and protection furthermore against bodily oppression as well as religious persecution.

Believing this, I shall support this resolution and vote for it because it tends to establish and preserve these rights to the oppressed and persecuted Jews of southeastern Europe who will never be able to reach our shores because of the inhospitable barriers that have been erected against them.

Mr. Speaker, I respectfully submit that the attitude of Doctor Philipson and of the Jews of the Union of American Hebrew Congregations at Richmond and their attempt to define Jewish citizenship and nationality are nothing new in history. They are merely a revival of recurring inquiries and discussions of the subject that have taken place in every age of the world since the beginning of the Jewish dispersion. I ask the indulgence of the House while I discuss briefly this phase of the subject.

After the fall of Jerusalem (A. D. 70) the Jew was a wanderer for many centuries upon the earth without a home and country. Until the closing years of the eighteenth century the Christian governments of Europe denied him the simplest rights of a free man and a citizen. While not a slave in the sense of chattel property, the Jews were frequently regarded as an attachment of the soil, like the ancient Spartan helots, and were transferred from one sovereign to another. At other times, having been despoiled of their goods, they were expelled by wholesale and without ceremony from the countries which they had come to regard as their homes.

The expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492 by an edict of Ferdinand and Isabella was a most painful epoch in the history of the Hebrew race. The real reason of this wholesale persecu-

tion was the fact that the Jews refused to become Christians when commanded to do so by a fanatically pious Spanish sovereign. According to Isidore Loeb 165,000 Jews left their homes and wandered away into exile in foreign lands. History relates many pathetic incidents that marked the beginning of this dispersion. Great numbers of the Jewish community of Segovia passed the last three days of their stay in the city in the Jewish cemetery, fasting and wailing over being parted from their beloved dead. Jews were not permitted to inhabit Spain again until 1858, when a Republic was established, and a repeal of the ancient edict of expulsion was secured from General Prim through the influence of H. Guedella, of London. But even then they were not allowed rights of unrestricted citizenship.

The French Revolution brought liberty and equality to Jews as well as to gentiles in France, and gave rights of citizenship to all.

The Jews were not completely emancipated in England until 1858, when they were admitted to Parliament without being compelled to take the oath, "On the faith of a true Christian."

It must not be imagined, however, that the free and enlightened policies of France, England, and the United States have been elsewhere pursued. Very few substantial rights of citizenship were enjoyed prior to the Russian Revolution under Krensky by either Russian or Rumanian Jews; and, it may be added, nearly 7,000,000 Jews, about one-half of the total Jewish population of the earth, lived at that time in Russia and Rumania.

The political status of the Jew 150 years ago was a puzzle to the brainiest statesmen of Europe. Although the year 1793 witnessed the revolutionary emancipation of the Jews in France, Napoleon did not afterwards regard them as citizens. He once said:

The Jews are not in the same category with the Christians. We have to judge them by the political not the civil right, for they are not citizens.

And to gain desired information concerning them for the purpose of framing appropriate legislation for the Jews in the general reconstruction of the Empire after the French Revolution, he propounded the following 12 questions to the Sanhedrin of France:

1. Is it lawful for Jews to have more than one wife?
2. Is divorce allowed by the Jewish religion? Is divorce valid, although pronounced not by the courts of justice but by virtue of laws in contradiction to the French Code?
3. May a Jewess marry a Christian, or a Jew a Christian woman, or does Jewish law order that the Jews should intermarry among themselves?
4. In the eyes of the Jews are Frenchmen not of the Jewish religion considered as brethren or as strangers?
5. What conduct does Jewish law prescribe toward Frenchmen not of the Jewish religion?
6. Do the Jews born in France and treated by the law as French citizens acknowledge France as their country? Are they bound to defend it? Are they bound to obey the laws and follow the directions of the Civil Code?
7. Who elects the rabbis?
8. What kind of police jurisdiction do the rabbis exercise over the Jews? What judicial powers do they exercise over them?
9. Are the police jurisdiction of the rabbis and the forms of election regulated by Jewish law or are they only sanctioned by custom?
10. Are there professions from which the Jews are excluded by their law?
11. Does Jewish law forbid the Jews to take usury from their brethren?
12. Does it forbid or does it allow usury in dealing with strangers?

To these questions the French Sanhedrin made the following replies:

1. That, in conformity with the decree of R. Gershom, polygamy is forbidden to the Israelites.
2. That divorce by the Jewish law is valid only after previous decision by the civil authorities.
3. That the religious act of marriage must be preceded by a civil contract.
4. That every Israelite is religiously bound to consider his non-Jewish fellow citizens as brothers and to aid, protect, and love them as though they were coreligionists.
6. That the Israelite is required to consider the land of his birth or adoption as his fatherland, and shall love and defend it when called upon.
7. That Judaism does not forbid any kind of handicraft or occupation.
8. That it is commendable for Israelites to engage in agriculture, manual labor, and the arts, as their ancestors in Palestine were wont to do.
9. That, finally, Israelites are forbidden to exact usury from Jew or Christian.

These questions and answers formed the basis of all subsequent legislation by the French Government in regard to Jewish religious affairs and plans.

Ascher, the great Jewish teacher, framed this catechism for the Jewish youth of England:

Has the Jew a fatherland besides Jerusalem?
Yes, the country wherein he is bred and born, and in which he has the liberty to practice his religion, and where he is allowed to carry on traffic and trade and enjoy all the advantages and protection of

the law in common with the citizens of other creeds, this country the Israelite is bound to acknowledge as his fatherland, to the benefit of which he must do his best to contribute. The sovereign who rules over this land is (after God) his sovereign; its laws, so long as they are not contradictory to the divine law, are also the Israelite's laws, and the duties of his fellow citizens are also his duties.

This catechism and the answer of the French Sanhedrin defined clearly the Jewish notion of the citizenship and fatherland of the Jews under the dispersion.

But it must be conceded that in the case of this strange and extraordinary people there is a peculiar kind of fatherland known to no other race; a fatherland not based upon the soil of earth, nor bounded by streams or mountains, nor subject to the pains and penalties of physical decay and death; a fatherland whose kingdom is of the spirit and whose law is the word of God. Hear Heine describe this fatherland:

The Jews may console themselves for having lost Jerusalem and the temple; and the Ark of the Covenant, and the golden vessels and the precious things of Solomon. Such a loss is merely insignificant in comparison with the Bible, the imperishable treasure which they have rescued. If I do not err, it was Mahomet who named the Jews "the people of the Book," a name which has remained theirs to the present day on the earth and which is deeply characteristic. A book is their very fatherland, their treasure, their governor, their bliss, and their bane. They live within the peaceful boundaries of this book. Here they exercise their inalienable rights. Here they can neither be driven along nor despised. Here they are strong and worthy of admiration. Absorbed in the city of this book, they observed little of the changes which went on about them in the real world; nations arose and perished; States bloomed and disappeared; revolutions stormed forth out of the soil; but they laid bowed down over their book and observed nothing of the wild tumult of the times which passed over their heads.

Zebulon B. Vance, quoting Prof. Maury, compares the great human current of this strange Jewish fatherland to the Gulf Stream:

There is a river in the ocean; in the severest droughts it never fails and in the mightiest floods it never overflows. The Gulf of Mexico is its fountain, and its mouth is in the Arctic seas. It is the Gulf Stream. There is in the world no other such majestic flow of water. Its current is more rapid than the Mississippi or the Amazon and its volume more than a thousand times greater. Its waters as far out from the Gulf as the Carolina coasts are of an indigo blue; they are so distinctly marked that their lines of junction with the common sea water may be traced by the eye. Often one-half of a vessel may be perceived floating in the Gulf Stream water while the other half is in common water of the sea, so sharp is the line and such is the want of affinity between these waters, and such, too, the reluctance, so to speak, on the part of the Gulf Stream to mingle with the common water of the sea. (Prof. M. F. Maury.)

This curious phenomenon in the physical world has its counterpart in the moral. There is a lonely river in the midst of the ocean of mankind. The mightiest flood of human temptation has never caused it to overflow and the fiercest fires of human cruelty, though seven times heated in the furnace of religious bigotry, have never caused it to dry up, although its waves for 2,000 years have rolled crimson with the blood of its martyrs. Its fountain is in the gray dawn of the world's history and its mouth is somewhere in the shadows of eternity. It, too, refuses to mingle with the surrounding waves, and the line which divides its restless billows from the common waters of humanity is also plainly visible to the eye. It is the Jewish race. (Vance.)

This conception of a fatherland above the earth and having no physical boundaries may seem to many a far-fetched thought, a strained political metaphor, but the idea is not new nor is it confined to spiritual kingdoms. Waldstein says:

The abolition of slavery and the Renaissance are as much a fatherland as are England, Germany, France, or the United States.

Kosciusko was once asked where his country was. "Where freedom is not," was the reply of the valiant Pole; and whether in the wilderness of America or on the plains of Poland, Kosciusko felt at home and within the boundaries of his fatherland, provided his sword was unsheathed in the name of liberty.

Mr. Speaker, the historical considerations that I have just presented to the House merely show that the contentions of Doctor Philipson and his coreligionists at Richmond are nothing new, since the political status of the Jew for centuries past has been settled not only by the catechism of Ascher and the answers of the French Sanhedrin but also by the terms of the oaths taken by Jews under the naturalization laws of the different countries in which they have settled. The Ascher catechism says emphatically that "the country wherein he is bred and born" is the fatherland of the Jew. The French Sanhedrin emphatically answered the inquiry of Napoleon by saying "that the Israelite is required to consider the land of his birth or adoption as his fatherland."

All this is sensible and logical enough; indeed, it is the only rational solution of the problem of Jewish citizenship and nationality, while the Jews are scattered throughout the world and have no country of their own. No other solution or determination of the political status of the Jew could be made unless we admit the correctness of the principle that there can be a State within a State, imperium in imperio, or unless we make the Jew an outcast upon the earth, without home or country.

But, in the name of reason and common sense, what is there in all this that offers a serious objection to the Zionist movement or to the passage of this resolution? Is there anything

fixed, eternal, unchangeable, and irrevocable in Jewish citizenship that holds the Jew forever chained to the country of his birth or adoption? Does not international law sanction change of citizenship from one country to another? Do not the immigration and naturalization laws of all nations permit expatriation and repatriation without the slightest trace of a stain of treason? Is anything more required by the laws of man, nature, or God of the Jewish citizen or of the citizen of any other race than loyalty to his country during the continuance of his citizenship?

Furthermore, is it not well to remember that the duties and obligations of the citizen toward the country and the country toward the citizen are mutual and reciprocal? Should the citizen be required to render obedience to the laws of the country, to pay taxes, to support the Government, and to defend the flag in times of war, unless the country is willing and able to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of his rights of life, liberty, and property, as well as the pursuit of happiness, at all times? If the country fails in its obligations, is not the citizen absolved from his duties?

American Jews are obedient to the laws of the country and have shown themselves true patriots in every period of our history, both in peace and war, and the Government of our country has protected them in the enjoyment of their legal and political rights. There would be no Zionist question if this state of things existed throughout the world. But what about the Jews of Russia, Rumania, and Poland? Will the opponents of this resolution seriously contend that they owe any particular love, loyalty, or allegiance to the governments of their countries?

Permit me at this point, Mr. Speaker, to consider the second of the main objections to political Zionism and to the passage of this resolution. It has been urged by the opponents of this measure that the principle of the right of self-determination would be violated by the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine with the Jews in dominant control. It is pointed out by these opponents that the entire population of Palestine is about 700,000, and that of this number about 500,000 are Mahometan Arabs, about 110,000 are Christians of various sects and denominations, and that about 90,000 are Jews. It is urged that, upon the principle of the right of self-determination, these 500,000 Arabs should not be compelled to submit to the domination of a Jewish minority in the country.

Mr. Speaker, I believe firmly in the doctrine of self-government or self-determination as representing a sacred principle in government. Lincoln's "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" is not possible without strict observance and application of the rights of self-determination. But I must insist that it does not become the American Congress or the American Government to prate too loudly at this time about the sacred rights of the Arabs in Palestine, in the light of our treatment of the Filipinos during the last quarter of a century, and in view of the fact that every civilized nation of the earth, excepting the United States, has acknowledged the independence de jure of Esthonia and Latvia upon principles of self-determination.

Our American theories of government are always glittering successes, but our practices are oftentimes dismal failures. We boast of personal liberty in America and then tolerate the Volstead Act upon the statute books. I say to you that there will be no genuine personal liberty in America again until that act is repealed or radically modified. But I shall not stop to discuss or denounce prohibition, since the subject of debate is the Zionist movement.

I want to make at this time, Mr. Speaker and gentlemen of the House, my attitude and views upon the Arab question in Palestine very clear and emphatic. I am in favor of carrying out one of the three following policies, to be preferred in the order in which they are named:

(1) That the Arabs shall be permitted to remain in Palestine under Jewish government and domination, and with their civil and religious rights guaranteed to them through the British mandate and under terms of the Balfour declaration.

(2) That if they will not consent to Jewish government and domination, they shall be required to sell their lands at a just valuation and retire into the Arab territory which has been assigned to them by the League of Nations in the general reconstruction of the countries of the East.

(3) That if they will not consent to Jewish government and domination, under conditions of right and justice, or to sell their lands at a just valuation and to retire into their own countries, they shall be driven from Palestine by force.

Mr. Speaker, I wish to discuss briefly each of these alternatives in order. And first let me read the now celebrated Balfour declaration of date of November 2, 1917, during the progress of the Great War, and afterwards incorporated in the preamble

of the British mandate authorized by the League of Nations. The Balfour declaration was in the following language:

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

If this is not a condensed and at the same time a complete bill of rights both for the Arabs of Palestine and for the Jews who intend to remain in their present homelands outside of Palestine, I have never read or seen one. It is conceded by the Arabs themselves that the present government of the country under the British mandate and through the Zionist organization as an administrative agency is infinitely better than the government of the Turks who were chased out of the country by Allenby, the British general. It is probably better than any that the Arabs could create and maintain for themselves.

I respectfully submit that the Arabs in Palestine should be and would be happy and contented under the present government of that country if it were not for Turkish and Arab agitators, who travel around over the land stirring up trouble by making false representations concerning the true character of the Zionist movement, and by preaching a kind of holy war against the immigrant Jews who arrive from day to day. The Arabs are well represented in the personnel of the present Palestine administration, which has recognized their language as one of the official languages of the country, and has given official standing to the Moslem religion.

There is no good reason why the Jews and Arabs should not live together in perfect peace and harmony in Palestine. They are all Semitic in blood and language, and all worship the same God and the same Hebrew prophets. Instead of being antagonistic there is every race and religious reason for peace and harmony.

In the second place, if the Arabs do not wish to remain in Palestine under Jewish government and domination there is plenty of room outside in purely Arab surroundings. The British Government and her allies made overtures and gave pledges to the Arab people to furnish them lands and protect their freedom in consideration of Arab alliance with the Allies during the World War. That pledge has been kept. The Hedjaz kingdom was established in ancient Arabia, and Hussein, Grand Sheriff of Mecca, was made king and freed from all Turkish influence. The son of King Hussein, Prince Feisal, is now the head of the kingdom of Mesopotamia, and Arab predominance in that country has been assured by the Allies to the Arab people.

Mesopotamia is alone capable of absorbing 30,000,000 people, according to a report submitted to the British Government by the Great English engineer, Sir William Wilcocks. Arab rights are also fully recognized and protected by the French mandate over Syria. There are also several flourishing Arabic cultural and political colonies in Egypt. In short, the Arab-speaking populations of Asia and Africa number about 38,000,000 of souls and occupy approximately 2,375,000 square miles, many times larger than the territory of Great Britain. In other words, under the reconstruction of the map of the East, the Arabs have been given practical control of Greater Arabia, Mesopotamia, Syria, and parts of Egypt, which gives them an average of 38 acres per person. If the Arabs are compelled to leave Palestine and turn it over entirely to the Jews, it is admitted that the Arab race would still be one of the wealthiest landowning races on the earth. Therefore, I contend that if they will not consent to live peaceably with the Jews, they should be made to sell their lands and retire to places reserved for them somewhere in Arabia, Syria, Mesopotamia, or Egypt, that suit them best, and where they can worship Allah, Mahomet, and the Koran to their heart's content. After all is said, the fact remains that the Arabs have more lands than they need, and the Jews have none. I am in favor of a readjustment under the Balfour declaration, without too great regard to nice distinctions in the matter of the question of self-determination. This thought brings me to my third proposal heretofore mentioned, that the Arabs should be driven out of Palestine by the British and Jews, or by somebody else, if they will not listen to the voice of reason and of justice.

I shall probably be told that, regardless of the question of land and property rights, the Arabs have an interest in the holy places around Jerusalem. Admitting that their claims in this regard are just, there should be no trouble along this line. There is no reason to believe that Jews and Christians would deny them access to the holy places in the pilgrimages that they might desire to make from their Arab countries. But if the rights of the Jews to their ancient homeland are to be made

dependent, as a final question, upon Moslem interests in the holy places around Jerusalem, I am willing and prepared to repudiate these rights entirely and to shut the Arabs out altogether.

Mr. Speaker, I despise and hate race prejudice and religious bigotry worse than I do the devil and all his ways. But I must confess that feelings of intolerance arise in my mind and heart when I hear any attempted justification of Mahomet, his message, and his mission. My respect and homage go forth even reverently to all the great ethical and religious teachers of history, to those spiritual and intellectual leaders of the race who, at times in agony and in martyrdom, have delivered messages of regeneration to mankind.

I make my respectful salute to Confucius and Buddha, the ethical teachers, in whose writings are found many passages of sublimity and beauty. I pay my deep homage and reverence to the Hebrew prophets and teachers, to Moses, to Abraham, to Isaac and Jacob and the tribes, to the gentle Hillel, and to Akiba. My reverence and adoration go up to Jesus of Nazareth, the most precious gem of human life, "the noblest blossom of a noble tree, the crown of the cedar of Israel." But I draw the line on Mahomet, the military conqueror and robber, the forger of oracles, the polygamist.

I have read the Koran through twice from beginning to end. I have also read several standard lives of Mahomet, among them those of Washington Irving, Higgins, Sale, and Gibbon. Furthermore, I have made it a point to read translations from the books of his own Turkish and Arabian biographers. I feel justified, then, in saying that I am pretty well acquainted with Mahomet and his teachings, and I trust that you will not think that I am guilty of too great digression if I now pay my respects to both Mahomet and his followers.

The declaration may sound bold and even unjustifiable to some of you, but I am prepared to assert that Mahomet stole all that is worthy in his religion from the Jews and Christians, that the finer passages of the Koran are taken almost bodily from the Bible, and that the followers of Mahomet overran and captured Palestine by military force. If these things be true, it comes in bad grace from the Arabs of Palestine or from their friends and apologists to lay claim to either the territory or the sacred places around Jerusalem. I respectfully submit that even a thousand years of political or historical prescription give no valid title to lands or places originally acquired by fraud and force.

In closing, Mr. Speaker, I wish to say that we Christians should encourage the reestablishment of the Jews in Palestine for selfish and sentimental reasons as well as from motives of gratitude and a sentiment of justice. We should rush to the assistance of the Jews in the matter of the Zionist movement as Lord Byron went to Greece to fight for the independence of the Greeks. We should speak in Congress with the same feelings and the same inspiration that caused him to write "The Isles of Greece," feelings born of a love of freedom and of a passionate desire to preserve a civilization and a type.

No garden of flowers is perfect or complete without the presence of the rose and the orchid, of the violet and the lily, and, indeed, of every kind of flower of tenderness and beauty. Nor can the garden of life be perfect and complete without the presence and preservation of all the fine types of intellect and spirit that have come from the trials and sufferings, the struggles and sacrifices of the various peoples of our race. Civilization would certainly be made imperfect by the loss of any one of the great types, for its essential elements, after all, are but the component parts of a blending of the varying attributes and excellencies of all human life.

Rome gave laws, Greece gave letters, and Palestine gave religion to mankind. Thus runs the judgment of the world. We are interested in the preservation of all these colossal types, and especially those of the Hebrew and the Greek, and above all that of the Hebrew, for beyond the boundaries of kingdoms and above distinctions of creed or blood is a colossal universal spiritual type established by the Hebrew. This type reflects the sacred and spiritual in every human heart that looks above idols and beyond the stars; a type that ignores self and attributes every splendid, righteous act to the Author of all things; that spurns a self-development whose maker and molder is not God; that hears in rolling thunder the awful voice of Jehovah sending warnings to his children, and sees in lightning a manifestation of eternal wrath; a type that gave Pharisees to Judea, Stoics to Rome, and Puritans to England.

These latter characterizations suggest integral opposites somewhere—the needed complements of a perfect whole—and reflection at once begins to classify along lines of nature and of history, grouping Pharisees with Sadducees, Stoics with Epicureans, and Puritans with Cavaliers.

The essential complement of the Hebrew type was furnished by Greece, the first great rival of Judea in intellect and spirit. The civilizations of the earth circle around these names as smaller planets revolve around great central suns. The essential elements of opposing Hebrew and Hellenic growths are everywhere reflected in national and individual life.

In the organization of every man on earth two antagonistic forces are forever active—the heavenly and earthly, the spiritual and natural, the ascetic and voluptuous. If the spiritual predominates, the man is Hebrew in structure and temperament. If the sensuous and voluptuous are the controlling attributes, the man is Greek.

If in the solitude of deep forests he hears the rustle of the leaves as fleeing nymphs depart, and sees in every tree and rock and stream the reflected image of some deity of nature; if, while standing on the famous battle fields of earth, he hears again the tread and tramp of embattled millions, feels again the sublime thrill and fierce rapture of a bayonet charge, hears again the brazen lips of hostile cannon thunder alternate anathemas to the god of battles; if "with color, form, and music he is touched to tears," and while standing in the Vatican or Louvre feels within himself the thrilling power that corresponds to the magic force that painted a Madonna or carved a marble god, then this man is a Greek of the age of Pericles, a figure from the antique world.

A full development of these attributes on a colossal scale and along collective lines stamps a nation's history with character and distinctive life reflecting in the whole the characteristic traits of all component parts. To verify this thought, cast a glance across the pages of Hellenic history.

An old blind bard sings; the *Iliad* is born, and under the spell of the Homeric muse all the grace and grandeur of Grecian life blossom into perfect beauty.

A million Persians advance upon a mountain pass, 300 Lacedæmonians defend, and the chivalry of the ages has a standard and a metaphor in the death-devoted sacrifice of Leonidas and his band.

Ctesiphon moves the Greek Assembly to vote Demosthenes a golden crown in consideration of public services, the motion is illegal, Ctesiphon is accused, and at the trial of the indictment the oratorical prodigies of antiquity appear as combatants. Æschines is exiled, Demosthenes is apotheosized, and mankind receives the priceless legacy of the incomparable oration. "On the Crown."

Zeuxis and Parrhasius, as a trial of skill, paint two pictures. That of Zeuxis represents a bunch of grapes and is so perfectly executed that the birds come and pick at it. Flushed with pride and confident of success Zeuxis calls upon his rival to draw aside the curtain which conceals his picture. But, lo! the curtain itself is the painting of Parrhasius, and Zeuxis is beaten, for he who has deceived the birds is himself deceived by his antagonist.

Phidias, Praxiteles, and other sculptors carve from cold and pulseless marble those forms of life and beauty that thrill the human soul with perfect joy, and the frieze of the Parthenon, the Apollo Belvedere, the Venus di Medici, the Venus de Milo become the perpetual heritage of a sensuous and beauty-loving world.

Marvelous and magnificent history this. And from alpha to omega how superbly Greek—every line and lineament stamped with Hellenic imprint. But how radically different all this from everything Judean. The accentuated antithesis of every chapter of Grecian history describes all the glories and splendors of Hebrew life.

The Greek relied upon himself and his javelin for safety and preservation in time of danger. The Hebrew placed his trust in God and believed that prayer would save him from all harm. In the temples of the Acropolis, in the pages of the *Odyssey*, in the victories of Marathon and Salamis, the Greek acknowledged the handiwork of man and dedicated monuments to those who had brought renown to Greece. The Hebrew ascribed to the omnipotence of Jehovah every grand and righteous act and covered with benedictions the prophet who had most completely revealed the will of Heaven. Every transcendent deed of righteousness was credited to the Lord of Hosts.

Yes, I repeat, that if all else be lost mankind must preserve at any hazard both the Hebrew and Grecian types of intellect and spirit, for they are fundamental in our natures and are deeply interwoven in the very warp and woof of all that is grandly spiritual and superbly intellectual in our history, literature, and civilization. The loss of the spiritual and intellectual products of Greece and Palestine to civilization would cause mankind to relapse with frightful speed into savage and barbaric night.

The Greeks have Greece. Let us give Palestine back to the Jews.

Then will the prophecies of the Hebrew seers be fulfilled; then will justice be done; then will the demands of liberty, humanity, and civilization be satisfied; then, and only then, will Byron's muse be answered:

OH! WEEP FOR THOSE.

Oh! weep for those that wept by Babel's stream,
Whose shrines are desolate, whose land a dream;
Weep for the harp of Judah's broken shell;
Mourn—where their God hath dwelt the goddess dwell!

And where shall Israel lave her bleeding feet?
And when shall Zion's song again seem sweet?
And Judah's melody once more rejoice
The hearts that leap'd before its heavenly voice?

Tribes of the wandering foot and weary breast,
How shall ye flee away and be at rest?
The wild dove hath her nest, the fox his cave,
Mankind their country—Israel but the grave!

ON JORDAN'S BANKS.

On Jordan's banks the Arab's camels stray,
On Zion's hill the False One's votaries pray,
The Baal-adorer bows on Sinai's steep—
Yet there—even there—Oh God! Thy thunders sleep:

There—where Thy finger scorched the tablet stone!
There—where Thy shadow to Thy people shone!
Thy glory shrouded in its garb of fire:
Thyself—none living see and not expire!

Oh! in the lightning let Thy glance appear!
Sweep from the shiver'd hand the oppressor's spear:
How long by tyrants shall Thy land be trod?
How long Thy temples worshipp'less, O God?

—Lord Byron, *Hebrew Melodies*.

Mr. FESS. Mr. Speaker, the lessons taught us in the tender years of our childhood sink the deepest and abide with us the longest. Those of us who in those early days heard in the home, Sunday school, or church the recital of the famous Bible stories vividly remember the tragedy of the "chosen people" driven from their homeland, and the promise that in time these people would return to occupy the land of their ancestors. This prophetic decree was the more significant because of the persecution that pursued this people as they fled to the four corners of the earth. Through all the vicissitudes inherent to such treatment 14,000,000 Jews have in the main preserved their national traits.

When Palestine was entered by our allied armies the first thought of the modern world was the fulfillment of an ancient prophecy that Jerusalem, the cradle of religion, would some day be restored to the Jewish people. When Britain accepted the mandatory of the ancient Holy Land new impetus was given to the historic promise. It was quite natural that a tremendous sentiment would be aroused among the hundreds of thousands of this people, scattered to the four winds of earth, in favor of the establishment of a homeland where their ancient civilization was born and from whence their people had been either excluded or made servile subjects.

A response to this sentiment was made by the so-called Balfour declaration, expressing British favor of the plan of the Jews to reestablish a homeland in Palestine, which, as I understand, has met with the approval of our own country, especially the advances made in that direction by Britain, the mandatory of that country.

This resolution, as far as is our ability, expresses our sympathy for the success of the proposed homeland for the Jewish people. It seems to me a perfectly proper attitude for us to take, eminently sound in diplomatic relations, correct in principle, humanitarian in design, elevating in sentiment, and commendable from the viewpoint of policy and expediency. This resolution displays our opportunity to express our appreciation of the aspirations of a great people in history.

Mr. BURTON. Mr. Speaker, the proposed resolution is in the following language:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the United States of America favors the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

It is similar to the so-called Balfour declaration for the Government of Great Britain issued November 2, 1917, which is in the following language:

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

The pending resolution omits reference to the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries because that is not necessary in any declaration by the United States.

On the 25th of April, 1920, the supreme council of the allied powers at San Remo gave a mandate for Palestine to Great Britain. The British forces had wrested Palestine from the Turks in 1917. Under this mandate a high commissioner was appointed July 1, 1920. This high commissioner has appointed an advisory council composed of the heads of the administrative departments and 10 unofficial members representing the various communities. The Jewish population have chosen an elected assembly which selected a national committee to represent the Jewish population of Palestine in its dealings with the administration. Palestine has an area of 13,724 square miles and a population of about 675,000. The very large majority of the population are Moslems, numbering something over 500,000. In the last two years Jewish immigration into the country has been very considerable, amounting to 7,200 last year. The population of Jerusalem is about 60,000. The proportion of the total number of inhabitants in the Holy City to that of Palestine is about the same as that set forth in the first verse of the eleventh chapter of the book of Nehemiah. In the adjustment then made Jerusalem was to contain one-tenth of the population.

Several objections have been urged to the passage of this resolution. First, that it is not the function of Congress or of either House to pass resolutions of this nature relating to foreign affairs. In every case of recognition of a new government, or of a condition of belligerency, the question has been decided solely by the Executive. It would be instructive to give a list of all action by Congress in this regard. The question has been repeatedly before Congress. I will cite a few instances: Early in 1822 the House by an overwhelming majority passed a resolution promising support to the President in any action which he might take for recognition of the South American Republics. In the session of 1823-24 Mr. Webster introduced a resolution for the appointment of an agent or commissioner to Greece, which was then in rebellion against Turkey. This resolution was supported by most eloquent speeches by Mr. Webster and Henry Clay, but no final action was taken upon it. A familiar example of procedure in Congress has been the introduction of bills providing for diplomatic officials in a country where recognition was contemplated. In 1848-49 a representative was sent to Hungary with a view to expressing the sympathy of our Government at the time of the insurrection against Austria. In view of the failure of this insurrection the representative was recalled. There is another class of resolutions, merely expressing sympathy or good will.

In 1861, almost immediately after the convening of the special session of Congress at the beginning of the Civil War, Mr. Sumner introduced in the Senate a resolution expressing sympathy with the suffering people of Crete in their struggle against Turkey. This resolution passed the Senate in July, 1861, and was adopted in the House on the same day. In 1868 Mr. William Loughridge, of Iowa, introduced a similar resolution of sympathy for the Cretans, which was adopted. No action seems to have been taken in the Senate. In the Fifty-first Congress, first session, a resolution was introduced in the Senate by Mr. John Sherman congratulating the Republic of Brazil upon the recent adoption of a republican form of government. This resolution also passed the House upon the motion of Mr. R. R. Hitt, of Illinois. This resolution was transmitted by Secretary Blaine and evoked very cordial response from the Congress of Brazil.

In the Fifty-sixth Congress, at the first session in 1899 and 1900, resolutions of sympathy with the South African Republic, then in a contest for independence from Great Britain, were introduced by Senators Mason, Pettigrew, Allen, and Teller. These resolutions varied in form, all expressing sympathy, one expressing best wishes for the success of their determined fight for liberty, and two of them expressed the hope for mediation. These resolutions were referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, and no report seems to have been made upon them, or at least nothing further was done. As regards this objection it should be said that action by Congress in matters involving foreign affairs should be very carefully guarded, except upon subjects within its undoubted jurisdiction. In the case of Cuba the final action expressing sympathy was accompanied by a declaration of war.

This present resolution, however, is restricted in its scope. It expresses the sympathy of the United States for the Jewish people in their desire for the establishment of a national home in Palestine, but provides that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of Christian and all other non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected. No one here would tolerate any plan under which

the feelings of Christians dwelling there or visiting the Holy Land should be disregarded.

Objection is made to the term "national" on the ground that it implies political control. This is not a fair inference from the resolution. It does, however, convey an assertion of sympathy for the political security of Jews who may be located in Palestine and for their protection against the aggression of any other people or nationality, a security which has been denied for centuries. The steps already taken for a separate national assembly indicate the probable developments there, namely, the selection of a legislative assembly by the Jews for the purpose of securing their rights under the government established there. It is to be noted that in past years and to an extent even now there have been separate communities in Jerusalem, the Mohammedans in one quarter, the Jews in another, Christians in another, and those of other nationalities or religions in still another. Very probably if the Jews should ever constitute a majority in Palestine their aspirations would be for political control.

This Congress can not deny an expression of sympathy for this race. Their longing for their old homeland is more pathetic and more appealing than that of any other race in the world. Their traditions, which are associated with Jerusalem, go back to the splendid days of David and Solomon, nearly 3,000 years ago. Since that time Palestine, which is a gateway for the trade and political movements of the near Orient, has been conquered by Assyria, Babylon, and for more than 200 years was under the Hellenic monarchies which ruled over Egypt and Syria; then the Romans under Pompey gained control in 63 B. C. The city and the temple were destroyed by Titus 70 A. D., and 70 years later a heathen temple was established by Hadrian, and pagan worship supplanted the Christian and Jewish religions. Under the reign of Constantine in the fourth century Christian worship was established and continued for nearly 300 years. Early in the seventh century the disciples of Mohamet conquered the country and their rule has continued until 1917, with the exception of the nearly 200 years when it was under Christian control after the capture of Jerusalem in the First Crusade by Godfrey of Bouillon in 1099. During all these centuries a considerable population of Jews has remained in Palestine, the remnant of a race scattered over the earth. It is impossible to exaggerate the yearning of many Jews for a location in that country which witnessed the beginning of their power and the growth of their religion. The poetic imagery in the One hundred and thirty-first Psalm—

By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down,
Yea, we wept when we remembered Zion—

has been accepted for ages as the most touching lamentation of a people in captivity.

The Jewish race ever since that time has been the victim of discrimination, persecuted in many countries, but always retaining its religion and distinctive traits, has looked to Palestine and Jerusalem with a never-dying aspiration for its homeland.

This resolution does not contemplate any substantial migration from the United States or England to Palestine. In the two great Anglo-Saxon countries, in the United States from the very foundation of the Government, with its principles of religious equality, and in Great Britain in more recent years, the Jews have enjoyed equal opportunity. Among the great progressive movements of the time has been that toward toleration, but in other countries they are persecuted as of old, and constant animosity and frequent pogroms threaten their security and very life. For many of these Palestine will no doubt be chosen as a home, and they will resort there with joy in the thought of returning to the ancient seat of the prosperity and prestige of their race.

It may be asserted that the problem of establishing a national home for them does not promise greater difficulties than in several countries of Europe where those of different races and religions inhabit the same areas and have learned to dwell together without friction.

A second objection is alleged that a very considerable proportion of the Jews themselves, including many of those most advanced in their views, are opposed to any action which shall look to the establishment of those of their race in a separate political organization. It is alleged by them that their people owe allegiance to the countries in which they belong, although this allegiance is given with much misgiving in countries where they are unfairly treated. They insist that they are devotees of a religion and not seeking political power. The opinions of those who hold this view are entitled to great respect. It must be said of them, however, that they are for the most part tolerant to the feelings of others of their race, who are in a very large majority, and who join in the Zionist and similar movements.

A third objection is that the location of the Jews in Palestine, in view of the large preponderance of Moslem population, will arouse strife and military protection will have to be offered them. What has already been said as to the combination of various peoples and religions in Europe applies to this also. It is not to be presumed that there will be injustice to the Moslems, Arabs, or other peoples in Palestine. The lands which have been acquired from them, amounting to some 2,000 square miles in Palestine have been purchased at prices far in advance of those formerly current, and it must be said that the settlement of the Jews there has resulted in very marked improvements in the utilization of the resources of that country. Improved methods of cultivation have been adopted and Palestine gives promise of a restoration to its old-time productiveness. It should be stated that the Senate has passed this resolution unanimously. President Wilson, in a letter dated August 31, 1918, wrote: "I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionese movement in the United States, and in the allied countries, since the declaration of Mr. Balfour." President Harding more recently said: "It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home."

It is to be hoped that one of the most beneficent results of the Great War will be the establishment in Palestine of a stable government, in which justice and equality shall be vouchsafed to all classes of its varied population, that the sacred shrines of all religions may be protected, and an opportunity granted to the Jews to return to this homeland with a revival of some of the ancient grandeur which through centuries has made this country most conspicuous in the world's history.

Mr. ANSORGE. Mr. Speaker, in these days of pogroms and of religious and racial intolerance and persecution in other parts of the world, it is, indeed, refreshing to support a resolution in the Congress of the United States which will breathe the breath of hope in the hearts of millions of persecuted and oppressed Jews in Poland, Galicia, Russia, Hungary, Rumania, and the Ukraine, and at the same time recognize and encourage the aspirations and historical claims of many Jewish people in their desire to establish a national home in Palestine.

I am the son of an immigrant who humbly walked through Castle Garden in 1857, and I am proud of my heritage. I would be untrue to my faith and convictions if I did not support this resolution.

I voted against the 3 per cent restricted immigration law which shut down the bars to the persecuted of other lands. Many of them are blood relatives of American citizens. It is meet and proper that the United States, which closed the doors of hope to the persecuted of other lands, should now lend its encouragement to the establishment of a haven in which these persecuted people may seek refuge.

The United States Senate has recently passed by unanimous vote the Lodge resolution favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people.

The resolution before the House recites that whereas the Jewish people have for many centuries believed in and yearned for the rebuilding of their ancient homeland, and owing to the outcome of the World War and their part therein are to be enabled to re-create a national home which will give to the house of Israel its long-denied opportunity to reestablish a fruitful Jewish life and culture in the ancient Jewish land, the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress assembled resolves that we favor the establishment in Palestine of the national home for the Jewish people.

Both the Lodge resolution and the resolution before the House specifically recite that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish communities in Palestine, and that the holy places and religious buildings and sites in Palestine shall be adequately protected.

It will be seen, therefore, that the Senate and House by expressing their approval of a national Jewish home in Palestine fully protect the civil rights and religious liberty of all other communities in Palestine. The resolutions commit us to no foreign obligations or entanglements, but express our moral interest and favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for Jewish people along the lines laid down in the now famous Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917.

I had the honor of appearing before the Committee on Foreign Affairs in support of the resolution now before the House. I also had the pleasure of meeting Mr. Balfour, and of hearing him address the Zionist committee which called upon him in Washington. Although the Balfour declaration was proclaimed during the heat of the war, Mr. Balfour, in his address to the

Zionists, voiced the same sentiment as is contained in the Balfour declaration. In other words in 1922 Mr. Balfour feels as he did in 1917.

The Balfour Declaration expressed the favorable view of the British Government of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and stated that it would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, it being understood that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

This declaration was presented by Mr. Balfour to the cabinet and approved by it before it was issued. It was subsequently approved by France, Italy, Japan, and other nations.

In my opinion, the recent action of the House of Lords was not intended as a repudiation of the Balfour declaration. It merely voiced opposition to the terms of the mandate. The mandate should be amended, if necessary, to protect Christians and other non-Jews in their civil and religious rights in Palestine. The mandate should carry out the thought of the Balfour declaration which expressly provides that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine. This reservation, and the reservation in the Lodge resolution, as well as the reservation in the resolution before the House, protects all religions, and the mandate should do likewise. Any objection to the terms of the mandate can not properly be directed against this resolution which follows the Balfour and Lodge resolutions and provides full protection to all religions as it properly should do.

Many Jews in America who are not actively affiliated with the Zionist movements are nevertheless in thorough sympathy and accord with the heart-beats and yearnings of the Zionists for a restoration of the homeland in Palestine. Palestine has been the object of the veneration of many pious and devoted Jews for over 4,000 years.

I have here a small booklet, Mr. Speaker, which is published by the Palestine Foundation Fund in New York. It is addressed to the workers of the Zionist fund, and I just want to read a very short paragraph from this booklet.

It says:

Forty centuries of history close with this question. Will you, Jews of America, redeem the Holy Land?

That promise that was made 4,000 years ago is to be fulfilled through you, or is to remain unfulfilled.

You are the guardians of Jewish history to-day. With you Jewish history ends, or through you it begins a new and glorious chapter.

Forty centuries of history are watching you to-day. The far-off generations look to you out of the twilight of the past. The warriors and prophets and teachers of ancient Judea are watching you. The martyrs of Spain and Poland and Russia, they who died that our people might live, are watching you. The young heroes who fell on a hundred fields in the Great War are watching you. The victims of a hundred pogroms, men and women and children, are watching you.

In the eyes of all of them there is the single question, "Will the land of our fathers be restored to our people, or have we lived and died in vain?"

Many prominent Americans, both Jews and gentiles, have expressed their interest and approval of the restoration of Palestine.

President Harding on June 1, 1921, said:

It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity.

President Harding on May 11, 1922, wrote to the Palestine Foundation Fund as follows:

I am very glad to express my approval and hearty sympathy for the effort of the Palestine Foundation fund in behalf of the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people. I have always viewed with an interest, which I think is quite as much practical as sentimental, the proposal for the rehabilitation of Palestine and the restoration of a real Jewish nationality, and I hope the efforts now being carried on in this and other countries in this behalf may meet the fullest measure of success.

More recently, on June 25, 1922, the President wrote to the Zionist Organization of America, at its twenty-fifth annual convention in Philadelphia:

A long-time interest, both sentimental and practical, in the Zionist movement causes me to wish that I might meet the members of the organization and express the esteem which I feel in behalf of the great movement.

Ex-President Woodrow Wilson, in a letter dated August 31, 1918, said:

I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionese movement in the United States and in the allied countries since the declaration of Mr. Balfour, on behalf of the British Government, of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object; with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.

Hon. Louis Marshall, one of the most brilliant minds and one of the foremost Jews in America, in a letter accompanying his contribution to the Palestine Foundation Fund, writes:

I feel it to be the duty of every Jew to help in the rebuilding of Palestine in order that those who desire to take up their homes in the ancient dwelling place of Israel may have an opportunity to do so under the most favorable auspices.

There is no Jew, whoever he may be, who has the right to shirk the duty of assisting in giving due effect to the beneficent purposes which underlie the Balfour declaration.

Mr. Samuel Untermyer, at the dinner given by the Palestine Foundation Fund to Senator Lodge at the Hotel Astor in New York City on June 13, 1922, said:

The most important and practical instrument for achieving these lofty ideals is the Palestine Foundation Fund, or Keren Hayesod. Here is an instrument which makes it possible for the Jews to pool the necessary resources for restoring the waste places of the Holy Land and repopulating it with prosperous Jewish communities.

The Keren Hayesod stands high above and beyond and far removed from the strifes and discords of party or politics. Its platform is big and broad; it is one on which Jews of all shades of opinion find a common meeting place.

Vice President CALVIN COOLIDGE, in a letter to the Philadelphia Campaign Palestine Foundation Fund Workers, says:

The proposed plan furnishes to the Jewish people an opportunity to devote their great qualities to the upbuilding and preservation of their own homeland and in their own sphere, and I feel sure that the people of the United States will not fail to give that earnest and substantial aid which will be necessary if it is to meet with a full measure of success.

Representative HAMILTON FISH, jr., of New York, a Member of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, reporting favorably on behalf of the committee the resolution before the House, with the recommendation that it pass, has made an able and learned report, which I desire to read:

The Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom was referred House Joint Resolution No. 322, favoring the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people, having considered the same, report favorably thereon, with the recommendation that the resolution do pass.

This report expresses our moral interest in and our favorable attitude toward the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people. It commits us to no foreign obligation or entanglement. The protection of the holy places is carefully provided for, as well as the rights of Christian and all non-Jewish communities. There is a strong religious and humanitarian appeal in this recognition accorded to the Jewish people that goes beyond its purely material aspects and the discharge of such obligations assumed by the allied Governments as expressed in the Balfour declaration of November 2, 1917, which has been indorsed by France, Italy, Japan, and other nations.

The Jews of America are profoundly interested in establishing a national home in the ancient land of their race. Indeed, this is the ideal of the Jewish people everywhere, for, despite their dispersion, Palestine has been the object of their veneration since they were expelled by the Romans. For generations they have prayed for the return to Zion. During the past century this prayer has assumed practical form.

Palestine, the ancient homeland of the Jew, is to-day a comparatively sterile country, due to the wanton and deplorable policy of desolation systematically carried out by its rulers, the Turks, for many centuries. What was once the country of milk and honey has become, through misrule and oppression, a devastated and sparsely settled land.

Jewish colonization began in Palestine over 40 years ago. In 1897 Theodor Herzl, the founder of the modern Zionist movement, established an organization for the purpose of securing legal recognition of the Jewish right in Palestine and began the practical work of settling the land. A great deal of labor and effort has been put into Palestine by Jews. They have established 72 flourishing colonies on a soil which, before they reclaimed it, was merely sand, stone, and swamp. With the investment of Jewish capital and labor, part of this land has been transformed into beautiful gardens that evoke the admiration of visitors to the Holy Land. They have created and maintained a modern school system and laid the foundations of a national Jewish university in Jerusalem. They have introduced modern sanitation, opened hospitals and clinics, and founded many industries. Banks have been established to provide credit for the smaller trade and business men. They are now prepared to develop a plan harnessing the water power of the Jordan River, which will provide Palestine with ample electric light and power for a large industrial development.

In this work of regenerating a land that has become desolate and waste through governmental oppression the Jews of America have participated to a large and generous extent, maintaining the American Zionese Medical Unit and making large contributions to the purchase of land and for the creation of credit institutions.

We of America should be glad to give our moral support to a project which is based upon justice and humanity. To give this recognition to so laudable an endeavor of a people seeking to create a haven of refuge for the oppressed and homeless of their race is to act in consonance with the loftiest American ideals. The Jews have suffered greatly during the war. There are now countless thousands of innocent members of the Jewish race in Poland, Galicia, Russia, Hungary, Ukraine, and Rumania who have been utterly ruined and for whom there is no place in the lands where they had formerly lived. The World War has overwhelmed them. They are seeking a home where, with the generous help of their brethren of other lands who are in more comfortable circumstances, they may re-create their own forms of life and realize their ideals.

Leaders of the Jewish people here and abroad, who have studied Jewish conditions and needs and are thoroughly familiar with the problems of Jewish life, anticipate the eventual creation of an enlightened State which shall be a center of Jewish culture, a blessing to humanity and to the Jewish race in that ancient land which was given by Jehovah to Abraham, and which is consecrated in all Jewish hearts as the birthplace of their traditions and ideals. The realization of this hope should be given the moral encouragement of the American people speaking through their Representatives in Congress.

I hope the resolution before the House will pass unanimously. It will lend encouragement and hope to many afflicted and downtrodden people at a time when they are yearning for a home where persecutions and pogroms will be unknown.

Mr. HOGAN. Mr. Speaker, let us not be sparing to-day in our indorsement of a cause so thoroughly American, so near to the heart of liberty, so fruitful to national aspiration, so fraught with meaning to the welfare of the human race as the return of the Jew who desires to go to what he has always loved to term the "Glorious Land."

It should be as natural for the Congress of the United States to extend sympathy for the downtrodden and oppressed as for us to breathe the air. Our Government was founded upon the principle that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; and surely the governed are entitled to the government of their home land. Our Declaration of Independence averred that all men should be assured equality of opportunity. In our early days as a people sparsely strewn along the Atlantic seaboard we fought British tyranny and with the assistance of France won the opportunity to prove what liberty and right could do under a flag which guaranteed them both. Because we were once small and inconsequential in a world of mighty empires and because we depended solely upon our God, our conscience, and our effort for the attainment of might, we have become the greatest servant of mankind. Three-quarters of a century ago we extended sympathy to Hungary when she fought the power of Austria. In 1898 we gave our sympathy to Cuba and helped her shatter the shackles of Spain. In 1917 we did not withhold our sympathy from the allied peoples who were menaced by the autocratic lords of Germany and Austria and, as a result, we freed the world. Two years ago we declared sympathy for Ireland and now, largely as the result of that expression of opinion by this Congress, she is emerging from darkness and chaos to order and opportunity and a greater measure of liberty than she has enjoyed for 800 years. We should not be less generous to the Jewish race.

Certainly if ever any people was downtrodden and oppressed and deserving of the hand of fellowship from us it is the Hebrew people. In spite of the fact that the Jew first gave to humanity the idea of the one infinite God and of His love and mercy to man; in spite of the fact that it is a Jewish commandment to love thy neighbor as thyself; in spite of the fact that it was one of the great Hebrew prophets who asked, "What doth the Lord require of thee but to do justice, to love kindness, and to walk humbly with thy God?" In spite of the fact that our Savior, who taught us so much of the brotherhood of the human spirit, was a Jew, his race has been the victim of persecution and injustice for more than 2,000 years. In all the bitterness with which the struggle of the Jew for independence was put down by the Romans, in the terrible hatred with which he was pursued in the darkest period of Spain, in the worst pogroms under the Romanoffs, he was never pursued more relentlessly than by the Slavs of present Europe. Out of the hatreds engendered in many countries he calls to a world which makes much pretense of enlightenment and civilization for a little spot in Palestine, the original home so dear to Catholic, Protestant, and Mahometan, where he may at last find rest from persecution, where he may tend his flocks as David did of old, and where he may gather his own unto himself and find full and unhampered expression.

Let us remember that we in this Congress are the representatives of the Nation which has guaranteed to each citizen the right to worship God in his own way, the right of conscience, the right of opinion. Under that guaranty Catholic and Protestant and Jew alike have thrived in America as nowhere else. The age of bigotry is passing. As men turn from persecuting their brothers of other faiths in the name of God, they learn to love both God and each other more. He is the best Catholic or Protestant or Jew who has most of the love and kindness and mercy of the Son of Man toward all. And it is a striking fact that the empires which have most oppressed the Jew have crumbled and fallen while this Nation, which has given him most of liberty and opportunity, has prospered more than any in history.

The Turk as an oppressor of the territory of Palestine has been destroyed. He, along with the Romanoff, Hohenzollern, and Hapsburg, has disappeared as a tyrant. Under the new order of things in Palestine and throughout the world the Jew should be given a chance to work out his problems in his own way. Together with the Irish he came to our shores to escape from oppression, and with no capital but his intelligence to seek opportunity in a free land. And like the Irish he has toiled and saved and prospered and brought credit to our institutions. A good Irishman or a good Jew can not make a bad American

citizen. Both having attained the blessings of liberty and equality of opportunity, both desire that the original homeland shall be free to the parent race. I am for both. I think every American should be for both, because both Irish and Jew seek merely the application of the most fundamental of American principles. And because the resolution expressing satisfaction at the re-creation of Palestine as the national home of the Jewish race is couched in the best American spirit, every Member of this Congress ought to vote for it.

The grant of opportunity to the Jew in his own homeland will be a benefit not only to him but to the world, because so long as the Jew remains a problem the peace and order of the world will be disturbed, to however slight or great an extent. No problem can be permanently settled until it is settled right. The Jewish problem can not be settled right until justice is done to the Jew. And justice can not be done the Jew until he has found all of the joy and happiness under liberty and opportunity in his own land and under his own institutions which we Americans have found in America under American institutions.

Mr. KELLY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, for 2,000 years the moans and groans of disinherited, dispossessed Jews have been heard at the wailing wall of Jerusalem. Seventy generations have wept over the destruction of the Holy City and prayed for its restoration. Seventy generations have passed while "the wild dove had her nest, the fox his cave, mankind their country, Israel but the grave."

In every land of the globe these people of the wandering foot have kept their windows open toward Jerusalem. They have remained faithful to the pledge of their great psalmist, "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning. If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth."

In all the history of the world there is no instance of fidelity like that of the Jew for his promised land and for his own people. They have never forgotten, though memory for them was bittersweet, both a joy and a scourge.

It was 40 centuries ago that Jehovah promised Palestine to the children of Abraham. Through slavery in Egypt, through 40 years in the wilderness, they came at last into their possession, a land flowing with milk and honey.

Twelve tribes they were when they heard the divine command given to their leader, Joshua: "Arise now, go over this Jordan, thou and all this people, unto the land which I do give to them, even to the children of Israel."

There they built a powerful nation and established Jerusalem, the city set on a hill, whose heart was the Temple.

Through the centuries divisions came and great adversities fell upon them. Great nations menaced them on the north and south. Assyria and Egypt fought for mastery across their territory. Again and again revivals of the old-time spirit brought unity and peace followed war, prosperity succeeded suffering.

Then Israel seceded from Judah in final disunion and two nations took the place of one. Babylon swept down upon them and carried them into exile. Still they were not destroyed, but those who had wept by the streams of Babylon returned and built the nation anew.

At last mighty Rome swept down upon this harrassed people with her all-conquering legions. Alone of all the nations, Judah dared resist the mistress of the world at the height of her power. For four agonizing years they battled, making so heroic resistance that many Roman soldiers joined the defenders of Jerusalem to die with them a glorious death.

Crushed at last, they were forced to yield and their great temple was destroyed. Once again in 135 A. D. this David of a nation rose under Bar Kockbar and waged three years' war against the oppressor. But the sacrifice was in vain. Rome triumphed and exacted a fearful vengeance. The Jews were driven into exile, homeless and forlorn, and the Promised Land knew them no longer as a people.

Twenty centuries have passed since that dire dispersal. This people has been oppressed and persecuted with massacre and pogroms in many lands. The sons of Abraham have been victims of unexampled hatred and bigotry, but they have refused to die.

Cherishing the faith of their fathers, holding steadfast to the glowing promises of their prophets, priests, and patriots, they have maintained their racial solidarity and their identity as a people in the face of an opposing world.

"Where there is no vision the people perish." The children of Israel have lived because ever in their eyes gleamed the coming day when the God of their fathers should seek them out in the lands of their captivity "even as a shepherd seeketh out his sheep that are scattered in the cloudy and dark day." Had

not their prophet Ezekiel told them of the time when "Zion should put on her strength and Jerusalem her beautiful garments to become again one nation upon the mountains of Israel"?

Such an unalterable desire woven into the very web and woof of individual and national life can not be merely a dream. Defying the changes of 2,000 years, overcoming oppression and brutal wrongs, it is one of the real things in the world. It had within itself the seeds of its accomplishment and awaited but the historical moment when conditions should be ripe for its fulfillment.

Mr. Speaker, that moment has arrived. Out of the World War has come the possibility of the fruition of this age-old longing of the Jews for their homeland.

General Allenby with an army in which were Jewish regiments entered Jerusalem. The Turk, who had held the holy places for centuries, was driven out. The triumphal act of this drama of the ages is possible in the here and now.

America is preeminently the Nation to take the initiative in urging the reestablishment of Zion. We can not be indifferent to anything which concerns the welfare of this ancient people to whom we owe a vast debt for laws and literature, ideals and aspirations.

The Book of Books, which has had so vital a place in the founding and development of America, came to the world through the Jews. From them also came the very foundation doctrine in our Declaration of Independence that "all men are created equal."

Our idea of justice, which Madison said "is the end of government and the aim of civil society," would be beyond human conception without the Bible. The first time it gleamed upon the mind of man was when the chosen people recognized the claim of brotherhood under one God, who was the protector of every son of Abraham.

The laws of Israel, which provided that the inheritance of every member of the nation was inviolable and could not be taken away from him nor even sold beyond the year of jubilee, was the declaration that justice was the covenant right of every Israelite. That was the end sought in the laws, that consideration must be given the unfortunate; that the gleanings of the field and vineyards must be left for the poor; that all debts must be released every seventh year; that oppression and injustice, thefts and false weights and measures were sins against the brotherhood. Through all the laws ran the idea that every member of the nation was equal to all others in dignity and rights and privileges and duties.

The next great step in the development of the idea of justice was when the Master Christian, Himself a son of Abraham, living and working in the land of Israel, broadened the scope of brotherhood until it included all nations and all peoples. His ideal is the brotherhood of all men under the fatherhood of one God. Only because of this sublime conception was the Declaration of Independence and the American Government possible.

Mr. Speaker, the American ideal of the home as the foundation of the Nation comes from the Jews. The first educational system for all the children was instituted in Palestine. Interwoven into our history, influencing the lives of every great American, has been the matchless social philosophy, the practical wisdom, the music, oratory, and poetry of the Jews. From them we learned the dignity of labor and the truth that righteous laws are the guardians of human liberty.

But aside from such a splendid heritage, which might equally be the possession of other nations, America owes special obligations to this ancient people. The voyages of Columbus were financed by Jews, and they helped to mold the destinies of this continent since its discovery. Haym Solomon negotiated the loans from France and Holland which Washington declared made possible the triumph of American arms at Yorktown. Col. David Franks was a member of Washington's staff.

Every war of America has seen devoted service by the Jews. Scoffed at as weaklings, they have never shrunk from facing the weapons of the enemies of this Nation. In the World War 235,000 Jews served under the Stars and Stripes. Of the 78 congressional medals, three were awarded to Jewish soldiers. The distinguished service medal was won by 150 American Jews. Ten thousand Jews were commissioned officers in the Army and 500 bore commissions in the Navy.

America has been well repaid for the treatment she has accorded the Jews, and it was here in this new land, for the first time since they ceased to have a state of their own, that they were accorded complete civil and political equality.

To-day there are 3,300,000 Jews in America out of 15,000,000 in all the world. There are more here than in any other land. They have served the Nation well in war and in peace, and they have a right to sympathetic cooperation in the realization of

their national aspirations. America should with generous enthusiasm help the fulfillment of so worthy a purpose.

Mr. Speaker, through all our history runs a thread of American sympathy for a restored Zion. President John Adams voiced it in a letter to Maj. Mordecai Noah, the first American Zionist. President Harrison in 1891 expressed it again upon receipt of a petition signed by many great Americans, asking consideration of the claims of the Jews to their ancient home in Palestine. President Wilson in 1918 joined in approving "the establishment of a national home for the Jewish people in Palestine." President Harding in 1921 gave the American expression when he said:

It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Jewish people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home, and there enter upon a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity.

To-day it is not alone from sentimental reasons, but from a very practical standpoint, that America is justified in lending her helping hand to this project.

The danger spot of the future is Asia. It is quite possible that there a new Asiatic Germany will develop with unlimited man power and resources to threaten again the safety of the world.

A nation which understands Asia and Europe, the East and the West, and can act as mediator between them, will be a blessing to the world. The Jewish State can act in that capacity as can no other nation in the world. The erection of such a Commonwealth will be a force for peace and order more powerful than any treaty between Occident and Orient. It will help to bring the time foretold by the Hebrew prophet, when men shall beat their swords into plowshares and their spears into pruning hooks and nations shall learn war no more.

Christendom should welcome the reestablishment of Zion as fervently as Jewry. Twenty million Sunday school students now study weekly the history of the House of Israel. Its reestablishment in our own day and generation will mean world instruction in the Old and New Testaments.

King Frederick William of Prussia once said to his chaplain: "Give the briefest possible proof of the truth of Christianity." "The Jews, Your Majesty," was the answer.

When the voice of weeping shall be no more heard in Jerusalem and the Jews shall build houses in their homeland and inhabit them, and shall plant vineyards and eat the fruit of them, the world shall have taken a long step forward. I do earnestly believe, toward the time when there shall be "peace on earth, good will to men."

Mr. Speaker, the Jew is God's miracle. He dates beyond the pyramids, but his hands guide enterprises for air navigation and radio communication in the twentieth century. He is a money master, but his gold has flowed into every stream meant to relieve want and wretchedness. He is a man without a country, but he has Zion enshrined in his heart. He is a pilgrim, but he has never lodged at Doubting Castle or supped with Giant Despair. He is of the earth, but his thoughts have been with the stars. He has borne the brunt of bigotry and the pain of persecution, but always on the "midnight sky has painted the glorious morrow." His golden age has always been onward, not behind, and across the centuries of his sorrow have shone the gleam and glow of a restored Jerusalem. He has been inspired and sustained by an unflinching hope so great that his soul has grown to match it. His faith has been medicine for his misery; his love of the Holy City a charm for every woe. Chief figure in a national tragedy lasting 2,000 years, he sees to-day on the "mountains the feet of Him who bringeth good tidings, that publisheth salvation for the sons who come from afar and the daughters from the ends of the earth."

The Jew is at the border of the promised land once more. America, the great Republic of the West, must help him to establish in his ancient home the commonwealth which will bring East and West into understanding and fellowship, making possible the fruition of all those heart-warm hopes of men which were cradled in the land of Israel.

Mr. BOND. This resolution is of the greatest interest and importance to the Jews of the world. From the materialistic standpoint it means little to the Jews of America, but its religious and spiritual importance can hardly be exaggerated. Through all the ages the Jew has looked forward to the time when Palestine would again be the land of milk and honey and the homeland of the Jewish people. While probably few of the Jews of America will ever attempt to make a home in Palestine, the Jews of America are almost without exception interested in the reconstruction of Palestine because of its religious significance.

It is estimated that there are 3,000,000 Jews in America, of whom perhaps 2,000,000 are in New York State, about 1,500,000 being in the city of New York. The Jews in this country are

proud of America and of American institutions. They do not feel they are oppressed here, but are fully appreciative of the liberty and the freedom of opportunity which the laws of this wonderful land afford. Were the Jews treated as well in other countries as in the United States, the desire for a home for the Jews in Palestine might not be so strong, but unfortunately in many countries the Jew continues to be oppressed, and his position is made so hard that it is almost impossible for him to remain in those countries. This makes thousands of Jews wanderers on the face of the earth. To these and the other Jews of the earth who have sympathy for them the idea of a home in Palestine means much.

Were the United States called upon to initiate such a movement there might be some force to an objection that it is an interference with the affairs of foreign nations, but the Balfour declaration, issued November 2, 1917, at the height of the war, firmly established this as a policy of the British Government. This has been still more firmly established by having been incorporated in the mandate under which Great Britain exercises authority over Palestine, and the mandate has been ratified by various other Governments.

The effect of the present resolution therefore is largely moral and constitutes merely an expression of good will and sympathy of America for the aims and aspirations of the Jews. The resolution before the House commits us to no foreign obligations and constitutes no entangling alliance. As it has the approval of Secretary Hughes, of the Department of State, and the President of the United States, we may feel assured no unfortunate diplomatic complications can or will occur. No harm can possibly come from the passing of this resolution. On the contrary, I believe it will result in much good. I therefore favor this resolution and shall gladly vote for it.

Mr. ROSSDALE. Mr. Speaker, the colonists who first settled upon the Western Hemisphere were God-fearing men and women who came to the New World to live their lives and worship God as they desired and believed. They were mostly Christians, and they believed in the Bible and in holy writ; their firm belief and faith in the Scriptures comforted and sustained them in their struggles with the savage and the wilderness and enabled them to conquer a continent and later to found the greatest Republic in the history of man.

It was this same belief in the will of the Almighty, this same firm faith in the Scriptures, that sustained the Jewish people through the centuries of oppression and persecution since their dispersal from the land of the Bible. They, too, believed; and through the long, weary centuries since the cruel might of their Roman conquerors drove them from their homeland "they kept the faith," and piously each day devout Jews have turned to the east and prayed for the day of restoration and return to the land of their fathers.

This Old Testament came to birth in the land of the Jews, and although there are some few unbelievers, the great majority of the American people, both Christians and Jews, believe in the Bible. I believe in it, and I am certain that almost all Members of Congress believe in it, and that God's promises in this Old Testament will be fulfilled. For in Deuteronomy, chapter 30, Moses said:

If any of thine be driven out unto the outmost parts of heaven, from thence will the Lord thy God gather these, and from thence will He fetch thee. And the Lord thy God will bring thee into the land which thy fathers possessed, and thus shalt possess it; and He will do thee good and multiply thee above thy fathers.

And it is written in the Book of Amos, chapter 9:

And I will bring again the captivity of my people of Israel, and they shall build the waste cities and inhabit them; and they shall plant vineyards, and drink the wine thereof; they shall also make gardens, and eat the fruit of them. "And I will plant them upon their land and they shall no more be pulled out of their land which I have given them," saith the Lord thy God.

It has been said that the age of miracles is gone by, and lo and behold, in the cradle of the world's civilization, in the sacred land of the Bible, a modern miracle is happening! The Jewish people after the lapse of centuries are resettling the land of their fathers. They are planting the waste lands, irrigating and afforesting the desert, draining the marshes and swamps, building houses and roads, and tilling the soil as their ancestors did.

From everywhere in the wide, wide world, where oppression and persecution have quickened the desire and intensified the yearning of the Jewish people for the reestablishment of their ancient homeland, there come volunteers to help in the rebuilding; from those parts of Europe where anti-Semitism has had free rein and where the ghastly specter of the pogrom ever threatens come a host of refugees, splendid young men and women, who eagerly volunteer as pioneers, among them numerous merchants, intellectuals from the professions, and students from the universities.

A great many of these refugees walked thousands of miles from the interior of eastern and central Europe to a seaport to embark for Palestine. They are settling upon the land among the hills and valleys and ancient places you and I read and learned about when as children we went to Sunday school. They toil there under the blinding Palestinian sun, chanting Hebrew songs as they perform the hardest kinds of manual labor, happy in their opportunity to rebuild the land of their fathers.

The entire world is watching this romance of the return of the Jews with a great deal of interest, and liberal minds throughout the world are giving aid and encouragement to the project.

The British Government on November 2, 1917, issued the following statement of policy, which is known as the Balfour declaration:

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

The following declaration was made for the Italian Government by the Italian ambassador to Great Britain:

On the instructions of His Excellency Baron Sonnino, His Majesty's Minister for Foreign Affairs, I have the honor to inform you that His Majesty's Government is pleased to confirm the declaration already made through their representatives in Washington, The Hague, and Salonica, to the effect that they will use their best endeavors to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish national center, it being understood that this shall not prejudice the legal or political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.

The French Government made the following announcement:

M. Sokolow, representing the Zionist organizations, was received to-day by M. Stephen Pichon. M. Pichon was happy to reaffirm that the understanding is complete between the French and the British Governments concerning the question of the Jewish establishment in Palestine.

And the other allied powers, consisting of Japan, Greece, Holland, Serbia, China, and Siam, have likewise approved it.

In 1920 the Allied Supreme Council at San Remo confirmed the Balfour declaration and gave the mandate over Palestine to England, subject to ratification by the League of Nations.

President Woodrow Wilson wrote:

I welcome an opportunity to express the satisfaction I have felt in the progress of the Zionist movement in the United States and in the allied countries since the declaration by Mr. Balfour on behalf of the British Government of Great Britain's approval of the establishment in Palestine of a national home for the Jewish people and his promise that the British Government would use its best endeavors to facilitate the achievement of that object, with the understanding that nothing would be done to prejudice the civil and religious rights of non-Jewish people in Palestine or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in other countries.

President Warren G. Harding, expressing his friendly interest in and for the Zionist movement, said:

It is impossible for one who has studied at all the services of the Hebrew people to avoid the faith that they will one day be restored to their historic national home and there enter on a new and yet greater phase of their contribution to the advance of humanity.

And later wrote:

I am very glad to express my approval and hearty sympathy for the effort of the Palestine foundation fund in behalf of the restoration of Palestine as a homeland for the Jewish people. I have always viewed with an interest which, I think, is quite as much practical as sentimental the proposal for the rehabilitation of Palestine, and I hope the effort now being carried on in this and other countries in this behalf may meet with the fullest measure of success.

Before the present movement assumed concrete form, among the first to express approval of the return of the Jews to Palestine was John Adams, the second President of the United States, who wrote to Maj. Mordecai Manuel Noah, the first American Zionist, as follows:

I really wish the Jews again in Judea, an independent nation; for, as I believe, the most enlightened men of it have participated in the amelioration of the philosophy of the ages; once restored to an independent government, and no longer persecuted, they would soon wear away some of the asperities and peculiarities of their character. I wish your nation may be admitted to all the privileges of citizens in every part of the world. This country (America) has done much; I wish it may do more and annul every narrow idea in religion, government, and commerce.

In 1891 a memorandum was presented to President Harrison by a galaxy of financiers, clergymen, lawyers, and publicists. I have not the time to read all their names, but among them are Cardinal James Gibbons, J. Pierpont Morgan, John D. Rockefeller, Russell Sage, William E. Dodge, John A. Steward, J. Henry Harper, Charles Scribner, Bishop David H. Greer, Dr. William S. Rainsford, Dr. Robert Collier, Dr. Charles A. Parkhurst, Dr. Morgan Dix, Dr. Minot J. Savage, Henry N. Higginbotham, Dr. M. Wolsey Stryker, Judge C. C. Kohlsaat, Melville W. Fuller, Bishop Charles A. Cheney, Bishop S. M. Merrill, Melville E. Stone, Bishop Edward G. Andrew, Dr. Josiah Strong.

From all parts of the earth, wherever the magic story of Israel's return is become known, rulers and writers, preachers and publicists, all express approval. This resolution expressing America's approval of the acceptance of the mandate by Great Britain and the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine was passed by the Senate of the United States unanimously, and I hope the House of Representatives will concur and express its satisfaction likewise.

It may appear strange to some to think of the destinies of nations and of peoples as foreordained, but that is my firm belief, for are we not witnessing the truth of the words of the prophets of the return of Israel, the assurance of whose restoration gleams through the whole vista of prophecy? We know a portion were restored from Babylon, but Isaiah says there shall be a second restoration from the four corners of the earth (Isaiah xi, 11, 12). "Both Israel and Judah shall be gathered and the sanctuary of the Lord shall be set in the midst of them forevermore" (Ezekiel 37).

God moves in a mysterious way. After the roll of many centuries, "Israel is lifting up his hands to the Gentiles" (Isaiah, chapter xl, 22). And the mandate accepted by a gentile nation will "bring his sons and daughters from far that he may plant them again in their own land" (Ezekiel xxxiv, 13). The gentile world to whom Israel is lifting his hands, respond and as Cyrus aided the Jews 24 centuries ago, so are the gentiles aiding them in establishing a homeland in Palestine and the words of the prophets are come true.

The establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine is not without great difficulties and as is to be expected, the project has some objectors. Lord Balfour recently characterized it as "a beneficial adventure in Government." It was a certainty, that the establishment of a new form of government in the Near East would bring about many difficulties but none insurmountable where the aims and purposes of the Government are upon so high a plane as the mandate for Palestine.

It has been asserted that the Arab populations of Syria, Mesopotamia, and near-by countries objected to the colonizing of Palestine by the Jews. But Emir Feisal, son of King Hussein, of the Hedjaz, shows the attitude of authorized representatives of the Arab people. Emir Feisal declared:

We are working together for a reformed and revived Near East, and our two movements complete one another. The Jewish movement is national and not imperialist. Our movement is national and not imperialist. There is room in Syria for us both. Indeed, I think that neither can be a real success without the other.

People less informed and less responsible than our leaders and yours, ignoring the need of cooperation of the Arabs and the Zionists, have been trying to exploit the local differences that must necessarily arise in Palestine during the early stages of our movement. Some of them have, I am afraid, misrepresented your aims to the Arab peasantry and our aims to the Jewish peasantry, with the result that interested parties have been able to make capital out of what they call our differences.

I wish to give you my firm conviction that these differences are not on questions of principles but on matters of details, such as must inevitably occur in every contact with the neighboring peoples, and as are easily dissipated by mutual good will. Indeed, nearly all of them will disappear with fuller knowledge.

There have been and no doubt there will be some local differences between the Arabs and the Jews there. It could not be otherwise during a period of transformation as is now in Palestine.

The colonist Jew is bringing Western culture and civilization into the country and it is natural that the Moslem Arabs, steeped in ignorance and extreme poverty, would occasionally clash with the newcomers. This is especially true of the Bedouin Arabs, who have no civilization worth the mention. These Bedouins live in the open and have the same objection to the land being fenced by the Jewish farmers as the American Indians had in the early days of the white settlers; hence it is sometimes necessary for the Palestinian colonist Jew to labor in the fields with a hoe in one hand and a rifle in the other.

These differences will later disappear and as the Jew develops his own culture and builds up the country it is inevitable that he will raise and level up the standard of Arab life there more nearly to his own. The Arabs now occupy only a small portion of the arable land. The rest is uncultivated. The pioneer Jewish settlers purchase what is desolate and unused land and reclaim it by irrigation and scientific agricultural methods. In this manner it is proposed to settle several million Jews there without infringing upon the rights of the present inhabitants.

The real objections to the British mandate in Palestine and the establishment of a Jewish homeland there is being made by a very small number of Arab intellectuals. These are the land-owning Moslem sheiks and effendis. They are mostly Turks and near Turks who have ruled and enslaved the Arab peasantry and now dispute the right of the return of the Jews to what was formerly their own country.

Although at different periods various alien people succeeded them, the Jewish people never abandoned their claim and title to Judea. Other people, when conquered, have either been allowed to remain upon their land or, if dispersed, have been absorbed and lost in other nations. But the Jews, though driven from the land over 18 centuries ago, still maintain themselves as a distinct people with unabated vitality.

Prescription can not be founded upon dereliction in their case, for they have never abandoned the land. They made no treaty, they did not even surrender. They simply succumbed, after the most desperate conflict, to the overwhelming power of the Romans, under Titus, and were slaughtered or enslaved in A. D. 70. About 65 years later the next generation rallied to the land again, under the lead of Bar Cochba, and stoutly resisted the Romans until they were completely overthrown at the siege of Bither, with a slaughter second only to the destruction of Jerusalem.

Since then, having no sovereign nor political head through whom they could speak, they have disputed the possession of the land by continued protests through their literature and their private and public worship.

In all their writings and in every form of worship they have constantly and steadfastly maintained their hope and fervent wish for the restoration of their ancient homeland. The same sentiment is expressed in the feasts of Passover, Pentecost, New Year, Day of Atonement, and Tabernacles, and by Orthodox Jews in the regular Sabbath service and in the morning prayers for every day in the year.

At the "west wall" in Jerusalem they have for years, on Friday afternoons, made the most public protests by the use of the seventy-ninth Psalm and other Scriptures, until "the wailing place" has become known throughout the world.

It seems as if Divine Providence has directed that ancient Judea shall ever be such, for the Jews left so indelible an impression upon the land that whatever civilization is there remained Jewish; even the nomenclature is of the Bible.

It is not a very large country, but nevertheless it is capable of supporting seven or eight million people by intensive cultivation of the land. The population consists of about 600,000 Arabs, mostly Moslems, and about 80,000 Jews.

It has been in possession of the Turks ever since Saladin fought the Crusaders, and the blighting, destructive rule of the unspeakable Turk is seen in the general desolation, for what was once a land of milk and honey is now mostly sand, stone, swamp, and desert, except where the new Jewish colonists have restored it.

The restoration of Zion by the modern establishment of a Jewish homeland will in a measure solve the Jewish question in so far as it relates to the migratory streams of unfortunate Jewish refugees from eastern and central Europe, who have been displaced from their homes in and following the chaos of the late World War. A lessening of the Jewish populations in the lands that now oppress them will afford relief to these unhappy people, since it offers a place to which many will migrate. A famous prelate once said: "Every land has as many Jews as it deserves." Spain at the height and zenith of her power numbered a large Jewish population. After the Inquisition and expulsion of the Jews her decline was rapid; indeed, it is a truism, "No country ever prospered who oppressed them."

It has been said that there were objections to a Jewish Palestine by some of the Jewish people themselves. To be sure there are some Jews who are indifferent, but that is because they have largely drifted away from their own people or know little or nothing about the movement. These protesting Jewish anti-Zionists constitute barely one-half of 1 per cent of the race. The great majority of the Jewish people in the United States and elsewhere are enthusiastic supporters and advocates of Zionism. It has, unfortunately, been the history of the Jewish people that always there are those of their faith and race who in their zeal for an idea become the enemies of their own people. We had an example of this in the fight made against this resolution at the hearings before the Foreign Affairs Committee, when a "celebrated Jewish rabbi" from Cincinnati appeared before the committee in opposition, in his campaign against Zion, which opposition happily finds few supporters among either Jews or Christians.

No great movement of a people has ever been unanimous. America in the making, during the Revolutionary War, produced a Benedict Arnold, and it is therefore regrettable but not strange that the reestablishment of Zion would produce a Jewish Benedict Arnold, who would endeavor to injure, if not destroy, what many millions of the Jewish people throughout the world are praying and striving for.

This resolution will not determine the mandate itself, for that is already an accomplished fact. Great Britain has accepted the

mandate given by the allied council at San Remo in 1920, and has administered the affairs of Palestine not only since, then but from the time when General Allenby's victorious army entered Jerusalem. It remains but for the ratification of the League of Nations to complete the project. The resolution merely voices America's favorable opinion and will not involve the United States in any possible manner, and I hope the House will pass the resolution, as the Senate did, unanimously.

Mr. SIEGEL. Mr. Speaker, the American people are in favor of this resolution. Both Presidents Wilson and Harding have given their moral support to its contents. Secretary Hughes and a host of distinguished statesmen and eminent Americans have expressed themselves in its favor. It simply repeats that which is known to be the sentiments of every true lover of liberty. By its language it notifies the world that the people of this country favor the establishment in Palestine of a national home for those of the Jewish faith, without in any way prejudicing the civil and religious rights of those of other faiths. It further provides that the holy places, religious buildings, and sites therein shall at all times be adequately protected. Palestine never has been an ordinary country, as it has always been considered as their holy land by the Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans.

At the outset let me say that it is not the desire or wish of the people of the Jewish faith to see Palestine revive as a national homeland by the ousting of the present population. On the contrary, it is their hope and wish to help that population go forward to a higher and better civilization and culture. The achievement of a people depends on the amount of help which it is able to give to other peoples, and not by degrading or oppressing them.

The entire civilized world knows that Palestine has been the permanent residing place and domicile of the Jews for thousands of years. They have had no country which may be deemed their own in the sense that there should be a center from which place cultural expansion among the Jewish people might take place. It is admitted by everyone that wherever the Jews have been and had an equal chance, they have always made their way to the front rank. They have become leaders in the fields of all activities and genuine and true citizens of any country which has held out its hands to give them a place of refuge. They have been, it is true, a people in dispersion. Their conduct, however, in every country has been shown by their undiluted allegiance, devotion, and loyalty to the country and government which has sheltered them. They have always, however, retained their faith and won the respect and admiration of the people of the world on account of that faith. They are always proud of being of the Jewish faith, because it is one of the most ancient faiths known to mankind, and they have a right to look back to an ancestry of which they can be justly proud.

It has always been true that where discrimination against the Jews has ended, they have by their tenacity, industry, and energy always made for the prosperity of the particular place in which they have settled for permanent residence. History records that every nation which has persecuted them has fallen from a high station to be either eradicated from the face of the earth or to sink into practical insignificance.

When Columbus discovered America there were on board of his ship at least five Jews. God has always shaped human efforts for the good of the universe. God designed that in America there should grow up a giant of a Republic that should always stand for justice and fair dealing to all, and it was God's plan that the time should come when these United States should stand as a great champion of justice and right. America was discovered in the very year when Spain expelled the Jews. The people of the Jewish faith were destined to survive despite persecution and suffering such as no other people have known. For 2,000 years it has been their dream that some day they would be able to point to Palestine as the place where enlightened civilization would find its home and make known to the world that its progress can best be advanced in times of peace. Practically every other people on the face of the earth can now point to some place where its oppressed and persecuted may find a haven of refuge. At the present time I know of no other place for them than Palestine. America is slowly shutting its doors by restrictive immigration measures. I feel confident the day is coming when the pendulum will swing the other way, but in the meantime there must be some place where the Jew can go to find a home and build up the land. In Palestine the spiritual life of the Jew will grow by leaps and bounds. It is needless to say that very few, if any, will leave the United States or Great Britain to permanently reside in Palestine. Some will, of course, go temporarily for the purpose of assisting in building it up, par-

ticularly professional men, including engineers, doctors, dentists, agricultural and electrical experts. The highest aspirations of the Jewish people will be redeemed from the moment that they are in a position to call Palestine a national homeland. When the announcement finally comes, it will bring about a great revival of culture and language. Furthermore, the world will once more commence to turn to the ancient Mosaic law for a solution of many of the problems now confronting it.

Throughout the entire Old Testament and the Psalms is found constant reference to the statement that the stranger, widow and the orphan in the gates shall be protected. The religious rights, liberty, and freedom of all who are non-Jews in Palestine will always be fully recognized and protected. The Jew knows only too well how he has suffered on account of the failure of others to recognize those rights when he personally has been involved. He has struggled for centuries to bring about the liberation of his people and the establishment of their rights. The Jew typifies tolerance and breadth of spirit. As has been said by Lord Balfour, "under the British mandate no form of tyranny, racial or religious, will ever be permitted." This statement was really unnecessary, because everyone who knows the history of the Jewish people is acquainted with the fact that they have been and are unalterably opposed to tyranny of any kind. Once the mandate has been ratified, Palestine will have its resources fully developed so that it may become, as it was in the days gone by, a land of milk and honey. The Jews know that it is going to take the hardest kind of work to bring about the proper development of Palestine, but they are prepared by intensive cultivation and by the development of the hydrotechnical projects formulated by Rutenberg to undertake such work, even though the obstacles may seem to the world at large insurmountable.

It is interesting also to look at the census of the population taken January 1, 1922. According to the official returns, there were on that date in the district of Jerusalem 137,457 Moslems, 37,063 Christians, and 33,784 Jews; in the district of Jaffa, 119,407 Moslems, 585 Christians, and 311 Jews, and 12 persons belonging to other religions; in the district of Gaza, 67,548 Moslems, 535 Christians, and 311 Jews; in the district of Galilee, 61,826 Moslems, 13,130 Christians, 11,924 Jews, and 1,725 persons belonging to other religions; in the district of Phoenicia, 69,988 Moslems, 19,915 Christians, 9,738 Jews, and 5,318 persons belonging to other religions; in the district of Samaria, 103,529 Moslems, 1,901 Christians, no Jews, and 158 persons belonging to other religions; in the district of Beer-sheba, 26,516 Moslems, 205 Christians, and 38 Jews, making a grand total of 761,796 persons.

The population of this same area on March 31, 1919, was 647,850; the Moslem population has increased during the period from March 31, 1919, to January 1, 1922, by 70,271, the Christians by 25,549, and the Jews by 15,963. The population of the city of Jerusalem has increased during the same period from 60,000 to 64,000; that of Jaffa from 40,000 to 45,100, that of Haifa from 20,000 to 34,100, while the population of Nablus (Shechem) has decreased from 22,000 to 20,638, and that of Hebron from 18,000 to 16,332.

At the present time it is well known that only 20 per cent of the land is under cultivation. Experts admit that the almonds, wheat, grapes, and oranges grown in that country are amongst the finest to be had anywhere. The whole population of Palestine, as I have stated, is only 761,796. If we consider that it is equal in area to Belgium, which has a population of about 7,000,000, it can be seen at a glance how several millions more can finally settle there. One of the arguments brought forward against declaring Palestine a Jewish homeland is that the population consists mainly of Arabs. If the grounds of opposition to such declaration were to be upheld on that score, then how can there be any justification for what has been done in the United States, Australia, India, Philippine Islands, and parts of Africa. The Arabs of Asia and Africa number, in all, 38,000,000. They now possess a land at least twenty times as large as the whole of Great Britain. It is estimated to be 2,375,000 square miles. For each 40 acres there is just one Arab. One one-hundred-and-seventieth part of this large acreage is to be found in Palestine. If Palestine is to become a national homeland of the Jews, it still will leave the Arab race in practical ownership and control of one of the richest holdings amongst all the countries of the earth, with practically 40 acres for each Arab. The Arabs, therefore, will have more land than they ever can require or ever think of developing. I believe that this destroys all arguments which have been or can possibly be advanced against the creation of a na-

tional homeland for the Jews in Palestine. Some of the Members have made inquiry as to whether there has been previous action along similar lines taken by Congress. It is interesting to know that when Greece was making its great struggle for separation and liberty from Turkey, on January 24, 1824, Daniel Webster delivered one of his greatest speeches, and then favorable action was taken by Congress. On July 22, 1872, Hamilton Fish, grandfather of the author of the present resolution, sent a dispatch to our representative at Constantinople reading as follows:

DEPARTMENT OF STATE.
Washington, July 22, 1872.

SIR: It has been suggested to this department, and the suggestion is concurred in, that if the sympathy which we entertain for the inhumanly persecuted Hebrews in the principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were made known to the Government to which you are accredited it might quicken and encourage the efforts of that Government to discharge its duty as a protecting power pursuant to the obligations of the treaty between certain European States. Although we are not a party, directly or indirectly, in the public affairs of that quarter, the grievance adverted to is so enormous as to impart to it as it were a cosmopolitan character in the redress of which all countries, Governments, and creeds are alike interested.

You will consequently communicate on this subject with the minister for foreign affairs of the Ottoman Empire in such a way as you may suppose might be most likely to compass the object in view.

I am, etc.,

HAMILTON FISH.

On August 11, 1902, John Hay, Secretary of State, one of America's greatest statesmen, sent a dispatch protesting discrimination against the Jews in Rumania which contained the following language:

Putting together the facts now painfully brought home to this Government during the past few years that many of the inhabitants of Rumania are being forced, by artificially adverse discriminations, to quit their native country; that the hospitable asylum offered by this country is almost the only refuge left to them; that they come hither unfitted, by the conditions of their exile, to take part in the new life of this land under circumstances either profitable to themselves or beneficial to the community; and that they are objects of charity from the outset and for a long time—the right of remonstrance against the acts of the Rumanian Government is clearly established in favor of this Government. Whether consciously and of purpose or not, these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Rumania upon the charity of the United States. This Government can not be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Rumania are subjected not alone because it has unimpeachable ground to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulations of the treaty of Berlin, to which it was not and can not become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles consigned therein, because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins, and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfillment thereof by its consignatories, for the act of Rumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard.

You will take an early occasion to read this instruction to the minister for foreign affairs and, should he request it, leave with him a copy.

We, therefore, see that there are precedents for the action which has already been taken in the Senate in this matter, and which the House is about to follow. The American people have always encouraged by their pen and voice struggling men and women seeking liberty and desirous of taking their well-earned places amongst the peoples of the world. They are happy to do all they can to perpetuate under proper care Jerusalem, the city of God and peace.

THIRD DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL—CONFERENCE REPORT.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent to consider at this time the conference report upon the bill (H. R. 12090) making appropriations to supply deficiencies in appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, and prior fiscal years, supplemental appropriations for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923, and for other purposes.

The SPEAKER. The gentleman from Illinois presents a conference report upon the third deficiency appropriation bill and asks unanimous consent for its present consideration. Is there objection?

There was no objection.

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, I move the adoption of the conference report.

The conference report was agreed to.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the first amendment in disagreement.

The Clerk read as follows:

Amendment No. 16: Page 13, after line 1, insert:

"DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

"BUREAU OF FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC COMMERCE.

"The Secretary of Commerce is authorized to use any balance remaining in the appropriation for 'Salaries, Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, 1922,' to pay salaries of any employees of the