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THE
DEVELOPMENT
OF THEODOR HERZL'S
IDEA OF THE JEWISH STATE
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO HIS DIARIES

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ABSTRACT

The Jewish State, the climax of Herzl's solution to the Jewish problem, was the outcome of the influence of various socio-political factors on Herzl's thinking and outlook. Completely unaware of the nature of the Jewish problem, and ignorant of the numerous attempts to solve it, Herzl started off in life as an almost perfectly assimilated Jew, who looked at the Jewish question as a disinterested party.

The development of his idea of the Jewish State as the only adequate and permanent solution to the Jewish problem, was a process of maturation, as it gradually, by experience and personal contact, dawned upon him that for certain reasons people were not very favourably disposed towards those of the Jewish faith; that people expressed their indisposition both overtly and covertly; that their indisposition was partly due to the physical, cultural, and religious peculiarities of the Jews and partly due to the economic status held by the Jews, who were considered alien intruders, a situation accentuated by their great numbers; that this European dislike for these peculiarities of Jewish culture and religion were deep rooted in, and stemmed from, the attitude of the Christian church of Inquisition days and earlier, concerning morals, acceptable

means of livelihood, and allegiance to different spiritual authorities; that no matter where the Jews resided, the various European peoples had similar complaints and attitudes towards them—they frowned upon common Jewish traits, and persecuted Jews for common reasons. So much so that in one Jew Herzl saw the whole of Jewry condemned: "A mort les Juifs," was the cry the mob raised as Dreyfus was degraded. Hence his conviction and realisation of the Jews to be a 'people' separate and distinguished by their common cultural heritage and religion.

It must be borne in mind that these illuminating facts dawned upon a man who was not himself, at first, part of this 'people' he discovered, or rather did not feel part of it, that it was only gradually, as he saw the problem unfold itself, and as he expounded his religious, social, and political solutions respectively, that he emerged through his respective religious, social, and political solutions as a Jewish nationalist and advocated a Jewish State.

To be sure, Theodor Herzl was not the only one and certainly not the first one to believe in and advocate the restoration of Israel as an independent political entity as the solution to the Jewish problem. A list of others would be very long and would perhaps be headed by the names of men such as Menasseh Ben-Israel, Sir Moses Montefiori, and Leo

Pinsker. Herzl, however, differed from these and others with respect to his achievement. He not only believed, but he acted and succeeded in gaining international recognition for the political status of the Jewish problem and the political solution that he advocated for it, involving the major European powers in the process. And it was precisely because of his activities for the cause of the Jewish State that his thought process did not stop; he became more emotionally and personally involved, doubts and determination alternatively overtook him, and gave rise to an inner struggle within him, to qualify and modify his thoughts and his conclusions.

It is this inner struggle for and against the Jewish State, against a background of nineteenth century Europe, as the external variable, that will form the substance of this paper, entitled, "The Development of Herzl's Idea of the Jewish State."

CHAPTER 1

SOCIAL, POLITICAL, AND PARENTAL SETTING OF HERZL'S CHILDHOOD

Theodor Herzl was born on the second day of May, 1860, in Pest,¹(Budapest). The city as the capital of Hungary, had already experienced the fervour of a growing Magyar nationalism, followed by the frustration of that same nationalism under Austro-Russian force, finally to experience the triumph of the Hungarians in Ausgleich. This was the famous Austro-Hungarian agreement according to which Hungary was to enjoy the broadest measure of autonomy within the framework of an Austro-Hungarian union.

Alongside this political development, was the no less significant increase in the Jewish population in the cities of Buda and Pest, which were later joined into Budapest. This fact weighed heavily in the intermittent attempts at rapprochement between the liberal Magyars and the Jews. In the years between 1850 and 1873, the population of Budapest rose from 178,000 to 300,000, of which the Jews numbered in 1873,

¹Alex Bein, Theodore Herzl: A Biography, trans. Maurice Samuel (London: East and West Library, 1957), p. 9.

48,306 (16.3%) of the total population.²

Most of these Jews were German speaking and German oriented, and came from the ranks of the Jewish liberal religious reform school which advocated and encouraged adaptation to the surrounding world. The substantial number of Jews and their assimilationist tendencies more perhaps than humanitarian considerations, motivated Franz Deak, the leader of the Liberal Party in Hungary and the Hungarian Reichstag, to complete Jewish emancipation and to associate the Jews with the Magyar movement and program.³

Herzl's parental background is known as fact and not merely as legend as far back as Leopold Herzl, his great-grandfather. Herzl's forefathers had migrated into the town of Semlin from Belgrade, when the latter passed from Austrian to Turkish rule. For this act of "faithfulness", as the Austrians interpreted it, the Herzls and the other Jews who had also migrated, were granted the rights of residence for the remainder of their lives. This grant was later extended to their descendants. Two of the three sons of Leopold Herzl were completely assimilated, but the third, Simon Loeb

²Ibid.

³Ibid.

Herzl, remained a devout and orthodox Jew, observing all the Jewish feasts and customs. His son, Jacob Herzl, Theodor's father, grew under the influence of Simon into the habit of being a Jew, though with no particular enthusiasm or zeal. Financially he was well off, and after leaving Semlin, had established himself in Pest, where he became the director of the Hungarian Bank. Jacob Herzl left his bank post to launch upon the timber business on a large scale, only to see his business ruined during the 1873 depression. His own persistence, together with the help and encouragement of his wife, Jeanette Diamant, put him once again in the saddle. Theodor's mother was, culturally, a German. German oriented in every possible way, and a great admirer of German literature, she was, unlike her husband, possessed with a missionary zeal to impart her German cultural heritage to her son. The Jewish world, although not alien to her, did not find expression through her.⁴

In short, Herzl was born into a family that professed and observed the Jewish faith, that is, whose religion was Jewish, but who belonging to a line of assimilated Jews, were not inclined to Jewish nationalism.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 4-7

CHAPTER II

CHILDHOOD AND SCHOOL EXPERIENCES

Theodor Herzl's childhood was a happy one. Both of his parents showed extreme love and affection to the boy, who gradually developed a great attachment to them. This attachment was to play a role in the free and unhampered development of his ideas.

At about the age of five, Theodor began to study under a private tutor. A year later he enrolled in a Jewish community school in Pest, called "Pester Israelitische Normalhauptschule." But because he showed an interest in the sciences, and because his parents wanted to encourage his inclinations, Theodor was sent, in 1870, to the Technical School of Pest, where he stayed for five years. During this time the situation in general had become increasingly difficult to tolerate as a result of the growing spirit of anti-Semitism, and Theodor left the school, again to study under private tutors. After one year of Greek and Latin, he enrolled in 1876, in the "Evangelical High School." Two years later, in 1878, his father and sister died; in that same year he graduated from the Evangelical School and enrolled in the Law Faculty of

Vienna.⁵

- In this long period between his first Jewish community school and his enrollment in the Law Faculty in Vienna, occurred a number of incidents, which we can presume shaped his mental framework, and at least affected his emotional disposition towards the Jewish question.

One of these was the 'Bar Mitzvah' (Confirmation Ceremony) wherein Theodor was called up to the Torah to read the portion for which he had been prepared. The ceremony was conducted as solemnly as possible. His parents had invited all their friends and relatives. For the first time Theodor was standing before a large audience, as the center of attraction in a religious ceremony to mark his own entry into the Jewish fold.⁶ This occasion must have aroused even in this young boy, his sense of Jewishness, and very probably a sense of pride in being Jewish.

In consequence of the 1867 emancipation act, the Jewish inflow into Hungary increased to such an extent that it gave to resentment on the part of the Magyar population. This spirit of antagonism and resentment penetrated the walls of the schools, and created a similarly unhealthy atmosphere there. This, of course, subjected Theodor, like every other Jewish

⁵Ibid., p. 10-15.

⁶Ibid., p. 15.

boy, to discrimination and injustice. At the height of this tension, Herzl's marks showed a sudden turn for the worse. The development of radical Magyar nationalism, with anti-Semitism as one of its by-products whose impact Herzl felt at school, made him lose all interest in school. What came to replace it was an increasing preoccupation with literature, especially German literature. Theodor dissociated himself from Magyarisation only to associate with German acculturation. The situation in the school grew worse so that he felt obliged to leave it in 1875.⁷

About this period. Alkalai, that early Zionist who advocated the return of the Jews to their 'original' homeland, passed through Buda-Pest on his way to Palestine. No doubt this man must have aroused curiosity and much talk, particularly in Theodor's surroundings, as his parents had come from Semlin, the very town of Alkalai.⁸

These were the major events in Theodor's childhood. They show that Herzl was under pressure from more than one direction. There were his own childhood dreams and interests in scientific achievements which were frustrated in the Technical School of Pest. Also, as a result of his unpleasant confrontation with Magyar resentment of his Jewishness, he tore him-

⁷Ibid., p. 16-19.

⁸Ibid., p. 5, p. 15.

self away from Magyarisation, a wave which had caught the Budapest Jews. Dissociated from a larger entity, there faced him two directions, Judaism, and German culture. The only staunch advocate of Judaism was his grandfather, whose influence was not very effective as he lived far from Theodor's home, and only visited once a year. His father, Jacob Herzl, although himself a devout orthodox Jew, lacked the zeal for imparting his heritage to his son, except by way of having the Jewish religious feasts observed in the home. His mother, on the other hand, an admirer of German culture and literature, and virtually a German, did most to influence Theodor in the direction of German literature.

Thus Theodor, whose language was already German, as most Budapest Jews were German speaking, studied German literature, and was so absorbed in it that he found no time for either science or Jewish questions. When, therefore, Theodor enrolled in the Law Faculty of Vienna, after the death of his father and sister, circumstances had made a German out of him, and had detached him completely from Judaism.

CHAPTER III

EARLY REFLECTIONS

Between the time when he entered the Law Faculty in Vienna, in 1878, and the time when his thoughts on the Jewish question climaxed in his idea of a Jewish state, Theodor Herzl passed through various stages in his thought process. The earlier stages were more in the nature of instantaneous responses to certain conditions, or of manifestations of youthful anger and irritation at human injustice, than of mature and positive attitudes.

Herzl's entrance into the Law Faculty of Vienna, introduced him to wider and more heterogeneous circles, and brought him into direct and personal contact with anti-Semitism. His first encounters with anti-Semitism were in the university student societies and fraternities. They were very unhappy experiences, "At first the Jewish Question grieved me bitterly."⁹ He fought them on grounds of humanitarianism, justice, and equality. At first he refused to accept and admit the existence of such a thing as anti-Semitism, and considered the

⁹The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, ed. Raphael Patai, trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Herzl Press and Thomas Youseloff, 1960), I, 4.

phenomenon to be the result of human injustice. His failures to change matters pushed him to seek refuge in Christianity, and in more perfect assimilation. Perhaps his love for his parents and his respect for his father constrained him from fulfilling this desire. Later on, however, he made mention of rather verbal amends to this particular point of baptism:

There might have been a time when I would have liked to get away from it-into the Christian fold, anywhere. But in any case, these were only vague desires born of youthful weakness. For I can say to myself with the honesty inherent in this diary-which would be completely worthless if I played the hypocrite with myself- that I never seriously thought of becoming baptised or changing my name. This latter point is even attested to by an incident. When as a green young writer I took a manuscript to the Vienna Deutsche Wochenschrift, Dr. Friedjung advised me to adopt a pen-name less Jewish than my own. I flatly refused, saying that I wanted to continue to bear the name of my father and I offered to withdraw my manuscript....¹⁰

It is, however, significant that he confessed that he had given the idea of baptism some thought; it expressed his desire to run away, escape into an entity and disappear. In other words, throw off his distinguishing mark of Jewishness. It must be remembered that Theodor was never really a Jew by faith; "I am a freethinker, and our principle will be: Let everyone seek salvation in his own way,"¹¹ was the reply he gave much later in answer to questions brought up about

¹⁰Ibid., p. 4-5.

¹¹Ibid., p. 283.

religion in the Jewish state proposed by Herzl. The statement, however, can be taken as a reference to his earlier years as well.

Moreover he gradually began to realise that the Jews, through centuries of ghetto life, had developed certain characteristics that were frowned upon; "In the ghetto we have taken on a number of anti-social qualities. Our character has been corrupted by oppression and it must be restored through some other kind of pressure,"¹² that if it were possible to remove this curse of the ghetto, the Jew would be rid of his peculiarities, since that would mean the removal of the Jew-Gentile distinction. The most effective way to achieve this, according to Theodor, was intermarriage, which would bring about the gradual and complete disappearance of the Jews in the surrounding world, and hence the disappearance of the Jewish problem. Bien writes in his biography;

It was his conviction, according to the notes dating from that period, that only intermarriage could lead 'to the improvement of the figurative and literal racial profile' and thus lead to a satisfactory solution. 'The crossing of the western with the oriental races on the basis of a common state religion, that is the great solution to be desired.'¹³

¹²Ibid., p. 9.

¹³Bien, op. cit., p. 35.

Soon after these observations, however, about the year 1881 or 1882, Theodor read the newly published book by Duhring (Eugene Karl), the German philosopher, entitled "The Jewish Question as a Question of the Racial Damage for the Existence, Morals, and Culture of the Nations." The book, published in 1881, preached a racial fight against the Jews.¹⁴

Bien summarises Duhring's thesis as follows:

Those people which out of a false sentiment of humanity had permitted the Jews to live among them, with equal and sometimes even superior rights, had to be liberated from the harmful intruder, had to be de-Judaised."¹⁵

This book's impression on Herzl was so great that it shook him, disillusioned him, astounded him to such an extent that those impressions were never to leave him. His own words from his diary best express his feelings and reactions.

When did I actually begin to concern myself with the Jewish Question? Probably ever since it arose; certainly from the time that I read Duhring's book. In one of my old notebooks, now packed away somewhere in Vienna, are my first observations on Duhring's book and on the question. At that time I still had no Newspaper as an outlet for my writings-it was I believe in 1881 or 1882; but I know that even today I repeatedly say some of the things that I wrote down then."¹⁶

¹⁴The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., V, 1704.

¹⁵Bien, op. cit., p. 36.

¹⁶The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., I, 4.

This is an important confession, but we must realise that it is a reminiscence, written in retrospect, with the advantage of being in a completely different situation, and from the vantage point of later experiences. When Herzl says "... certainly from the time that I read Duhring's book...." we must not take it to mean that Duhring made a Jewish nationalist out of Herzl; for as we shall soon see from his own accounts a long time after his reading of Duhring, he was still flirting with his historical and sociological conceptions of and solutions to the Jewish problem. I do not mean to dismiss Herzl's own confession of Duhring's effect on him. Indeed, it was a landmark in the development of Herzl's idea of the Jewish State. In the first place, it shook the heavily founded and deep rooted assimilationist in Herzl. In the second place, it took Herzl a step forward in the development of his idea. Until his reading of Duhring, Herzl had considered the Jewish problem as the separate problem of each individual Jew, because of personal and individual peculiarities. Moreover, the fault was the individual Jew's for not ridding himself of the 'anti-social' features in him, to be acceptable in society. Duhring's book changed his mental framework and his outlook on the problem. It became clear to him that the problem could not be solved individually, that the peculiarities were

not just individual, but ethnic peculiarities, and hence its solution lay in a mass change and purification of Jewish traits. He, moreover, became aware that there was a Gentile opposition to Jewish infiltration into their ranks; that as long as Jews were Jews, anti-Semitism would continue to exist and, indeed, grow. He was too much of an assimilated Jew to have at this point reached climactic conclusions. He was still the historian, the sociologist, the umpire between Jew and Gentile, but with different conceptions of the Jews and the Gentiles, as well as a deeper insight into their relationship.

CHAPTER IV

THE JEWISH QUESTION

The next stage in the development of Herzl's ideas was a turbulent one; one of internal struggles; one of a tug of war between his awakening to the realities of the situation on the one hand, and the forces of his assimilated upbringing on the other. The former forces had by now become strong enough to shake the latter. He yielded, but not enough. Amid the continuous pressure of events pushing him deeper and deeper into the heart of the matter, Herzl had begun to see the existence of a Jewish problem, but as yet **only** as a social problem. At first before his convictions had become firmly grounded, there were times when he tried to avoid it and even make fun of it.

The Jewish Question naturally lurked for me around every turn and corner. I sighed over it and made fun of it; I felt unhappy, but still it never really took hold of me....¹⁷

But there was nothing he could do about it, the problem was there and his concern, despite the fact that it was with much reserve, had involved him and pulled him into the current.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 5.

In later years he was to confess that he had felt this process, as he later inserted in his diary: "Naturally each passing year brought a change in my thinking, something I was consciously aware of."¹⁸

This process took a sharp turn when in 1890, Theodor Herzl was sent to Paris as the correspondent of the *Neue Freie Presse*. In Paris, Herzl faced a completely novel situation. There he was able to observe the political phenomena on a larger scale. Paris offered him an immense opportunity for practical education, for a deeper insight into social psychology: mob reaction, mass hysteria, and the like. In Paris, again, Herzl felt freer than he had felt in Austria, or in Germany. There, he was an observer, not a participant, he could pass through the crowd unrecognised and unnoticed, there were no embarrassing occasions on account of his Jewishness, an important consequence of which was his elevated sense of disinterestedness with regards anti-Semitism, which in fact reached a peak in the very early stages of his residence in Paris.

In Paris I was in the midst of politics—at least as an observer. I saw how the world is run. I also stood amazed at the phenomenon of the crowd—for a long time without comprehending it. Here too, I reached a higher, more disinterested view of anti-Semitism, from which at least I did not have to

¹⁸Ibid., p. 4.

suffer directly. In Austria or in Germany I must constantly fear that someone will shout 'hep, hep!!' after me. But here I pass through the crowd unrecognized."¹⁹

In Paris, then, I gained a freer attitude toward anti-Semitism which I now began to understand historically and make allowances for.²⁰

This sudden emotional freedom, this sudden feeling of relief, coupled with the fantasm of Paris and Parisian society, which at first completely distracted Herzl, brought about a mental readjustment in Herzl. He was in a different environment, hence he reacted differently. In those early years in Paris, he concluded that it was useless to fight against anti-Semitism, and that the problem, being an effect of history, history (time) alone could solve it, when the cause of the symptom was no more there.

Above all, I recognised the emptiness and futility of efforts to combat anti-Semitism. Declamations made in writing or in closed circles do no good whatever; they even have a comical effect. It is true that in addition to careerists and simpletons, there may be very stalwart people serving on such, relief committees. These resemble the relief committees formed after-and-before!-floods, and they accomplish about as much.²¹

On the surface, the above passage gives the impression of a negativism which is not at all the case when one goes deeper into its implications. For, behind this statement lies

²⁰ Ibid., p. 6.

²¹ Ibid.

Herzl's desire to solve the Jewish question through a mass conversion to Catholicism, the peak of his assimilationist ideas, which he attained in his early years in Paris. He felt that there should be no need for a Jew to extinguish himself physically, as his very close friend, Heinrich Kana, a German Jewish writer, had done in despair, by taking his own life. Instead he had begun to believe that the Jew should rather extinguish himself culturally, and be born again into a completely new life, no more a Jew, but a Christian, a Catholic. He wanted to meet the Pope and ask for help against anti-Semitism in return for the mass-conversion of the Jews into Catholicism. He wanted this conversion to take place in broad daylight so that it might not be considered a secret Jewish plot, so that it might be as respectable as possible. He wanted the adult Jews to lead their young ones to the threshold of the church, but, themselves, refrain from stepping in, lest it be considered cowardice, or profiteering. Such adjectives would not be labeled on younger folk, he believed, since, as children, they would not know the difference, and they would not have, as yet, absorbed their parents' Jewish heritage. Hence there would be no problem of inheriting guilt or feeling of personal

guilt.

I can still recall two different conceptions of the Question and its solution which I had in the course of those years. About two years ago I wanted to solve the Jewish Question, at least in Austria, with the help of the Catholic Church. I wished to gain access to the Pope and say to him: Help us against the anti-Semites and I will start a great movement for the free and honourable conversion of Jews to Christianity.

Free and honourable by virtue of the fact that the leaders of this movement—myself in particular—would remain Jews and as such would propagate the conversion to the faith of the majority. The conversion was to take place in broad daylight, Sundays at noon, in Saint Stephan's Cathedral, with festive processions and amidst the pealing of bells. Not in shame, as individuals have converted up to now, but with proud gestures. And because the Jewish leaders would remain Jews, escorting the people only to the threshold of the church and themselves staying outside, the whole performance was to be elevated by a touch of great candor.

We the steadfast men, would have constituted the last generation. We would still have adhered to the faith of our fathers. But we would make Christians of our young sons before they reached the age of independent decision, after which conversion looks like an act of cowardice or careerism. As in my custom I had thought out the entire plan down to all its minute details. I could see myself dealing with the Archbishop of Vienna; in imagination I stood before the Pope—both of them were very sorry that I wished to do no more than remain part of the last generation of Jews— and sent this slogan of mingling of the races flying across the world.²²

Herzl discussed these thoughts with Benedikt, one of the two editors and publishers of the Neue Freie Presse of

²²Ibid., p. 7.

Vienna, with the hope of winning over the Neue Freie Presse to his cause of conversion. Benedikt, however, was completely against the idea, not willing to involve the paper into Jew and Gentile squabbles. One of the points on which Benedikt based his objection and by which Herzl seems to have been impressed is the argument that Jews belonging to a certain generation and period in Jewish history, had no right to end that history, that process of a thousand years.

But one thing in Benedikt's response struck me as being true. He said: For a hundred generations your line has preserved itself within the fold of Judaism. Now you are proposing to set yourself up as the terminal point in this process. This you cannot do and have no right to do.²³

Herzl knew well that without the paper, he could not launch on his new plan, as he would need it to acquaint the masses with his ideas, and to educate them to accept it. Moreover, he needed the paper, first, to strengthen his bargaining power, and second, to induce the Catholic authorities, especially the Pope, to issue favourable declarations. Without the assistance of the paper, he knew he could not proceed with real hope of success; he therefore abandoned the whole plan.

²³Ibid., p. 8.

Naturally I could not do anything without my newspaper. Where would I have got any authority from? What would I have been able to offer in exchange? The services of the leading liberal paper might have induced the clever Pope to do something, issue a declaration or drop a hint....²⁴

Fantastic ideas are not always an indication of sober thinking. They are quite often signs of emotional instability and confusion, and may well be the signals of a bankruptcy in the formulation of practicable policies. Herzl may well have been in just such a condition. He did not lack frustrating experiences in his earlier years, and his life since then had been full of great expectations, and disillusionments. The foundations of German culture, on which his assimilationism was built, was now crumbling. It was now being pushed over by another spirit trying to establish another culture. In the midst of this push and pull of ideas, it was perhaps natural for Herzl to cling to his assimilationism even closer.

In the Pope, or rather in Christianity, he thought he had found the solution. But it was more than just a solution that he was seeking; like the "flying buttresses" around a medieval church, he was erecting his own supports around his cultural heritage.

With the abandonment of his desire to venture into

²⁴Ibid., p. 9.

Catholicism, which meant the loss of yet another of the pillars on which stood the assimilationist in him, he now began to develop another idea. "After this plan had been abandoned, there ripened in my unconscious, in that obscure way, another idea, one not so political, but more contemplative."²⁵

Herzl now saw the Jewish problem as deriving from history and past experiences which made the Jews what they were. He saw in their past the causes of Jew-hatred. He justified Jew-hatred, not the haters, on historical grounds. The Jews, he thought, had acquired corrupted and anti-social characteristics because of their long confinement to the ghetto. Because of oppression and social ostracism, they were obliged to indulge in practices and professions such as usury which were proscribed or unpopular. The problem, he thought, was not specifically their anti-social characteristics, but rather, the impatience of the Gentiles with the Jews. The Gentiles failed to understand the causes of the undesirable in the Jew; and refused to give the Jews a chance to overcome their acquired characteristics. He blamed liberal Gentiles for thinking that edicts of emancipation were

²⁵Ibid.

enough to turn the ghetto people into ordinary, normal citizens overnight. Even after emerging from the ghetto, the Jews remained an essentially ghetto people, and needed time and a period of readjustment, which was denied them, to adapt themselves to their new life. Herzl, however saw in anti-Semitism more good than harm to the Jews. He saw in it a process of education and "purification" through which the Jews would emerge "purged" once and for all of their ghetto characteristics. He saw in this process of "purification" a mimicry of the Darwinian theory of the survival of the fittest.

We Jews have maintained ourselves, even if through no fault of our own, as a foreign body among the various nations. In the ghetto we have taken on a number of anti-social qualities. Our character has been corrupted by oppression, and it must be restored through some other kind of pressure. Actually anti-Semitism is a consequence of the emancipation of the Jews. However, the people who lack historical understanding-that is all of them-do not see us as an historical product, as the victims or earlier, crueler, and still more narrow-minded times. They do not realize that we are what we are because they have made us that way amidst tortures, because the rulers forced us onto money. Moreover, we always had to be prepared to flee or to conceal our possessions from plunderers. This is how our relationships to money arose....We extracted money from the people which later was stolen or confiscated from us. All these sufferings rendered us ugly and transformed our character which had in earlier times been proud and magnificent....

Now it was erroneous on the part of the doctrinaire libertarians to believe that men can be made equal by publishing an edict in the Imperial Gazette. When we emerged from the ghetto, we were, and for the time being remained, ghetto Jews. We should have been given time to get accustomed to freedom. But the people around us have neither the magnanimity nor the patience. They see only the bad and conspicuous characteristics of a liberated people and have no idea that these released men have been unjustly punished.

.....
 However, anti-Semitism, which is a strong and unconscious force among the masses, will not harm the Jews. I consider it to be a movement useful to the Jewish character. It represents the education of a group by the masses, and will perhaps lead to its being absorbed. Education is accomplished only through hard knocks. A Darwinian mimicry will set in. The Jews will adapt themselves. They are like the seeds, which an act of nature cast into the water. These animals assume the appearance and habits of fish, which they certainly are not. Once they return to dry land again and are allowed to remain there for a few generations they will turn their fins into feet again.²⁶

The above quotation was actually a part of the conversation Herzl held with Speidal, an Austrian Jewish journalist, settled in Vienna as the correspondent of the Allgemeine Zeitung, who later became the theater critic of the Neue Freie Presse,²⁷ in Hinderbuhl, a village about six miles from Vienna, on one of Herzl's

²⁶Ibid., p. 9-10.

²⁷Ibid., v, 1868.

trips from Paris.²⁸ Herzl records in his diary that after his conversation with Speidal, he drove back in his carriage to Baden, from where he had come to visit Speidal. On his way through a certain tunnel called "Cholera Chapel" he passed by two young men who cried out behind the carriage, 'dirty Jew'. Infuriated at the insult, he turned around in the direction of the two men. He felt like fighting with them, but just as soon, he controlled his temper and sat back to continue his way. He then and there realised that the insult was not directed at him personally, for the two young men did not know him, but rather at his "Jewish nose, and Jewish beard."²⁹

This was more than a passing incident because of the time of its occurrence. Herzl, while conversing with Speidal about the Jews and explaining his own outlook to the situation, had in reality been trying to justify the problem to himself. He was making use of one of the last pillars on which stood his assimilationism, and trying hard to suppress a certain feeling which was beginning to captivate his heart and mind. It was after such desperate mental attempts that Herzl suffered this

²⁸Ibid., I, p. 9.

²⁹Ibid., p. 11.

experience. Now the futility of justification and argument suddenly dawned upon him. "What a curious echo to my universal historical conception! world history is of no use in such a situation."³⁰ This was more than a contradiction to his argument with Speidal, this was a confrontation with something not very clear to him, the seed of a thought so outrageous that he dared not push it to a conclusion.

A few months later Herzl was sitting for the sculptor Beer, a Jew residing in Paris, and their conversation turned to matters Jewish. The general theme was that it did a Jew no good to turn away from money and become an artist. This was the point of view of Herzl, who was by then convinced that the curse would cling forever, and that the Jews could not rid themselves of the ghetto. He became quite excited as he talked, and remained so, long after he left Beer. As he walked home, he formulated the plan of a new play.

A few months later I was sitting for the sculptor Beer who was doing my bust. Our conversation resulted in the insight that it does a Jew no good to become an artist and free himself from the taint of money. The curse still clings. We cannot get out of the ghetto. I became quite

³⁰Ibid.

heated as I talked, and when I left my excitement still glowed in me. With the swiftness of that dream involving a pitcher of water in the Arabian fairy-tale, the outline of the play came into being. I believe I hadn't gone from Rue DesCombes to the Place Pereire when the whole thing was already finished in my mind.

The next day I set to work. Three blessed weeks of ardor and labor.³¹

Herzl's excitement was evidently over the thought that the Jews cannot get out of the ghetto, that no matter what they did, they were always considered and looked upon as ghetto Jews. Once again he was caught in his conscious and unconscious inner struggles. On an earlier occasion he had not dared to follow his thoughts to their logical conclusion, for he had sensed a dangerously novel idea waiting at its end, although he had as yet no idea of what it could be. Now he was once more in a similar position; once more he was extremely disturbed by the feeling that the Jews would never succeed in freeing themselves from the curse of the ghetto. Once more he had the opportunity of carrying his thoughts a step further, but as happened on the earlier occasion, Herzl evaded this opportunity, and instead of following his thoughts to their logical conclusion, took indeed a backward step by trying to vent his emotions and free

³¹Ibid.

himself and his mind of the problem, in a play entitled, "The New Ghetto."³² Bein, in his biography of Herzl, makes mention of the play and adds in detail the last scene, where the hero, Sammucl Kohn, having been fatally wounded by von Schramm, in a duel, cries out just before he dies, "I want to get out...out! out-of-the-ghetto."³³ Having expressed so movingly his own desires and his desires for the Jews to get out of the ghetto, he thought he had set himself free of the matter. But what he really did was to get even more involved in it. We can easily imagine Herzl trying to put himself in the shoes of Sammucl Kohn; he was, as far as his emotions were concerned, in a simialr state as that of Kohn in the play, and like Sammucl Kohn, Herzl too wanted to free the Jew from the ghetto.

Having reached thus far he was no more a mere observer of or a commentator on the Jewish problem, but a directly involved participant.

I had thought that through this eruption of playwriting I had written myself free of the matter. On the contrary, I had gotten more and more deeply involved with it. The thought

³²Ibid., V, 1812.

³³Bein, op. cit., p. 106.

grew stronger in me that I must do something for the Jews.³⁴

The use of the word 'something' here, is quite significant because it implies a search for a way out, and thus tells that Herzl did not yet know what it was.

It was about that time that Herzl went for the first time in four or five years, to the synagogue in Paris. The service touched and moved him. He was reminded of his childhood days and the temple in Pest. He was also able to look at an assemblage of Jews and discover a "family likeness in their faces."

For the first time I went to the synagogue in the Rue de la Victoire and once again found the services festive and moving. Many things reminded me of my youth and the Tabak Street temple at Pest. I took a look at the Paris Jews and saw a family likeness in their faces: bold, misshapen noses; furtive and cunning eyes.³⁵

Herzl was finally beginning to feel a part of Jewry; he was beginning to look for the solution to the Jewish problem in the direction he had thus far avoided.

It finally dawned upon Herzl that the Jewish question was not just a historical accident, to be solved by time; that the Jews were a people who, having lived in

³⁴The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., I, 11.

³⁵Ibid.

the diaspora for two thousand years, were, far from disappearing into their surroundings, even more pronounced as a distinct people, and considered as aliens in the countries of their birth.

At this point, the idea of a Jewish state, the idea of a politically independent territory with all the implications of such autonomy, was not the preoccupation of Herzl's mind. He was now convinced of the futility of assimilation, baptism, and his historical concepts of cause and effect. He now knew, and felt, that there was another way out, a way which would lead the Jews back to the promised land, a task which would need the assistance of every able-bodied Jew.

This illumination, however, was as yet in the realms of the imagination and wishful thinking. But Herzl felt that it had possibilities which would make millions happy upon its realisation. This awakening to the Jewish situation meant a complete spiritual transformation for Herzl. He was born again into Judaism, to share its fears and hopes. And it was as a reborn man that Herzl conceived of the plan of a novel in which a friend of

his, Heinrich Kana,³⁶ who had committed suicide, was not the hero, as he previously had been in another novel Herzl had thought of but had never written. Heinrich Kana was now to be condemned for killing himself and depriving the cause of his services, just when the promised land was discovered and was in need of hands.

In the present form of the novel, Samuel still was the weaker but dearly beloved friend of the hero whom the fortunes of his life bring to the point where he discovers, or rather, finds the promised land.

Shortly before the sailing of the boat which is to take him to new shores, together with a staff of officers expert in exploration, he receives Samuel's letter. Samuel writes: 'My dear, dear boy, when you read this letter, I shall be dead.'

At this point the hero moves his fist in which he is crumpling the paper, to his heart. But the next instant there is only rage in him.

He gives the command for departure. Then he stands at the bow of the boat and stares fixedly into the distance where the promised land lies.

And he takes the letter in which there is so much touching love and loyalty, and cries into the wind: 'You fool, you scoundrel, you wretch! oh for the life that belonged to us and is lost.'³⁷

The death of Kana was a blow to Herzl, not only on the personal level. It symbolized to him the fate of the Jew as he had come to see it. When later Herzl discovered the promised land, he could only feel sorry for Kana, who

³⁶German Jewish writer and critic, who was a close friend of the young Herzl. He killed himself on February 6, 1891.

³⁷The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., I, 13.

was not there to share the joy of hope-a feeling which developed into rage and anger, that at the very moment in history when the Jews could hope for a brighter future in a land of their own, Kana, the Jew, should not be there because he had despaired too soon.

The new version of the novel could be considered as a projection of Herzl's mental and spiritual state of mind. The hero who condemns Kana as a fool, -a scoundrel, -a wretch, could well be Herzl himself, who gives the command for departure and stares fixedly in the direction of the promised land.

CHAPTER V

THE JEWISH STATE

A. Thought to Action

Herzl expressed his new revelation quite explicitly in the novel mentioned above, but that novel only expressed his feelings and thoughts. How he moved from thought to action, remained obscure; he himself was not sure.

How I proceeded from the idea of writing a novel to a practical program is already a mystery to me, although it happened within the last few weeks. It is in the realms of the unconscious.³⁸

When he did at last decide to take action, he was not yet fully convinced of the sensibility, the possibility, and especially the practicability of his ideas; he was worried that he might be laughed at. At first he was even worried about writing his thoughts in a diary. This was natural as he realised the seriousness of the consequences, and the responsibility he would be assuming.

Perhaps these ideas are not practical ones at all and I am only making myself the laughing stock of the people to whom I talk about it ser-

³⁸ Ibid.

iously. Could I be only a figure in the novel?

But even then it would be worth writing down what I have thought about during this period and am continuing to think about.³⁹

According to Herzl's own confession in his diary, the transition was again followed by doubt. One day he wrote a letter to Baron de Hirsch⁴⁰ in which he simply requested the latter to set a time for them both to meet and discuss Jewish political matters.

When may I have the honour of calling on you? I should like to discuss the Jewish question.... I simply wish to have a discussion with you about Jewish political matters, a discussion that may have an effect on times that neither you nor I will live to see.⁴¹

His convictions were clear enough; he knew what he wanted, and for the first time he used the word 'political' when referring to the Jewish question. But he was not quite sure as yet as to whether to go ahead and send the letter. He still harboured doubts concerning the wisdom of such a course of action. He, therefore,

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Baron Maurice de Hirsch(1831-1896) Railroad Magnate and Philanthropist, founded the Jewish Colonisation Association(JCA) for the agricultural settlement of Jews in Argentina, and supported it by donations amounting to ten million pounds sterling.

⁴¹The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., I, 14.

kept the letter for two weeks, brooding over it, and finally concluded that it was not entirely nonsensical.

After I had finished the letter, I left it lying there and slept on it for fourteen days and nights. When even after this interval the letter did not seem devoid of sense to me, I mailed it.⁴²

This letter was a milestone in the development of Herzl's idea of the Jewish state, indeed, in Herzl's life as well. His writing of the letter was the stepping stone into the realm of action, the victory of his will over his hesitations, a turning-point in his private and personal domain. His mailing of the letter was his final victory over all hesitations and doubts, the victory of the idea of an independent homeland for the Jews. The mailing of the letter marked his entry into the public scene.

Herzl's first encounters in his political career were with Baron Hirsch. After the exchange of a number of letters, Baron Hirsch was finally able to receive Herzl. The meeting took place on June 2, 1895, in the former's residence.⁴³

The meeting itself did not result in any concrete

⁴²Ibid., p. 13.

⁴³Ibid., p. 17.

gain for Herzl, but its significance lies in the fact that Herzl was, for the first time, able to propound his political views in more detail.

Baron de Hirsch politely listened to Herzl as the latter read his notes to him, with a few interruptions on the part of Hirsch in protest against certain statements made by Herzl.

The main argument of Herzl was that Hirsch's colonisation projects in Argentina, were futile. Not only did they not serve their well-intentioned purposes, but they were breeders of beggars rather than men with personal initiative and dynamism. Furthermore, such a colonisation project was not the remedy for the Jewish question, which was a deep question needing political leadership rather than benefactors. Herzl suggested that instead of taking over Jews from Europe and settling them in other countries, a procedure which did no more than teach the Jews transported, to continue to expect help rather than exert personal effort, prizes and rewards ought to be offered to individual Jews who achieve 'striking deeds' of courage and self-sacrifice. This, continued Herzl, would encourage many Jews to attain such goals in order to attain such prizes. The results of such attempts would

be two-fold: one result would be the great motivation for performing such striking deeds which would elevate the Jews' morale and character and show his worth as a Jew; and the second would be the realisation of the Gentile that there are such people as 'good Jews'. It was at this point that Hirsch interrupted him to object to the idea of raising the general level of the Jews. Hirsch's point of view was that it was the general elevation of the Jews, and the increased number of Jewish intellectuals that was the cause of Jew-hatred. His intentions were to keep the Jew from 'pushing ahead'. At this stage of their argument, Herzl refused to continue his plan, as he saw that it was useless talking to a man with the ideas that Hirsch had. He therefore rose to take his leave. On his way out Baron de Hirsch added that emigration was the only solution, in answer to which, with a rather angry tone, Herzl said, that he too favoured emigration, but hadn't reached that point when he decided to stop the presentation. Herzl was a bit excited as he answered, and almost shouted at Hirsch, as he told him of his intentions to meet the Kaiser, and seek his support.

Now if we had a united political leadership,
the necessity for which I need not demonstrate

further...We could tackle the solution of the Jewish question....

.....
 First of all, there is the principle of philanthropy, which I consider completely erroneous. You are breeding shnorrers (beggars).

.....
you drag these would-be Jewish farmers overseas. They are bound to believe that they have a right to be supported in the future, too, and the last thing in the world that will be promoted by this, is their eagerness to work.

.....
 Instead of buying up the Jews one by one, you could offer huge prizes in the chief anti-Semitic countries for actions d'eclat (striking deeds), for deeds of great moral beauty, for courage, self sacrifice, ethical conduct, great achievements...in short for anything great. Such prizes will accomplish two things: the improvement of everyone, and publicity....

.....
 No, No, No! I don't want to raise the general level at all. All our misfortune comes from the fact that the Jews want to climb too high. We have too many intellectuals. My intention is to keep the Jews from pushing ahead.

.....
 Emigration would be the only solution, he said (Hirsch). There are lands enough for sale. I almost shouted: Well who told you that I don't want to emigrate? It is all there in these notes. I shall go to the German Kaiser; he will understand me, for he has been brought up to be a judge of great things...⁴⁴

Such was the conversation between Herzl and Baron de Hirsch. Herzl was angered and perhaps depressed because of this Jewish financial giant's attitude. For the

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 23.

first time he experienced opposition from within, opposition from a Jew, not a Gentile; an opposition which he was to experience with greater frequency as he went deeper into the problem. His first contact with it at the residence of Baron de Hirsch, made him react sharply. He would meet the German Kaiser. He would appeal to the ordinary Jew, not the giant millionaires. A few days later after his meeting with Baron de Hirsch, he wrote to him as follows: "My plan certainly does not depend on you alone. But you would have been only the power I would have started with. There are others. There are ultimately and above all the Jewish masses, and I shall know how to get across to them."⁴⁵ It is interesting to note that Herzl, beginning with this incident with Hirsch, was gaining speed of action which he would have perhaps not acquired otherwise. It was as if he wanted to compensate for each set-back without loss of time. This process, which became intensified by time, was in fact in the interest of Herzl's cause, to the extent that it accelerated its progress.

Hence the set-back that Herzl suffered at Hirsch's

⁴⁵Ibid., p. 26.

residence was to be made up by the meeting with the Kaiser. To this end Herzl won the help of Reverend Hechler,⁴⁶ who had gone to Karlsruhe to win the Grand Duke of Baden,⁴⁷ and through him the Kaiser for the idea, wired him to be ready to go to Karlsruhe, the then capital of Baden⁴⁸

⁴⁶ British minister, was born in South Africa of German parents. After completing his studies for the ministry, he became, upon recommendation of the British court, tutor to prince Ludwig, son of the grand Duke of Baden. While in this post, he got to know the Grand Duke's nephew, the future Kaiser Wilhelm II of Germany. Following prince Ludwig's untimely death, Hechler served as a minister in England, and published a leaflet, The Restoration of the Jews to Palestine According to the Prophets (1882). From 1885 to 1910 he was chaplain of the British Embassy in Vienna where he met Herzl and became his devoted friend.

⁴⁷ Fredrich, Grand Duke of Baden (1826-1907), served first as regent in place of his insane brother, then, from 1856, ruled in his own right. His wife was the daughter of Wilhelm I of Prussia and the aunt of Wilhelm II. At the establishment of the German Empire at Versailles in 1871, Fredrich made the official proclamation of Wilhelm I as Kaiser. The Grand Duke was the most democratic and liberal prince in Germany, and following his meeting with Herzl he became a staunch supporter of Zionism and a great admirer of Herzl.

⁴⁸ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op.-cit., I, 25

B. Fragmentary Thoughts on the Jewish State

At this point, with the hope of meeting the Kaiser, Herzl underwent an immense outflow of ideas concerning the Jewish state, its organisations, and the means for its establishment, which he poured out indiscriminately into the diary. His ideas and thoughts at this stage were as yet confused, without a particular sequence. It was later, when he wrote his "Jewish State" and before that, his "Family Address to the Rothschilds", that he drew upon his haphazard jottings of this period, to formulate and harmonise his ideas. Throughout these pages in his diary, where he inserted his ideas as they struck him, one thought was prevalent, that "we shall have to go through bitter struggles: with a reluctant Pharaoh, with enemies, and especially with ourselves. The Golden Calf!"⁴⁹ But he overcame it almost immediately, for the next insertion reads, "But we shall carry it through, earnest and farsighted, as long as the people always sense and know the loftiness of our aims."⁵⁰ He put down the following to be the procedure he would follow in organising the plan of purchasing the land and the various tasks involved in emigrating.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.33

⁵⁰ Ibid.

1. Money raising (syndicate)
2. Start of publicity (which will cost nothing, for the anti-Semites will rejoice, and I shall break down the liberal opposition by threats of competition)
3. Enrollment of land seekers
4. More publicity, on the largest scale. Make Europe laugh at it, swear at it-in short, talk about it
5. Negotiations with Zion
6. Agreements on the purchase of land
7. Issuing of land priorities (one billion)
8. Purchase and building of ships
9. Continuous enlistment of all who come forward; recruitment, assignment, training.
10. Begin to publicise the big subscription
11. Sailing of the expedition to take possession of the land, with news service for the entire press
12. Selection and demarcation of the land and the sites for the main cities
13. Workers from Russia, etc. will have been building embarkation barracks (on Italian or Dutch coast, first for themselves, then for subsequent contingents)
14. Fare and freight contacts with railroads. We must make a big profit on transportation
15. Exchange of old items for new ones begins
16. The wheels already in motion will, of course, be kept turning; gradually all the other elements in my program will be added until the entire machinery is running!
17. To the German Kaiser (request privileges! from him)⁵¹

In the meantime, Herzl, having been disappointed at Baron de Hirsch's attitude, decided to try the Rothschild's⁵²

⁵¹Ibid., p. 35.

⁵²Rothschild, Baron Edmond De (1845-1934). Head of the French banking house of Rothschild, art collector and philanthropist. When the early colonies, founded by the

patronage. "I have been to Hirsch, I am going to Rothschild, as Moltke went from Denmark to Prussia."⁵³

Biluim in Palestine, encountered grave financial troubles, their representatives asked and received help from Baron Rothschild. He spent huge sums on the reorganization of Rishon le-Zion, Zikhron Yakov and Rosh Pinna, and sent agricultural experts to guide the settlers. All in all Rothschild donated some thirty million dollars for the support or the creation of about forty settlements. He visited Palestine five times and set up a tight administrative control over the moshavot supported by him. In 1900 he handed over the administration of "his" colonies to the Jewish Colonization Association (q.v.) but continued to support them financially. In 1925 he organized the Palestine Jewish Colonization Association which thenceforth became responsible for the colonies under the direction of his son James. In 1929 he was elected honorary president of the Jewish Agency for Palestine. In spite of his unceasing interest in Palestine colonization and his financial sacrifices for it, Rothschild remained opposed to the political Zionism of Herzl whose efforts he regarded as dangerous and a jeopardy for the future of the colonies. Only after the outbreak of World War I were the successors of Herzl in Zionist leadership able to win Rothschild over to Zionism.

⁵³The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., I, 36.

Continuing his insertion of ad hoc thoughts on the Jewish state, he came upon ideas ranging from the transportation of the dead to the transplantation of habits; from kinds of entertainment to punishments of successful and unsuccessful suicide attempts; at times he seemed to reach the extreme limits of fantasy, at others he was down to the detailed concrete problems; throughout he vacillated between hope and despair.

The ship of coffins! we shall take our coffins with us.⁵⁴

Schiff's brother in-law, after only two weeks, is homesick for the Vienna coffee-houses. Consequently I shall faithfully transplant Viennese cafes to the other side, with such little expedients I shall achieve the desired illusion of the old environment.⁵⁵

Entertainment as soon as possible: German theaters, international theater, operas, operettas, circuses, cafe concerts, cafe Champs Elysees.⁵⁶

My punishments for suicide: for an unsuccessful attempt, permanent confinement in an insane asylum; for accomplished suicide, refusal of an honorable burial.⁵⁷

The man who pointed to the cover of a tea kettle lifted by steam and said, "This is how I shall move people, animals, and freight, and give the world a new appearance" was derided as a lunatic.⁵⁸

⁵⁴ Ibid., p. 75.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 60.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p. 40.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p. 57.

⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 60.

The seven hour day of course work will be carried out not just during seven hours of a day, but during fourteen. Two shifts or four.⁵⁹

...when I left I was in a very bad humour. My plan again seemed crazy to me.

But in the middle of my defaillance (feeling of depression) I said to myself: I've started it now. I'll go through it.⁶⁰

It must be remembered that this period in Herzl's life was the age of adolescence in the development of his idea of the Jewish state. He was full of ideas and expressed them without inhibitions. As he said, those notes were not work for him, but relief. He was writing himself free of the ideas which arose like "bubbles" and would burst the container if they found no outlet.⁶¹

C. Location of the Jewish State

Also in this period of uninhibited outflow of ideas inserted in his diaries, Herzl commented upon the possible location of the Jewish homeland. It might seem surprising that Herzl should have searched for a territory to call home. One would think that it should have been obvious; but it was not obvious to Herzl at least. To

⁵⁹Ibid., p. 98.

⁶⁰Ibid., p. 46.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 93.

understand clearly the motives, considerations, and circumstances under which Herzl was moved to entertain thoughts concerning other territories than Palestine as a national home for the Jews, it is essential that his background be reconsidered, and remembered.

Here then we have the case of a man who was born of a Jewish family and officially remained a Jew, but otherwise was completely indifferent to the Jewish faith and often skeptical.

When I say "God" I do not mean to offend the free thinkers. As far as I am concerned, they can use "world spirit" or some other term....⁶²

Moreover, he was completely indifferent to Jewish culture and heritage as a result of his early acculturation into the German cultural heritage under the influence of his mother. Thus he grew to become a perfectly assimilated Jew, with no attachment whatsoever to Judaism; so that when he finally realised the situation and concluded the solution to lie in a Jewish state, he was in no way prejudiced as to the location of that state.

As soon as we have decided on the land and concluded a preliminary treaty with its present sovereign, we shall start diplomatic negotiations with all the great powers for

⁶²Ibid., p. 96.

guarantees.⁶³

As soon as the Society of Jews has constituted itself, we shall call a conference of a number of Jewish geographers to determine, with the help of these scholars, who as Jews are loyally devoted to us, where we are going to emigrate. For I shall now tell you everything about the "Promised Land" except its location. That is a purely scientific question, we must have regard for geological, climactic in short, natural factors of all kinds with full circumspection and with consideration of the latest research.⁶⁴

This emotional and spiritual detachment of Herzl from Jewish culture was mostly responsible for his extreme objectivity concerning the location of the territory, at least during the early stages. When, however, he joined the ranks of those who were already deeply involved in the different solutions, he confronted two major undertakings: one was the Jewish colonies in Argentina, patronised by Baron de Hirsch; the other was the Jewish colonies in Palestine, patronised by Edmond Rothschild.

As these two gentlemen, both Jews, represented enormous financial empires, it was indispensable for the cause of Herzl to enlist their support. At least he thought so in the very beginning, although he later denounced them both. Besides these two giants, there were

⁶³ Ibid., p. 40-41.

⁶⁴ Ibid., p. 133.

numerous other committees and associations, such as the "Hoveve Zion"⁶⁵ (Lovers of Zion), which were directed towards Palestine, motivated by religious and cultural feelings and attachments. This atmosphere influenced him in as far as bringing to his attention the strong attachment to Palestine by the people he hoped to work with, on the other hand there was the possibility of Argentine.

⁶⁵Members of the 'Hibbat Zion' (Love of Zion) movement, organised in Russia in 1882 under the impact of the Russian pogrom of the same year, but basing itself upon ideas put forward by David Gordon and others as early as 1870. A group of Jewish students, who called themselves 'Biluim' (Bilu being the acrostic of the Biblical phrase "O house of Jacob, come ye and let us walk; Isaiah 2:5), settled in Palestine in the very same year with the help of the Hoveve Zion. In 1884 Leo Pinsker called the Hoveve Zion to a conference in Katowice to further the cause of colonisation in Palestine. In 1887 a second conference was called in Druskeniki, and in 1889 a third one in Vilna. In 1890 the Russian government confirmed the statutes of the movement which assumed the official name of "Society for the Support of Jewish Agriculturalists and Artisans in Syria and Palestine" and it had its first general assembly in the same year. Groups of Hoveve Zion were organised also in Germany, England and elsewhere. The spirit of the movement was national--Jewish, but it opposed political Zionism, until it was largely absorbed by the Zionist organisation.

Herzl's motivations were rooted purely in the grievances of a 'people' and not in religion or culture, hence he was able to weigh the advantages and disadvantages of the various territories, including Palestine, quite instrumentally without prejudice.

In Palestine's disvavour, is its proximity to Russia and Europe, its lack of room for expansion as well as its climate which we are no longer accustomed to. In its vavour is the mighty legend.⁶⁶

In this one point, he did not, in both earlier and later stages, allow his emotions to overcome his realism. His principal purpose was to obtain a piece of land, with guaranteed autonomy, no matter where. Later, however, as it shall be discussed in another chapter, under extreme pressure from Russian Jewry in particular he became more Palestine conscious. Even when considering alternative territories he would justify such divergence on the basis that these territories were stepping stones to Palestine and temporary places of refuge, "nachtsyl".

A problem that engaged Herzl's attention was the means of attainment of the territory of the Jewish state. His problem was to find a territory, which was both suitable

⁶⁶ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op.-cit.,
I, 56

and possible to acquire.

Once found, nothing was to be allowed to stand in the way of acquiring it. All means including deceit and hypocrisy were to be utilised, because the end, according to Herzl, justified the means. "The aim that we will pursue once we have a center, a head, will determine the means."⁶⁷

He proposed to grant loans in return for territorial privileges and guarantees, and permission to be allowed to have defensive troops. The Jews were to be submissive to their host countries until such times when their strength would grant them what they wanted and enable them to defy everyone.

Should we go to South America, which would have a lot in its favour, on account of its distance from militarised and seedy Europe, our first state treaties will have to be with South American republics.

.....
In the beginning we shall need their permission, gradually we shall get strong, grant ourselves everything that we need, and be able to defy everyone.⁶⁸

Those South American republics must be attainable for money. We can give them annual subsidies. But only for about twenty years, i.e. until we are strong enough to protect ourselves...by the length of time indicated by our military head as sufficient for us to become a match for all those republics together.⁶⁹

⁶⁷ Ibid., p.20

⁶⁸ Ibid., p.70

⁶⁹ Ibid., p.92

Herzl did not stop at these generalities. He went as far as the formulation of a detailed plan as to how to get rid of the indigenous population in a manner that would not touch the sense of justice of the guarantors. "Both the process of expropriation and the removal of the poor must be carried out discreetly and circumspectly."⁷⁰ Herzl advised that the native population be made to feel they were profiting at the expense of the new comers, and thus be more willing to sell their possessions and move out. "Let the owners of the immovable property believe that they are cheating us, selling us things for more than they are worth. But we are not going to sell them anything back."⁷¹

D. Herzl's Theory of State and Government

Because of the circumstances in which the idea of a Jewish state dawned upon him, Herzl believed that he was alone in entertaining his ideas. His enthusiasm was so extreme that he was determined not to run the slightest chance of failure. He was therefore disinclined to trust others very much, and took upon himself alone the responsibility for the implementation of his idea. Moreover, he realised from the very start how difficult it would be to

⁷⁰Ibid., p. 88.

⁷¹Ibid.

stir the Jews, especially the richer ones. He therefore felt that he himself would have to start and conclude the movement, otherwise, he felt it would not succeed. He was, in fact, even worried that he might die before the work was completed, for deep inside he was convinced that without him the whole idea would be forgotten.

Through it all I have the fear described by Heyse, in that wonderful little poem about the artist:

Ich bebe:
Dass ich hinfahren konnte uber Nacht,
Hinfahren, ehe ich dies Werk volbracht.

(I shudder to think that I could depart over night depart before I have completed this work)⁷²

For a theoretical basis of the Jewish state Herzl worked out an original approach. Herzl refuted Rousseau's theory of the social contract on the grounds that there was no such thing. Instead he introduced an ancient Roman legal concept, "Negotiorum Gestio", the literal meaning of which is "Management of Affairs". In Roman law this concept had in fact narrowed down to mean the management of the affairs of an individual or a group by a self-appointed manager ("gestor"). In such a case the principal concerned was legally bound by the undertakings entered

⁷²Ibid., p. 94.

into by the gestor.⁷³ This, in fact, at the time was the case; Herzl was a self-appointed manager, at least at the very start of the Jewish case, but at the same time he felt that the Jews should be bound by the undertakings entered into by him on their behalf. He did not believe in the Social Contract of Rousseau, "Rousseau believed that there was such a thing as a 'Contract Social'. There is not. In the state there is only a negotiorum gestio,"⁷⁴ because for two thousand years the Jews had been without a country, dispersed and persecuted, and yet had shown no signs of getting together to form a political leadership. He saw himself as the only one trying to organise a Jewish body politic.

Later on Herzl was to consider the "Society of Jews", which he thought of creating as the legal representative (gestor) of the idea of the Jewish state, which materialised in 1897, in the First Zionist Congress.

Furthermore Herzl was also against democracy. His main objection to democracy was its disadvantage of publicity. Publicity, he thought, would expose the government and the governors to the masses, which would result in the former's loss of respect, as the latter discovered that

⁷³Ibid., V, 1811.

⁷⁴Ibid., I, 41.

the governors were mere humans, with all the natural human weaknesses and shortcomings. "All the world finds out that the men who govern us are merely human beings too-and in so many cases laughable, narrow persons. Thus I lost my 'respect' in Paris."⁷⁵

This exposure and the consequent loss of respect for the government, which in his opinion was inevitable, presented a special problem to Herzl. It was a special problem because he believed in a government by ordinary, average human beings, not by geniuses and above average persons. His reasoning was that a genius, although necessary to found a state, would be harmful if left on after its foundation, because they would again destroy it by ignoring its ordinary everyday needs; whereas the mediocre, the average man, would be more inclined to think about and be occupied with those ordinary needs of mankind.⁷⁶

His purpose, therefore, was to preserve the respect for government by avoiding unrestricted publicity, which democracy made unavoidable and inevitable.

His opinion of democracy, however, went further than a protest against its disadvantages. In fact, he thought of it as mob rule, chaotic, and disorganised.⁷⁷

Democracy is political nonsense which can

⁷⁵Ibid., p. 124.

⁷⁶Ibid.

⁷⁷Ibid. p. 126.

only be decided upon by a mob in the excitement of a revolution.⁷⁸

Herzl's ideal form of government for the Jews, was an aristocracy; not a monarchy because he feared it would lead to a revolution; not a democracy because he believed the Jews were not virtuous enough.⁷⁹

An aristocracy, he thought would be more elastic, as it would be elective rather than hereditary.

A House of Lords for the aristocracy, but not inheritable. First there must be an examination as to merit.⁸⁰

The House of Lords will perhaps consist of three groups: one chosen by the aristocracy; one named by the government (Doges); the third elected indirectly, as in France.⁸¹

As for the chief executive body of the government, whether it was to be constituted of one or a few, it is not certain as to what Herzl meant in his diaries. It can only be inferred; but even then, there can be two possible inferences. One inference could be in favour of the argument for one elected head. On June 9, 1895 Herzl wrote in his diary a long section concerning the organisation of the government, in which the following sentence occurs: "Only the Doge and the Chancellor may read them."⁸² The word Doge

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp.61-62

⁸⁰ Ibid., p.65

⁸¹ Ibid., p. 66

⁸² Ibid., p. 55

is used in the singular. It stands for the title of the elected head of the independent republic of Venice from the year 697 to the year 1797.⁸³ Herzl actually had the city of Venice in mind seems to have constantly thought of it as a model

Many of the institutions of Venice come to mind but we shall avoid all the features that caused the ruin of that city.⁸⁴

Another inference may be in favour of the argument for the few elected heads; the quotation before the one above, "The House of Lords...as in France", includes the phrase, "One named by the government (Doges);", this time the word Doge is used in the plural.

The answer may be found in a detailed expose of the organisation of the government which he wanted at the time to keep undisclosed

When this book is published the prescriptions for the government will be omitted. The people must be guided to the good according to principles unknown to them. Therefore the editors of the book-if I am no longer alive-shall extract the administrative maxims and keep them in the secret archives.

Only the Doge and the Chancellor may read them....⁸⁵

It is, however, certain that whether the government that Herzl had in mind was to be headed by one or a few,

⁸³Ibid., V, 1700

⁸⁴Ibid., I, 170

⁸⁵Ibid., 55

it was to be a centralised type of oligarchy. His own personal disposition was that of an enlightened and benevolent autocrat.

One must not praise me because one must not censure me either. For I am the Leader. I am saying this not only on account of discipline, but also because, my mind must remain sound and simple if I am to carry it through. I shall recognise by the quality of your obedience and the warmth of your enthusiasm to what extent I can count on you.⁸⁶

Herzl, however, did not completely reject the people's contribution to government; later in his diaries, after this turbulent period, he suggested that there be a chamber of deputies. But there again, he had not really overcome his authoritative nature, for one third of this chamber was to be chosen by the ruler upon the recommendation of the government, for a lifetime. Another third was to be elected by what he called "Learned Academies", "the universities, schools of art and technology, chambers of commerce, and trade associations.", and the final third was to be elected by the community councils after a scrutiny of voting lists. Moreover, the ruler would name the government, and as he himself confessed, he was not quite sure as to how this ruler was to be secured against corruption, for the chamber of deputies

⁸⁶ Ibid., p.99

would not have the power to overthrow the government, but only deny it "particular resources".⁸⁷

E. Socio-Economic Planning

The idea of centralisation in Herzl's thinking was not only reserved for the government, but was to be exercised in every phase of the state. There was to be planning of both the society and the economy. The success of his idea was an obsession to him, " My constant concern must be the soundness of the economy. No dissipation, no waste. It is not a curree (quarry) for the covetous and the idle."⁸⁸ He was afraid to let loose any force that might possibly harm the state, and was consequently unfavourably disposed to unrestricted private enterprise, and immense private capital like that of the Rothschilds', about which he inserted the following comment: "It is too big! and injurious to the people, because private property increases faster than national prosperity."⁸⁹

His program was in fact ideal, everyone, from the poorest to the richest, from the youngest to the oldest was to benefit from it; and with state supervision there was to be perfect efficiency.

⁸⁷ Ibid., p. 211

⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 63

⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 62

The state was to have an advisory board for the use of capital. This board was to investigate and record all places and enterprises that needed capital and the amounts to be paid also.

An advisory center for capital-money is needed in such-and-such a place. In one place there is no sugar factory; in another there is petroleum. And this office will be a clearing house for the applications of prospective borrowers and investors....⁹⁰

He then went on to the construction of cities and city facilities. He proposed to have a typical Jewish style, "expressive of a sense of relief and liberty, bright airy halls, supported by pillars,"⁹¹ alongside Parisian and Florentine models.⁹²

There was practically no field which Herzl did not take into account in his discussion of the state. He goes as far as considering state aid to "girls who have been passed over by suitors"⁹³ and would use these women, past the age of marriage, as governesses for the poor and working classes, as well as teachers in kindergartens.

Next he indulged his thoughts into the kind of games that young boys and girls ought and ought not to play; the kinds of games suitable for boys, those suitable

⁹⁰ Ibid., p. 31.

⁹¹ Ibid., p. 45.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 67.

for girls, and further, those suitable for old men.

Games of chance will not be tolerated.

.....
 Only children and old people will be allowed to play. However, the games of the children must serve their physical development: running and ball games, cricket for boys, tennis for girls.

The inactive games must be designed to prepare the future development of the intellect.... Old men may play cards, but not for money.... However I shall permit refined card clubs, but with no membership under forty years of age....⁹⁴

From games, he moved on to the insurance business which he considered would be run by the state, and all officials of previously private insurance companies would become state employees. His main point of argument for the nationalisation of the insurance business was the fact that insurance policies were so well tested and known that there was no more risk involved in the business. Private enterprise had therefore no right in making profits in this field since "the determining factor for the promotion or impediment of a private enterprise is the element of risk."⁹⁵

A monopoly on hard liquor as well as tobacco, with only state licensed shops to sell them would be established. With regards to these state licensed shops, Herzl proposed

⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 68-69.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 85.

to have old people, who would otherwise be put in homes
 for the aged, to work in them, as they would thus be doing
 something useful rather than being completely cut off from
 society. At the same time such shops would give them "the
 illusion of usefulness" and "keep them from brooding."⁹⁶ In
 these tobacco shops Herzl also wanted to have the newspapers
 sold, so that in case of abuse on the part of the papers,
 the government would know where to confiscate them from.⁹⁷

In fact Herzl advocated censoring the papers, to keep
 them under control and to prevent slander, but he cau-
 tions "draw limits of freedom of the press wisely."⁹⁸

The two main undertakings, which continually came
 back to his mind, were the "assistance par le travail"
 (public works) and the purchase of land from the society.

The former was to consist of giving jobs requiring
 unskilled labour to needy persons, so as to allow them to
 earn their money honestly. The range of the jobs is ex-
 plained:

splitting wood, making magotius (kindling wood)
 such as is used to start the fire in kitchen
 stoves in Paris households. It is a sort of
 prison labor before the crime, i.e. one that
 is not dishonorable.⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 86.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 87.

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 65.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 138.

The latter, the land purchase, was to be done, according to Herzl, by secret agents of the society before the establishment of the state. The land would then be sold to the Jews after the establishment of the state. However, the purchaser was to be allowed to sell the land back only to the society or the state (if in the meantime it had been established) with compensation for any improvements made.

The voluntary expropriation will be accomplished through our secret agents....

We shall sell then only to Jews....

...we must safeguard each of our sales of immovables through an option of re-purchase on the part of the company. This is if the owner wants to sell the property, we shall have the right to buy it back at our original sale price. However, we shall add a compensation, to be fixed by a board of experts for any improvements that have been made.¹⁰⁰

In other words, Herzl built in his imagination a concept of the state that resembled very much a large managerial enterprise, a large joint-stock company, with himself as the manager. It seems that he himself realised this resemblance and was even afraid of being labeled 'manager', and therefore chose to give himself or the ruler the title of Chancellor. This, he thought, would distract the attention of people from the managerial

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 89.

nature of his functions. "To avoid being called a 'manager' in England, which sounds too commercial, I shall perhaps have the title of Chancellor."¹⁰¹

Herzl accused Baron de Hirsch of being a socialist. In later years he continually emphasised to the German Kaiser that an independent Jewish state would hit a hard blow at socialism. The Jews, he argued, were potential victims of socialism, but would once and for all abandon socialism for Zionism. Yet he was now himself advocating an unmistakable variant of socialism using typically socialistic terms to justify himself.

I shall be reproached with practicing state socialism-no reproach, even if it were true, provided the state aims at the right things. That is, not the advantage of one group or caste, but the gradual ascent of everyone to the distant lofty goals of mankind.

But only the narrow minded and the malevolent can overlook the fact that I want to make the individual free, great, rich, and happy.¹⁰²

Such were the uncensored, unrestricted, and uninhibited thoughts that Herzl entertained in this early period of his conversion. They were not, however, nonsensical or even unrealistic to Herzl. They should perhaps not be taken to mean the lack of realism on the part of Herzl,

¹⁰¹Ibid., p. 47.

¹⁰²Ibid., p. 99.

for he claims to have deliberately allowed himself to be carried away by his thoughts in order not to be limited in any possible way. For the more varied the thoughts, the larger the choice. He knew that if he exercised self-criticism, he would check the general development of his thoughts.

Much in these notes will seem ludicrous, exaggerated, crazy. But if I had exercised self-criticism, as I do in my literary work my ideas would have been stunted.

However, the gigantic serves the purpose better than the dwarfed, because anyone can do the trimming easily enough.

Artists will understand why I otherwise of rather clear intelligence, have let exaggerations and dreams proliferate among my practical, political, and legislative ideas, as green grass sprouts among cobble stones. I could not permit myself to be forced into the strait-jacket of sober facts. This wild intoxication has been necessary.

Yet artists will understand this fully. But there are so few artists.¹⁰³

F. Coordination and Consolidation of Thoughts

Having set down on paper all that crossed his mind concerning the Jewish state, Herzl began to organise these thoughts in such a way as to render them intelligible. His next step was to approach the Rothschilds with his completed plan. In the Rothschilds he hoped to find the patrons for the movement. Having, however, had an experience

¹⁰³Ibid., p. 75-76.

with Baron de Hirsch, and having realised and understood the spirit and hesitancy on the part of men of such wealth, Herzl had drawn up a plan according to which he would approach the "Midget Millionaires" if the Rothschilds (Giant Millionaires) failed him. But if these latter failed him too, he would proceed to the "3rd stage" which would be an approach to the "little people" through "wide publicity". But "if it comes to this stage, the first two will rue the day."¹⁰⁴

It was therefore in preparation for his first stage that Herzl spent many days and nights to bring together into an harmonious and intelligible form, his ideas. The person he chose for this task of presentation was Doctor Gudemann who was chief Rabbi of the Viennese community.¹⁰⁵

For your first mission dear Dr. Gudemann, will be to read this speech to Albert Rothschild ¹⁰⁶. Don't give it to him to read; you read it to him.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴Ibid., p. 44.

¹⁰⁵Ibid., V, 1732.

¹⁰⁶Rothschild, Baron Albert Salomon Von (1844-1911). Head of the Austrian branch of the banking house of Rothschild. Had a country-estate at Gaming-Waidhofen, near Vienna.

¹⁰⁷The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit. I, 111.

Once again Herzl commenced with references to the immense wealth of certain Jews, which would inevitably be destroyed or confiscated or somehow demolished so long as they were in foreign lands.

In one of the countries, probably France, there will come a social revolution whose first victims will needs be the big bankers and the Jews.

.....
 In Russia there will simply be a confiscation from above. In Germany they will make emergency laws as soon as the Kaiser can no longer manage the Reichstag. In Austria people will let themselves be intimidated by the Viennese rabble and deliver up the Jews....¹⁰⁸

Therefore, wrote Herzl in his "Address", the solution lay in the repetition of an old manoeuvre, but in a more refined manner, which was an exodus from "Mitzrain" (Egypt), indirectly meaning a return to a Jewish homeland.

Is there no salvation?

Oh yes, gentlemen, there is one, one that has existed before. It will be necessary to repeat a very old, very famous, very proven manoeuvre, ...this simple manoeuvre is the exodus from Mitzrain.¹⁰⁹

He then went into the actual plan. There was to be constituted a society called the Society of Jews, which was to operate in the name of the Jews and organise the

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., p. 132.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.,

leadership. Then there was to be a meeting of geographers to determine a suitable territory for the Jews to emigrate to. Once again he made it clear that he was not sure as to where the Jews would have to go as it was a purely scientific matter, but he expressed his unprejudiced state of mind for or against either Palestine or Argentina.

But on principle I am neither against Palestine nor for Argentina.¹¹⁰

Next he moved to the actual purchasing of the land, which was to be carried out by special negotiators who were to conclude treaties concerning the immigration into the chosen countries. These treaties would cover: "reception, transit, guarantees for internal and external peace."¹¹¹

Upon the conclusion of the treaties with the host to be country, the Society of Jews was to begin negotiations with the various home countries concerning the mass movement outwards of the Jews. Herzl envisaged possible difficulties with Russia. But he saw the solution of these in the financial compensation of the Russian government by the Rothschilds.

The Society of Jews will start operations by making treaties of removal with the governments.

The moment may conceivably come in which the Russian government begins to view the departure

¹¹⁰ Ibid., p. 133.

¹¹¹ Ibid., p. 134.

of so many people with displeasure. At that point your credit policy will have to come to the rescue....It will be an easy matter to keep the Russian government in a good mood until our last man has gone.¹¹²

He then went into some of his social measures, such as the seven working hours a day, "L'assistance par le travail" (public works), and uniform workers' building build-ings to be undertaken by the government, in the Jewish state.

Our principle of construction will be that we ourselves shall undertake the building of workers' dwellings....Our workmen's houses must a uniform appearance too,....

.....
The seven hour working day! I choose the number seven because it is connected with age-old associations of the Jewish people, and because it makes possible fourteen general working hours....

.....
As for L'assistance par le travail: this assistance consists in, every needy person being given unskilled labor....¹¹³

And as he made clear to de Hirsch, so he did to the Rothschilds that they were absolutely dispensable to the movement, but that it "would be to your advantage to go along with us."¹¹⁴

The movement will be born the moment I impart my idea to the world. You are rich enough, gentlemen, to further this plan; you are not rich enough to prevent it. The reason is remarkably simple: I cannot be bought.¹¹⁵

¹¹² Ibid., p. 135.

¹¹³ Ibid., p. 136.

¹¹⁴ Ibid., p. 140.

¹¹⁵ Ibid., p. 141.

He then assures the Rothschilds of the favourable response of the masses, because of his (Herzl's) own method of not buying people, but encouraging and inducing them.

Let us say that Hirsch and I want to assemble a crowd of people on the plain of Longchamps....By promising them ten francs each, Hirsch will, for 200,000 francs, bring out 20,000 perspiring miserable people who will curse him for having inflicted this drudgery on them. I, on the other hand shall offer the 200,000 francs as a prize for the swiftest race horse, and then I shall put up barriers to keep the people off the Longchamps course. Those who want to get in have to pay: 1 franc, 5 francs, 20 francs.

The upshot will be that I get half a million people out there;....And for my 200,000 francs I shall have taken in a million in admissions and betting taxes.¹¹⁶

He wrote of the nationalisation of the stock exchange markets; the end of private philanthropy which according to him bred beggars; and the introduction of state free charity headquarters; the collection of taxes as informal levelers of the poor and the rich.¹¹⁷

He once again warned the Rothschilds of the menace of their wealth to the European countries, and its consequent arousal of ill feelings; and told them of his plan for their wealth. He distinguished between their funds and their credit. A part of the former was to left in Europe, frozen in the form of castles and palaces to which they

¹¹⁶ Ibid., p. 153.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., pp. 158-160.

could go on holidays; another part would be naturally distributed through marriages, and ordinary waste; the rest would be spent in setting the example of starting beautiful art collections, erecting fine buildings and making big gardens. As for the credit, "the dangerous international power" of the Rothschilds' wealth, it was to be taken over for the benefit of the Society of Jews.¹¹⁸

He then expounded his ideas on the constitution. He favoured monarchy because of its stability, but ruled it out because the Jews would be unable to resume their ancient institution. He ruled out democracy, because the Jews lacked political virtue. "La resort d'une democratie est la vertu, (the concern of a democracy is virtue) said wise Montesquieu.... I have no faith in the political virtue of our people...."¹¹⁹ His choice was the aristocratic republic, on the model of the Republic of Venice. "Politics must work from the top down. Therefore I am thinking of an aristocratic republic...."¹²⁰ Furthermore he proposed the use of brute force upon those who would refuse to accept this form by friendly persuasion.

Our people to whom we are presenting the new country will also gratefully accept the new

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 167.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 170.

¹²⁰ Ibid.

constitution that we give it. But wherever opposition may appear, we shall break it down. Everywhere we shall try it with friendly persuasion, but if need be we shall push it through by brute force.¹²¹

In connection with constitutions, he made mention of their lack of a common language. He did not see any difficulty in that lack; rather, he suggested a federated state like that of Switzerland, where people could keep their national languages.

We cannot converse in Hebrew. But it is really a very simple matter. Everyone retains his language. So let everyone keep his acquired nationality and speak the language which has become the beloved homeland of his thoughts. Switzerland offers visible proof that a federated state of different nationalities can exist.¹²²

Towards the end of the address, made it clear to the Rothschilds, once again, that in case of their refusal, he would go to the "Midget Millionaires" and upon their refusal to the people at large.

In any case, even if those of moderate wealth refuse, this will not finish the matter. No! then it will begin in earnest, for I shall take it to the Jewish people and the whole world. I shall publish this address, including all the steps I have taken in the matter and the reactions that I have received.¹²³

He concluded his address by restating his thesis, that

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

¹²³ Ibid., pp. 176-177.

anti-Semitism increased everyday because the real causes, unassimilability, and the increasing number of middle class Jews, could not be removed. The solution was the establishment of a Jewish state. This, by attracting Jews, would decrease their numbers in the European countries, removing the cause of anti-Semitism.

The causa remota (indirect cause) is the loss of our assimilability which dates from the middle ages.

The causa proxima (immediate cause) is our over production of average minds who cannot sink and cannot rise.¹²⁴

No! gentlemen, it is the immediate solution. I shall stop anti-Semitism instantly all over the world.¹²⁵

G. "Der Judenstaat"

Having written his address to the Rothschilds, Herzl tried to find the best means to reach them. He thought of Rabbi Gudemann. The latter showed some hesitation at first but finally agreed to meet Herzl in Munich together with Meyer Cohn, a German Jewish banker and member of the Hoveve Zion, to discuss the address, before presenting it to the Rothschilds. ¹²⁶

Herzl had asked for Meyer Cohn because he felt that

¹²⁴ Ibid., p. 180.

¹²⁵ Ibid., p. 182.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 205

a financier should accompany Dr. Gudemann for the presentation of the address to the Rothschilds. The Rabbi and the banker together could argue in defense of the plan on both spiritual and economic grounds, so that the plan would not appear to be a mere emotional and irrational outburst.

However, you will not want to come all by yourself, but with a capable, serious minded man who can supplement your statements from other aspects. You see at Caux I shall need one spiritual and one worldly Jew.

.....
 The second gentleman should be a businessman. He too, must take a report to Caux, to cover the following: an approximate description of how Jews earn a living in the above mentioned countries; the distribution of property; in what countries the Jews own a lot of immovable property....¹²⁷

Herzl, however, was prepared for a disappointment from the Rothschilds, and had already prepared his next step in the event of such a let-down.

If I do not succeed in winning over the R's (Rothschilds) or the Midget Millionaires, I shall publish the entire plan in book form, The Solution of the Jewish Question....

.....
 In my book, the Solution, etc. I shall tell about all my steps, from Hirsch via Rothschild to the Midget Millionaires.

Preface: They came to Rothschild with the electric light, too. He did not understand what it was all about.¹²⁸

The meeting between Dr. Gudemann, Meyer Cohn, and

¹²⁷Ibid., p. 79.

¹²⁸Ibid., p. 71.

Herzl finally took place in Munich. Herzl read the address to the Rothschilds. Dr. Gudemann was captivated by the idea; Meyer Cohn was skeptical. The conclusion, however, was that Herzl should not send the address to the Rothschilds, "who are mean, despicable egoists",¹²⁹ and should instead publish it. "perhaps so we thought, the stimulus will take effect and lead to the creation of a great movement."¹³⁰

Of course, I am of the opinion that I would spoil the plan by making it public, but I have to comply. I can't carry it out all by myself. I must believe Gudemann and Cohn when they tell me that the 'big Jews' will have nothing to do with it.¹³¹

Before he reached the third stage of his plan of approach, Herzl experienced the reserve and hesitancy of the "Midget Millionaires" as well. In Vienna, Paris, and London, rich and notable men, such as Zadoc Kahn, Gutmann, Dessauer, Singer, Joseph Jacobs, Rabbi Adler, Asher Myers and other men of financial and spiritual wealth, showed extreme care not to commit themselves before the Rothschilds did.¹³²

This was the last straw; on his return from London, via Paris, to Vienna, Herzl contacted a Jewish publisher,

¹²⁹ Ibid., p. 233.

¹³¹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³² Ibid., pp. 276-285.

Cronbach, in Berlin, for the publication of his address, as he then thought of it, to the Jews. But Cronbach refused on the grounds that it ran "counter to his views."¹³³ Herzl next tried another publishing house, Duncker and Humboldt; they too, would have nothing to do with it.

He was finally able to win over Breitenstein, a third publisher, with whom he signed a contract for the publication of his address under the title of "Der Judenstaat" (The Jewish State). This was the entry in his diary on this occasion:

Signed a contract with the publisher Breitenstein.

He was enthusiastic when I read him a few passages from the text which I finished at last after long toil. I have changed the title to Der Judenstaat....¹³⁴

Herzl had reached the peak of the development of his idea of the Jewish state, in "Der Judenstaat." He was convinced that the Jewish question existed; that it had existed since the Middle Ages, and that it had been carried over from the Middle Ages. "C'est un morceau de moyen age egare en notre temps."¹³⁵

He was also convinced that the only adequate solution lay in a political one.

¹³³Ibid., p. 285.

¹³⁴Ibid., p. 286.

¹³⁵Theodor Herzl, L'Etat Juif, (Paris: Librairie Lipschutz, 1926), p. 48.

La question Juive existe partout ou les Juifs vivent en nombre tout soit peu considerable. La ou elle n'existait pas. Elle est importee par les immigrants Juifs.

Nous allons naturellement la ou l'on ne nous persecute pas, et la encore la persecution est la consequence de notre apparition. Meme dans les pays de civilisation avancee- la France en est la preuve- aussi longtemps que la question Juive ne sera pas resolue politiquement.¹³⁶

Anti-Semitism, Herzl concluded, was inevitable as long as Jews lived among Gentiles who considered them a foreign element. He saw anti-Semitism on a new scale, no more based merely on sentimental grounds but on economic and political, and quite ironically, as the result of emancipation.

L'anti-Semitisme d'aujourd'hui ne doit pas etre confondu avec la laine religieuse qu'on voulait aux Juives autrefois, bein que, dans certains pays, il ait encore actuellement une couleur confessionnelle. La caractere du grand mouvement anti-Juif de l'heure presente est autre. Dans les principaux pays de l'anti-Semitisme, celui-

¹³⁶Ibid., pp. 48-49.

Tr. The Jewish question exists, where Jews live, no matter how few their numbers. Where the Jewish question does not exist, it is brought over by Jewish immigrants. Naturally, we go where we are not persecuted, and there again persecution begins with our appearance. This is true and will remain true, everywhere, even in the most civilised countries-France is proof-as long as the Jewish question is not solved politically.

ci est la consequence de l'emancipation des Juives.¹³⁷

Herzl argued that emancipation came too late; too late in the sense that with the prolonged state of affairs in the ghetto, the Jews had turned into a middle class people. "Par un lent developpement, nous nous etions, peu a peu, transforme en classe moyenne dans le ghetto."¹³⁸ Hence it was as a middle class people that they were liberated. This sudden emancipation of a developed middle class people, meant a sudden change in the balance of society. The Christian European middle class felt a tremendous pressure of competition; a competition which they highly resented. This state of affairs, legally brought about, could not have been undone, not only because it would not be in harmony with "la conscience moderne", but also because it would mean the mass conversion of Jewry into socialism and revolutionary parties.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Ibid., p. 81.

Tr. Present day anti-Semitism must not be confused with religious hostility directed against the Jews in other countries; even though in some countries it is still the case. The nature of this anti-jewish movement is quite different. In the major anti-Semitic countries, the cause of this anti-Semitism has been the emancipation of the Jews.

¹³⁸ Ibid.

¹³⁹ Ibid., p. 81-82.

This inability to annul such laws, and the consequent obligation to live on legally equal standing with the Jews only accentuated Jew-hatred.

Herzl criticised the idea of taking Jews into far-away lands to make farmers out of them as a solution. He considered such attempts as gross mistakes, because he believed that peasants and peasantry belonged to an historic past, and were no longer vital, as a result of the introduction of machines. In fact he looked ahead to the day when agriculture would itself be mechanized. And he thought it foolish to make a peasant of a Jew right when industry and the machine age were flourishing.¹⁴⁰ "Le paysan est donc un type destiné à disparaître."¹⁴¹

It is clear that Herzl was no more to compromise or tolerate anything less or in any way different from a Jewish state with all the characteristics of a state. Assimilation was no more a possibility for he reached the conclusion that the Jews, besides refusing assimilation, were in fact unable to do so, and furthermore ought not to

¹⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 78-79.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., p. 78.

Tr. The peasant is then a type destined to disappear.

do so. "...mais la personalite du peuple Juif ne veut pas, ne peut pas et ne doit pas disparaitre."¹⁴² He was fully convinced that the idea of the Jewish State was strong enough to move a people from one country to another, and could be realised if enough Jews were gripped by the idea. On the other hand it would be foolish for one man alone to attempt the enormous task,¹⁴³ no one, he believed, was strong enough or even rich enough to be able to cope with it. "Personne n'est assez fort ou assez riche pour deplacer un peuple d'un lieu d'habitation et le transferer dans un autre."¹⁴⁴ He was very probably referring to de Hirsch and Edmond Rothschild, as they were both involved in colonisation on a large scale. If, however, the Jews were receptive to the idea, it was quite feasible he thought. For those, who wanted the state, would have it. "Les Juifs qui le veulent auront leur etat...."¹⁴⁵

Herzl had in fact reached the point where he saw the Jewish state to be a "world necessity" not just a Jewish need. "L'etat Juif est un besoin du monde: donc il se constituera."¹⁴⁶

The first step towards its realisation, according to

¹⁴² Ibid., p. 58.

¹⁴³ Ibid., p. 39.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., pp. 62-63.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 40

¹⁴⁶ Ibid., p. 39.

Tr. The Jewish state is a world necessity, and therefore it will be established.

Herzl was the procurement of a piece of land in harmony with the lawful needs of a people. He thought it to be in the interest of countries where anti-Semitism flourished, to give them a land. The second step was the creation of the various organs that would put the idea of the state into practice. There were to be two organs, "The Society of Jews", and "The Jewish Company". The former was to be the political representative of the people and was to be concerned with the political aspects of the task; the latter was to be in charge of the technicalities of the plan. It was to be concerned with the problems involved in the movement of a people, such as the sales of immovable property, the transportation of the people with their belongings and the economic and financial problems involved in their re-establishment in the new land.

In other words, what the Society of Jews achieved in the field of politics, the Jewish Company was to implement.

Moreover, The Society of Jews was considered the prime mover of the movement, it was to be the "Gestor" (Negotiorum Gestio). It was to take the initiative and direct Jewish destiny: "The Society of Jews is the new Moses of the Jews." He envisaged this exodus to be similar in "melody" to that of the exodus from Pharaoh's Egypt, but with "infinitely more violins, more flutes, more harps, etc. with electric lights,

with decorations, with a choir and the best of singers."¹⁴⁷

Herein lies the main point of the development of Herzl's idea of the Jewish state from its first conception in his mind to the writing of "Der Judenstaat". In the former period he himself was the "Gestor": "In the state there is 'Negotiorum Gestio' thus I conduct the affairs of the Jews without their mandate, but I become responsible to them for what I do." In the latter period the Society of Jews was to be the "Gestor": "La Society of Jews est le nouveau Moise des Juifs. L'entreprise du grand vieux Gestor des Juifs...."¹⁴⁸

In addition, another development was that of the Jewish Company, which was included in "Der Judenstaat", but not, in the address to the Rothschilds.

These two developments are extremely significant, especially in the light of one of his statements earlier in the book.

Quant a moi, je considere ma tache comme achevee par la publication de cet ecrit.¹⁴⁹

If the movement was to become a permanent one, one that would outlive its founder it would have to be founded upon permanent factors. Hence his prescription of the Society of Jews and Jewish Company.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 200.

¹⁴⁸ Ibid.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 39.

Tr. As far as I am concerned, I consider my task accomplished with the publication of this book.

CHAPTER VI

PRELUDE TO ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES

The publication of "Der Judenstaat" was a landmark, in the sense that it drew a line of demarcation in the nature of the development of Herzl's idea of the Jewish state.

The period preceding and up to the publication was a development of a mental attitude climaxing in his prescription, the Jewish state, and the political steps necessary to achieve it. But the period succeeding the publication of "Der Judenstaat" was one of a development of a motor attitude. In other words, the former development had to do with the actual idea and its development in Herzl's mind to the idea of a Jewish state; the latter development had to do with the implementation of the idea, when the theory was ready for practical application.

In the Jewish state, Herzl mentioned the possibilities of Argentina, and Palestine. In the latter's favour was what he called the "legend", but as he embarked upon the realisation of his ideas he became aware that the "legend" was not to be taken lightly. He soon realised,

through his contacts, that the attachment to Palestine was much stronger than he had thought it was.

Moreover, circumstances were such that he saw that the most appropriate land and the most possible to acquire, was Palestine. The Ottoman Empire that could crumble any moment was kept alive by the jealousies of the European powers who preferred to have a Sultan reign over that immense area, however inefficiently, than let one or another of themselves snatch the area. Furthermore, the Sultan, who was unable politically and financially to cope with his empire, was continually under heavy debt, and lived in fear of disintegration, which caused a continual crisis in European politics.

Herzl had, on a previous occasion, expressed the possibility of a Jewish gain from a possible partition of the Turkish Empire.

Ferment in Turkey. Should the oriental quest be broached and solved by a partition of Turkey, at the European Congress, we could possibly get a piece of neutral land (like Belgium, Switzerland) for ourselves.¹⁵⁰

Later, Herzl was again alert to the possibility of capitalising on the situation in Turkey. His intentions were to obtain a charter over Palestine for Jewish colonisation.

¹⁵⁰The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit.,
I, 269.

He proceeded to let the Sultan feel that a Jewish autonomous state under Ottoman suzerainty would be profitable to Turkey, as the Jews would then undertake to pay for the Turkish public debt and regain for the Sultan his financial independence from Europe.

But since that publication the neo-Jewish movement has taken on an entirely different complexion, and it had become practical and practicable. We take circumstances into consideration, we want to conduct ourselves well politically, sincerely and efficiently.

Here is the situation in a few words: if H.M. the Sultan grants us the conditions indispensable for the settlement of our people in Palestine, we will gradually introduce order and prosperity into the finances of the empire.¹⁵¹

It was with this appraisal of Palestine as the site for the Jewish state and of the circumstances the Sultan was in, that Herzl devoted his time and energy to the implementation of his solution of the Jewish problem.

The publication of "Der Judenstaat" caused a very great stir; many praised it, others scoffed at it, but whether it was praised or scoffed at, the book brought the Jewish question to the public and caused public discussion. With the popularisation of the idea, many invaluable contacts were created between Herzl and sympathisers.

¹⁵¹Ibid., II, p. 550.

one such contact was Newlinski, who in the service of the Austrian foreign ministry, was put in charge of the political department of the Austro-Hungarian Embassy in Constantinople. Following the coronation of Abdul Hamid II, (1876) he gained the new Sultan's friendship. In 1879, on accounts of large debts, he had to leave the diplomatic service. His good relations, however, with the Sublime Port continued and put him in a position to be of help to Herzl in establishing contacts for him in Constantinople.¹⁵²

Herzl's devotion to the acquisition of Palestine was so serious that without hesitation, he endorsed the adoption, in the first Zionist Congress, which took place in Basle, of the official program of the Zionist Movement: "Zionism seeks to secure for the Jewish people a publicly recognised, legally secured home(or homeland) in Palestine...."¹⁵³

With Palestine in mind, Herzl set out to obtain international adherence to his plan. His intentions were as stated above, to compensate the Turkish government by assuming the responsibility of providing for its financial needs, in return for Palestine.

His first attempt to meet the Sultan in Constantinople, through Newlinski, was not very successful, but encouraging

¹⁵² Ibid., V, 1813.

¹⁵³ Bien, op. cit., p. 239.

and useful in the sense that it left the door open for future possibilities, for although the Sultan had refused even to consider the matter, he was willing to receive Herzl, on condition that the latter be of service to him.

In the evening Newlinski returned from Yildiz Kiosk with a long face and bad news....and told me in two words: Nothing doing. The great lord won't hear of it!

.....
The Sultan said: 'If mr. Herzl is as much your friend as you are mine, then advise him not to take another step in this matter.'¹⁵⁴

On the other hand he could and would receive me as a friend after I had rendered him a service.¹⁵⁵

Herzl then tried to approach the Sultan and exert indirect pressure upon him. Thus he attempted to meet the German Kaiser and have him speak for the Jewish cause to the Sultan. This he was able to achieve through Hechler and the Grand Duke of Baden. The first meeting between the Kaiser and Herzl took place in Constantinople, while the Kaiser was on a state tour of the Ottoman Empire. The Kaiser appeared well disposed to the idea of a Jewish state and expressed himself favourably. In fact he went as far as telling Herzl that the Sultan would listen to his suggestions.¹⁵⁶ Herzl expounded to the Kaiser his plans for the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine,

¹⁵⁴ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., I, 378.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid., p. 387.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid., II, 734

to which the Kaiser listened attentively and then asked what it was, precisely, that he was to ask of the Sultan, to which Herzl answered in three words, "A chartered company."¹⁵⁷

He met the Kaiser once more in Jerusalem while the Kaiser was on a tour of Palestine,¹⁵⁸ but nothing resulted from their conversations. Herzl himself never knew whether the Kaiser mentioned him to the Sultan at all.

In the meantime, the Zionist Congress had met once and the third congress was about to be held. Nothing really concrete had yet been achieved. The chartered company was not granted; the bank with which Herzl planned to finance the cause and which was to take the place of the giant millionaires' contributions, was not coming off very successfully. Herzl's depression can well be surmised from the following insertion in his diary on the 29th of December, 1988

The condition of our cause is now a desperate one; I can't deceive myself on that score. After the great success of the Palestine journey, the insufficiency of our banking people and financial forces is an absolute catastrophe.¹⁵⁹

A few days later, Herzl was even more desperate.

Everything bogged down. Something has to happen. I have decided to request an audience with the Czar

¹⁵⁷ Ibid.

¹⁵⁸ Ibid., p. 743

¹⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 781

via Bertha von Suttner.¹⁶⁰

In such desperation he wrote a letter to Bertha von Suttner who had contacts in the Russian court, asking her to secure an audience for him with the Czar.

My Dear Baroness.

.....
 It would be of the greatest importance for the Zionist movement if I informed the Czar about the purposes and aims of the movement....

Count Muraviev is said to have expressed himself favourably about our cause. You have contact with him, and my request is that you write him a letter telling him who I am and what I want the requested audience for.¹⁶¹

At the same time Herzl thought of asking the Grand Duke of Baden to secure another audience with the Kaiser. From the Kaiser he hoped to get an introduction to the Czar.¹⁶²

His efforts were fruitless; Bertha von Suttner, during a dinner, informed Herzl that a meeting with the Czar was out of the question.¹⁶³

His attempts at a second audience with the Kaiser bore no fruit either; he received a refusal on account of lack of time.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰Ibid., p. 782.

Bertha von Suttner, was born Countess Kinsky in Prague, married Baron Arthur Gundaccar von Suttner. She was co-founder with her husband and others, of The Viennese Society to Combat Anti-Semitism, and wrote many books and articles championing pacifism.

¹⁶¹The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., II, 782.

¹⁶²Ibid., p. 787.

¹⁶³Ibid., p. 785.

¹⁶⁴Ibid., p. 797.

The Third Zionist Congress took place on August 17, 1899, and according to Herzl's diaries, it ran "smoothly".¹⁶⁵

A third attempt for an audience with the Czar also failed. Before the Congress, Herzl had met the Grand Duke of Baden, and had asked him to secure an audience with the Czar. The result was once again in the negative. The Grand Duke informed Herzl of the Czar's refusal.

Received a fine holograph letter from the Grand Duke.

He writes that he discussed my request with the Czar at Baden-Baden and at Wolfsgarten.... But he did not want to express himself about my audience until Wolfsgarten- when the Grand Duke brought it up again at Wolfsgarten, he could tell that Muraviev...had used his influence against it.¹⁶⁶

Meanwhile, Herzl's attention was attracted by a certain Trietsch,¹⁶⁷ who was spreading successful propaganda in Rumania, for Cyprus as the site for the Jewish state. Herzl thought of it as a "sensible" proposition, but he

¹⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 862.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid., p. 887.

¹⁶⁷ Trietsch, Davis (1870-1935). German Jewish writer and Zionist. Joined the Zionist movement and took part in the First Congress. He opposed Herzl's political Zionism and advocated instead immediate colonisation in a "greater Palestine" which would include Cyprus and El-Arish.

resolved not to back it for the sake of the Hoveve Zion, which was devoted to Palestine at all costs and would not consider another location under any circumstances.¹⁶⁸

In fact, however, Herzl had himself begun to consider Cyprus as an alternative territory. And in a letter to Nuri Bey, the Turkish Chief Secretary of Foreign Affairs, he expressed that possibility.

Until the next congress I will still be master of the situation, but if I have nothing to show up to that time, our plans fall into the water of Cyprus.¹⁶⁹

Herzl had, in fact, decided to prepare the Cyprus project, talk to the English government, and convince the congress to consider Cyprus, at least temporarily, in case he failed to make headway with Turkey over Palestine by the Fourth Congress.

I foresee the next developments like this: If by the Forth Congress I have not made any headway with the Turkish government, I shall prepare the Cyprus project...go to London, speak with Salisbury, and induce the congress to go to Cyprus for the time being.¹⁷⁰

The Fourth Congress took place on August 14, 1900. No headway with Turkey was acheived, although Herzl had, on a number of occasions, tried to reach the Sultan. He had tried to meet Salisbury of England, and had failed

¹⁶⁸ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., III, 882.

¹⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 884.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid., p. 885.

there also.

A dear letter from Austin. Lord Salisbury has regretfully refused on account of the war worries. He cannot receive me now.¹⁷¹

Herzl, however, had at last arranged through Crespi, an agent of his in Constantinople, to meet the Sultan. On May 19, 1901, he went to the palace and was received by the Sultan. Their conversation was about the benefits the Jews could bestow on the Sultan and his empire, especially in helping the Sultan rid himself of the burden of the public debt.

The following is an extract of what Herzl told the Sultan:

The thorn as I see it is your dette publique (public debt). If that could be removed, Turkey would be able to unfold afresh its vitality....

.....
All this beautiful country needs is the industrial skill of our people. The Europeans who usually come here enrich themselves quickly and then rush off with their spoils. An entrepreneur should certainly make a respectable and honest profit, but after that he ought to remain in the country where he has acquired his wealth.¹⁷²

The communication between the Sultan and Herzl continued after their first face-to-face meeting, through intermediaries. The subject was, of course, the Turkish public debt, Herzl's solution to it, and the Jewish question.

¹⁷¹Ibid., p. 940.

¹⁷²Ibid., p. 114.

In the final analysis, the view of the Turkish government was that those Jews who would enter the Ottoman Empire, would have to become Turkish citizens, and if need be, serve in the army. Moreover, they would not be allowed to settle in communities, all in one area, but would have to be scattered all over the empire.

For another thing, colonization must not take place in masses. Instead, let us say, five families here and five there-scattered without connection.¹⁷³

Herzl on his part, although inwardly he could not even think of such a thing, expressed agreement. He argued, however, to the representative of the Sultan, that a scattered inflow of Jews would not be beneficial to the Turkish government. He therefore proposed that a land company be formed and an uncultivated area granted to it, on which the new-comers would settle, cultivate the land, and pay taxes. And that an advance payment could be made on the prospective profits of the company. Herzl, was, in other words, talking of his chartered company for Palestine, but without the actual word 'charter'.

Surely there is land enough in Palestine which could be used for such a purpose. If this land company, which would no doubt have to be an Ottoman corporation, were given a suitable

¹⁷³Ibid., p. 1135.

concession, it could make the land arable, settle people, and pay taxes. And on the prospective income of this land company, money could perhaps be borrowed in advance.¹⁷⁴

This plan was communicated to the Sultan.

Herzl had also propped a means of paying the public debt and providing $1\frac{1}{2}$ million pounds to cover the national deficit. This was communicated to the Sultan, who in answer asked Herzl to return in a month's time with definite proposals.¹⁷⁵

The Sultan had shown willingness to listen, and interest in the possible success of Herzl's plan of restoring Turkey's finances. Herzl's next move, therefore, was to arouse enough interest in the London and Paris Jews, to finance the project for the Sultan.

The results were once again unfavourable. Edmond Rothschild refused, and so did most of the others. Some, however, promised to help once Herzl had the charter. With nothing achieved but promises of help on condition the charter be obtained beforehand, Herzl once again started his contacts with the Sultan, and went to Constantinople to meet him. The outcome was not any different; the

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 1136.

Sultan stuck to his previous stand of scattering the immigrants, with the new addition concerning the exclusion of Palestine from possible settling areas. Herzl refused the offer reiterating his own stand, and expressing hope of possible future negotiations.¹⁷⁶

¹⁷⁶ Ibid., pp. 1154-1225

CHAPTER VII

ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES

Herzl was determined to direct his attention to more fruitful fields. He seized the opportunity when he was invited by the British Royal Commission for Alien Immigration to give evidence as a witness. The purpose of the Commission's meeting was to discuss in particular Jewish immigration into England. He decided to use this opportunity to unfold before this commission his project for a chartered company in Cyprus.¹⁷⁷

By giving evidence before the Royal Commission whose perplexity caused by the horns of a dilemma I want to bring out: either a break with the glorious principle of free asylum, or leaving the native working class unprotected. My way out if they ask for it is the creation of a chartered company in Cyprus.¹⁷⁸

Before he appeared before the Commission Herzl had a meeting with Lord Rothschild, head of the English banking house of Rothschild and a director of the Bank of England, who was the first Jewish Peer.¹⁷⁹ They were in disagreement as to how Herzl was to approach the Commission. Rothschild feared that Herzl would be too outspoken and cause harm to the Jews of England, and Herzl, in effect confirmed Rothschild's

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., IV, 1283

¹⁷⁸ Ibid., p. 1284

¹⁷⁹ Ibid., V, 1847

fears.

The meeting, however, was significant because Herzl won Lord Rothschild over to his schemes for Cyprus, El Arish, and Sinai, securing a promise from Rothschild to arrange an audience with Joseph Chamberlain, for Herzl. The meeting took place and Herzl told Chamberlain of his previous negotiations with other officials in Europe, and the results achieved, and of his plans for Cyprus, El Arish, and the Sinai. Chamberlain, however, as the Colonial Secretary, confessed that he could only speak about Cyprus, because the rest was the concern of the Foreign Office. He straight forwardly put Cyprus out of the question, as he believed that the Greek and Moslem populations would resist a Jewish inflow, and that the situation would present a real difficulty if the Greek and Russian governments backed the Greek resistance.¹⁸⁰

Upon the request of Herzl, Chamberlain agreed to arrange a meeting between him and Lord Landsdown, Foreign Minister, the same day. Chamberlain, however, warned Herzl not to give Landsdown the impression that the Jews would use El Arish to attempt a "Jameson Raid" on Palestine, which Herzl had implied in his discussion with Chamberlain on El Arish and Sinai.¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., p. 1361.

¹⁸¹ Ibid., p. 1362

The meeting between Herzl and Landsdown took place in the former's office where Herzl explained his plan, to which Landsdown reacted favourably and promised to recommend Greenberg,¹⁸² Herzl's representative, to Lord Cromer.¹⁸³

The campaign for the Sinai was launched, meetings were held between Cromer, British High Commissioner in Egypt, Butros Ghali Pasha, Egyptian P.M., Greenberg, and Herzl. An investigation commission was sent to the area to study its suitability. All the reports were at first favourable, and the problems were not as yet insoluble. Gradually, however, the Egyptian government and Cromer began to be more reserved. They did not view very favourably the idea of giving away land. They raised the objection that they were legally under Turkish Suzerainty, and therefore could not give away land which did not legally belong to them and that the Sultan should give his consent. This objection, was changed to a blunt refusal,

¹⁸² Greenberg, Leopold Jacob (1861-1931). English Jew. In his youth had no interest in Jewish affairs, but, following Herzl's appearance, was attracted by political Zionism and became an important member of the team which helped Herzl in his political work in England and Egypt. He served as Herzl's agent in his negotiations in both countries from 1902-1903. In 1903-05 conducted negotiations with the British government concerning Uganda.

¹⁸³ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op.cit., IV, 1371

when a governmental investigator reported that the Pelusian area¹⁸⁴ would need five times as much water as the amount estimated by the previous investigating party. Whereupon the Egyptian government issued its refusal on the grounds that it could not afford to provide that amount of water from the Nile without damage to Egyptian agriculture.¹⁸⁵

One more plan was once again a failure; in despair Herzl entered the following in his diary on May 16, 1903.

I thought the Sinai plan was such a sure thing that I no longer wanted to buy a family vault in the Dobling cemetery where my father is provisionally laid to rest. Now I consider the affair so wrecked that I have already been to the district court and am acquiring vault no. 28.¹⁸⁶

With this failure, however, another hope arose. Besides his plans for Mozambique¹⁸⁷ which he took seriously for some time, Chamberlain suggested EastAfrica, in the vicinity of Uganda, and in fact offered it.

¹⁸⁴ Pelusiam, Plain of, or Pelusiatic Plain. Marshy plain lying immediately east of the Suez Canal and south of the Mediterranean sea shore, named after the ancient city of Pelusium which was located on the sea shore some 25 miles to the south-east of Port Said.

¹⁸⁵ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op.cit., IV, 1376-1488.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid., p. 1491.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

From Greenberg a long report about his conversation with Chamberlain....

Chamberlain is offering us an area for colonization large enough for a million souls, with local self-government, not in Uganda, but in that vicinity.¹⁸⁸

Chamberlain had once before suggested East Africa to Herzl and Herzl had replied: "Our base must be in or near Palestine."¹⁸⁹

Herzl's desperation about a colony at this time was partly due to the lack of concrete achievements, partly due to the pressing needs of East European Jewry, especially their condition in Russia, which Herzl doubted they could endure much longer; he had expressed that doubt to Plehwe,¹⁹⁰ "Do you believe that the Jews will be able to endure this desperate state of affairs much longer";¹⁹¹ and it was partly due to the fact that Uganda or its vicinity was being offered by the British government, whereas Palestine was only a hope to be attained in the future. He was more than willing to grasp at the chance. Moreover, he felt for the millions of Jews that were suffering in

¹⁸⁸ Ibid., p. 1498.

¹⁸⁹ Ibid., p. 1473.

¹⁹⁰ Plehwe, Vyacheslav (1846-1904). Russian statesman. Assistant Minister of the Interior, 1888-1902; Minister of the Interior, 1902-1904.

¹⁹¹ The Complete Diaries of Theodor Herzl, op. cit., IV. 1530.

Eastern Europe, and felt it was the moral duty of the congress to provide a place for these "unfortunates" and release them from their suffering rather than leave them in that misery for the sake of a dream.

The ultimate goal has not been reached and will not be reached in the foreseeable time. But a temporary result is at hand; this land in which we can settle our suffering masses on a national basis and with the right of self government. I do not believe that for the sake of a beautiful dream or for the sake of a linguistic banner we have a right to withhold this relief from the unfortunate.¹⁹²

The Sixth Congress, however, which opened on August 22, 1903,¹⁹³ resulted exactly in the way Herzl had feared it would. Although there was an applause when Herzl announced the British offer of Uganda, as a sign of respect and appreciation, the discussions unveiled violent opposition to it. There was even opposition to the sending of an investigation commission, which although was favourably voted for, showed the opposition of the Russian delegates, particularly to the idea of territory other than Palestine. They considered the very discussion of another land as a violation of the Basle program.¹⁹⁴ In a letter to Plehwe, Herzl recounted the congress in these terms:

The most difficult moment came when I had to

¹⁹² Ibid., p. 1547.

¹⁹³ Ibid.

¹⁹⁴ Ibid., p. 1551

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p.

lay before the congress the British government's offer concerning a territory in Africa for our colonization.

.....
 They were unanimous in their gratitude, they were moved to tears- but East Africa is not Palestine.

After a rather hot fight I was able to put only the preliminary question to a vote: that is to send an exploratory commission-the final decision being left for another congress in a year or two.

I had the greatest difficulty in bringing about this modest result, for there was a solid opposition even to the courtesy of taking the English proposal under consideration. This opposition was composed almost exclusively of Russian Zionists.¹⁹⁵

¹⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 1553.

CHAPTER VIII

POSTLUDE TO THE ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES

Aware of the opposition's strength and determination, Herzl was once again inclined to turn his attention to the Ottoman Sultan, with the hope borne of his new acquaintanceship with Flehwe, of approaching the Sultan once again, but with Russian influence. Herzl endeavoured to get Russian pressure put upon the Sultan. In his letter to Flehwe, he pleads:

The only wholesome solution, therefore depends upon the efficacy of the promised intervention with the Ottoman government....I envisage this intervention in the following manner. If H.M. The Emperor of Russia deigned to give me a letter recommending our Zionist project I would deliver it to H.M. the Sultan, who previously received me in audience in 1901.

.....
Thus it depends only on the government of H.M. the Emperor of Russia, whether the whole thing will be carried out promptly. For years I have been preparing the ground at Constantinople, and in government circles I count many friends of our cause, which is so advantageous to the economic interests of Turkey.¹⁹⁶

His efforts in this last stage included a visit to Merry del Val, who was Papal Secretary of State.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁶ Ibid., p. 1553

¹⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 1593

He said: I do not quite see how we can take any initiative in this matter. As long as the Jews deny the divinity of Christ, we certainly cannot make a declaration in their favour.¹⁹⁸

His next attempt was the King of Italy, who was very friendly and encouraging, and in fact thought that the Jewish state would one day come about anyway.

I know it well, he said, I have been there several times. One occasion was just when my father was assassinated. The land is already very Jewish. It will and must get into your hands it is only a question of time. Wait till you have half a million Jews there.¹⁹⁹

His final word was that although personally he had no objection to intervening with the Sultan, he still had to consult. "He said: I would gladly consent; only I cannot do what I please....I must first take council."²⁰⁰

His third attempt at this stage was with the Pope, who like del Val, had arguments against Jewish resistance to the Divinity of Christ.²⁰¹

Herzl, in the last few pages of his diary made a few more remarks about the East Africa plan. When Greenberg asked him to give the final word, whether to accept or reject the offer, Herzl answered authorising acceptance subject to approval of the terms of the charter and the report of the commission.²⁰²

¹⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 1593.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 1598.

²⁰⁰ Ibid.

²⁰¹ Ibid., p. 1603

²⁰² Ibid., p. 1611.

A few more pages in his diaries and then there is no more. His last entries concerning a territory were of a letter sent to a certain Suzzara, which again makes mention of the assistance of a certain Count Goluchowski, for Palestine.

Count Goluchowski was kind enough to promise me his assistance if the matter were great enough to warrant concerted action on the part of the powers. Consequently Turkey would have to be asked for a settlement area in Palestine and the vicinity large enough for five to six million Jews. ²⁰³

Thus Herzl, who began as a neutral, first inclined towards Palestine, then towards other territories, and finally towards Palestine again, but with an eye on another land. This indifference to the location of the territory has, of course, much to do with his background and especially his religious attitude toward Judaism. It also confirms the complete absence of prejudice in Herzl, concerning the location of the Jewish state. He was interested in an autonomous territory no matter where, even in Palestine.

²⁰³ Ibid., p. 1629.

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