Palestine
THE MODERN WORLD
A SURVEY OF HISTORICAL FORCES
Edited by Rt. Hon. H. A. L. Fisher, F.R.S.

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PALESTINE

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With a Foreword by

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If a nation is a country for which men are prepared to die, then Palestine, the subject of the present monograph, fails to establish its title to be included among the nations of the modern world. In a land famous through the centuries for the fervour of its zealots, there is as yet no common patriotism. There are Jewish zealots and Arab zealots. There is an intense and passionate attachment to the Jewish tradition among the Jews and to the Arab tradition among the Arabs. But there are no zealots for Palestine. The sense of solidarity which is the spiritual basis of a nation has still to be created.

Whether Great Britain, which has assumed the invidious but most honourable task of administering the Zionist experiment in Palestine, will ever succeed in bringing the two Semitic races into relations of stable harmony and co-operation is a question which the future alone can decide. Professor Bentswich, who views the problem from the Zionist angle, is hopeful. He sees that much good has already come from the British mandate, and believes that under the same wise and firm direction the racial disorders which at present menace the peace of the land, may be progressively assuaged. Optimism is pardonable in an Anglo-Jewish Professor of the new University of Jerusalem, who sets himself down to write the remarkable story of the first thirteen years of British rule in Palestine and has witnessed the realization of a dream cherished through so many centuries by his ancient race. Let us hope
that the peace will be kept, and that Jerusalem may witness through its new foundation for the higher learning, a brilliant flowering of Hebrew Science and Scholarship. That such hopes are not chimerical is the lesson to be derived from these careful and richly-informed pages. But there is always the danger of fanaticism, and the success of this extraordinary experiment in government will depend upon nothing so much as upon the continued presence alike in the Arab and in the Jewish community of sagacious leaders who will give support to the Western administration in its mediatorial task.

H. A. L. Fisher.
INTRODUCTION

Palestine appears in this series in a new rôle, not as the Holy Land, but as a modern state. For four hundred years, till the World War, it was administratively a portion of several Turkish vilayets (provinces). It has, indeed, regularly been graced with a separate map in modern atlases, because it was the land of the Bible. It is now more fully entitled to that dignity because, as part of the world settlement, it has become a separate political unit; and the claim of the oldest surviving nationality to rebuild its national life in its former national home has received international recognition. The war rolled up the maps of Asia as well as of Europe, and opened a new vista to the Semitic as well as the European nationalities. By the peace Palestine was delivered from the Turks, detached from Syria, and placed under a British Mandate, with the two-fold responsibility of facilitating the establishment of a Jewish National Home, and safeguarding the rights and position of the non-Jewish inhabitants.

The upheaval of the war and the peace furnished the opportunity for the Gentile peoples, with Great Britain at their head, to carry out an act of justice on behalf of the Jews in helping them to rebuild their home. That development is going on before our eyes; and it is singularly easy to watch, because of the small size of the country on the one hand, and the many trained and literary observers of it on the other. And the report of the Palestine census of 1931, the Book of Numbers, as it is called, has
thrown a flood of clear, cold light on the progress. The country is, as it were, under the microscope; sometimes more, perhaps, than is good for its tranquil progress.

Palestine, indeed, in all ages, has been "much exposed to authors," because what happens there is always of deep interest to the world. Measured not by the yardstick, but by the layers of history which are piled on each other under its soil, it is one of the key-lands of civilization. To-day, to its permanent attraction as an open-air museum of history, it has added the quality of being a living workshop of humanity. Past and present are wonderfully fused. The atmospheric conditions, it has been said, shrink distance and contract history. They create the feeling of continuity between the present effort and the Biblical record and Biblical scene. And over all there hangs that haunting and mystic quality which has made it in the history of mankind a chosen country, and has led a modern writer to prophesy that: "Here, the nucleus of all that is most valuable in our civilization, here another civilization might arise to blend the achievements of the mind with the achievements of the soul."

The story of the modern development of the country is intimately bound up with the story of Zionism, the Jewish movement of return to the land. But though they are closely inter-connected, the two subjects are not identical; and in this book I have been concerned not with the development but with the achievement of Zionism as it is manifest in the actual life of Palestine. I have dealt, too, with the land to the east of Jordan, both because it is part of the British mandated territory of Palestine, and because history, geography, and population combine to link the two areas together indissolubly.
I have written, I hope, objectively, though my treatment may be said not to be impartial. It is impossible to write vividly of Palestine without a point of view; and I have a conviction that the building up of the Jewish National Home is both possible and good. At the same time I believe with equal faith that the Arabs and Jews may together form a happy, progressive, bi-national Palestine, because their deeper interests coincide. And the two aspects of the Mandate in accordance with which the country is governed are, in my view, entirely consistent.

I have had, in part, to re-trace a story which I told three years ago in England in Palestine; but I have profited by a longer non-official retrospect. And I have in this book endeavoured to describe the life and aspirations of the peoples, as well as the doings of the Government of Palestine.

The Editor of the series has made several most helpful suggestions and has been good enough to read the proofs. I am grateful to him for that service and for the Foreword. And I have to thank the General Manager of the Palestine Railways for permission to use the Palestine map.

POSTSCRIPT.

I had barely passed the proofs of this book for the press when the peace of Palestine which seemed to be so well restored was rudely disturbed, at the end of October, by the outbreak of riots in Jerusalem, Jaffa and Haifa. The immediate cause was the demand of the Arab Executive Committee to hold
Postscript

demonstrations of protest against the increased Jewish immigration into Palestine which, between April and October 1933, was estimated at 15,000, and for the next six months was expected to reach equal dimensions. The Government forbade the demonstrations, and the Arab leaders defied the prohibition. The mob led by some of them came into violent conflict at Jaffa with the police who, after failing to break them up with baton charges, were compelled to open fire. There were similar occurrences at Haifa and Jerusalem. Over 20 persons were killed, and some 200 injured. Thanks to the firm measures taken by the Government the riots did not become interracial conflicts; but were purely an attack of the forces of disorder upon the forces of order. The outbreak had no economic justification. There was no pretence that the Jewish immigration was depriving Arabs of work or dispossessing Arabs of land. The country was, indeed, lacking labour because of the remarkable development of enterprise, agricultural and industrial. The immigration permits had been granted by the Government of Palestine on a conservative, and even a cautious, application of the principle of regulation according to the absorptive capacity of the country from time to time.

The increased number of immigrants was justified on economic grounds by the extraordinary expansion of the economic life of the country which marked the last two years. A secondary cause was the impulse given by the persecution of the Jews in Germany, and the consequent uprooting from their homes of thousands of young men and women who looked to Palestine as the one country in which they could make a fresh start in life. Immigrants entered from Germany, after the National Socialist Revolu-
tion, at a rate of about 1,000 persons a month. The capital for their settlement and absorption was derived partly from the modest sums which those who had property were enabled to bring from Germany, but mainly from contributions of Jews in all parts of the world to funds of which the objects combined constructive relief for the homeless German Jews with the upbuilding of the Jewish National Home.

There was, indeed, one grievance of the Arab letters which had some colour. Some thousands of Jews, among the 15,000 that had entered the country during the previous six months, had not received immigration permits, but either had come as tourists and stayed as residents, or had crossed the frontier illicitly. It was inevitable that the desperate circumstances in Germany should have led Jews in Palestine as in other lands, to evade the regulations which restricted admission. They did it more readily in Palestine because in fact they could find work there. The Arab leaders seized on this irregularity to spread wild tales of a flood of immigration which would overwhelm the native population. The unknown can always be made to appear dangerous. The Arab leaders must have known, what was abundantly proved by the recent census return of Palestine, that the Jewish immigration brought increased opportunities for the Arab population of the country; and the Palestine Government had made it clear that it proposed to deal strictly with the abuse of unauthorized immigration, which, moreover, was not exclusively practised by Jews. The outbreak of violence, therefore, was a deliberate disregard of the peace of the country, a factitious move of the Arab Committee for maintaining their own political hegemony. It had rather
the character of a growing pain than of a serious setback to the health of Palestine; and it may be regarded as a good omen that, within two days of the outbreak in Haifa, the High Commissioner opened the harbour which will inaugurate a new stage in the economic development for the benefit of the whole population of the country.

There were important differences between these riots and the outbreaks in 1929 and 1931; they were directed against the Mandatory Power and not against the Jewish population; they were effectively dealt with by the civil forces which comprise English, Arab and Jewish police, and it was not necessary to call in the military forces. But, as in the former cases, it was decided to appoint a commission of enquiry to establish the facts. The High Commissioner announced that the president of the commission would be a former Chief-Justice of the Straits Settlements, and the Attorney-General of Palestine would be a member. Thus, Palestine will be once more the subject of enquiry and examination.

The incident emphasizes what was clear already, that the tranquillity of Palestine is always precarious, that an Arab mob may be roused at any time by reckless agitation and that the Government and the Jewish leaders must be vigilant, careful and wise all the time.
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CHAPTER I

THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLES

Palestine is a geographical expression, and a very indefinite expression at that. The territory under a British Mandate which bears that name to-day is divided into two separate administrative areas, under a different form of government. Palestine west of the Jordan is subject to direct British administration, and Transjordan, the land east of the Jordan, is ruled by an Arab emir, who is advised by a few British officers and protected by British forces. The whole mandated country is much smaller than the Biblical land promised to Abraham, which runs from the "River of Egypt—[identified with the Wadi El Arish]—unto the Great River, the River Euphrates," and from the wilderness of Sirai in the south to the Lebanon in the north. Yet essentially Palestine, whatever its changing boundaries from age to age, is a stretch of cultivable land between the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Syrian Desert on the east. It has always been the natural bridge and the buffer between the Nile and the Euphrates, between Asia—or Eurasia—and Africa.

Its present limits include an area of some 9,000 square miles—the same size as Wales—west of the Jordan and the Dead Sea, and a nearly equal area to the east thereof. Its political boundary on the north is curiously indented and artificial; the Ladder of Tyre, by the coast, then the lower slopes of Mount Hermon and the headwaters of the Jordan at Dan of
the Bible and, after passing a narrow salient of northern Galilee, the gorge of the river Yarmuk. The other boundaries are: on the east the Syrian Desert; on the south the old frontier between Egypt and Turkey which runs from Rafa at the north-western edge of the wilderness of Sinai to Akaba at the head of the gulf of that name; and thence in a straight line drawn eastwards to the station of Mudawara on the Hedjaz railway; and on the west the Mediterranean Sea from Rafa to the Ladder of Tyre.

Small as that territory is, it is as diverse in its climates and natural conditions as a continent. Three principal tracts and three several climates occur on each side of the Jordan. In western Palestine there is the coastal or maritime plain, the central hill range that stretches up the country like a spinal cord from Sinai to northern Galilee, broken only by the Vale of Esdraelon that makes a gap from Haifa to the Jordan Valley, and then the sub-tropical valley of the Jordan, nearly all of it below the level of the sea, and depressed, at its southern sector of the Dead Sea, 1,200 feet below that level. Passing to the east of the Jordan, there is another sector of the sub-tropical valley, from which rises steeply a continuous mountain barrier higher than that on the west. From that plateau the country slopes away gradually to the stony and hot desert of Syria on the east. The breadth of the fertile strip between Jordan and desert varies from forty to eighty miles.

Nearly all the country cis-Jordan is habitable and inhabited; but the density of population varies with the natural conditions. In the country to the south of Hebron, which embraces the low hills and the wilderness, and amounts to half of the total area,
only five per cent of the population is found, with a
density of four persons per square kilometre. With
the exception of Beersheba and one or two smaller
villages, that sparse population is nomadic, formed
of Bedouin Arab tribes from the desert. North of
the semi-desert region, you come to the Judean
Plateau of limestone hills, intersected by deep and
narrow valleys. The plateau appears to-day as a
collection of rounded hills, here and there wooded,
but mostly bare, covered lightly with green grass
early in the year after the rain, but soon stark except
on the gentle slopes where fields of grain occupy the
soil. At one time the country was much more
fertile and more thickly inhabited, when man con-
served the soil on the hills by building up terraces,
and in that way brought more rainfall. During
the centuries of neglect the walls of the terraces fell
into ruin, cultivation decreased, trees were destroyed
for fuel, rain swept away the little fertile soil, and
the water rushed down the slopes into the gorges,
and transformed the once perennial streams into
wadis, destructive torrents in winter and dry beds
in the summer. Even the springs disappeared
from the mountains and their slopes, and now are to
be found only along the base of the plateau in the
hills, in the Maritime Plain and the Plain of Esdraelon.

To-day the plateau is being restored to its former
productiveness in places where an industrious popu-
lation is settled. The terraces are built up, trees
are planted, and the old cisterns which are scattered
amid the rocks are re-instated to conserve the water.
Afforestation is one of the principal ways of improve-
ment; for it fulfils the double condition of bringing
more soil to the hills and more water to the plains.
The region north of Judea which is known as
Samaria is more fertile and not so treeless. Wider
valleys intersect the hills and are cultivable; and a large part of the loam which the streams carry with them is deposited in the lowlands and gives rise to the fertile plains. Between Samaria and Galilee, the northern part of the country, runs the broad intersecting valley of Esdraelon, which is well watered and capable of irrigation throughout. The plain has been dotted, in recent years, with a number of Jewish villages, and is marked by red-roofed houses, green plantations, silvery irrigation channels, and black tilth.

Lower Galilee, like Samaria, is a country of gentle hills and broad valleys. The vegetation is richer than in the southern part of Palestine; the hills are often covered with small oak or carob trees; and the valleys and plains are well suited for cereal cultivation. In Upper Galilee the mountains rise higher than in the rest of the country; they form the southern spurs of the Lebanon range of which the king, Mt. Hermon, dominates the horizon. The highest mountain in Northern Galilee, Jermuk, which rises to 4,500 feet, and the peaks around it, are volcanic; and sheets of lava of old have flown out and covered the hills and valleys with a hard, black basalt. Consequently the streams have not been able here to erode the soil as rapidly as in the southern part of the country. "Vegetation is abundant; the mountains are covered with forests of small oaks; the valleys with bushes and thickets; and fertile green fields cover the gentle slopes." Hills run in the northern part down to the coast, and form the bluff headland known as the Ladder of Tyre. To the south of that chalk cliff, like to the white cliffs of England, a narrow plain stretches to the Bay of Acre.

East of the Jordan on the south the flat, high
plateau of Moab rises 4,000 feet above the great pit of the Dead Sea, and is intersected only by two deep gorges. To the north of that is the fertile upland of Gilead, the country of the two and a half tribes of Israel, who preferred to remain on the other side of Jordan. It is now, as then, a delectable land, better wooded and better watered than the uplands of Palestine; as Doughty describes it: "A land of noble aspect in these bald countries." North of that again, and opposite Galilee, is the lava-covered plateau of Jaulan, from which extinct cones and craters arise. The soil is rich and retentive of water; and the country forms part of what was in the Roman times one of the great granaries of the empire.

The diversity of climate matches the nature of the country. The Maritime Plain and the central plateaus enjoy the Mediterranean temperature which, as history has shown, is favourable to man, beast, and plants, and has nurtured some of the principal civilizations of the world. It engenders the spirit of content, and the white man can work hard throughout the year in it. On the other hand, the eastern part of the country which fringes the desert has a hot desert climate which induces an irritable restlessness and is a cause of the migrations which have intermittently affected the population. The Jordan Valley, too, and the Dead Sea, have an uncomfortable hothouse climate from their depression. The rainfall likewise varies in the different sections of the country. In Judea the average, over a period of twenty years, is some eighteen inches a year. In the parched land to the south and in the Jordan Valley the annual fall is much less; in Samaria and Galilee and in the Maritime Plain it is considerably greater, and in the north of Galilee it is nearly double. The heavy rain falls in December, January,
Palestine

and February; and, in addition, a light early rain falls in the months before that period and a light latter rain in March and April. The grain and olive harvest depends almost entirely on the rainfall; and years of drought, which are not uncommon, mean complete ruin for the peasants.

The products of the little land show an equal variety. Its fertility in Bible times was expressed in the phrase "flowing with milk and honey"; and the Arab geographers of the Middle Ages loved to enlarge on the bounty of its nature and the abundance of its fruits. The Maritime Plain has been famous since the last century for its oranges known as "Jaffas." The fruit was brought from India to Western Asia in the ninth century. Abundance of water which is to be found at a small depth below the soil, and the red earth which is brought from the hills by the streams and mixed with the sandy soil, provide a region more favoured for citrus cultivation than any in the world. Recent years have seen a remarkable development of the plantation both of oranges and grapefruit. The area planted has been doubled and tripled; but it is calculated that less than half of the land which is suitable has as yet been utilized. The coastal plain comprises some 2½ million dunams\(^1\) of cultivable land, half of which is irrigable and fit for plantation.

The products of the hill country are olives, almonds, and other fruit-trees, vines, and tobacco, as well as wheat, barley, and other grains. In the Jordan Valley the cultivation of the sugar-cane and cotton is possible, and in the Middle Ages was celebrated, though only practised to-day in small

\(^{1}\) The dunam is a local unit of measurement, and has been standardized at 1,000 square metres, or, roughly, a quarter of an acre.
measure; the banana flourishes, and is now planted on a considerable scale.

The principal river of Palestine is the Jordan, which flows from Mount Hermon in a tortuous course of some 120 miles, till it mingles its waters in the pit of the Dead Sea. Its Hebraic name means the Descender. It is well-named, for the head-springs are about 1,000 feet above sea-level; its lowest waters are 1,200 feet below that level. Its fall is utilized for the purpose of generating hydro-electric power. In two regions the river widens into lakes, owing to the interposition of lava dams which check the stream. The northern lake is known in the Bible as the Waters of Merom, and to-day as the Lake of Huleh. The upper part of it is a papyrus-covered marsh which breeds malaria; but a concession has been granted for draining the area and irrigating the land re-claimed. The lake some twelve miles to the south is known as the Sea of Galilee, or Tiberias. Its Hebrew name meaning the Sea of the Harp is derived from its shape. Its length is thirteen miles, and its greatest breadth some seven miles. It is of singular loveliness, and because of its associations has been more sung by poets than any other lake. During the winter the surface rises more than 6 feet, and it is contemplated to build a dam to contain the winter flood for the purpose of the generation of further electric power.

The Dead Sea in which the Jordan is lost lies 1,200 ft. below sea level. In area, it is about equal to the Lake of Geneva; its length is forty-seven miles, its greatest breadth about ten miles. It is one of the most uncanny spots in the world—deserted alike by man and all living things: "A hell with the sun shining on it." It forms the lowest point of
the deepest rift of the world's surface which was caused by a great convulsion, and stretches through the Red Sea, Nubia, and East Africa. The confined and embittered waters are heavier than those of any other sea; they hold in solution masses of salts that have been brought down from the soil by the Jordan and other rivers emptying themselves into the abyss. The water is evaporated by the great heat, and the level of the lake remains fairly constant, while the salt content is constantly piled up.

During the last few years an enterprise has started for the purpose of extracting the mineral wealth of potash, bromide, and other chemicals from this inexhaustible reservoir, which is calculated to contain 2,000,000,000 tons of potash, and still more astronomical figures of common salt. Along the shores of the Dead Sea and in a region south of Gaza deposits of sulphur occur; and sulphurous and other hot springs break out in various places along the valley of the Jordan. Those of Tiberias and of Gadara—some ten miles south-east of Tiberias—were famous bathing places of the Roman Empire. The country to the east of Jordan is known also to be rich in phosphates: abundant outcrops of manganese ores have been found over a large area of Southern Palestine: and the barren wilderness to the south of the Dead Sea is believed to contain wells of petroleum. Canaan is described in the Bible as "A land whose stones are iron, and out of whose hills thou mayest dig brass." The metallic minerals, iron and copper, though still found in the Trans-jordan mountains, may not be workable, but the more valuable non-metallic minerals in solution offer a new wealth to the country. The pétroleum, however, which Palestine needs will for many years be brought to the land by the pipe-line now being
laid from the great oilfield at Kirkuk across the plains of Mesopotamia and the Syrian Desert to the sea at Haifa.

Haifa is the natural outlet of the large and fertile hinterland which comprises not only the plains and plateaux of Palestine and Transjordania, but the vast plains of Mesopotamia. From the dawn of history the bay of which Haifa forms the southern end, has contained a port. The early Egyptian records, from some 1800 years B.C., mention Acre, which is at the northern end of the bay. Later, Acre was one of the Phoenician coast towns; and after the Macedonian conquest of the land, when its name was changed to Ptolemais, the principal port of the Eastern Mediterranean in the Hellenistic and Roman empires. Ibn Tulun, the Arab conqueror of Egypt, rebuilt the port to rival the largest Byzantine harbours; and it was the maritime base of the Crusaders during the period of the Latin kingdom. It fell from its proud estate in the centuries of neglect that followed on the destruction of that kingdom; and in our day Haifa has been chosen for the Palestine harbour.

South of Haifa the coast runs in a long straight line, with no bays and promontories and no natural harbour; but the rocky reef of Jaffa has made that place a port throughout the ages, from the time when the timber for the building of Solomon's temple was floated to it on rafts from Tyre. Though little favoured by nature for the ships of modern times, it is still the place through which the merchandise passes to and from Judea, and the Government is to execute improvements in the port. Along the coast of the Maritime Plain the sands from the mouths of the Nile, piled up by westerly and south-westerly winds, have invaded the cultivable land, and buried tracts
which must once have been gardens of fertility. A beginning has been made by a Jewish agency with the reclaiming of these tracts by afforestation of the dunes.

Western Palestine contains roughly 1,000 villages, and their average population is 600 persons. Most of them stand on ancient sites famous in history, and many still retain their biblical name. The Arab villages in the hills spring from the rock as though they were part of the hillside, built of the white limestone of which the country has an unending supply. They are usually placed on the upper slopes of the hills, and the houses rise in tiers. The modern Jewish villages of stucco and concrete houses with red roofs are more prominent and obtrusive on the landscape, and proclaim their presence.

Besides the villages there are some half dozen towns and, in addition, some fourteen places which possess municipalities under the old Turkish law, although their true character is that of larger villages. The largest town and the capital or seat of government is Jerusalem, which has grown to a city of over 90,000 inhabitants, nearly two-thirds of them Jews, and is spread over the hills on the Judean plateau, 2,800 feet above sea-level. The combined population of the twin coast towns, Jaffa, which is mainly Arab, and Tel-Aviv, which is almost entirely Jewish, exceeds that number. Haifa, where Jews, Moslems, and Christians contribute each about one-third of the population, has to-day over fifty thousand inhabitants; Gaza on the coast in the south, and Hebron and Nablus, two Arab towns in the central hill range, Tiberias by its lake and Safed 3,000 feet above it in Galilee, have populations of between ten and twenty thousand. In Palestine, as elsewhere, the steady movement of population is
to the towns. The census of 1931 showed that during the previous nine years there had been an increase of the population in Jaffa of 60 per cent., in Tel-Aviv of over 200 per cent., in Jerusalem of 44 per cent. and in Haifa of over 100 per cent.

Of the Jewish population three-quarters are urban and one-fourth rural; the proportion of the Moslem population is almost exactly the reverse. The Christians are nearly equally divided between town and country. The tables in the recent census of the occupations of different elements of the people show a corresponding variation. Seventy per cent. of the Moslems are engaged in agriculture and about twenty per cent. of the Jews; an equal proportion of the Jews in trade, and thirty per cent. in industry. Of the whole population fifty-four per cent. is supported by agricultural operations of different kinds, fourteen per cent. by industry, ten per cent. by trade and commerce, 3½ per cent. by the professions. Most of those engaged in agriculture are smallholders, or tenants working the land with their family. And there are few hired agricultural labourers. While in England on the average one farmer employs seventeen labourers, in Palestine there is but one labourer for every two Moslem farmers.

As regards the distribution of the population by communities, Moslems number 800,000, Christians 90,000, and the Jews, broadly, 200,000.1 The total population returned in the census of 1931 was 1,050,000, which showed an increase of 300,000 from the previous total, nine years before. That was an unparalleled growth, in modern times, of thirty-six per cent.; and when analysed by communities, it is found that the increase rate was

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1 The immigration into Palestine during 1933 has been such that the Jewish population may now be nearer 225,000.
twenty-eight per cent. for the Moslems, twenty-five per cent. for the Christians and 108 per cent. for Jews. The Jewish increase is mainly due to immigration, which amounted in the period to about 100,000 gross. From that must be deducted an emigration of some 20,000 of those who failed to settle permanently in the country. Yet, while the Jewish population more than doubled in less than ten years, the Arab increase, which amounted to 190,000, was nearly twice as great as the Jewish, and was due almost entirely to natural fertility. The Moslem birth-rate was fifty-three per thousand; and the freedom from military service, which in Turkish days took away between 10,000 and 20,000 youths a year, is an important factor in the growth. At the present rate the whole population would double itself within twenty years.

The Moslem and Christian populations, excluding the European Christians (who are engaged in religious callings, teaching, and the administration), are commonly known as the Arabs. They speak the Arabic language, but racially a large number are not of pure Arab stock. They represent the descendants of the Greek-speaking population of the Byzantine Empire, which was conquered by Arabs in the seventh century. And the early population was a medley of many strains, Canaanites, Syrians, Greeks, and the like. The present Christian native population, moreover, includes many families of mixed Latin and Saracen blood which have remained since the days of the Crusaders. The Nomad Arabs that live in the southern part of Palestine, and along the eastern marches, and form about half the population of Transjordania are of purer Arab stock. They number some 50,000 within the area of Western Palestine; in the eastern territory of Transjordan there
are more than twice as many. It is striking that scarcely any Ottoman Turks made their home in the land; and the 400 years of Turkish rule have left little effect on the racial character.

No census has been taken of the population of Transjordan, and the numbers of its people can only be broadly estimated. In 1924 the report of the Mandatory to the League of Nations on the administration of the territory put the figure in the neighbourhood of 200,000, of whom some 10,000 were Circassians and Chechen (a people of Turkestan), 35,000 were Christians including some 2,000 Armenians; and the remainder Moslem Arabs. Since that return was made, it is believed that the population has increased by some 50,000; but the density is not much more than one quarter of that found in Palestine. For there has not been any agricultural, commercial, or industrial development comparable with that in cis-Jordan. Nomadic and semi-nomadic tribes form more than half of the total. They pasture their herds and flocks in the grassland margin of the desert, and also in the fertile land of the Jordan depression. In the high and healthy plateau of Gilead and Moab, however, a number of large villages are dotted; but there are only three towns of any size, Amman, the capital, with a population that has grown in the last twelve years from 5,000 to 15,000, Es-Salt, also in Gilead, and Kerak, in Moab (the Kir of the Bible), perched some 4,000 feet above the Dead Sea. In these three towns the population is partly Moslem and partly Christian. No Jewish settlement has yet penetrated into the country, but the hydro-electric works of the Palestine Electric Corporation, at the confluence of the Yarmuk and the Jordan, are situated within Transjordan territory and are largely manned by Jewish
engineers; and a few Jews are to be found in trade and technical callings. In addition to the Circassians and the Armenians who were introduced into the country after the Great War, a considerable element of Arab traders and professional men has found its way from Palestine and Syria into the towns.

Of the Jewish population in Western Palestine, more than half were born outside the country; and of this half the large majority came from Europe. The biggest number were drawn from the cities of Poland, Russia, and Rumania. Of the Christian population, about one-fifth was born abroad; but among these are included persons temporarily in the country for religious and administrative callings. Altogether fourteen per cent. of the population were alien-born. Palestine, in our time, as so often in her past history, is the country where the peoples of Europe and Asia are mingling, as of old the Philistines mingled with the Canaanites, the Macedonians and Greeks with the Syrians, the Frank knights and merchants with the Saracens.

What has conducted to the mixed population of Palestine, and has determined the sites of her towns, is that the great highways from south to north, and west to east, run through her narrow strip of cultivable land. The most famous military road of the ancient world, the Road of the Sea, after leaving the Nile Delta, traversed Sinai along the seashore, then, passing through the length of the Maritime Plain, over the Pass of Mt. Carmel, descended to the Plain of Esdraelon, crossed the Jordan at the ford of the Daughters of Jacob, and so continued to Damascus. This road, which has been for four thousand years the highway of armies and merchants, is punctuated with the towns of Gaza, Ramleh, Ludd, Jaffa, Haifa, Acre, Baisan, and Tiberias. Another highway run-
ning from south to north passes along the central hill range. Entering from the Desert at Beersheba, it passes in turn Hebron, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Nablus, Jenin, where it reaches the Vale of Esdraelon. The road from west to east ran from Jaffa through Jerusalem to Jericho, where it crossed the Jordan—of old by a ford and more recently by a bridge—and then passed to the edge of the desert to the town now called Amman, which was the Rabbath-Ammon of the Bible. Another road from west to east in the north passed from Acre to the fords of Jordan by Baisan, and then across the plateau of the Hauran to Damascus. Both roads led on beyond the region of cultivation and of settled habitation, across the desert to the rich lands of Mesopotamia and Persia. And along their course in the half-hidden oases sprang up the romantic caravan-cities of Petra in the south and Palmyra in the north. For in ancient times the desert was a great highway, no less than the sea, and had its ports and its ships, the camel-caravans. To-day the English Imperial Air-route follows the way of the caravans, and passes across Palestine and Transjordan to Iraq, Persia, and India. To-day, too, the pipe-line, which is to bring the oil from the fields of Iraq to the sea, follows the more northern of the east-west highways. The spacious desert is the home of Bedouin tribes who pasture their goats and camels on the scrub. Kinglake in his Eothen tells how, from the grey hills of Transjordan right away to the gates of Baghdad, "there stretches forth the mysterious desert, not a void sandy track, but a land abundant in rich pastures, a land without cities or towns, without any respectable people or any respectable thing, yet yielding its eighty thousand cavalry to the beck of a few old men." That account still holds.
It is of the essence of the geography and character of Palestine that it is a country of the overlap, that it belongs half to the Mediterranean world and half to the desert world, that it is both a highway from Egypt to Syria and Asia Minor, and a highway from the Mediterranean Sea to the Middle and Further East. Its history and its population have been determined by this double nature. Its peoples have come in turn from the Nomad tribes of the desert and from the enterprising mariners, warriors, and merchants from the west and north. To-day the people who are the descendants of its early Semitic invaders from the desert are returning to it from the west, and are mingling with the population which is already compounded indissolubly of Western and Eastern stocks; and to-day, as always, there is the trickle of migration to the settled lands by the nomad tribes from the Arabian and Syrian deserts.
CHAPTER II

ARAB CIVILIZATION IN PALESTINE

The gorge of the river Yarmuk in Transjordan was the scene of one of the decisive battles of the world. There, in the year A.D. 636, a few thousand Arabs, followers of a new Prophet and regarded as wild men of the desert, laid low the might of the Byzantine Empire and obtained the mastery of Syria. In the following years they captured Jerusalem after a siege of four months, Cæsarea, Damascus, and Antioch, established the Crescent in the centres of Eastern civilization, dominated Christendom in its original home and launched the great Arab migration which aimed at universal empire. For a thousand years and more, Eastern peoples were to retain the hegemony of the Near East. Arab dynasties maintained a hold over Palestine for nearly 900 years. After Omar, the conqueror of Jerusalem, and his immediate successors in the Caliphate, the Ommanads who had their capital at Damascus, held sway from A.D. 660-750. The hegemony then passed to the Abbasid dynasty whose capital was in Baghdad. They in turn were the rulers of the world of Islam for over 200 years, and then made way for the Fatimite heretics who brought Palestine under Egypt. The Seljuk Turks, a new Moslem power coming from Central Asia, captured Damascus and Jerusalem in A.D. 1075; and their intolerance brought on the wars of the Crusades which for 200 years engaged Christendom against Islam, Franks
against Saracens, in constant strife for the Holy Land. The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem received a fatal blow at the battle of Hattin in 1187, when the Kurdish Saladin destroyed the Christian chivalry. The Ayubi dynasty founded by him reigned until 1250; but the Arabs had been weakened by 200 years of warfare, and their princes were overthrown by the Mamelukes who were mercenaries of Turkish and Circassian origin in their armies. The Mamelukes ruled Palestine from Cairo for two centuries more. They destroyed the last vestiges of the Frankish Syria, and checked, without staying, the wild hordes of the Mongols that advanced in waves from Central Asia. Time and again Palestine was ravaged by the Mongols under Hulagu and Tamerlane; and finally, in 1518, a more permanent Mongol conqueror, the Ottoman Sultan Selim, conquered Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. Since that time, no Arab prince has borne rule in the Holy Land.

Such is the bare outline of Arab history in Palestine.

At the time of the Arab conquest, the civilization of Palestine was partly Aramaic, expressed in Syrian tongue, and partly Byzantine, expressed in Greek. The inhabitants of the country were almost exclusively Christians, for the Jews had been expelled by the Christian emperors. Arab tribes held the frontier marches as vassals of the emperor; and Arab songs, particularly the romantic poems of Antar, were popular amongst the common folk. Architecture, painting, and the other arts were dominated by the Hellenistic modes. Such philosophy and science as could survive under the domination of the Church was spread abroad in the Syrian or Aramaic language by the Nestorian monks.
The Arab conquest brought an amazing change as well in the cultural as in the political life of the Middle East. The Arab language of the conquerors became the common cultural bond of all the Believers. Nearly all the towns and villages resumed their Semitic names in place of the Hellenized names. The inhabitants who remained Christians, or the Jews who were allowed to return to Palestine, kept for a time their old language for speech and retained it permanently for their liturgy, but they too soon adopted the tongue of their rulers. And while Arab domination ceased at the end of the Middle Ages, the Arab language has remained supreme to our own days. For 600 years it was the principal vehicle of civilization of the Western world, taking the place of Greek in Southern Europe and Northern Africa as well as in Western Asia. The classical heritage of philosophy and science passed through it to the medieval, and then to the modern world. Persons of many races and nations took their share in passing the torch: Jews and Arabs, Syrians and Persians, Moors and Egyptians, Kurds and Spaniards; but the common and uncontested instrument was Arabic.

The effete and exhausted culture of the Byzantine and Persian empires was revived and re-invigorated by the human stream that flowed from Arabia. For 200 years indeed the Moslems did not write books, but from the ninth century, under the Abbasid Caliphs, learning flourished. The different branches of mathematics, arithmetic, geometry, and algebra—the last retains its Arab name—were developed anew, and astronomy was turned to fresh uses. It is again significant that a number of Arab terms have received universal acceptance in the science: Zenith, Azimuth and Nadir. The astrolabe, which was a
Greek invention of antiquity, was perfected by the Arabs to determine the hour of prayer and the position of Mecca. Geography became an important practical science because every good Moslem had once in his life to be a traveller and make the pilgrimage to Mecca, Medina, and Jerusalem. Road-books consequently were multiplied. Arithmetic was revolutionized by the Arabic system of numbers which adopted the sign of zero (Arabic زئفر) and so enabled an enormous development that was closed to the Greek or Roman scientists. Music flourished; and the Arab instruments, the lute and the guitar, were brought with their Arabic names to Europe.

The philosophy of Plato and Aristotle received a new application, when the Moslem scholars and theologians sought to harmonize them with the teachings of the Prophet. In that work of synthesis of the classical heritage with Hebraic monotheism—as well the Jewish, the Christian, and the Moslem forms—men of many countries and nations participated. It is said that scarcely any of the most distinguished names were Arabs. The three most famous were the Bokharan Avicenna, Ibn Rushd, known by the Christian scholars as Averroes, who wrote at Cordova, and his contemporary, also of Cordova, the Jewish Moshe Ben Maimon, known as Maimonides. The studies were pursued over the whole Moslem world, from Central Asia to Western Spain. For that realm was one cultural region, united by a common language, a common faith and a common outlook of tolerance. The partnership in culture of Arabs and Jews, which sprung from this virtue of tolerance, was not the least boon.

Palestine was at no time the centre of the intellectual movement; but throughout the early period,
until the invasion of the Crusaders, it was an important place of art and learning; and while the Ommayad dynasty held rule in Damascus during the seventh and eighth centuries, it took a commanding position in the religious and scholarly life both of the Arabs and Jews. Jerusalem had its university together with Baghdad, Damascus, and Cairo. These colleges of religious and secular learning, usually held in the mosques, were established in the fifth and sixth centuries of the Hegira calendar, some hundreds of years before the oldest universities of Europe.

Amongst the distinguished Arab writers associated with the country, the geographer known as Mukaddasi (that is, of the Holy City), who was born at Jerusalem in A.D. 946, wrote a description of the dominions of the Caliphs which gives us a most lively account of Palestine in the tenth century. It is he who tells us that Jerusalem was full of Christian and Jewish scholars, and that the mosque is void of a congregation and of learned men. Another writer, who sojourned some years in Jerusalem, was the theologian Ghazzali of the twelfth century. Among religious leaders we know of Al-Shafi, the founder of one of the four schools of the Sunni tradition, who came from Gaza, of a famous woman saint, Rabia, who lived in Jerusalem at the end of the ninth century, and of the school of Sufis, Moslem mystics, that was established at Ramleh in the same epoch.

The greatest achievement, however, of Arabic civilization in Palestine is manifest in the Moslem religious buildings. Above all, the Mosque of Aksa and the Dôme of the Rock, both on the place of the Hebrew Temple, stand out, and the latter is among the greatest monuments not only of its age, but
of all times. The Mosque of Aksa is probably a transformation of a Christian basilica and has been much restored; but the Dome of the Rock is an original creation and keeps its original form. It is vulgarly but wrongly known as the Mosque of Omar. The Moslem conqueror caused the place of the Temple, which had become a heap of refuse in the Byzantine Empire, to be cleansed, and erected there a simple place of prayer; but that early Mosque was of wood and did not stand for long. The lovely oratory or shrine over the Holy Rock was built by the Ommayad Caliph Abdul-Malek in the year 72 of the Hegira calendar (A.D. 691). He thought to make Jerusalem the Moslem religious centre of his Caliphate, in order that it should rival Mecca and Medina that were not in his dominions. It should be El-Kuds, the Holy Town, and it has borne that name ever since amongst the Arabs. A phrase in the Koran spoke of "God who carried his servant by night from the place of prayer in Mecca to a place of prayer that is more remote." And the mosque in the sacred area of Jerusalem received the name of El-Aksa, that is, "the more distant." The pilgrimage to the Mosque and to the Rock, whence the Prophet was carried to heaven, should take the place of the pilgrimage to the Kaaba in the birthplace of the Prophet.

Mukaddasi gives another account of the motives which led to the building of the great shrine in Jerusalem. After explaining why the Caliph El-Walid embellished the great Mosque at Damascus, in order to outdo the greatest Christian churches, he continues: "In like manner, it is evident how the Caliph Abdul Malek, noting the greatness of the Dome of the Holy Sepulchre and its magnificence, was moved lest it should dazzle the minds of the
Moslems, and so erected above the Rock the present Dome.” In his day the Dome was externally covered with brass plates which were gilt; and he describes how “at dawn, when the light of the sun first strikes upon it, and the drum reflects its rays, then is this edifice a marvellous sight to behold, the equal of which I have never seen in all Islam, neither have I heard tell about anything built in pagan times that could rival it in grace.” Both the inner walls and, till the sixteenth century, the outer walls were decorated with mosaics which were amongst the most beautiful works of decorative art. They have an amazing diversity of subjects; and while the human and animal figures are avoided, there is every variety of nature motives: swirling vines, floral wreaths, and the like. They were the work of Byzantine artists, and probably also of Persians; for it was the characteristic of the Ommayads in their great buildings to bring together the workmen of their vast Moslem domain from East and West. The oldest stained-glass windows in the Dome of the Rock, which are of this epoch, are not less lovely than the mosaic ornaments of its walls.

One of the successors of Abdul Malek built another shrine in Palestine that rivalled in glory the Dome of the Rock. Suliman, who was Caliph for a short time in A.D. 717, laid out a new town, Ramleh, by the side of the Byzantine Lydda, the birthplace of St. George, and made it his capital. He started the construction of the great Mosque of Ramleh, known as the “White Mosque” because of its columns of white marble. It was finished by Omar II (A.D. 717-720); and Mukaddasi says that it surpassed in elegance and beauty the great Mosque of Damascus. An earthquake in 1033 destroyed a great part of the town of Ramleh (as did a
later earthquake of 1927); and reduced the mosque to a heap of ruins; only the fragments of it that were worked into the Crusaders' Church survived.

Other building monuments of the seventh and eighth centuries in Palestine witness to the constructive energy and the re-invigoration of ancient art in the youth of Arab civilization. They are to be found in the eastern marches of Transjordania, where they rise to-day from the midst of a general desolation. They are castles of the Caliphs who, it is thought, chose the fringe of the desert for their habitation when they wished to escape from the urban splendour of their capital-town to something nearer the simple life of their Bedouin ancestors. The most remarkable of these castles is Mashatta that lies some fifty miles south of Amman in Transjordan. The greater part of its façade, a masterpiece of carving, was carried off by a German expedition to grace the Museum of Antiquities in Berlin. Another castle, less famous and less completely despoiled, lies due east of Amman and is remarkable for its fresco paintings that are one of the links between ancient and medieval art. One of them represents the four great sovereigns of the non-Moslem world: the Byzantine emperor, the king of the Visigoths in Spain, the Sassanite emperor of Persia, and the Negus of Abyssinia, conquered by the Arab Caliphs.

In the ninth and tenth centuries the centre of Arab civilization moved with the centre of political power from Damascus to Baghdad, and Palestine played a smaller part in the cultural and religious life. Between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, Palestine, as we have seen, was the battleground of the Cross and the Crescent, and while monuments of that age are multiplied on its coasts and its hills,
they are almost entirely the work of Christian hands.

A new era of Arab building and art was inaugurated in Palestine when the Crusaders were finally expelled and the Mameluke dynasty ruled from Egypt. Their great warriors like Bibars destroyed ruthlessly Christian churches and Frankish castles, but they made Jerusalem again a centre of learning and built colleges in the precincts of the Holy Place. They erected too some of the lovely shrines within and without the precincts; and in their time the domestic arts flourished as never before. The arms, the iron-work and copper-work, the bookholders, the little tables and lamps of that period are still a delight. That was almost the end of the creative Arab art in Western Asia. The Mongol invasions spread havoc and destruction, and Arabic art and thought found a new centre for another 200 years in Southern Spain. It is interesting to note a connection between the Eastern and the Western expansion of Arab life. The town of Seville was called Homs, and the town of Xeres (whence we have our sherry) was called Palestine, because of the number of Arabs from those regions that were amongst the early settlers. Men passed readily for generations from Iraq and Syria to Spain and Morocco; but the seed of culture carried by the Franks from the East began to bear its best fruit in the Latin West.

The wide area of Arabic civilization, as it developed during 500 years of the Arab Caliphs, is illustrated by the records of the writers who wrote about Palestine. After Mukaddasi, we have a full and excellent description from the Persian Nasir Khosran who visited Jerusalem in A.D. 1047. A century later, the Spanish-born Idrissi described the city which was
then under the Crusaders' dominion. He wrote the most celebrated of all the Arabic geographies for the Norman king of Sicily, Roger II. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, Ibn Batuta of Berber origin travelled through Palestine and described its cities. A native of Jerusalem, Jamil el-Din, wrote of his country at the end of that century, in a book entitled *The Exciter of Desire*; and a century later, a writer of Hebron composed another book of the same name and on the same subject.

By that time the Mongols had wiped out civilization from the face of the earth in Iraq, which had been the principal Eastern centre of Arabic learning. They had done so to a less extent in Palestine. The Turkish conquerors of the country, if they did not destroy and ravage like the earlier Tartar invaders, failed to stimulate a fresh culture in that part of their domain. The Arab peoples were exhausted by the centuries of fighting. And Palestine, which in the medieval world was both the geographical and spiritual centre for Moslem, Christian, and Jew, and was placed by the geographers of that time in the centre of their maps, became, with the discovery of the New World and the removal of the centre of economic gravity from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic, a neglected land, remote from the main stream of material and intellectual civilization. The great Ottoman Sultan, indeed, Suliman the Magnificent, who reigned from 1520-1566, did something to restore the Holy City to its former glory. He gave it a new circuit of walls, he renovated the Dome of the Rock, and it was he who adorned the exterior of the shrine with the glazed tiles that attract our admiration. But the Turkish revival, if it can be so called, was short-lived. Arab culture, not only in Palestine, but throughout the Middle
East, became stagnant at the very time when European culture entered on its brilliant renaissance in the sixteenth century. It had, however, fertilized the Western mind, and preserved for it the heritage of antiquity.
CHAPTER III

THE HISTORY OF PALESTINE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

It is difficult to know at what place to begin the modern history of the most historical of countries; but the story of modern Palestine, as of modern Egypt, may take a definite point from the Napoleonic Wars. For it was Napoleon's invasion of Egypt and his campaign in the Holy Land in 1799, when he dreamed of a march through Asia to India, that brought Palestine, after 500 years interval, again within the sphere of interest of the European world. In its early history Palestine is the meeting place and the battleground between East and West. Because of its geographical position between Western Asia and Egypt, two of the hearths of civilization, and because also of its special holy character for their religions, the Western and the Eastern peoples have met there in conflict time and time again. Here the struggle between Jews and Romans was fought for nearly 200 years; and here for another 200 years the Latin Christians fought with the Saracen Moslems.

The land lay waste and neglected for 300 years after Egypt and Palestine, with the rest of the Middle East, passed under the dominion of the Ottoman Empire. It was, indeed, visited constantly by pilgrims of the various Christian denominations; and in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Jewish refugees from Spain and Central Europe
settled in its holy towns, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias and Safed, and formed schools of Jewish law and Jewish mysticism. The country as a whole, however, was cut off from contact with Western civilization. Napoleon's attempt, with his army of 15,000, to threaten British power in India, and his march across the bridgehead between Africa and Asia, forced the attention of England to the little country. He destroyed the Turkish Army under Mount Tabor, and carried the walls of Acre by storm; but he could not break through the desperate defence of the town. English sailors under Sir Sidney Smith\(^1\) directed the defence; and English soldiers a year later brought about the surrender of the French forces that remained on the borders of Egypt and Palestine at El Arish. In his later years, the exiled Emperor declared, "Had I taken Acre, I could have reached Constantinople and there founded a dynasty."

What he had failed to do was attempted some thirty years later by an Albanian soldier of fortune in the Turkish service, who had fought against him. Mohamed Ali, who is regarded as the founder of modern Egypt, sought, like Napoleon, to pass by way of Palestine to the conquest of the Ottoman Empire. He had been promised the Province of Syria as a reward for his services in the war against Greek liberation; and when the Sultan substituted Crete for Syria, the Pasha of Egypt took by force what had been withheld by fraud. His son, Ibrahim, captured Acre in May 1832, and the Egyptian Army then passed, with little resistance, across Syria and Anatolia to the gates of Constantinople.

\(^1\) The English King granted to Sir Sidney Smith the motto for his Coat of Arms "Cœur de Lion," to mark the continuity of the English connection with Acre where, 700 years before, the Norman King had made his reputation for valour.
It conquered and tamed, in its northward progress, the tribes of the region across Jordan, who for centuries had marauded with little check from the Ottoman Sultan.

England scented a danger to her interests in the East if a too powerful ruler were established in Turkey; and supported Russia and Austria in checking the Egyptian career of conquest. For a second time her sailors at Acre defeated the scheme of breaking the Turkish power. Admiral Napier, in 1841, obtained an undertaking at Alexandria from Mohamed Ali to give up Syria and restore the Ottoman Fleet to the Turks on condition that the Powers should guarantee to him the hereditary Pashalik of Egypt. For a time Palestine was in the hands of the European Powers, to hold or to give. Various schemes were put forward, anticipating the Mandate by nearly a century. The French proposed to establish an Ecclesiastical enclave for Jerusalem and an area round it, to be governed by a Christian Municipality under the direction of the Christian States. Prussia proposed a European Protectorate over the Holy Cities, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, and Nazareth. Certain sections in England advocated a policy of restoring to Palestine the Jewish people, who, for nearly two thousand years, had never ceased to hope for the restoration of their nationality. Lord Shaftesbury urged that the Jewish settlement "would promote the development of the immense fertility of the country that lies between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean Sea," and should be fostered by the European Concert. The Frenchman Laharanne advocated an independent Jewish State. Russia ridiculed all these proposals. In the end, the Powers handed back Syria and Palestine to the Turkish Sultan without conditions, save for
the stipulation of equal rights for the Christian population.

With English aid, then, Turkey was restored to the rule of the Holy Land, while a semi-independent Egypt was established at her side. England and France had come perilously near to war over the Eastern question, for France supported the strong Egyptian as determinedly as England supported the feeble Turk. France had continued to regard herself, since the Napoleonic invasion, as the Eastern Power specially concerned in Egypt. Her King, however, the peaceful Louis Philippe, was not prepared to assert her prestige by a war, and accepted the compromise which left her protégé as Viceroy of Egypt.

The short Egyptian rule in Palestine, from 1831 to 1840, succeeded in sweeping away something of the Moslem bigotry and the tyranny of the feudal chieftains which had for long prevailed in the Holy Land; and the interest of the European States in the country also helped to check abuses. Kinglake, who travelled through the country while Ibrahim Pasha was the ruler, records in Eothen (1844) how "every peasant in Syria felt and knew that at Vienna, Petersburg, and London, there were four or five pale-faced men who could pull down the Star of the Pasha with shreds of paper and ink." Kinglake’s peerless travel-book, be it noted, started an English tradition of literary interest in the actual Palestine, that focused English public opinion.

In Palestine, as in Egypt, Mohamed Ali set himself to encourage the introduction of Western ideas and Western capital. During the decade of Egyptian rule the first European Consul was appointed in Jerusalem. The British Consulate, established in 1838, had as part of its functions to protect all Jews,
of whatever nationality, in the country. It was the period when Palmerston blockaded the ports of Greece, in order to secure payment of compensation for a Gibraltar Jew who had suffered damage in a riot at Athens. With the revival of the country Jews from many lands began to flock to it. Sir Moses Montefiore, who had been Sheriff of London in 1837, the first Jew to hold municipal office in England, negotiated with Ibrahim for agricultural colonization of Jews. But the bright hopes were dashed by the English campaign which drove Ibrahim out of Palestine in the cause of Turkish integrity. About the same time a future Prime Minister of England, born a Jew and possessed of a romantic oriental genius, was travelling in the East, and was inspired to write the story of one of those pseudo-Messiahs who, in the Middle Ages, rose to lead back the Jewish people from oppression and misery. In his later romance of *Tancred*, Benjamin Disraeli describes the visit of an English aristocrat to Palestine and Sinai in search of a new revelation, and puts in the mouth of a Druse Emir, who talks with his hero, a prophecy of the part England should play in the politics of the Levant; she must occupy Cyprus and become the protecting Power in Syria and Palestine.

The principal European Powers soon followed the example of England in appointing representatives in Jerusalem. France and Prussia established Consulates in 1843; Austria in 1849; Russia after the Crimean War. The British Consul was instructed to make known to the Turkish authorities that the British Government had an interest in the welfare of the Jews generally, and to report any cases of persecution. The Hatti-Sharif, or Imperial Decree of Gulhane, 1841, assured—in profession—complete
freedom of religion, and equal civic rights to all the inhabitants. In the same year, the British Government, acting at the instance of and together with the King of Prussia who had aspirations for a Drang nach Osten, established an Anglican-Prussian Bishopric in Jerusalem; and the Protestant community was recognized by a firman of the Sultan as an independent "Millet." An earlier firman gave permission to build a Protestant Church within the British Consulate at Jerusalem, "in accordance with the perfect amity existing between the Government of Great Britain and my Sublime Porte." The first Bishop was of the Jewish race, and Bunsen, the Prussian Minister who negotiated the agreement with England, saw in his appointment "a beginning of the restoration of Israel."

The diplomatic interests of the States now represented in Jerusalem were largely concerned with the upholding of the claims of the contending Christian sects. A long standing feud existed between the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Western or Latin Church, with regard to the rights in the Holy Places. After the Crusades the Latin Church, and particularly the Franciscan Order of Monks, had been recognized by the Moslem Sultans as guardians of the Christian Holy Places; and from the time of the first Capitulations granted to Francis I of France by Suliman the Magnificent of Turkey, France was recognized as the protector of the Latin Church, and generally of the "Christian Nation." As, however, Russia grew strong in the eighteenth century, and became first the neighbour and then the despoiler of Turkey, she asserted her claim to protect the Orthodox Church, which was the original Christian community in the East, and included the large majority of the Christian inhabitants of the
Holy Land. The Orthodox Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre and the Armenian Monastery shared with the Latins the custody of the Sepulchre in Jerusalem and of the Grotto of the Nativity at Bethlehem.

It was around religious rights and privileges connected with these Holy Places that the ecclesiastics and the diplomatists began to weave their toils in the middle of the nineteenth century. Under pressure from France, Turkey delivered to the Latins the keys of the Church at Bethlehem and of the Crypt of the Manger. The Latin Church revived in 1848 the post of the Latin Patriarch, which had been in abeyance since the Crusades. In that year of revolution there was even a suggestion that the Pope, threatened in the Eternal City, should come to Jerusalem. Russia sensed a menace to her position as protector of the most powerful Eastern Church. She tried again to bully the Ottoman Sultan, who had on many previous occasions bowed to the bullying. This time he was stiffened by the powerful resistance of the English Ambassador, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Russia, notwithstanding, pressed her claims; and the interplay of bullying and fencing led on to the Crimean War between Russia on the one side and Turkey, supported by her Anglo-French Allies, on the other. The war, which was in origin a fight about the Holy Places of Palestine, and in that sense the latest war of religions, was not, however, fought on the old battlegrounds of Palestine, but in the Russian provinces which bordered on Turkey. The Treaty of Paris, which was made at the conclusion of the war, failed, alas! to provide a definite solution of the problem of the Holy Places, and merely consecrated the principle of the status quo. That problem was not settled in the later struggle between the champion of the Eastern
Church and the ruler of Palestine, which led to the Treaty of Berlin in 1878; but it remained to vex the English Mandatory Government after Palestine had been released from the Turkish yoke.

Yet, if the Crimean War failed to solve the ecclesiastical dispute, it renewed European interest in the Holy Land, and led to a fresh edict of toleration. During the war the Holy City was visited by more distinguished guests than had come to it for centuries. The Duke and Duchess of Brabant, afterwards the King and Queen of the Belgians, and the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, afterwards the ill-fated Emperor of Mexico, came in great state; and in their honour the prohibition against a non-Moslem entering the holy precincts of the Haram el Sherif at Jerusalem, which was the site of the ancient Temple, was removed. When in 1855 Sir Moses Montefiore made another journey to the Holy Land, he, too, was able to visit the sacred site of his people’s glory; and during that same journey he obtained a firman from the Sultan permitting the purchase of land by Jews. He bought agricultural land near Jerusalem and Jaffa, and planted gardens and suburban settlements. The Turkish Governor of Jerusalem during these years was Kiamil Pasha, who later became Grand Vizier, and in his progressive outlook was the outstanding Turkish statesman of the age. He succeeded, during his three years of office, in curbing the lawless chieftains in the south and east of Palestine who had again become almost independent tyrants conducting private wars. It was the Turkish practice to maintain a local balance of power by setting these predatory chieftains to

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1 The Title Deed describes him as "the honourable person of the Mosaic community, an ornament of the Tribe of Israel, who is a nobleman of the Government of England." (See Finn’s Stirring Times, Vol. II, p. 335.)
fight each other, so that government, or the absence of government, turned on local factions. Under the influence of the European Consuls, who intervened on behalf of Christian subjects injured by this internecine warfare, the central government gradually asserted itself and established something closer to the rule of law and order. The robber chieftains who had been in the habit of exacting toll on travellers passing along the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem were put down. Kiamil Pasha, too, proclaimed in the Holy City a new edict, Hatti Humayoon, which conferred equal citizenship on all Turkish subjects without distinction of race or creed, and assured to the non-Moslem communities autonomous rights with regard to jurisdiction in matters of personal status.

It is an interesting comment on the state of Palestine at the time, compared with modern development, that in 1855 the Turkish Government at last granted a permit for a second gate to be made in the wall of Jaffa, the port of Jerusalem. Up to that time there was but one gate into the walled city, and through its narrow passage every loaded camel and mule, and every passenger had to pass. In the same year, the British Consul reported that building land at Haifa rose to the price of £1 a pic (¼ yd.). Trade was beginning to increase in the port, and speculation in land had started.

For a time after the excitement of the Crimean War, Palestine passed out of the European sphere of interest and relapsed into her old condition of stagnation and local religious feuds. She received, however, a fresh stimulus from Europe when a band of German Christians, who were known as the Temple, migrated in 1867 from their native Wurtemberg for the Second Coming, and settled around
Jaffa and Haifa. They established themselves in trade and agriculture; and bringing European order and methods, did much to redeem the land which they acquired from its waste and desolate condition, and to raise the standard of life of the native population around them. This first wave of European colonization was followed by the first attempt at colonization by Jews; for in 1870 the Alliance Israélite Universelle, an international Jewish body concerned with the welfare of the Jewish people in the East, founded outside Jaffa a Jewish agricultural school, Mikveh Israel. In 1873 some Jews of Jerusalem planted the first settlement in the Judean Hills.

England was taking an interest in the Holy Land from a fresh aspect, the archaeological study of the Bible Land, with a view to proving the truth of scripture. The Palestine Exploration Fund was founded in 1865, and the foundation of its work was laid in a survey of the country carried out by a group of English officers of the Royal Engineers. The main survey of Western Palestine was conducted from 1872-1878 by Lieut. Conder. and Lieut. Herbert Kitchener, who prepared the map of Palestine, on a scale of one inch to a mile, which remained until the Great War the standard map. It was in Palestine that Kitchener began that devotion to the East which was radically to affect its history.

The making of the Suez Canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, according to the plans of the French engineer, de Lesseps, gave a new international importance, and particularly a new British importance, to a land which bordered on the maritime highway between Europe and India. With France holding a predominant financial and economic interest in Egypt, England became more concerned
with the destinies of the country on the other side of the Canal. A group of English financiers, indeed, projected a rival canal scheme, to be under English control, from the Mediterranean at Haifa to the Gulf of Akaba. They carried out a survey; but the cost of the enterprise, which was put by its friends at £8,000,000, and by opponents at £225,573,648 6s. od., was judged to be prohibitive, and the scheme was abandoned. Another English financial group projected a railway from Haifa to Damascus, and got as far as laying the line for some 20 miles north-east from Haifa. Thackeray some years earlier had foretold that the day would come when the scream of the locomotive would waken the echoes in the Holy Land, and the voice of the conductor be heard shouting, "Ease her, stop her; any passengers for Joppa?" The line was known as the Hamidia, after the Sultan Abdul-Hamid (of unblessed memory), who granted the firman for its construction. The English company, however, went bankrupt, and the line was derelict for some twenty-five years, until the Ottoman Government, with the aid of German engineers, completed it and linked it with its pilgrim railway from Damascus to the holy cities of Arabia, which runs down the eastern frontier of Palestine. Another foreign railway enterprise which had more success was the construction of a line by a French company from Jaffa to Jerusalem.¹

England’s occupation of Egypt in 1883, and her gradual supplanting of French dominance in that country, deepened her interest in Palestine; for the Power which holds Egypt must be intimately

¹ France had already a special position in the Lebanon, and in return for French recognition of England’s title to Cyprus, Lord Salisbury in 1878 agreed to recognize the whole of Syria, including Palestine, as a French sphere of interest.
concerned with the neighbouring land. Her desire to control the region on both sides of the Suez Canal led Lord Cromer in 1892, when the firman of the new Khedive of Egypt was issued by the Sultan, to insist on the frontier between Egypt and Palestine being drawn from El Arish to the head of the Gulf of Akaba, while the Sultan demanded the line from El Arish to Suez, which would have brought the Peninsula of Sinai within the Ottoman dominion. In 1906, the Turks made a determined effort to re-occupy the eastern side of the Sinai Peninsula; and it was necessary for English men-of-war to make a show of force in the Gulf of Akaba before they would withdraw their troops and confirm the arrangements made in the firman of 1892. A Commission then delimited the frontier, and pushed the Egyptian line northward from the Gulf to Rafa on the Mediterranean coast.

England was not the only country to show interest in Palestine during the second part of the nineteenth century. The Russians tried steadily to consolidate their position. They acquired from the Turks a large area of open land to the north-west of the walled city of Jerusalem, the old Maidan, or recreation ground, on which they built a large pilgrimage settlement and hostels, cathedral, hospice, hospital, and also their consulate. Every year they brought out with Government aid some 5,000 pilgrims, and for their accommodation throughout the land they built more hospices, churches, and the like. The French, in order to uphold the prestige of the Latin Church, countered this move with the erection of a number of monasteries and religious buildings in Jerusalem and throughout the country; the Sœurs de Zion, the White Fathers, the Frères, opened schools or orphanages. In 1899 the German Emperor,
not to let Germany be outdone, posing at once as the faithful friend of the Moslem Sultan and the heir of the Crusaders, visited the Holy Land and rode into the Holy City. He dedicated the German Church of the Redeemer on the site of the Hospice of the Knights of St. John; and, following his visit, the Germans were enabled to erect three solid religious bastions around the city. He cemented, too, the ties between Imperial Germany and the sect of the Templars. Other Powers, Italy and Austria, made their influence felt through their churches and the erection of hospices. So, from 1880, it may be said that Palestine was subjected to a steady penetration by foreign influences, and the number of pilgrims and travellers was increased; missionary activity was conducted amongst Moslems and Jews, and still more among the contending Christian sects. England and America took part in that work and spread through the country medical and educational institutions. In the ramshackle Ottoman Empire, still for the most part sunk in lethargy and neglect, Palestine stood out as a progressive and comparatively prosperous province. The Turks themselves, perhaps with some idea of offsetting the European penetration, settled in the country colonies of Turkomans and Bosnians who had fled from Russian or Austrian rule over former Turkish provinces; and along the Hedjaz railway, which was built between 1900 and 1912, they placed villages of Circassians and other warlike tribes from Central Asia to protect the line from marauders of the desert.

The most remarkable colonization, however, of Palestine during the latter part of the century was by Jews. A movement for return to the soil stirred the ghettos of Russia, Poland, and Roumania. It
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found notable expression in English literature when George Eliot wrote her novel, Daniel Deronda. She had a vision of "a new Judea poised between East and West, to be a covenant of reconciliation between the peoples." The stimulus of persecution in Russia, when the Tsar Alexander III in 1881 issued a series of repressive edicts against the Jews, strengthened the idealistic striving. Societies of Lovers of Zion from Eastern Europe began to buy land and plan agricultural villages on the Plain of Sharon and the hills of Galilee; and young pioneers came out from Russia and Roumania. The English diplomatist and man of letters, Laurence Oliphant, who abandoned a brilliant career under the inspiration of a religious idea and settled in the Holy Land, had sought to obtain a charter from the Sultan for Jewish colonization in the Land of Gilead on the east side of Jordan. The English Prime Minister, Lord Beaconsfield (formerly Disraeli), encouraged him, but the Sultan did not respond. Oliphant, however, who lived on Carmel, did much to help these early Jewish settlers to find their feet. Another noble-hearted man who came to their help when they were devastated with illness was the head of the French house of Rothschild, Baron Edmond, who for over fifty years has devoted his wealth and his thought to the building up of Jewish life on the soil of Palestine. Under the inspiration of these movements, the Jewish population, which had been about 25,000 in 1880, rose to an estimated figure of 80,000 at the outbreak of the Great War.

The history of the Zionist movement for the Jewish return is described in the next chapter. Here we may note simply its influence on Anglo-Palestine relations. It was significant of the Jewish trust in England that the financial institutions for
developing Jewish settlement in Palestine were established as British corporations; the Jewish Colonial Trust, a bank formed for the purpose of obtaining a charter from the Sultan; the Anglo-Palestine Company, another bank formed for the purpose of financing Jewish enterprise in Palestine; and the Jewish National Fund for the purpose of purchasing land for national purposes. The economic ties between England and Palestine were strengthened also by the Jewish settlement; the largest items of the imports into Palestine were cotton and iron goods from England, and the largest items in the exports from Palestine were oranges and barley sent to England. A British Blue Book on Trade in Syria published in 1911, stated that the chief feature of the economic development of Southern Syria was Jewish immigration. The value of the imports passing through the port of Jaffa rose between 1900 and 1910 from £380,000 to over £1,000,000; the value of the exports from £264,000 to £682,000.

Early in the twentieth century modern democratic institutions penetrated the absolutist government of Turkey, brought there by a wave of nationalism which swept the East as it had already swept the West. The Young Turkish Revolution of 1908 led in Palestine, as elsewhere in the Ottoman Empire, to a quickening of the spirit. For a short time in the flush of enthusiasm it was thought that all Turkish subjects should be equal, and take part together in the Parliamentary government of the Empire. Four deputies were elected from Palestine to the Parliament in Constantinople from 1908-1918; and in the new constitution—or rather, the revived constitution granted in 1876, but held in suspense till the Young Turkish rising—Palestine,
with the other provinces, was blessed with measures of local self-government. Provincial Councils, Councils of Sanjaks (districts), and elected municipalities, sprung into life. Hitherto, the Turkish Pashas and Beys, governors respectively of the three Sanjaks and of the fifteen sub-districts into which Palestine was divided, had held almost autocratic sway, subject to the exacting demands for revenue by the central government in Constantinople, and to constant transfer lest they should become too powerful. The Medjlis, or Councils, for the District and the sub-District, composed partly of officials and nominated heads of the religious communities and partly of elected Moslem members, had little real authority save that they exercised certain judicial functions. Now, however, the breath of life was infused into the Councils, though the elections were adequately controlled by the Union of Liberty and Progress, which had brought about the revolution. The non-Moslem communities also were endowed with communal councils, which exercised a limited jurisdiction over the Millet (community).

The hopes that a new era of liberty and national autonomy was dawning in the Ottoman Empire were soon dashed to the ground. The Turks, indeed, were little encouraged by their European neighbours to develop liberal national institutions. For barely was parliamentary government installed, when first Italy, and then the Christian Balkan States, set upon Turkey and sought to seize for themselves her territories in North Africa and in Europe. The inevitable reaction of aggressive nationalism was opposed to the Arab demands for self-government in Palestine and Syria. The national movement destroyed the unity of Islam, a bogey of European statesmen at the end of the nineteenth century,
which it had been the aim of the Sultan Abdul-Hamid to foster. The Arabs regarded the Turk rather as the oppressor of their nationality than as the protector of their religion. At a Congress held in Beirut in 1912, their leaders demanded the use of Arabic instead of Turkish as the official language in the Arab provinces of Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia. They demanded, too, the grant of complete autonomy to these provinces. The demands were not granted, and severe measures were taken by the Turks against the Separatist leaders.

When the Great War broke out, and Turkey, after a show of indecision, threw in her lot with the Central Powers, it was clear that the future of Palestine would again, after 75 years, be a question of international settlement. Mr. Asquith, the Prime Minister of England, declared, in an early stage of the War, that "The Young Turks had sounded the death-knell of the Ottoman dominion—not only in Europe,—but in Asia." It was clear also that Palestine would again be one of the battlegrounds. An army within her territory must threaten the link in British Imperial communications, the Suez Canal. The frontier of Egypt and Sinai, which was on the fringe of the desert, could not be held without a footing in Palestine; and the earlier stages of the War, when Great Britain beat off attacks on the Suez Canal from the Canal itself, were an object lesson of the danger to Egypt from an enemy holding Palestine.

The road from Egypt to Syria is the oldest army route in the world. The Egyptian Pharaohs had marched along it again and again, the Hittites and the Assyrians, the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, had here fought out their rivalries; Romans and Persians, Arabs and Crusaders, Turks and Mongols,
and lastly, Egyptians and Turks—all had taken that road. The British Army was to follow it when the frontier of Egypt was recovered in 1916, and the campaign passed from the defence of the Canal to an offensive against the Turkish Empire.
CHAPTER IV

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT TILL THE WORLD WAR

ZIONISM is as old as the captivity of the Jewish people, when the Temple was destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. The later prophets of the Old Testament proclaimed insistently the return of the Jews to their land; and the Jewish people have been attached more devotedly, perhaps, than any other to their Fatherland. For them, throughout the ages, under whatever name it was known by others, it has been the Land of Israel; and throughout the ages they have repeated the pledge of the exiles in Babylon:

“If I forget thee, oh Jerusalem, may my right hand forget its cunning.”

Since the time of the first Captivity, indeed, the greater part of the people have remained dispersed among the nations. But in the days of the second Temple and the Maccabean Kingdom all the congregations looked to Palestine as the National Home, and Jerusalem, in their eyes, was the religious centre not only of Israel but of the whole world. A new period of trial began for them when Palestine passed under the iron heel of Rome, who, with her policy of warring down the proud, had broken the national spirit of every other people. The Jews maintained their unyielding religious separateness and acted as one whole when their religion was
attacked. The inevitable armed conflict came to a head in the rebellion of A.D. 66-70, which led to the destruction of Jerusalem and its Temple by Titus. Palestine* was laid waste, the Jewish Metropolis was razed, and a Roman legion was encamped on its blackened ruins. It might have been expected that the communities of the Diaspora would lose their national cohesion, remaining a separate religious body, but abandoning their struggle for a separate national existence. That, however, did not happen with the mass, who cherished with passionate ardour the hopes of restoring the national home and the national sanctuary. Several times they broke out in desperate revolt; and, though political aspiration was defeated, the national hope was undimmed. The inner bond of the Law was strengthened in place of the outward bond of the Temple; and, despite massacre and pillage, Jewry lived on uninterrupted in Palestine, and maintained there its hearth of learning and of thought. Driven out from Judea after the revolt against Hadrian in the second century A.D., they found refuge in Galilee, and the Sanhedrin, which was at once the principal tribunal and rabbinical authority, was located in Tiberias. They remained in the land as tillers of the soil and manual workers till the fifth century, when the triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire inaugurated a new era of repression.

By the bitter irony of history, the branch community which had derived its religious teaching from the Jewish people became the bitter oppressors of the parent trunk, and sought to expel the Jews from the land in which Christianity had its origin. The Jews, however, carried with them a moral Palestine into the Diaspora, and maintained, in their feasts and domestic ceremonies, their memories of the Land
and their yearning for a return. There is not a religious service, or a religious occasion in which that yearning is not voiced. Morning and evening, working-day, Sabbath and holiday, at marriage and death, at home and in the Synagogue, the Jew, from generation to generation, has offered prayers for the return to Zion which were originally composed by the teachers of Palestine. And at every Passover he has said "Next year in Jerusalem." Time and again during the early centuries of the Christian era, they sought to give effect to their intense hope by rising against the oppressor. So they joined the army of the Persian Chosroes, when he invaded Palestine in the seventh century, and took part with him in the capture of Jerusalem; and when the Arabs, in one of the most amazing passages of the annals of civilization, conquered the lands of the Middle East in the middle of that century, the Jews were able to return to the country and to replant their schools in its towns. Then came a long epoch of the Middle Ages, when the Cross and the Crescent struggled for the possession of the Holy Land, and the Jewish people resigned themselves to passive longing. Their poets in Egypt and in Spain wrote songs to Zion. Their scholars and Rabbis came to settle there when the Moslem power was re-established; and after the expulsion of the Jews from Spain, at the end of the fifteenth century, refugees found a home in the villages of Galilee, and made them the centre of scholarship and mystical speculation. Ten centuries of exile had transformed the love of Zion from an active to a contemplative feeling; and the sages in Palestine sought to hasten the advent of the Messiah by pondering on the mysteries of the Word, and penetrating the secret wisdom of God's Law. The Holy Spirit seemed again to be
vouchsafed to the Rabbis of the Holy Land. And one notable attempt was made to give a practical direction to the longing for Israel's return.

Don Joseph Nasi, the descendant of a Spanish Marrano (or secret Jew), who had come to Turkey to practice his faith openly, and becoming there the trusted diplomatist of the Sultan, was created Duke of Naxos, obtained from Sultan Selim II a grant of a tract of land in Galilee, and a permit to rebuild Tiberias and populate it with Jews. He brought some hundreds of families from Italy, and introduced the planting of mulberries and silk weaving. It was the modest anticipation of the modern movement for their restoration to their ancestral soil. But the circumstances were unpropitious, and only a few could return. Yet in the next century the Jewish people throughout the world—and many gentile communities also—were moved by the proclamation of an Eastern Jew, Sabbatai Zevi, that he was the Messiah, and would inaugurate the Kingdom of God in Jerusalem. The year 1666 was to see the fulfilment of prophecy; and even the prudent Pepys made a wager with a Jewish broker in London that within a year the Princes of the East would acknowledge the Jewish Messiah.

The Land of Israel, of which the Jews dreamed, had ceased to be a concrete reality for the mass of the people. But whenever a great teacher arose to stir their longing for the country, they responded. So in the middle of the eighteenth century a movement was started, which has survived to our day, of establishing schools of Rabbinical learning in the Holy Land, and supporting the scholars by the contribution of the Jews in the Diaspora. That movement which is known as the Haluka (literally, the distribution of funds) led a steady trickle of pious
Jews to the four Holy Towns, Jerusalem, Hebron, Tiberias, and Safed. While the Jewish population in Palestine in 1770 was estimated at 5,000, it had risen seventy years later to 12,000.

A new era, however, dawned for the Jewish people with the French Revolution, which heralded a new era for humanity. In Western Europe under the influence of liberal ideas and the belief in the rights of man, the gates of the ghetto were broken down; in the United States of America, where the idea of human equality was accepted in the Declaration of Independence as an integral part of the Commonwealth, the gates of the ghetto were never erected; and in these countries it was now possible for the Jew to become a freeman and a citizen.

Napoleon Buonaparte guided a Sanhedrin (assembly) of the Jews of Western Europe to seal a Concordat with the State by which the Jews were to give up their exclusive national institutions, and to become members of the nations among whom they dwelt, distinguished only by certain religious beliefs and practices. While the gentile peoples were proclaiming Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity, a cry was raised amongst the Jews: “Out of the tribal into the human.” In the Roman world the Jews had been national when other peoples were cosmopolitan; now they became cosmopolitan when the others were national. Civil and political emancipation appeared to be the one necessary boon, and the price of it at the time was a repudiation of their own national society. Yet it is noteworthy that, when Napoleon invaded Palestine, in 1799, he realized the undying appeal of the Land to the Jewish people, and issued an invitation to the Jews of Asia and Africa, which was published in the Moniteur: “A venir se ranger sous ces drapeaux
pour rétablir l’ancien royaume de Jerusalem.” His attempt to be the modern Cyrus had no fruition, but in this, as in so many other things, he was “full of future.”

During the nineteenth century a radical change in the outlook of Jews towards Palestine, a transformation in the idea of the return from dream to reality, was brought about, both by the intensifying of the national feeling in Europe, and a revival of their own national consciousness. As the causes of the French Revolution worked themselves out, the notion of the rights of man was amplified by the notion of the rights of nationalities. Each aggregation that was conscious of forming a separate nationality, whether united by language, race, tradition, or history, or all these, sought to be an autonomous nation. In the inspiration of this principle, Belgium, Greece, Italy, and later the Balkan and Scandinavian peoples asserted and established their political independence. At the same time, as the respect for the rights of man declined, the old feelings of dislike and contempt for the Jew, fanned by religious prejudice, bureaucratic machinations, or economic hostility, recurred in the less enlightened States of Europe. The progressive spirit of the age combined with the local reaction to revive the Jewish feeling of nationality, and to shatter the fallacy of the early leaders of the “Enlightenment,” who had sought, by denial of Jewish national individuality, to prepare the way for the absorption of the Jews into European polities. It was in *Rome and Jerusalem* of a German Socialist, Moses Hess, published in 1860, that the revival obtained its first literary expression. Hess saw in the liberation of Italy a prelude to the rebirth of the Jewish nation. At the same time he declared that emancipation was a failure. The European nations would
never respect the Jew, so long as the Jews placed the principle "Ubi bene, ibi Patria" above their own national memories. It is striking that Henri Dunant, the founder of the Red Cross Association, published in 1866 a brochure concerning an International Society for the Restoration of the Orient, and proposed the Jewish colonization of Palestine.

We have seen that the idealist movement, "Back to the Land," was spread amongst the Jews of Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century, before persecution came to spur it. The recrudescence, however, in Russia of medieval barbarism, which threatened the destruction or demoralization of 6,000,000 Jews, shook the Jewish world, and caused a new exodus. Between 1880 and the outbreak of the Great War some two-and-a-half million Jews migrated from Russia to new homes. The main stream flowed to the New World, but a rivulet passed to Palestine, and year by year the return became a living ideal. The increase of the Jewish population did not come altogether from the West, but was gathered literally from the four corners of the exile. Small bands made their way from Baghdad, Aleppo, and Bokhara, from Arabia and Persia, Morocco and Turkestan. The chief Oriental migration was from the Yemen district of Arabia, where Jews were settled since the destruction of the Kingdom, living as an inferior caste under the Moslem rule, but cherishing the more intensely the hope of a return to the home of their ancestors. Yet the mass were drawn from south-eastern Europe. In the first year after the issue of the May Laws by the reactionary Czarist Government in 1881, three thousand Jews settled in and around Jaffa. Thereafter, till the outbreak of the Great War, the immigration
averaged two thousand a year. Many of these immigrants were of a new type, unlike the scholars and students who had come to learn and to pray. They were determined to redeem the land and redeem themselves; and they formed a band known as Bilu, a name derived from the initial Hebrew letters of the Bible verse: "House of Jacob, let us go up in the light of the Lord." They believed that, divorced from the soil, a people was likely to lose its soul. They acquired land in the plain of Sharon, and in the innocence of conditions endured great hardships. Many of them were wiped out by malaria; some were fainthearted and returned; but the remnant held on. The names of their settlements bear witness to their ardent hopes: Rishon le Zion (the first step in Zion), Petach Tikvah (the gate of hope), Rosh Pinah (the corner-stone).

However, it was not till the nineteenth century had nearly run its course that Theodor Herzl, a Viennese playwright and the correspondent of the Neue Freie Presse in Paris, turned a sentimental movement of idealists into a national organization. In the fierceness of his indignation over the Anti-Jewish outbreaks in Paris which accompanied the Dreyfus Case, he wrote a tract, The Jewish State, which proposed the formation of a financial instrument for securing territory in some empty land, and establishing therein a self-governing Jewish community. The Jewish philanthropists, to whom he first addressed himself, would have none of his scheme. He turned from the philanthropists to the people, and in 1897 he convened a Congress of Jews from all countries at Basle in Switzerland, and founded the Zionist Organization, with the aim of establishing in Palestine a home for the Jewish people secured by public law. The immediate
objective was to obtain a Charter from the Sultan of Turkey, to be backed by the Great Powers, for autonomous Jewish colonization in the land. The means to that end were, first, the rousing and strengthening of the national feeling in every Jewish community, and the organization of the people internationally for combined action; and secondly, the establishment of a national trust in the form of a Banking Corporation for the purchase of land and the work of colonization. Herzl's call to "Israel, one people" converted the half-awakened sentiment of the masses into ardent enthusiasm. For the first time for centuries the Jews had a hero of action. He found his largest following in the Jewish proletariat in the East of Europe, and the East End of the great capitals, and, secondly, amongst the students of the universities. He was at once joined by several of the Jewish intellectual leaders, among them Max Nordau in France and Israel Zangwill in England; but he was opposed, and almost savagely attacked, by the communal leaders in Western Europe, who regarded his programme as a menace to the tranquil enjoyment of political and civil emancipation. And many Jews in Palestine looked askance at the Zionist's daring schemes, "like ducks in a marsh gazing at wild ducks in the air."

Herzl looked to English statesmen, as well as to English Jews, for support. "From the first moment I entered the movement," he wrote in his diary, "my eyes were directed towards England, because I saw that, by reason of the general situation of things there, it was the Archimedean point where the lever could be applied." He sought to gain the sympathy also of the German Emperor, and waited upon him on the soil of Palestine; but the Emperor vouchsafed the oracular answer to the Jewish
deputation at Jerusalem that the land had great need of water, but was a land of the future.

Herzl sought later to get in touch with Lord Salisbury, the English Prime Minister, arguing that an autonomous Jewish community in Palestine under the suzerainty of the Sultan would be a valuable link in the Imperial chain, facilitating communication between Egypt and the Indian Empire. Lord Salisbury was at the time occupied with the South African War, and it was left to his nephew, seventeen years later, to give reality to the vision of the Jewish seer.

Herzl, however, came into touch with Joseph Chamberlain, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in whom he found a more sympathetic listener. The Imperialist statesman encouraged the suggestion that the British Government should facilitate Jewish colonization in countries neighbouring to Palestine; and an expedition explored the possibility of settlement in the region of Sinai that was within the limits of Egypt. When the scheme turned out not to be practicable for lack of water, it was followed by a dramatic offer from the British Government to the Zionist leader of a large and fertile territory for a Jewish Homeland in a portion of the Colony of British East Africa. That "substitute national home," however, was rejected by the majority of Herzl's followers.

The objective of a Charter for colonization could not be attained, although Herzl was able to secure the support of several of the chanceries of Europe and in the end, of the Jewish philanthropists. After his death, in 1905, the organization, realizing the immediate impracticability of larger schemes, set itself to develop and fortify the existing settlement in the country. A Palestine office was established in
1908 and directed colonization. At the outbreak of the War the Jews had established forty-three agricultural "colonies," with a population of some twelve thousand, and embracing an area of one hundred thousand acres. Their population in Jaffa had risen to nine thousand, in Jerusalem to forty thousand. They had started afforestation in the Judean hills, established training farms and workmen's suburbs.

The revival of the national language was, from the beginning, closely associated with the return to the Land. A burning enthusiast from Russia, who took the Hebrew name of Ben Yehuda, migrated to the country in 1882, under sentence of death from the doctors. He lived on in Jerusalem forty years, publishing a Hebrew newspaper and working at a modern Hebrew dictionary; and lived to see Hebrew which had been the language of prayer and literature established as the mother-tongue of the mass of the Jews in Palestine. In 1912 a fierce conflict over language broke out between the Jews of the country who wanted Hebrew, and the Jewish philanthropists of Germany who wished German to be the language of instruction in the schools which they supported. The Hebraists, teachers and students, proclaimed a boycott of the foreign schools, and started their own schools which have grown into a national educational system. The combination of idealism and of practical necessity made Hebrew the tongue of the people; for it was the one common vehicle of thought between the Jews from the different parts of the Diaspora.

Zionism was, in its deeper aspect, a struggle for self-expression, for making the Jew master of his destiny, an attempt to give to the Jewish genius and aspirations the outlet which circumstances had
denied them for some two thousand years. For
generations as a people they had merely existed; now, they would live well and create new values. Palestine was to be the spiritual centre, as well as the National Home of the Jewish people, the local habitation where the Jewish spirit, warped by perpetual conflict with its environment, could freely expand. Most Jews would not, and could not, come to Palestine and live there. They would remain citizens in their own countries. But the renaissance in Palestine would have a profound meaning for them. It would revive and give a fresh meaning to their Judaism, and bring back the religion into contact with life, rouse the self-respect of the Jew and quicken his inward life. This ideal outlook of the Jewish people towards Palestine was expressed, two years before the outbreak of the War, by a Zionist thinker:

"Palestine will be a national spiritual centre of Judaism, to which all Jews will return with affection, and which will bind all Jews together, a centre of study and learning, of literature and language, of bodily work and spiritual purification, a true miniature of the people of Israel as it ought to be, so that every Hebrew in the Diaspora will think it a privilege to behold just once the centre of Judaism, and when he returns home will say: 'If you wish to see the genuine type of a Jew, whether it be a rabbi or a scholar or a writer, a farmer or an artist, or a business man, then go to Palestine.'" (Ahad Ha-am in the Jewish Review 1912).

The Jew would renew contact with nature and the historic landscape of his people and would be inspired to fresh creativeness by the land and the spirits of his past. At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, with which the Wars of the French Revolution came to an end, the Jewish representatives, who
hovered on the outskirts of the gathering; were concerned in procuring civil and political rights for the Jews of Central Europe. The Jews were to be merged in the Nations. At the Conference of Paris, which followed the World War, representatives of the Jews, admitted as spokesmen of a nationality, asked that their claim to return to their historic home might be granted, in order that they should make Palestine again a fruitful land and a centre of civilization and that "the Jews should take an honourable place in the new community of nations."
CHAPTER V

THE DELIVERANCE OF PALESTINE

Between 1914 and 1918 Palestine was a battleground, between the power ruling in Egypt and the power ruling in Syria. In October 1914, a few days before Turkey entered the war as an ally of Germany, Turkish irregulars crossed the Egyptian border in the peninsula of Sinai. The British Commander in Egypt was not able to occupy the southern part of Palestine and defend Egypt from that frontier, and so was compelled to abandon the greater part of Sinai to the Turkish forces. Under German guidance, and with the hope of threatening British communications with India and at the same time of inciting Egyptian feeling against the British rule, a small Turkish army made a foray to the Suez Canal in February 1915; a few men reached the Canal and crossed it on pontoons, only to be captured at the western bank. Again in February 1916, a Turkish army made its way to the immediate neighbourhood of the Canal; and that determined Great Britain to shift the defence-line to some less vulnerable point. Slowly but surely the Egyptian Expeditionary Force of the British Army carried the war against the Turks from the Canal region across Sinai to Palestine. In August 1916, on the second anniversary of the outbreak of the War with Germany, they beat back the last Turkish attack on the Canal, which had got within forty miles of its objective. Then taking the offensive, and moving forward
steadily with railway and pipe-line laid by military engineers from the base at Kantara, they reached on Christmas Eve 1916, El Arish, the Biblical "River of Egypt," which was the limit of the land promised to the patriarch Abraham. The British Army advanced along, the way of the Philistines, by the coast, while the Turkish Army, with its base at Beersheba, had moved along the interior of Sinai. The German engineer, Meissner Pasha, who had constructed the Hedjaz line, built a railway to support the Turkish advance from Beersheba through the wilderness of the wanderings of the Children of Israel to Kossaima, close to Kadesh of the Bible. The British engineers carried their railway to Gaza.

In the first month of 1917, the British Army advanced to the recovered frontier of Egypt and surprised the Turkish advance-forces at Rafa. That was another famous battle-ground, where Egyptians and Assyrians, and later Seleucids and Ptolemies had fought for the possession of Palestine. At the end of March 1917, General Sir Archibald Murray made his first attempt to capture Gaza, the border town whose name means "strong," and the scene of many encounters. He all but succeeded and was hopeful that he could advance. The British Cabinet, anxious for some striking success, instructed him that his immediate objective should be the defeat of the Turkish forces south of Jerusalem and the occupation of that city. He made a second attempt on Gaza a month later, and fell further short of success. He was recalled to England to be replaced by General Allenby.

After months of preparation the English attack on the Turkish front line from Gaza to Beersheba was launched at the end of October. The Turkish position was broken first at Beersheba and then by
the sea; and their army was rolled back in rout over the Plain of Sharon on the one side and the hill country around Hebron on the other. General Allenby pressed the pursuit through the Judean hills, and rapidly occupied in turn Jaffa, Ramleh, Ludd, Hebron, and Bethlehem. Finally on December 7th, 1917, the keys of the city of Jerusalem were handed by the Arab mayor to the General of the 60th Division. The Turkish Army had abandoned the town, and made its way desperately to the Jordan Valley. On December 9th, General Allenby, accompanied by representatives of the Allied Forces, walked into the Holy City, and from the steps of the Tower of David read a proclamation “To the inhabitants of Jerusalem the Blessed, and the people dwelling in its vicinity.” He declared the city to be under martial law; but every person should pursue his lawful business without fear of interruption.

“Furthermore, since your city is regarded with affection by the adherents of three of the great religions of mankind, and its soil has been consecrated by the prayers and pilgrims of devout people of those three religions for many centuries, I make known to you that every sacred building, monument... traditional site, pious bequest, or customary place of prayer of whatsoever form of the religions, will be maintained and protected according to the existing customs and beliefs of those to whose faiths they are sacred.”

It marked the international character of Jerusalem that the Proclamation was published in seven tongues—English, Arabic, Hebrew, French, Russian, Italian, and Greek. Mr.—now Sir—Ronald Storrs, until that time Oriental Secretary at the Residency in Egypt, became the Military Governor of Jerusalem; and the late Sir Gilbert Clayton, as the chief political officer of the British Force, took general charge of the occupied territory, which, by the end
of the year included nearly the whole of the Turkish "Sanjak" of Jerusalem with the sub-districts of Gaza, Beersheba, Hebron, Jaffa, and Jerusalem. The political future of the country was already complicated by international engagements concluded during the struggle.

In May 1916, the Allies, who were contemplating the division of the spoils of war, made a secret arrangement for the partition of Asiatic Turkey. England's share was to consist of the southern part of Mesopotamia and a short and narrow strip of the coastline in Palestine between Haifa and Acre, which was already considered as the natural outlet of Mesopotamia to the Mediterranean. France was to receive the Lebanon and the northern part of Palestine. The area to the east of the French and British territories was to form a federation of Arab States, or one independent Arab State divided into English and French spheres of influence. With a view to securing the religious interests Central Palestine, with the holy places, was to be subjected to a special regime to be determined by agreement between Russia, France, and England.

This arrangement made between Sir Mark Sykes, an enthusiastic lover of the Eastern peoples, and M. Picot, formerly French Consul-General in Beirut, was a leap in the dark, and was admitted by one of its creators to be "an imperfect arrangement in an imperfect world." Before it was made, inconclusive negotiations had taken place between Sir Henry McMahon, High Commissioner for Egypt, and Sherif Hussein, the guardian of the Moslem holy places in the Hedjaz (Mecca and Medina), and one of the hereditary chiefs of the Arabs, for the recognition of the independence of the Arab countries that were subject to Turkey. The Sherif and his son, the
Emir Feisal, were to rouse the Arabs on the side of the Allies and to harass the Turkish flank which extended from Damascus to Medina in Mid-Arabia. In return for Arab support, Great Britain was to secure Arab independence in a large area from the desert to the sea, "in which she was free to act without detriment to the interests of her ally France." The area expressly excluded the region to the west of Damascus, Homs, Hama and Aleppo, the four principal towns of Syria. Palestine was not mentioned in the correspondence, and is to the south-west of those towns; but Sir Henry McMahon, in the course of later controversy, declared that it was the intention to exclude it also from the sphere in which Arab independence would be recognized.

The negotiations, though they came to no definite agreement, led on to the campaign of Colonel T. E. Lawrence. The Sherif declared war against the Turks in July 1916, and the Arab tribes of the desert and the wilderness, under the command of his son Feisal, raided the Turkish lines of communication till the end of the war. In 1917 the Sherif proclaimed himself King of the Hedjaz. The correspondence was not officially published either during the campaign, or at any subsequent time.

Soon after the conclusion of the Sykes-Picot agreement, Sir Mark Sykes came into contact with the heads of the Zionist Organization in England.¹ At the outbreak of the war, the central offices of the movement, hitherto in Berlin, were removed to Copenhagen; but when it became clear that the destiny of the country would be in the hands of the Allies, they were transferred to England. The

¹ Early in 1915 Sir Herbert Samuel, then a member of the British Coalition Government, laid before the Cabinet a plan for a British Palestine and Jewish autonomy in it; and the subject was intermittently considered by the Allied as well as the British War Councils.
leadership of the movement was assumed by Dr. Chaim Weizmann, a Russian-born Jew, who was reader in chemistry at Manchester University, and had been one of the leaders of the forward policy in Palestine for a decade. Circumstances turned a chemist of genius into a statesman of genius. With him were associated Dr. Sokolow and Dr. Tschlenow, leaders of Polish and Russian Jewry respectively, both of whom had for years been prominent in Zionist councils. They laid before the British Government proposals for the recognition of Palestine as a Jewish National Home in accordance with the principles of the Zionist programme, and found a ready sympathy both from Sir Mark Sykes and from Mr. Arthur Balfour, then Foreign Secretary. Ideal and real politics coincided.

Sections of the Anglo-Jewish community were strongly opposed to the Jewish claim for a national home, and wanted only the recognition of equal civic rights for the Jews in the Holy Land. The British Cabinet, however, sensing the enthusiasm of the great bulk of the Jewish people for a national centre, adopted, in principle, the Zionist proposals. In July 1917, Lord Rothschild, who was the president of the Zionist Federation in England, submitted a draft declaration to the Government which proposed "the reconstitution of Palestine as the National Home for the Jewish people." On November 2, 1917, the day after the capture of Gaza by Allenby's army, the Government published a letter written by Mr. Balfour to Lord Rothschild—and stated to have been submitted to the Cabinet and approved by it—in the following terms: "His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine...

1 The day was the anniversary of Herzl's meeting with the German Kaiser in Jerusalem.
of a National Home for the Jewish people; and will use their best endeavours to facilitate the achievement of this object, it being clearly understood that nothing shall be done which may prejudice the civil and religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities in Palestine, or the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country.” The declaration, it may be noted, varied the Zionist draft by referring to “the establishment in Palestine of a National Home,” instead of “the reconstitution of Palestine as the National Home.” Ah-ad-Haam, the Zionist thinker whose vision of Palestine was quoted in the last chapter, was quick to point out the significance of the change “The historic right of a people in relation to a country inhabited by others can only mean the right once more to settle in its ancestral land and to develop its resources without hindrance. This historic right does not override the right of the other inhabitants. . . . The country is at present their national home too.”

The letter was a trumpet-call to the Jewish people throughout the world, whether in Allied, enemy, or neutral countries, and its publication was admittedly designed to arouse that enthusiasm on behalf of the Allied cause. It excited indeed such hopes as had not stirred the most historical of peoples since the decree of King Cyrus authorizing the exiles of Babylon to return to Judea and restore their home and temple. The declaration, though not officially published by the Army, at once became known in Palestine, and when the British troops came to the Jewish agricultural settlements in Judea (commonly known as “colonies”), they were acclaimed as deliverers. And General Allenby, who entered Jerusalem on the day of the Jewish feast that celebrates the restoration of the Temple by Judas Maccabæus,
seemed to the Jewish population to be the successor of their national hero. When, in the early months of 1918, two battalions of the Royal Fusiliers, formed of Russian Jews in England and America, were sent to Palestine, the Jewish youth of the country enthusiastically enlisted to form a Palestinian battalion.

The task of the British military administration in Palestine was difficult enough from the beginning. Apart from religious and racial feelings that were and are intense in the Holy City, grave material distress and destitution were rife among the population. For three years the Turkish Army had been ruthless in its requisition of supplies from the people. Jewish settlers who had preserved their foreign nationality were given the alternative of accepting forthwith Ottoman citizenship and its obligations, or leaving the country. Many chose the former course, especially those who had a stake in the land. Others, however, Russian, French, and British subjects, preferred a fresh exile to the tender mercies of the Ottoman government and the prospect of famine. Together with the monks and nuns and European Christians, ten thousand Jewish refugees were brought away by the United States cruisers in Mediterranean waters to Egypt, which again, as in the days of the Bible, was the land of refuge. They were chiefly drawn from the towns, but some hundreds were labourers in the villages who were willing to take their part in the war, and desired to serve in the ranks of the Allies. They were embodied in the Zion Mule Corps which went through the Gallipoli campaign as a transport unit of the British Army.

The lot of the majority who remained in Palestine was wretched. Though reduced in numbers—and an internal census taken in 1916 gave a total of only 34,000—the Jewish communities in the towns could
not obtain sufficient food; and there were outbreaks of typhus and other diseases. Then in 1916, the Turks, pursuing a ruthless policy, exiled the heads of the non-Moslem communities in Palestine to remote parts of the Ottoman Empire. The foreign financial institutions were closed, and their funds, which were available, were confiscated. To add to the trouble, a plague of locusts of unparalleled severity burst on the land in the summer of 1915. The orchards, plantations, and vineyards fell a hopeless prey to the swarms, and the work of a generation was destroyed in a month.

A new phase of Palestine's trials opened in 1917 when the British Army crossed the frontier. The Turks moved the civil population away as the hostile armies approached. Ten thousand inhabitants of Jaffa had at sudden notice to find a new home. Thus it was to a leaderless, destitute, and disease-ridden population that the British Army brought deliverance. Before they abandoned Jerusalem, the Turks carried away the principal officials and the greater part of the government registers and archives, removed the coin from the banks and left the currency in a state of confusion. The entire administrative machinery and economic foundation of the country had been, as far as possible, deliberately wrecked.

On the other hand the War had brought a great improvement in the communications of the country. For the purpose of their campaign, the Turkish Government completed a railway line connecting Haifa with Nablus by a line branching from Afuleh village in the plain of Esdraelon near the ancient Megiddo. They had built also a line from Ludd to Gaza; and when the British Army crossed the frontier from Egypt, in its turn it connected the
railways with the Egyptian system, and so made a new highway from Africa to Asia. The British Army, too, in its march, found water for the needs of the hundreds of thousands of men and animals, where before a few hundreds of Bedouins had half-filled the fields and pastured the animals. After the occupation of Jerusalem, one of the first acts of the Administration was to bring a permanent water-supply to the city from the old Roman source at Ain Arrub, between Jerusalem and Hebron. A pipe-line was laid close to the track of the ancient aqueduct; and a scheme which the Turks had talked about for fifty years was accomplished by the Army in as many weeks.

The military Administration, during the spring and summer of 1918, organized a government of the occupied territory, restoring the essential services, and, so far as the limitation imposed by the law of war on military occupants allowed, beginning the work of reconstruction. General Sir Arthur Money was appointed with the title of Chief Administrator, and he established departments of finance, law and justice, health, agriculture, and, after a short time, of public works and education.

The Administration was not entitled to change the system of taxation; but did achieve at least the improvement of reducing, if not abolishing, corruption in the collection of the Turkish imposts, and saved the fellahin from a measure of oppression by substituting the direct collection of taxes in place of the Ottoman system of farming out the tithes to the highest bidder. The law courts were re-formed, and placed under the direction of British legal officers. The burden of the Capitulations, which had long embarrassed the Ottoman administration of justice, had been abolished at the outbreak of the
War; and the military administration took the benefit of the enemy's denunciation of the treaties.

The Occupied Enemy Territory Administration, as it was called, was able to bring about a substantial improvement in the sanitation and health conditions of the occupied parts of Palestine; and the spread of infectious diseases, which had decimated the population in the last year of Turkish misrule, was checked. A system of scavenging was introduced into towns which had been innocent of this refinement for centuries; and hospitals and clinics were opened in Jerusalem, Jaffa, Hebron, and the smaller towns. Even in the stress of war Palestine was full of bodies competing in good works; and the Administration was assisted by the services of three voluntary agencies, the American Red Cross, the Hadassah Organization of Jewish Women in America, and the English (Protestant) Syria and Palestine Relief Committee.

In order to assist the impoverished Arab farmers to bring back their wasted lands into cultivation, the Administration itself advanced loans, in money and kind, to supply seed and stock; and made arrangements with its bank for the advance of money loans up to £250,000. The Government, moreover, anxious to give some effect at once to the promise of the Balfour Declaration, and to assist the suffering Jewish population of Palestine, agreed to the dispatch of a Commission by the Zionist Organization, which was to form a link between the British authorities and the Jewish population, to co-ordinate the relief work and assist in the repatriation of war exiles, and to aid the Jewish organizations of the country in the resumption of their activities. Dr. Weizmann came out to Palestine as the head of the Commission; and he was accompanied by Zionist
colleagues from England, a Professor of the Collège de France representing French Jewry, and a representative of the American Zionist Organization. Later an Italian Jew, a naval officer, joined the Commission, and so emphasized the international character of the earnest of Jewish redemption.

The Commission was accompanied by two political officers, which marked its significance for the upbuilding of Palestine; Major the Hon. W. Ormsby-Gore, a member of the War Cabinet Secretariat, and Major James de Rothschild, the son of the Sire of Jewish agricultural colonization in the land. It arrived in Jaffa in April 1918, and took over the political work of the Palestine Zionist office, and the relief work. It was the forerunner of an internationally recognized Jewish authority. Within a short time, also, it undertook the control of the Jewish schools, the assistance of the agricultural settlements, and the re-organization of the local communities. A meeting representative of the redeemed population was held in June 1918, which appointed a national committee (Vaad Leumi), the first representative Jewish body in lay affairs.

Dr. Weizmann took an early opportunity to allay the apprehensions of the Arabs as to a Jewish State. At a dinner given by the Military Governor of Jerusalem, to which the heads of the communities were invited, he sketched the outline of the idea of a guardian power for the government of the country, the idea which was finally to be embodied in the Mandate system. "Self-government in modern times is a complicated science, which no person can learn in a day.... We Zionists declare that we desire the supreme political authority in Palestine to be vested in one of the democratic Powers, which should be selected by the League of Nations. We
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desire this Power to hold Palestine in trust until the population becomes capable of self-government.

He stated emphatically the dislike for a system of international government, such as had been proposed. "The Zionists do not believe that internationalization, or any form of dual political control, can benefit the country. Palestine, in its integrity, must have one, and only one, just and responsible guardian." At the same time he emphasized the feeling of fraternity which existed between the two branches of the Semitic race, the Jews and the Arabs. The Jews were returning to the Land, not coming as strangers, but to link up the traditions of the past with the future, and, in order to create once more a moral and intellectual centre, whence a new Word would go forth to a harassed humanity. The development would not, and must not, prejudice any of the communities already established in the country, but would, and must be to their benefit.

It was impossible for the Zionist Commission, in the conditions of war, to start fresh settlements of Jews on the land. A striking illustration, however, of the Jewish will to prepare for the future of Palestine in the midst of a campaign was given in the ceremony of the laying of the foundation stone of a Hebrew university in Jerusalem. The site for the university was purchased. It was the house and garden on the summit of Mount Scopus, that belonged to an English lawyer, the late Sir John Gray-Hill, and was an incomparable setting for the purpose. From it one looked westwards over the Holy City, eastwards over the Jordan Valley, the Dead Sea, and the purple rampart of the Mountain of Moab, southwards over the wilderness of Judea, northwards to villages full of the history of Samuel and the prophets of Judah. On a famous occasion, seven years later,
Lord Balfour, in inaugurating the university, observed that from the site one could see the place where the Children of Israel entered the Promised Land, and on the site itself Titus was camped with his legions, in the war which destroyed the Jewish city.

The ceremony took place on July 24, 1918, and amid the booming of the guns on the front line, some ten miles away, twelve foundation stones (to symbolize the return of the twelve tribes) were laid by Dr. Weizmann, the Chief Rabbis, the Anglican Bishop, the Mufti (the religious head of the Moslem Community) and persons representing the Jewish villages, Hebrew literature, Hebrew teachers, the workers, and the future generation. The foundation of a university meant that the Jewish people were determined to go beyond restoration and to create something in Palestine which would serve as a symbol of a better future. Learning was the Jewish Dreadnought.

In September, the "Battle of the Dream" was fought, and General Allenby's onslaught drove the Turkish Army like chaff before the wind. Again history was made in the Pass of Megiddo. In a few breathless weeks the British forces swept through the north of Palestine and beyond to Syria, and beyond that again to the borders of Anatolia. The Turkish armies in the centre and in the East were annihilated or captured, and the whole country was redeemed. The Arab bands, under Colonel Lawrence and the Emir Feisal, on the east of the Jordan, joined in the rout and entered Damascus. On November 1 the Armistice was signed with the Turks.

The struggle of the War was over, but the graver problems of peace remained. Immediately the vexed question of the future settlement of Palestine and
the neighbouring lands loomed large; since whatever arrangement was made for the temporary administration of the occupied territories was regarded as an indication of what should be the permanent solution. Four separate Administrations of Occupied Territory were established. The British area, known as O.E.T. South was extended over the Turkish sub-districts (Kazas) of Nablus, Tulkarm, Jenin, Acre, Nazareth, Tiberias, and Safed, and now comprised nearly the whole of Biblical Canaan. North of that was a French Administration, which comprised the Lebanon country, with its centre at Beyrut; and north of that again another French Administration, including Antioch and Aleppo. On the East an Arab Government under the Emir Feisal, with its centre at Damascus, administered the interior of Syria and the territory east of Jordan down to the Arabian Peninsula, which was now an independent kingdom. The whole of the occupied territory was under the general direction of Lord Allenby, the British Commander-in-Chief, and each Administration derived its authority from his military power. British troops remained in the different territories, and British political officers were attached to the French and Arab Administrations. In Palestine the military power and political administration were combined in British hands. The military administration, however, in the nature of things, did not contain many persons experienced in civil government; and its existence was so precarious that it was difficult to enlist in its aid such persons from the permanent Civil Service. With the best intentions, therefore, the soldier-governors of Palestine could not effectively tackle problems of reform, whether in taxation, law, or administration.

The Declaration made by the British Government,
at the end of 1917, received the approval of the other Allied Governments in the following year. Pichon, the French Foreign Minister, wrote in February 1918, that there was complete understanding between the French and British Governments with regard to the establishment of the Jews in Palestine. The Italian Government followed with a declaration of its desire to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a Jewish national centre. President Wilson of the United States, who had been consulted before the British Government made its decision, wrote in August 1918 declaring his complete accord with the declaration. Japan, as well as the minor allies, joined in the chorus. Nevertheless, the Declaration was not officially published in Palestine, the unsatisfactory explanation given being that, until the destiny of Palestine was determined by treaty, that step would be premature. Unfortunately, however, the official silence led to misgivings as to the stability of the policy; and those misgivings were strengthened when, shortly before the signing of the Armistice, the military orders of the Commander-in-Chief included a proclamation stating: "The end that France and Great Britain have in pursuing in the East the war unloosed by German ambition is the complete and definite emancipation of the peoples so long oppressed by the Turks, and the establishment of national governments and administrations, deriving their authority from the initiative and free choice of the indigenous populations. In order to give effect to these intentions, France and Great Britain are at one in encouraging and assisting the establishment of indigenous governments and administrations in Syria and Mesopotamia, now liberated by the Allies, and in territories the liberation of which they are engaged in securing. . . ."
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It was clear from its heading, and from its contents, that the proclamation was meant for the people of Syria and Mesopotamia; and it was published in Palestine only because the general orders of the Commander-in-Chief were published in all the occupied territories. Nevertheless, it was seized upon by the fervent Nationalists in the land as a promise of the application to Palestine, as to the other liberated countries, of the blessed principle of self-determination. The East, no less than the greater part of Europe, was in a ferment of nationalist hopes, which had been released by the cessation of war; and, owing to unpropitious circumstances, it was to be left in the purgatory between war and peace for a longer period than Europe. The Allies had preached the rights and redemption of small peoples and subject peoples during the hostilities; they were now surprised that they were expected to fulfil their promises literally.

It was hoped that the Peace Conference would be able to reach a settlement with Turkey, as with the other defeated Central Powers; but that hope was soon belied. The statesmen of the Western countries were too pre-occupied with their political and economical problems; and an unkind fate deprived the British delegation of its great authority on the questions of the Orient. Sir Mark Sykes, who might have known how to harmonize the essential interests, in Palestine and Syria, of England and France and of the Arab and Jewish peoples, was snatched away by sudden death before the Peace Conference began its session.

One of the difficulties which made the year 1919 a period of strain and disappointment in Palestine and Syria was the uncertainty as to the State which was to be finally responsible for guiding the
administration in either country. France had still her claims, based on the agreement made during the War, although she resigned these claims as regards Palestine before the meeting of the Conference. There were those who suggested, when Wilson's conception of the League of Nations and of the Mandatory system was embodied in the Treaty of Versailles, that America should exercise a Mandate over Palestine on behalf of the League; and the British Government itself at one time endorsed that proposal. The Zionist representatives, who were given a hearing before the "Council of Ten" of the Conference, in February 1919, declared wholeheartedly in favour of a Mandate of Great Britain. They did not desire Jewish political dominion; they asked for the endorsement of the policy in the Balfour Declaration, and recognized that England, which had announced that policy, was the State best calculated to bring it to fruition. After their hearing the French Foreign Minister issued an official statement that France would not oppose the placing of Palestine under the British trusteeship. But the Conference passed on to problems nearer home, and nothing was done to give definiteness to the policy for over a year.

It is significant of the good understanding which at that time still existed between the Jewish and the Arab leaders, that the Emir Feisal, who was in Paris to present the Arab claims in Syria and the Hedjaz, signed a letter to one of the Zionist delegates, on the morrow of their appearance before the Supreme Council. In it he said:

"We Arabs, especially the educated among us, look with the deepest sympathy upon the Zionist movement. Our Deputation here in Paris is fully acquainted with the proposals submitted by the Zionist Organization to the
Peace Conference, and we regard them as moderate and proper. We will do our best, so far as we are concerned, to help them further; we wish the Jews a hearty welcome home... I look forward, and my people with me look forward, to a future in which we will help you, and you will help us, so that the countries in which we are mutually interested may once more take their place in the community of civilized peoples of the World."

Years later, when the relations between the peoples were not so happy, King Feisal denied knowledge of the letter; and it is likely that it was prompted by a temporary expediency rather than a permanent feeling. Yet it is significant of the Arab acceptance, at that time, of the Palestine settlement.¹

The unrest in public opinion of Palestine itself was intensified by the visit, during the summer of 1919, of a Commission appointed by the Council of Ten, in one of its desperate and half-hearted attempts to do something for the East. The Commission was to ascertain the desires of the population as to the Mandatory. It was intended originally that it should contain representatives of the Principal Allied Powers; but, as the French and English declined to appoint members, the delegates of the United States exclusively constituted the Commission. Its head was Mr. Charles R. Crane, who had been an American Minister in Japan. A plebiscite by deputations, both in Palestine and Syria, pronounced in favour of a united Arab State under an American Mandatory, and failing that, under a British Mandatory. Nor was it surprising that a plebiscite of Arabs in Palestine asked for Arab dominance and the rejection of the policy of the Jewish National Home. Since it was clearly im-

¹King Hussein, who was notified of the Declaration in 1918, made no protest.
possible to give effect at one and the same time to the promise to the Jewish people and the principle of self-determination for the Arabs in Palestine, and since the American Senate resolutely declined any participation of America in a Mandatory system, the effect of the Commission was equally disturbing and futile. It served only to stimulate the opposition of the Arab Nationalists, as well as of certain Christian religious communities who disliked any arrangement whereby the Jews might get control in the Holy Land.

Arab Nationalists clamoured for a union of Palestine and Syria, and referred to the country regularly as "Southern Syria." The Moslems and Christians who, in the last century, had normally been hostile to each other, joined forces against the newcomers, whom they regarded as a common foe; and Moslem-Christian Associations organized meetings up and down the country, to denounce the Balfour Declaration. A common hostility is, perhaps, the most frequent basis of friendship in the East; and, although there were not seldom rifts within the lute, henceforth the two communities, in relation to the Jews, regarded themselves as an Arab union. Public feeling was systematically excited during the early months of 1920, and the British administration thought fit to let it have vent in popular demonstrations.

Easter in the Holy Land is a testing time of public order; for the separate festivals of the religious communities provide the occasion for excited gatherings, oratory, and stirring of passions. Feeling boiled over on Easter Sunday 1920 into serious riots in Jerusalem. The Moslem villagers who had assembled at Jerusalem for the purpose of taking part in the Nebi-Musa celebration, were addressed
by fiery orators, whose theme was the attempted spoliation of the Arabs, and the intended domination of the Zionists. They burst upon the Jewish quarter in the Old City, and killed and looted. Military courts were hastily convened. They tried Arab leaders who had incited the crowd, the principal offenders who had taken part in the rioting, and also the leaders of the Jewish Self-defence group, who, having been, not unreasonably, perturbed by the demonstrations of the previous months had obtained firearms for the defence of the Jewish population. The Courts passed severe sentences which, however, were soon set aside in an amnesty of the Civil Government. The principal person condemned on the Arab side was Haj Amin Husseini, the brother of the head of the Moslem community, the Mufti of Jerusalem, who was to succeed within a year to that office. The principal Jew condemned was Lieut. Jabotinsky, the leader of the Self-defence Movement, who during the War was the principal agent in forming the Jewish Battalions of the British Force. In his case the Army Council subsequently quashed the proceedings of the Military Court.

The Jerusalem riots of 1920 were the first violent clash of Arab and Jew in redeemed Palestine. A Military Commission of Enquiry sought to probe the causes, and recorded the actual incidents of the riots. Its report, however, was never published. A more positive result of the disturbance was to drive to action the Allied statesmen who had too long left Eastern affairs to drift and become embittered.

In Syria, the Nationalists were more resolute and more unchecked than in Palestine. In a constituent assembly held in Damascus early in 1920, they voted for the creation of a Kingdom of Syria, which was to
include the Lebanon and Palestine, and rejected the proposed Mandatory control of France. The Emir Feisal, hitherto the Administrator of the Eastern section of Occupied Enemy Territory, was actually crowned King in Damascus. The assertion of a full-blooded Arab Nationalism led to an attack by Bedouin Arabs against two small Jewish settlements that lay within the area of the Syria Administration. The villages were besieged for several weeks, and the leader of the Jewish defence, Captain Trumpeldor, who was to become a figure of heroic legend, and with him seven men and two women, were killed. The incident stimulated the desire of the Jewish people for the inclusion within the borders of the National Home, under the British Mandatory, of all Jewish settlements.

A conference of the representatives of the Principal Allied Powers gathered at San Remo, at the end of April, to discuss the terms of the Peace with Turkey, and the destinies of Palestine and Syria were at last decisively considered. The conference resolved that Palestine should be placed under a British Mandatory on behalf of the League of Nations, and confirmed the declaration made by the British Government in 1917 concerning the establishment of the Jewish National Home. The Mandate for Syria was allotted to France. An agreement in principle between the British and the French was come to with regard to the boundary between the two Mandated territories. The French were not prepared to accept the natural physical boundary on the north, the gorge of the Litany River, which runs out to the sea between Tyre and Sidon, and they pressed their claim to the territory on the eastern side of the Sea of Galilee. On the other hand, they were induced partly at the instance of President Wilson, who intervened on this
point, to leave within Palestine the head-waters of the Jordan, so that the country could stretch "from Dan to Beer-sheba" in the Biblical phrase. At the north end, however, it has length with very little breadth, and there is the curious salient mentioned in Chapter I.

The British Government, having received the Mandate, determined that the protracted military form of administration, which had outgrown its usefulness, should come to an end, and should be replaced by a civil administration, under the guidance of the British Foreign Office. Dramatic measures were taken to give reality to the policy declared by Great Britain. The first Civil Governor, or, as he was called, the High Commissioner, was to be Sir Herbert Samuel, a Jew who had held high office and been in the Cabinet in England, and, on the other hand, had played a prominent part in persuading the Cabinet about the Palestine policy, and had warm sympathies with the Jewish National Home. He could be trusted to see that both sides of the dual Mandate were faithfully observed. The "Occupied Enemy Territory South," became the Mandated territory of Palestine; and, pending the confirmation of the Mandate instrument, the Administration was to give effect to the declaration of 1917. The principle of that declaration was embodied in the clauses concerning Palestine in the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, which was signed at Sèvres in August. The Treaty, indeed, was still-born; for, before it could be ratified, a new Turkey had arisen, which was not willing to swallow its inordinately hard terms. Ultimately the Mandate instrument for Palestine was not confirmed until two years later, and the revised Treaty with Turkey was not ratified until three years later. The end of the period of
military administration was, however, reached on July 20, 1920, when the Chief Administrator, General Sir Louis Bols, departed, and the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, entered Jerusalem.
CHAPTER VI
THE MANDATE FOR PALESTINE

It has been said that, if the Mandate system had not been evolved for other purposes, it would have had to be created for the Government of Palestine, when that province was delivered from Turkish rule. For Palestine, by its history and geography, its population and its destiny, is a country that concerns the international society; and its well-being and development are inherently "a sacred trust of civilization." Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations, which introduced the new principle of Mandatory Government, laid down that in the territories detached during the War from the sovereignty of Germany and Turkey, and inhabited by peoples not yet able to stand by themselves, that trust was to be applied. And the best method of giving effect to it was to entrust the tutelage of the peoples to advanced nations who, by reason of their resources, their experience, or their geographical position, could best undertake the responsibility and exercise it as Mandatories on behalf of the League. The Article went on to say that, with regard to the territories detached from the Turkish Empire, "certain communities had reached a stage of development where their existence as independent nations can be provisionally recognized, subject to the rendering of administrative advice and assistance by a Mandatory, until such time as they are able to stand alone." The communities were not named; and while the
Mandates for Irak and Syria were framed on this basis, the Mandate for Palestine had a different and unique character. It was General Smuts, the South African soldier-statesman, who, in a brochure, *The League of Nations, a Practical Suggestion*, which he issued immediately before the meeting of the Peace Conference, proposed the Mandate system as a means of conciliation between the idea of self-determination for the redeemed nationalities, and the idea of international government. And, dealing specifically with the destiny of Palestine, he stated:

"There will be found cases where, owing chiefly to the heterogeneous character of the population, and their incapacity for administrative co-operation, autonomy in any real sense would be out of the question, and administration would have to be undertaken, to a large extent, by some external authority. This would be the case, at any rate for some time to come, in Palestine, where the administrative co-operation of the Jewish minority and Arab majority would not be forthcoming."

President Wilson, who adopted the idea of the Mandate, and embodied it in the Covenant, declared that he did not want "a lawyer's treaty"; and Article 22 of the Covenant had in no way the character of an exact legal instrument. It was rather a statement of ethical and political principles, a part of a dissertation on government. Its vagueness and fine language were to be a constant source of trouble and recrimination.

The doctrine of the Covenant was applied in the case of each territory subjected to the new system in a more exact instrument, which was to be submitted to the Council of the League of Nations. The Mandate for Palestine was drafted by the British Government in 1920, and submitted to the Council in September of that year. Two years, however, were
The Mandate

to pass before the Mandate was approved by the Council. The delay was caused partly by the insistence of the United States Government that it must be consulted as to all the conditions of the Mandate, partly by questions of the Vatican and the Latin Powers with regard to the provision for the Holy Places. The United States, while refusing to assume any of the responsibilities of the League of Nations, asserted its claim to be a party to the whole settlement of the Peace; and entered, in the end, into a Convention with the British Government, which, on the one hand, approved the Mandate for Palestine and recited all its terms, and on the other secured for American citizens equal rights with those of members of the League. The objections of the Vatican were met by modifications in the draft with regard to the establishment of the Commission concerning the Holy Places.

Although, however, the Mandate instrument was not ratified till 1922, the British Administration, which assumed a civil character in July 1920, carried on the government from that time in accordance with the broad principles of the trust established in the Covenant of the League, and also with the special trust laid down in the British declaration of 1917, and affirmed by the Allied Powers. Immediately after assuming office, the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, convened an assembly of the notables of the country, and read to them a message of the King, which he had been commanded to communicate. It set out the basis of the new Administration:

"The Allied Powers, whose armies were victorious in the late War, have entrusted to my country a Mandate to watch over the interests of Palestine, and to ensure to your country a peaceful and prosperous development, which
has so long been denied to you. I desire to assure you of the absolute impartiality with which the duties of the Mandatory Power will be carried out, and of the determination of my Government to respect the rights of every race and every creed represented among you, both for the period which has still to elapse before the terms of the Mandate can be finally approved by the League of Nations, and in the future, when the Mandate has become an established fact. You are well aware that the Allied Powers have decided that measures shall be adopted to secure the gradual establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people. These measures will not, in any way, affect the civil or religious rights, or diminish the prosperity of the general population of Palestine. . . . I realize profoundly the solemnity of the trust involved in the government of a country which is sacred alike to Christian, Mohammedan, and Jew, and I shall watch with deep interest and warm sympathy the future progress and development of a state whose history has been of such tremendous import to the world. . . ."

The High Commissioner amplified the Royal message with a statement of the principles of British rule which he was to inaugurate:

"In whatever part of the world British rule prevails, there is complete freedom and equality for all religions; there is equal justice for every person in the land, regardless of his station, his race, or his creed: order is maintained with a firm hand: corruption is suppressed, taxation is made equitable for the people: the economic development of the country is promoted, and the prosperity of the inhabitants is increased. . . . Under the Mandate conferred by the Powers, and under the superintendence of the League of Nations, these are the rules which will direct the Administration of Palestine."

The function of the Mandatory in Palestine has a unique character on account of the inclusion in the forefront of the Mandate of the declaration in favour
of the establishment of a National Home for the Jewish people. The preamble to the Mandate states that the Mandatory shall be responsible for putting into effect the declaration, and then attaches to it the recital:

"That recognition has thereby been given to the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, and to the grounds for re-constituting their National Home in that country."

That addition emphasizes the peculiar quality of the Mandate. It was the application of the idea that history and memory give a people a right to self-determination; and the Jew, who represents the oldest nationality in the world, should be assisted to revive his national life in his home, even though the existing inhabitants of the land may oppose his coming. The claim is based on the one hand on the civilization which of old the Jews gave to the world from Palestine, and on the other on the eternal ideal which the Jewish people, during two thousand years of exile, has cherished about Palestine. A national home, as distinguished from a state, is a country where a people are acknowledged as having a recognized legal position and the opportunity of developing their cultural, social, and intellectual ideals without receiving political sovereignty. Lord Cecil of Chelwood, one of the authors of the Covenant, wrote some years later, after the outbreak of serious trouble in Palestine:

"The Mandate, without undue metaphor, may be described as a deed of trust for the Jewish National Home. The Arab rights are safeguarded effectively in a context which emphasizes that they are subordinate, but not in any way antagonistic, to the progressive fulfilment of the main purpose of the Mandate."
In the trusts for the other Mandated territories there are two dominant purposes; the well-being of the native inhabitants, and the interests of the international society. In the case of Palestine there is a third purpose, because the Mandatory is under a trust to bring about the continual and gradual realization of an historic ideal, and to enable a new national life to be established in the country, by the side of the national life of the older inhabitants. In order to achieve this third purpose, the Mandatory received full powers of legislation and administration. That, superficially, was inconsistent with the principle of self-determination, which governed the Mandate for the other countries detached from Turkey. But it was fundamental to the settlement of Palestine that the Jewish people as well as the Arab people were to have the right of self-determination, and to that end were to be assisted in building up a National Home in Palestine. There were two national selves, and the majority Arab population of the country could not be allowed by legislative or executive measures to prevent the fulfilment of the trust in relation to the Jewish people. The British Mandatory received therefore the measure of authority which was required to implement its double trust.

The difficulty of conciliation between the two elements of the population may not have been adequately appreciated by the authors of the Covenant and the Mandate instrument; but it soon became clear, when ideas had to be applied to facts, that Palestine could not be placed under a form of representative government in which the people of one nationality would dominate the people of the other. The Mandatory had for an indefinite period to secure fair treatment and justice for the two
nationalities until they came to understand one another better.

The special trust for the Jewish National Home is applied in several articles of the Mandate, which at the same time recognize the need for protecting the rights of the rest of the population. "The Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and the development of self-governing institutions, and also for safeguarding the civil and religious rights of all the inhabitants irrespective of race and religion." (Article 2.) "The Administration shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions, while ensuring that the rights and position of the other sections of the population are not prejudiced, and shall encourage, in co-operation with the Jewish Agency, close settlement by Jews on the land, including state lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." (Article 6.) The Jewish Agency referred to is to be recognized "as a public body for the purpose of advising and co-operating with the Administration in such economic, social, and other matters as may affect the establishment of the Jewish National Home and the interests of the Jewish population, and, subject always to the control of the Administration, to assist and take part in the development of the country." (Article 4.) The Agency embodies the interests of the whole Jewish people in the rebuilding of the home.

The Zionist Organization should be recognized as the Agency, so long as its constitution was appropriate in the opinion of the Mandatory. It was to take steps to secure the co-operation of all Jews willing to assist in the establishment of the Jewish
National Home. (Article 11.) In fact, it was merged, in August 1929, in a larger Jewish Agency, which comprised representatives of non-Zionist Jewish bodies sympathetic to the main purpose. "The Administration may arrange with the Jewish Agency to construct or operate, on fair terms, any public works or utilities, and to develop any of the natural resources of the country, so far as these matters are not directly undertaken by the Administration." The principle of social control is stipulated in a Clause stating that "any arrangement made with the Jewish Agency shall provide that no profits distributed by it shall exceed a reasonable rate of interest on the capital, and any further profits shall be utilized by it for the benefit of the country, in the manner approved by the Administration." It was applied to the concessions for electricity and for extracting mineral salts from the Dead Sea.

The Clause about concessions derogates from the normal provision in the other Mandates, whereby concessions are open to the subjects of all states without distinction of nationality or race. The United States Government at one time asked that the same principle should be applied in Palestine; but it was pointed out that it must be modified by the special purposes of the trust to establish a National Home for the Jews.

The Mandate contains other provisions designed to give effect to the trust for the National Home. The Administration is to enact a nationality law "which shall include provisions framed so as to facilitate the acquisition of Palestine citizenship by Jews who take up their residence in Palestine." (Article 7.) It was not until 1925 that an Order-in-Council issued by the Mandatory defined the terms of Palestine citizenship. While Palestine comprises
two national elements, there is a single citizenship: and the conditions for obtaining it are the same for all persons, whether Jews, Arabs, or foreigners. The injunction in the Mandate is met by the requirement of a shorter period of residence for naturalization, namely, two years, than is common in British Administrations, and by the condition that ability to read and write Hebrew is admitted as a literacy qualification alternative to the ability to read and write English or Arabic.

The Mandate includes an article which deals specifically with the official languages of Palestine. English, Arabic, and Hebrew are recognized; and any statement or inscription in Arabic on stamps or money in Palestine shall be repeated in Hebrew, and vice versa. The revival of Hebrew as a national language is one of the outstanding cultural developments of Jewish Nationalism. Sir Herbert Samuel, at the outset of his administration, sought to satisfy the Hebrew ardour by an administrative order that all government ordinances, official notices and forms, including railway and road notices, should be published in the three languages. In certain areas in which there was a considerable Jewish population, the three languages should be used in the legal offices and municipalities, as well as in government departments. In other areas Arabic alone, or English and Arabic, might be used. In courts of law and land registries of a tri-lingual area, any process and official document should be issued in the language of the person to whom it was addressed; and written and oral pleadings might be conducted in any of the three languages.

There has been intermittent conflict in Palestine between the demand of the Jewish population for absolute parity as to language and the regard of the
government to practical economy considerations. Thus Hebrew enthusiasts addressed a petition to the League of Nations complaining that the Post Office would not accept telegrams in Hebrew script, although it received them in Arabic script. And the Mandates Commission of the League invited the Mandatory to consider whether the administrative difficulties of the reception of Hebrew telegrams might not be got over. The coins, currency notes, and postage stamps of Palestine have throughout had their Arabic and Hebrew superscriptions. But the resentment of the Arab Nationalists against any verbal Hebrew privilege was roused with regard to the Hebrew rendering of Palestine which was adopted on the stamps. The Jews claimed that in Hebrew literature the country was called "Erez Israel," which means, literally, the Land of Israel, and the Hellenized form of Philistia, by which Palestine has been known through the Christian era, was never adopted by them. The Arabs opposed the adoption of what seemed to them a tendentious name. Sir Herbert Samuel suggested as a compromise that the trans-literation of Palestine should stand both in Arabic and Hebrew, but there should be put after the Hebrew the initial letters of the words "Erez Israel." That conciliation found acceptance at the time; but some years later was challenged in the Palestine Courts by an application for a Mandamus addressed to the Postmaster-General. The petitioners contended that the addition of the initials conflicted with the Mandate principle of equality of treatment of the Hebrew and Arabic language, and asked, therefore, that the issue of stamps should be cancelled. The Court held that it could not interfere with an executive act of the kind.
The Mandatory has made it clear from the beginning that the positive measures for the establishment of the Jewish National Home must be carried out by the Jewish people themselves. The part of the Government has been to remove disabilities that existed in the Ottoman legislation, to furnish the country with a system of law and administration which is suitable to a progressive population, to open the doors of immigration so far as the agricultural and industrial development of the country allowed the absorption of newcomers, to encourage by fiscal and customs measures commerce and industry, to grant facilities to Jewish bodies to develop their system of education and cultural activities, and to facilitate the organization of the Jews as a national community. The acquisition of land for Jewish settlement, the organization of agricultural colonization, the establishment of new industries, and the foundation of schools, etc.—these are the functions of the Zionist Organization and other bodies concerned in Jewish settlement.

The Jewish Agency, indeed, is regularly consulted about immigration, and puts forward, twice a year, to the Government proposals with regard to the number of persons who should be admitted to take up employment on the basis of the actual and prospective economic capacity of the country. These worker-immigrants are exclusive of persons engaging in agriculture and commerce with £500 of capital—subsequently the amount was raised to £1,000—and persons qualified in skilled trades and professions, with a capital varying between £250 and £500, who are admitted independently. The proposals are examined by the Palestine Administration, and the High Commissioner decides what number shall be permitted to come during the six months.
The Jewish Agency gives a guarantee to support any persons so admitted at its instance for a period of at least one year from their entry into the country, and on this understanding it receives from the Administration the immigration certificates for distribution to the various Jewish centres. The persons chosen are admitted subject to their not being found unsuitable on medical or political grounds by the officers of the Mandatory.

The co-operation of the Agency with Government in the development of the Jewish settlement is indicated also by the annual submission to the Permanent Mandates Commission of a memorandum prepared by the Jewish Agency. The memorandum describes the measures taken by the Agency in the building up of the Jewish National Home. It may also contain observations with regard to the conduct of the Palestine Administration towards Jewish requirements; but it is primarily devoted to a record of the progress of the Jewish population.

The Palestine Mandate contains a number of clauses that are not directly concerned with the Jewish National Home, but give effect to the other purposes of securing the progressive development of the country, and the training of the people for self-government. The Mandatory is directed, so far as circumstances admit, to encourage local autonomy. In application of this article he has provided for the election of municipal councils in the towns which were municipalities in the Ottoman regime, and also for the election in the larger villages of local councils, with limited powers of taxation and local government. The administration of fair and equal justice was a principal concern in the settlement of all the countries detached from Turkey; and the Mandate prescribes, further, that respect for the personal
status of the various peoples and communities, and for their religious interests, shall be guaranteed. (Article 9.) The previous Article declares that the privileges of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection which were enjoyed by Capitulations in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable. The Mandatory has applied these directions, on the one hand by the establishment of Civil Courts of general jurisdiction under British direction and supervision, and on the other by maintaining the jurisdiction in matters of personal status of the tribunals of the Moslem, Jewish, and Christian communities that enjoyed it under the Ottoman regime. The Turks, treating the non-Moslem peoples as national groups, practised the principle of "laisser-juger" in matters of family law; and the religious jurisdiction has been preserved. Foreigners are subject to the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts; but in order to give assurance of equal justice which, it was feared, would not be obtained if they were subjected to the Palestine judges exclusively, a remnant of discrimination remains. Foreigners may claim trial by British magistrates in minor criminal cases, and trial by a court composed of a single British judge or a court with a British majority in more serious criminal cases; and in civil cases they have an appeal to a court with a British majority. The privilege is resented by Palestinians, who observe with some reason that, if Palestine judges cannot assure justice to foreigners, they cannot assure it to Palestinians.

The Mandatory is entrusted with the control of foreign relations in Palestine, and affords diplomatic protection to Palestinian citizens abroad. The High Commissioner issues passports for Palestinians which have the outward appearance but not all the inherent
virtues of British passports. Even in England their holders suffer certain disabilities of aliens. The British Government is required to adhere, on behalf of Palestine, to any general conventions already existing, or which may be concluded, with the approval of the League of Nations, respecting certain concerns of humanity such as the abolition of slavery, the traffic in arms, ammunition, and drugs, freedom of transit and navigation, postal, telegraphic, and wireless communication, literary, artistic, or industrial property. In all these matters Palestine has been brought in line with the British Empire. The Mandatory, too, is required to adhere, on behalf of the country, to commercial treaties with foreign states. It is, however, a restriction on its liberty that there shall be no discrimination against the nationals of any State which is a member of the League of Nations, in comparison with British nationals, in matters concerning taxation, commerce, or navigation, and the exercise of industries or professions, and no discrimination against goods originating in any of these States.

The Administration, therefore, cannot introduce any customs tariff which discriminates between the goods of foreign countries. Equality of opportunity for nationals of all states, and what is called "the open door" in economic matters, are two fundamental conditions of the Mandate system. The Mandatory, indeed, is not prevented by the Mandate from granting privileges to the products of the Mandated territory; and of recent years there has been strong agitation in Palestine for the grant by Great Britain of the benefits of Imperial Preference to the oranges, tobacco, wine, etc., of Palestine. While, however, the Mandate does not prohibit the extension of such benefits, the fact that Palestine is
regarded as a foreign country with reference to the Mandatory, with the corollary that any benefit given to Palestine might be claimed by another country having a commercial convention with England that includes "the most-favoured-nation clause," has hitherto prevented the Government from according the preference. It is anomalous that Palestine is under the Government of the Crown for internal purposes, and is a foreign state for external purposes. And the anomaly has caused great discontent since the policy of Imperial Preference has been accompanied in England, as well as in the Dominions, by a system of high tariffs against the goods of countries outside the blessed circle.

Other articles in the Mandate are peculiar to the special conditions of the country as a Holy Land. They are due to the presence of the holy places of three great religions: Christianity, Judaism, and Islam, and the veneration for them of the adherents of these religions. All responsibility in connection with the Holy Places and religious buildings or sites, including that of preserving existing rights and of securing free access to the places, is taken by the Mandatory, who shall be answerable to the League of Nations in all matters connected therewith. "A special Commission is to be appointed to study, define, and determine the rights and claims in connection with the places, and the rights and claims relating to the different religious communities. The method of nomination, the composition, and functions of the proposed Commission shall be submitted to the Council of the League for its approval." (Articles 13 and 14.)

The Mandatory sought to implement these provisions, and to establish a Commission representing the three religious communities; but the jealousies
of the Latin Powers, and the feeling between Catholics, Orthodox, and Protestants, were too strong to be overcome. No international or other body has been appointed to cope with this burdensome heritage, save that, after the serious outbreak between Arabs and Jews in 1929 (which had its immediate origin in a controversy with regard to Jewish worship at the remains of the Western Wall of the Temple of Jerusalem), a special commission was appointed, with the approval of the Council of the League, to adjudicate on that specific dispute. It was stipulated that the appointment of the Commission should not in any way prejudice the solution of the problem relating to the question of the Holy Places generally. The paramount interest in the questions concerning the places is indicated by a clause in the Mandate which prescribes that, when it is terminated, the Council of the League shall make arrangements for safeguarding in perpetuity, under guarantee of the League, the rights secured by the Articles dealing with these matters.

Apart from the provisions concerning the Holy Places, the Mandate for Palestine contains articles prescribing complete freedom of conscience, the free exercise of all forms of worship, the prohibition of discrimination between the inhabitants on the grounds of race, religion, or language, and the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its members in its own language. These fundamental "rights of man" are enshrined in all the Mandate instruments. Freedom of missionary enterprise also is assured, subject to the right of the Mandatory to exercise such supervision over the religious and charitable bodies of all faiths as may be required for the maintenance of public order and good government. In the Turkish time
the policy of the open door for religious movements was already established; and that policy has now a constitutional and international guarantee. There is no country in the world where you will find so many religious institutions to the square mile as in Palestine.

Together with the other Mandates, the Palestine instrument lays down that the Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of the trust. Copies of all laws and regulations issued during the year are to be attached to the report. The Government has performed this obligation annually since 1923; and, following the practice now established in the League, the High Commissioner, the Chief Secretary, or some other high officer of the Government, presents himself before the Permanent Mandates Commission, to answer the viva voce examination which supplements the written report given by the Administration. It is the essential feature of the Mandate system that the Government is responsible to an international authority for its trusteeship; and that responsibility is met by the annual inquiry which is conducted by the agency of the Council of the League, known as the Permanent Mandates Commission. The Commission is, as it were, the keeper of the conscience of the Mandatory; and, consisting as it does of permanent representatives from ten countries (four of them being Mandatories), each an expert in colonial administration or public affairs, it serves both to secure the fulfilment in the spirit of the provisions of the Mandate, and to offer helpful advice to the Mandatory Administration. The idea of trusteeship in government becomes a reality through the Commission, which is the pivot of the
Mandate system, and gives it clearness, precision, and unity. The examination which it conducted after the troubles of 1929 into the policy of the Administration was incontestably thorough.

One of the tasks of the Commission has been to reduce what is called "the area of equivocation" in the Mandate instruments; that is, the ambiguities and inconsistencies which have been found in international documents that were drafted, inevitably, with inadequate appreciation of the conditions in the countries concerned. With regard to the Palestine Mandate, the Commission has been at pains to point the way of conciliation of the two fundamental obligations of the Mandatory, which are, on the one hand, to facilitate the building up of the Jewish National Home, and on the other, to promote the development of self-governing institutions. The first obligation concerns primarily the Jews, the second primarily the Arabs. They have pointed out that they are equal obligations, and, truly regarded, are reconcilable, because the development of the Jewish National Home will bring a benefit to the other inhabitants of the country. When that axiom is appreciated, it will be the duty of the Mandatory to let the peoples of Palestine in great measure govern themselves.

The Mandatory Government, on its part, has sought from the beginning to give greater precision to what was described by the Palestine High Court as "a political and not a legal document, likely to contain the expression of good intentions which are more easy to write than to read." While its terms, indeed, were still under discussion, both before the League and before the British Parliament, the British Government, in the summer of 1922, issued a document interpreting—and limiting—the idea of the
"Jewish National Home." That document, commonly known as the Churchill White Paper—because Mr. Winston Churchill was the Secretary of State for the Colonies—was prompted in order to clear up misunderstandings, and to set at rest exuberant suggestions on the one side, and exaggerated apprehensions on the other. The Jewish people, it was stated, were not to exercise any political domination over the rest of the population; and the special position of the Jewish Agency related to the measures to be taken in Palestine affecting the Jewish population, but did not entitle it to share in any degree in its government. The statement continued:

“When it is asked what is meant by the development of the Jewish National Home in Palestine, it may be answered that it is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community, with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride. But in order that this community should have the best prospect of free development and provide a full opportunity for the Jewish people to display its capacities, it is essential that it should know that it is in Palestine as of right, and not on sufferance. That is the reason why it is necessary that the existence of a Jewish National Home in Palestine should be internationally guaranteed, and that it should be formally recognized to rest upon ancient historic connection."

The Zionist Organization reluctantly accepted the limiting commentary; while the Royal Instructions to the High Commissioner, which guide the holder of that office as to the system of Government, direct that the administration shall be conducted in
accordance with this interpretation of the Mandate. It is to be regarded, therefore, as an authoritative amplification of the Charter of the Palestine Government. A second White Paper, known after the then Secretary of State as the "Passfield Paper," further amplifying the interpretation, was issued by the British Labour Government in the autumn of 1930, after consideration of the reports on the disturbances of 1929. Its purport was to limit still further the obligation in the Mandate to facilitate the establishment of the Jewish National Home, and make the major obligation subordinate to the limiting condition of not injuring the non-Jewish communities. That document however, which is analysed in a later chapter, was the object of so much dissection and re-interpretation that it cannot be regarded as a reduction of equivocation. Mr. Churchill impugned it at the time it was issued, as an abandonment of the principles of the Mandate; and the Permanent Mandates Commission, which in 1931 considered it and its correcting appendages, observed that "it had followed, not without some uneasiness, the fluctuations of the Mandatory Power's policy in Palestine."
CHAPTER VII

THE GOVERNMENT OF PALESTINE

The Mandate for Palestine was ratified by the Council of the League at St. James' Palace, London, in July 1922; but it was agreed that it should not come formally into force until the Mandate for Syria and the Lebanon granted to France could be implemented. That step depended on the settlement of certain difficulties between France and Italy, which was not reached till September 1923. Nevertheless, the terms of the trust on which the British Administration was to govern Palestine were defined from July 1922, and the Mandatory straightway issued a constitutional instrument for the country, applying the full powers of legislation and administration with which it was invested. The instrument is the Palestine Order in Council 1922, issued under the Foreign Jurisdiction Act, by which His Majesty may exercise authority, in countries which are not part of the British Dominions, in accordance with Treaties or Capitulations. The Order was issued by His Majesty in the Privy Council; and that form of legislation has been used in Palestine with regard to other fundamental laws, such as the Nationality Law and regulations with regard to the Holy Places. It might be thought from the terms of Article 22 of the Covenant of the League, and from certain provisions of the Mandate, that Palestine is to be regarded as a State separate from the Mandatory, and the Government of Palestine therefore as a separate entity from
the Government of the Crown. That view was put forward by certain jurists; but the English Law Officers advised that His Majesty has the right to exercise all the powers inherent in the government of a sovereign State, subject only to the limitations imposed by the Mandate, and that the Government of Palestine does not exist in law as a separate entity. The civil servants of Palestine are the King's servants, the courts are His Majesty's courts, and the judges are His Majesty's judges.

The Palestine Order-in-Council starts by defining the functions of the executive, the legislature and the judiciary, the three main aspects of government. The head of the executive is the High Commissioner, who is appointed by the Mandatory and is the representative of the King in the whole mandated territory, including Transjordan. Subject to the provisions of the Mandate and the guidance of the Mandatory Government, he is an autocrat, the single and supreme authority responsible to and representative of His Majesty. He is required, indeed, to consult with an Executive Council in matters of policy, but is not bound by its opinion. Since the establishment of the Civil Administration in 1922, the Council has consisted of three members only, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Treasurer, all of whom are British officers. He is the fount of office, and, subject to the direction of the Secretary of State, who, in fact, nominates the senior British personnel, appoints the officers of the Government. Lastly, he is the titular Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces.

The Chief Secretary is the principal officer under the High Commissioner, and the main link between him and the different departments of government. His office, which contains a number of assistants,
is, or should be, the nerve centre of administration; for he not only supervises all the Departments and co-ordinates their work, but also advises on the relations between the Central and the Local or District Administration. The Attorney-General is the chief law officer of the Government, and in that capacity gives legal advice to every department, as well as to the High Commissioner. Further, he is the draftsman responsible for the preparation of the laws or ordinances and regulations of government. He represents the Government in the Courts and supervises criminal prosecutions. He is assisted by a Solicitor-General and a Government Advocate, who have hitherto been British officers, and by local representatives who are Palestinian advocates, and conduct prosecutions and government civil suits on his behalf.

The Treasurer is the responsible officer for the revenue and expenditure of the Government. It says much for the economic development of the country, and also for the Government's conduct of the finances of a poor land, recovering from the ravages of war and centuries of neglect, that not only has the budget been balanced almost every year, but the Government has accumulated a surplus, which enabled it to pay off the Palestine share of the Ottoman Debt, and the purchase price of the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway (which was formerly owned by a French company), to make loans to the principal municipalities and to settle several capital liabilities incurred by the military administration. It is a common fallacy that Palestine is a heavy burden on the British tax-payer. That is the reverse of the truth. For a few years after the Civil Administration was established, a military garrison was maintained in the country, because of Imperial liabilities
elsewhere. But between 1925 and 1929, the only military forces in Palestine were part of a locally raised Frontier levy and a small detachment of the Air Force. A British gendarmerie of 500 men, towards the cost of which the British Treasury made a grant-in-aid of some £200,000 a year, was disbanded in 1926. The only contribution of the Treasury for the next three years was one-sixth part of the cost of the frontier levy amounting to £30,000 a year. Since the disturbance of 1929 a military garrison of two British infantry battalions has been maintained in Palestine in addition to the Air detachment, and a small grant-in-aid has been made towards the Frontier Force. On the other side of the account Palestine pays for the extra cost incurred in maintaining the troops in Palestine; and further it paid to the British Government the sum of £1,000,000 for the railways and roads which were made by the Army during the campaign. No other mandated territory has been required to make a similar payment towards the expense of deliverance.

The Palestine Administration has reformed the system of taxation in the country which it took over from the Turks. In place of the unscientific Ottoman system of customs which, with sweet simplicity, imposed a uniform import duty of 11 per cent. *ad valorem* on all things, it introduced, and is constantly manipulating, a tariff of specific duties designed to admit free of duty raw materials and the machinery and tools of industry, to place light charges on necessities and heavier charges on articles of luxury, and to secure some modest protection for Palestine agricultural and industrial products. It has abolished also an export duty of 1 per cent., a burdensome local octroi and several burdensome monopolies
for salt, tobacco, etc., which were part of the Turkish fiscal system. Customs and excise form the principal part of the Government revenue, and in 1932 amounted to over £1,300,000 in the budget of £2,500,000.

The direct taxation under the Ottoman system comprised a land tax on agricultural land at the rate of 4 per 1,000 of the assessed—usually under-assessed—capital value of rural land, 1 per cent. of the capital value of land and buildings in urban areas, and the tithe on agricultural produce which, during the War, had been raised to 12½ per cent. of the gross harvest. The British Administration first reduced the tithe to 10 per cent., and substituted for the extortionate system of farming direct collection by the State. Subsequently it replaced the annual assessment of the harvest by the imposition of a commuted tithe based on the average return in each village for a period of three years. It is now engaged in the assessment of a single fixed land-tax, which will take the place of the tithe and agricultural land-tax together, and is designed to reduce the burdens on the peasant population. In urban areas it has replaced the tax on capital value by a tax on annual value. Recently it has embarked on an examination of proposals for the introduction of an Income Tax payable by persons deriving an income of more than a certain amount from trade, industry, profession, or accumulated wealth. Since the British Occupation a primitive form of professional tax which was imposed by the Turks has been abolished, and the only direct taxation has been the land tax. Minor items in the revenue are licence fees and court fees, which produce some £100,000 a year, a tax on live stock which produces about £35,000, and stamp duties which bring in £50,000 a year. The
taxation of the Arabs has been little increased; for though the amount paid per head of the whole population is roughly £2, which is more than the Turkish tax, it is estimated that the Jewish fifth of the population pay two-fifths of the taxation.

The Treasurer is the representative in Palestine of the Currency Board, which controls the Palestine money. The currency is issued through the Government Bankers, Barclays Bank. Till 1927 Palestine used Egyptian currency, which was brought to it during the War, and the profits of the note issue and the silver tokens went to Egypt. Now, however, it has its note issue, based on sterling and controlled by a Currency Board in England, and a silver, nickel, and copper coinage. The profits of the currency already permit of a grant to the Government of some £50,000 a year.

The foremost place amongst the branches of the Government is taken by the Department of the Police. The maintenance of order in a country rent with faction is difficult and costly; and the Department expends one-third of the revenue of the country. The Palestine Police Force, which has taken the place of three units, the Civil Police, the Palestine Gendarmerie, and the British Gendarmerie, the two latter organized on a semi-military basis, includes 2,500 men. Of these some 600 are British constables; the rest are Palestinians, with a small sprinkling of Circassians and Sudanese. Of the Palestinians some 330 are Jews. Most of the superior officers are British, while most of the inspectors and sub-inspectors are Palestinians. British, Arabs, and Jews work together as one united force; and it is intended that they should be trained together in a single police college. The Police Department is responsible also for the prisons; and the prison
population of the country is abnormally large, partly because murder and minor crimes are frequent among the Fellaeen, and partly because prison carries little or no stigma, and a convicted person chooses imprisonment rather than a fine. Most of the convict population is confined in labour companies, which are camped in various places where drainage, road-making, or similar works are required.

The Bureaucracy of Palestine includes nearly all the departments of a modern welfare State; agriculture, education, public health, public works, surveys, posts and telegraphs, and railways.

Agriculture is the principal calling in the country; and the Department is concerned to assist the peasant population by good seed, demonstration plots, experimental stations, and the maintenance of a stud-farm, to supply veterinary services, to fight animal and insect pests, of which one at least visits the country each year, to carry out afforestation and to encourage it amongst individuals, to project and control irrigation schemes, and lastly (following a strange English combination), to regulate and control fisheries.

No aspect of government has been more thoroughly reformed by the British Administration than Public Health. In the Turkish regime it was of the most sketchy kind; and the improvement which has been effected in the sanitation of towns and villages, in stamping out malaria, in reducing the death-rate, and particularly infantile mortality amongst the Arabs, and in the treatment of the sick, is striking and uncontested. The Department includes some forty medical officers of health distributed through the country, who are supervised by British Principal Medical Officers, and are responsible for public sanitation as well as medical work. It maintains
several hospitals entirely, and provides the medical staff and nursing in municipal hospitals. It is assisted generously in the care of the population by philanthropic activities of numerous religious and national charities, for the sick and the orphans. Notable among them is the eye-hospital of the Order of the Knights of St. John in Jerusalem which for years has tended a population with the highest percentage of blindness in the world.

The Jewish population, in particular, provides from its own resources an ample service of hospitals, clinics, convalescent homes, health-centres, and infant care stations, many of which are open to other sections of the population. The Government Department is therefore enabled to direct its principal effort to raising the health standards of the Arabs. It is responsible also for the international quarantine service, which is of great importance in connection with the Moslem pilgrimage.

The work of the Education and the Antiquities Departments of the Government is dealt with in another chapter. The other important constructive activity of the Government is conducted by the Public Works Department which, after the police, accounts for the largest portion of the public expenditure. It is responsible for the construction and upkeep of the main roads, which before the British Occupation were for the most part cart-tracks, usually to be avoided, and are now asphalted highways equal to those of Western countries; Government buildings and transport; public watersupplies and drainage schemes; the conservation of ancient monuments; the inspection and control of electricity enterprises.

The Government includes two departments which are more peculiar to the special conditions of the
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country. The one is concerned with immigration and labour, the other with the cadastral survey and settlement of land. Palestine is a country of immigration; and since the War has become the principal place of Jewish immigration, more accommodating with its tiny area than the vast spaces of the United States. It is the function of the Department to regulate the issue of immigration certificates and the registration of immigrants. In particular, it prepares every six months the schedule by which the number of worker immigrants is defined. It is concerned also with the administration of the citizenship law and the labour legislation based on international conventions. The land settlement is designed to give to Palestinians a security of title which was completely lacking in the Turkish regime. The Ottoman law, indeed, required the registration of title to land; but in a corrupt government the Land Registry Department was pre-eminent in corruption. The settlement is preceded by an exact survey, and comprises two principal measures: examination of disputed claims, and registration of all titles and interests in land by reference to a survey of each block and holding.

Proceeding at a deliberate pace, by the end of 1932 it had completed the settlement of 100,000 acres, and done the preliminary work in double that area. The new registers, when completed, will form, as it were, the Domesday Book of the country; and transfers of land will be recorded simply and certainly. Another constructive activity connected with the land is the Department of Development, which was initiated in 1931, as the outcome of the report of the Commission on immigration and land settlement. A director of Development—an expert official from the Indian Civil Service—was in the
first place to prepare a Register of such Arabs as can be shown to have been displaced from the lands which they had occupied, in consequence of the transfer to Jewish bodies, and to draw up a scheme for their re-settlement. He was then to investigate the methods to give effect to a policy of closer settlement, providing for both Jews and Arabs. The investigation should include (a) the feasibility and advisability of providing credit for Arab cultivators and Jewish settlers, and (b) proposals for draining and irrigating and otherwise re-claiming land not at present cultivated.

At the time the scheme was announced, the Government proposed to make available a sum not exceeding £50,000 for the investigation and experiment, and also to raise a further public loan for development. Before the preliminary report had been received, the financial situation of the world had become so embarrassed that the issue of a loan had to be postponed. The reconstruction activities of the newly created Department were narrowly limited; and, as it was said, the Department of Development became rather the development of a Department. After an exhaustive investigation, less than 900 claims of dispossession out of the 3,700 put forward were substantiated. On the larger issue, the Director submitted a report which was not published till July 1933, after he himself had resigned. It found favour neither with Jews nor with Arabs who were given the opportunity of examining it before publication. It was critical of the scheme of settlement of the Arabs on the state domain "because little or no land of cultural worth in the domain is now likely to be discovered which is not already subject to tenancy rights." It was critical also of a policy of closer settlement and more
intensive farming because of the uncertainty of markets. In the interval of over one year which clapsed between the writing and the publication of the report, the economic conditions of Palestine had improved to the extent that it was possible for the Government to propose the issue of a loan of £2,000,000—with a British Treasury Guaranty—part of which was to be used for settling the landless Arabs, for a hydrographical survey to explore the possibilities of irrigation, and for Government participation in a scheme of long-term credits for Arab and Jewish farmers.

The Government conducts two business departments—the Railways, and Posts and Telegraphs. Both have had remarkable development during the fifteen years of British administration. In the Turkish regime the Government constructed the Hedjaz Railway, which included, within the territory of Palestine, the line from Haifa to Deraa in the Hauran on the east side of the Jordan, and branches from Haifa to Acre and to Nablus. The funds were obtained from the contributions of the pious Moslems, as a holy work for the facilitation of the pilgrimage from Damascus to Mecca and Medina. The railway was in form dedicated as a Wakf or pious endowment, and its profits were to be devoted to the assistance of the pilgrimage. The other pre-war railway in Palestine was the French-owned line from Jaffa to Jerusalem. The Turkish Army and the British Army, as we have seen, did their part in linking up the Palestinian with the Egyptian lines.

To-day the Department manages three separate systems, each with its own proprietor and system of accounting. (1) The Palestine railways proper include the line from the frontier at Rafa to Haifa and the line from Jaffa to Jerusalem. (2) The Sinai
Railway from the frontier at Rafa to Kantara on the Suez Canal, which was constructed on Egyptian territory by the British Army, and now belongs in equal shares to the Palestine Government and the British Air Ministry, is nominally liable to be pulled up on due notice by the Egyptian Government, and is administered for its owners by the Palestine Government. (3) The Hedjaz Railway, which includes the old Turkish lines, by a declaration of the English and French Governments at the Peace Conference retains its character of a Moslem Wakf. The main line runs close to the Syrian Desert on the east from Damascus across the Plateaus of the Hauran and Transjordan to the closed region of the Hedjaz. The southern part of the line within Arabia, where no non-Moslem may penetrate, either as passenger or as engineer, was wrecked during the War by our Arab allies, and it has not been reinstated beyond the borders of Transjordan. The stretches within the British Mandated area, including Transjordania, have been hitherto maintained by the Palestine Department; but it is contemplated that a Moslem Council representing the peoples of the four territories concerned, Syria, Palestine, Transjordania, and the Hedjaz, shall be constituted to secure the Moslem religious interests. Hitherto extreme claims by the King of the Hedjaz and the rivalries of the Powers have prevented the execution of that intention.

In the Turkish regime several of the European States, but not Great Britain, conducted their own Post Office; and the Government post, used only as a last necessity, was notoriously unreliable. The Government Telegraph Service was equally inefficient and private telephones were unknown. The Mandatory has established a uniform postal system
which draws a steadily growing revenue, and has contributed to the Budget of the Government during recent years annually over £50,000. The three branches of the service are equal in efficiency to those of European countries. The difficulties of the three official languages have been surmounted; and the principal criticism of the Department concerns the lack of the aesthetic quality in the postage stamps.

Side by side with the departments of the Central Government, the Government comprises a local administration. As in the Turkish time, the country is divided into three principal districts, although the areas are altogether different from those of the previous regime: the Jerusalem district, which includes the sub-districts of Jerusalem, Ramallah and Hebron; the Southern district which, including the sub-districts of Jaffa, Ramleh, Gaza, and Beersheba, contains the most and the least populous parts of Palestine; and the Northern district, which includes the Biblical Samaria and Galilee, and has its centre at Haifa. At the head of each district is a British Commissioner with one or more British assistant-commissioners, and in each sub-district there is at least one Palestinian district officer. The district administration is responsible for the collection of the revenue from direct taxation, the maintenance of order, and the paternal functions of government with relation to the people. It is also the intermediary between the agents of the central departments, with their varied demands for efficiency and modernity, and the local population. Lastly it guides and checks the activities of the municipalities and other local bodies, and secures some standard of integrity and efficiency in their work.

The popular local authorities include the elected municipal councils, elected or appointed local coun-
cils in the larger villages, and the head-men, or Mukhtars, who are agents of the Government in many of its varied functions, in the other villages. A comprehensive ordinance concerning the organization and functions of all local authorities is now under consideration by the Government. The Jewish villages, with their application of democratic principles even to the smallest communities, substitute for the head-men an elected committee, or Vaad—usually open to women as well as men, and elected by adult suffrage. The Government communicates with the Vaad, which wields without statutory authority a considerable power for communal purposes. On the Arab side the heads of the principal families in the villages, and the Sheikhs of the tribes also wield an authority which, though innocent of legal sanction, is not the less effective.

One of the few subjects on which Arabs and Jews are unanimous is the complaint as to the number of British officers in the Administration. The complaint has received the sympathetic attention of the Permanent Mandates Commission, which, in their report to the Council of the League in 1932, recommended the Government to consider the possibility of replacing British officers by Palestinians. Most of the British officers naturally are in the higher positions of the Administration. Every Director's post and every Assistant Director's post is held by a British officer. No doubt that conduces to efficiency, and the world expects a high standard of efficiency in the administration of the Holy Land. At the same time, it may be apprehended that the desire for a high standard of government, always strong in the official mind, and the pride in the machine which British officers have evolved, have prevailed over-much. From time to time Commissions are
appointed, internally or externally, to make proposals for reducing the size and cost of the Administration. Hitherto the costs of the Commissions have tended to exceed the savings produced by their recommendations.

The Arabs have a general grievance that they are under-represented in the Administration in proportion to their part of the population; while the Jews have a particular grievance that they are under-represented in the police and defence forces, and further that the technical departments bring out British officers for posts which could be filled by qualified Jews. As regards the Jewish grievance, there may be occasionally difficulties in the appointment of Jews to posts in which they will be concerned largely with the Arab population; but here the Government may exercise a too timid virtue. The Moslem-Arab grievance is the stronger, because in the Turkish time they held most of the posts, and now the sons of the principal families find themselves deprived of authority. The number of Christian Arabs in the Administration is altogether disproportionate to their place in the population; and the fact that many of them were trained in missionary schools of the European countries, and therefore knew English or French, has had an excessive weight in the appointments. The figures of the census of 1931 concerning the public services indicate that of the 7,000 persons in the Government employment roughly half were Moslems, one-fifth were Jews, and the rest Christians. Viewed with regard to their proportion of the general population, the Jews have a normal percentage, while the Christians have more than treble their normal proportion, at the expense of the Moslems. The balance against the Moslems may be redressed somewhat in the next generation,
now that sons of the leading Moslems are receiving training in European universities, which will enable them later to take a fuller part in the administration of their country.

The Palestine Order in Council contemplated the establishment of a legislative body which was in part to be popularly elected. From the inauguration of the British Administration in 1920, the High Commissioner appointed an Advisory Council for legislation, which was composed of ten nominated non-official members and ten Government officers, under his own chairmanship. That body functioned for over two years, and was consulted about all the legislation and the Budget. The Order in Council prescribed that a legislative council in and for Palestine should be constituted to replace the Advisory Council then existing. It should have full power and authority, subject to the powers of His Majesty, to pass ordinances for the peace, order, and good government of Palestine, provided they should be in no way repugnant to, or inconsistent with the provisions of the Mandate. The Council was to consist of twenty-two members, in addition to the High Commissioner, of whom twelve should be unofficial and ten official members. The unofficial members were to be elected; and another Order in Council prescribed a system of indirect election which followed the Ottoman arrangement of election to the Chamber of Deputies, with a modification that the electoral colleges were to be distributed by religious communities. The High Commissioner retained a power of veto, and His Majesty a power of disallowance of any ordinance, even after the approval of the High Commissioner.

Arrangements were made in the early part of 1923 for holding the elections. At that time the extremer
section of Arab Nationalists were actively resisting the principles of the Mandate, which had not yet come into formal operation; and they called upon the people to boycott the elections, because the Council was a denial of Arab autonomy. No bread—and a grievance—were better than half a loaf. A large part of the population followed their lead; and the primary elections in the Arab divisions were so inadequate that the Government decided to abandon for the time the attempt to bring into being an elected council. An Amending Order was issued, which provided for the resumption of an Advisory Council, but with this difference from that formerly appointed, that there should be twelve non-official members and ten Government officers. The non-official majority of eight Moslems, two Christians, and two Jews were duly appointed; but again the extremer Nationalists put pressure upon them to withdraw. Most ceded to the pressure; and recognizing the impossibility of securing a representative non-official Advisory Council in the existing state of feeling, the Mandatory decided to proceed without it. It made indeed a further attempt to secure some popular participation in the affairs of government. To balance, as it were, the Jewish Agency which was established in accordance with the Mandate and consulted in matters touching the Jewish population, it offered to the Arabs the appointment of an Arab Agency which should be consulted by Government in matters affecting the Arab population. Once more the extremists obstructed the approach.

The Government accepted the negative attitude, perforce; and constituted an advisory council for legislation composed entirely of British officers. That bureaucratic body has remained till the present day. The High Commissioner lays before
it for discussion every Bill; and a more practical opportunity for public criticism is afforded by the publication of every Bill (except those of immediate urgency, such as changes in the customs tariff), at least a month before it can be enacted. Where a legislative project touches the interest of the population, the press and the people are by no means reticent in criticism. Legislation, though outwardly unchecked and arbitrary, is in practice limited by regard for public opinion. The High Commissioner also has of recent years sought to enlist representatives of the communities in various activities of the Government, by appointing them to Boards concerned with the work of the principal departments—e.g., a joint council for agriculture, a Board of Commerce and Industry, a Railway Board, a Road Board.

Nevertheless, the absence of any constituted popular authority, whether for criticism of Government activity or participation in the legislative work, is constantly felt to be unsatisfactory. The Administration has made several attempts to carry out the principle in the Mandate of encouraging self-governing institutions. Arab feeling had been moved, during the five years of tranquillity, 1924-1929, to greater willingness to co-operate with the Administration; and the High Commissioner announced, in the summer of 1929, his intention to consult with the Colonial Office about the introduction of a legislative council. The disturbances that broke out while he was in England, and the embitterment of public life which followed, necessitated a postponement of the project; but the Commission of Enquiry into the disturbances recommended in 1930 a measure of the kind. The White Paper issued by the British Government in 1930 stated categorically that the
Government would establish a legislative council upon the lines laid down in the Constitution of 1922, and would take measures to meet any attempt at obstruction by nominating members of any community which boycotted elections. Its announcement met with little favour from either Arabs or Jews. The Arabs now demanded much more; the Jews were full of apprehension that any elected council in which the Arabs had a majority would seek to destroy the policy of the Jewish National Home. Matters remained in suspense for two years; and a certain perturbation was caused when the present High Commissioner, Sir Arthur Wauchope, in his appearance before the Permanent Mandates Commission at Geneva in November 1932, declared that the Government adhered to its policy of establishing a legislative council as soon as the important measure concerning local government had been brought into force. The proposals would contain safeguards, "so that in no circumstances can the peace or security of Palestine be in danger, or the carrying out of the Mandate, which involves the discharge of a two-fold duty towards the Jewish people on the one hand, and the non-Jewish inhabitants on the other, be hampered."

The Mandates Commission itself seemed to have been taken by surprise; and the minutes of its proceedings (which are published for the illumination of all concerned), indicated that there was a divergence of opinion as to the opportuneness and wisdom of a change. Considerations of principle would favour it; but the discontent of the Arabs over what they consider a grossly inadequate measure of self-government, and the apprehension of the Jews over what they regard as a dangerous leap into the dark, which at best must hinder, and at worst must
thwart the development of the Jewish National Home, aroused practical doubts. It may be necessary to wait till a common social outlook has been more nearly attained. The High Commissioner made it clear that, if the effort to reconcile the views of the two races proved of no avail, the Government must carry out whatever policy it considers best in the interests of the people as a whole and in accordance with the Mandate.

During the ten years of legislative bureaucracy which have passed, the Government of Palestine has enacted a remarkable number of ordinances dealing with every aspect of life. The total is over 350; and nearly as many laws are issued annually for the little country as are passed by the Imperial Parliament for Great Britain. The Arab leaders deride the "law factory," which turns out new measures without rest. Two principal causes have induced the multiplication of laws: the inadequacy of the Ottoman Statute Book for the needs of modern life, and the legalistic spirit which has spread among the people, making it necessary to have an exact sanction for the exercise of authority. It is the inverted application of "the rule of law," which holds in the English constitution. The most important measures, however, have been passed in order to equip the country with modern institutions required by its extraordinary economic and social development; to provide for trading by limited liability companies and co-operative societies, the regulation of trade marks, patents, and copyrights, the control of mining and electrical enterprise, the protection of women and children in industry, the reform of the antiquated and inexact Ottoman Codes—of civil law, commercial law, land law, criminal law and procedure. Further, every department of govern-
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ment has required a new administrative suit of clothes, to define its powers and its obligations. The professions have required regulation; the adherence to international conventions has necessitated an enactment of laws concerning firearms and dangerous drugs, transit facilities and sea transport, aviation, the circulation of motor cars, and the quarantine service. The protection of the amenities of the country has called for laws restricting the use of advertisement, more effectively than elsewhere, and regulating the planning of towns and the excavation of antiquities.

The third branch of government which is regulated in the Palestine Order in Council is the judiciary. Turkish judicial administration was notoriously ineffective; and the inhabitants were expectant of what they called "the characteristic British justice." It was the first business of the Administration to simplify a system which sought vainly to check corruption by multiplying the number of judges to be corrupted. The Turks had in Palestine west of the Jordan thirteen tribunals of first instance, each composed of three judges; three courts of appeal, each composed of five judges; and an indefinite number of magistrates' courts manned with a single judge. There was no pretense that all the judges were legally qualified. Usually only the President of a higher court, who was often a Turk, was a professional. The others were "notables," that is, members of the principal families, or apprentices in the judicial service. The Order establishes three divisions of the judiciary. At the base are the magistrates' courts, which exercise both civil and criminal jurisdiction. They try civil cases up to the value of £100, or concerning the possession of land; and criminal charges for which broadly the
maximum penalty is one year's imprisonment. Most of the magistrates are Palestinians: Arabs or Jews; but British barristers have been appointed as stipendiaries in the larger towns. Further, a number of British officers hold magisterial warrants, by which they may dispose of the simpler criminal cases. The next instance is formed by district courts, of which there are four centred at Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nablus, and Haifa. They are composed of a British President and two Palestine judges, and they have jurisdiction in all civil matters outside the competence of the magistrates' courts, and in all criminal matters except capital cases. Further, they hear appeals from the magistrates' courts in their area.

The highest division is the Supreme Court, composed of a British Chief Justice and one or more British puisne judges, and four Palestine judges. The Supreme Court has two branches of jurisdiction. As a court of appeal it hears appeals from district courts and courts to try suits for ownership of land; as a High Court it exercises jurisdiction, new to Palestine and borrowed from English constitutional tradition, for testing the legality of Government action by petitions in the nature of writs of Habeas Corpus, injunction, and mandamus. Of this novel application of the rule of law the Palestine citizen has not been slow to avail himself. The Arab has lost his fear of Government and gained a love of law.

Capital cases are tried by a special court of criminal assize, in which the Chief Justice, or another British judge of the Supreme Court, sits with the full district court. The jury does not exist in Palestine, and its introduction would not be an instrument of justice in the present state of racial feeling. A further
appeal lies in civil cases of a certain value from the Supreme Court to the highest tribunal of British administration, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London. That is an application of His Majesty's prerogative in all countries in which he exercises jurisdiction. The expense of the appeal does not deter the persevering Palestinian litigant; and civil appeals have not been rare.

As to the law, the Order in Council directs the courts to apply in the first case the Ottoman legislation as it existed at the outbreak of the War, subject to modifications by any ordinance or other legislation of the Palestine Government; and failing that, the principles of English Common Law and Equity. In fact, the Ottoman code of civil law, which was a compilation of Moslem jurisprudence, and the Ottoman code of land law, which was partly a statement of the religious law and partly a consolidation of custom and legislation, have remained in force with small variations. On the other hand the Ottoman criminal law, which was an unscientific and occasionally blundering application of the Napoleonic code, has been largely replaced by ordinances following English criminal law, and is to be entirely superseded by a criminal code on English lines; the Ottoman code of criminal procedure, which was an application likewise of a Gallic source, has been more completely replaced by English procedure; and the Ottoman commercial code, which translated the provisions of the French commercial law of the middle of the nineteenth century, has been completely swept away. There is, then, a steady tendency to anglicize the law, save for those transactions which affect the agricultural population.

It is to be remembered that most matters of family rights are governed, not by the civil law or
the civil courts, but by religious law and religious courts. The Shari, or Moslem law with the Shari courts, of which the Kadis were the original judges in the land, the Rabbinical law and courts, and the Byzantine codes of various Christian communities with the Patriarchal courts—all these have remained. Their jurisdiction, however, is not uniform. The Moslems have exclusive and complete jurisdiction in all matters of personal status concerning Moslems; while the Jewish and Christian courts have exclusive authority only in matters of marriage relations and wills made according to religious practice, while other questions, of succession and of guardianship, are judged by the civil courts in accordance with civil laws passed by the government, unless all the parties concerned desire the application of the religious rules.

It will be sufficiently clear that the Palestine legal system is a mosaic of law and a medley of jurisdiction. Yet there has been a considerable simplification of the Ottoman legal heritage, as well as a radical improvement in the administration. Corrupt practice, if not abolished, is no longer the norm; and the popularity of the courts, which has multiplied the business manifold, is an indication of the confidence of the people. The hampering of the administration of justice in all matters in which foreigners were concerned, which was involved in the system of the Capitulations, has been removed. The judges have been given security of tenure; and a legal profession has been created in place of the nondescript class of advocates and practitioners. The calling of the advocate to-day is all too popular; but at least there is some qualification of learning and of apprenticeship. It is notable, too, that the profession has been opened to women.
Besides the religious courts, the variegated system of Palestine includes tribunals of Arab Sheikhs applying customary Bedouin law to the more primitive parts of the population in the Beersheba district of Southern Palestine. The Sheikhs meet every week, and judge according to the tribal usages both criminal charges and civil claims which have been referred to their tribunal. They are not bound by the formal rules of evidence, and may use tribal methods of proof. Their decisions are subject to appeal to the district court, which, however, must take account of tribal customs.

The Administration is supervised by the Colonial Office, as the ministerial agent of the Mandatory. For a short period it was the Foreign Office which exercised that function; but in 1921, when the Government of the Middle East was rearranged by Mr. Winston Churchill, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, the territories were brought within the scope of his office. The control of the Ministry which is largely concerned with the affairs of territories inhabited by backward peoples, and has worked out standard rules of administration for these territories, is not altogether well suited for the special conditions of Palestine. And the veto by cable and despatch from Downing Street is one of the unseen brakes on prompt and constructive action of the local administration.

The Order in Council includes a provision, peculiar in a British constitutional instrument, which provides that, if any religious community or considerable section of the population complains that the terms of the Mandate are not being fulfilled by the Government, it may present a memorandum to the High Commissioner. The memorandum is to be dealt with "in such manner as may be prescribed by His
Majesty, in accordance with the procedure recommended by the Council of the League of Nations." That Article anticipated the institution of a right of petition to the Council of the League by any body or individual complaining of violation of the letter or spirit of the Mandate. It affords a direct link between the population and the international body which watches over the international trust in the Mandate. Again the population of Palestine has not been slow to avail itself of recourse to an external authority. Every year the Permanent Mandates Commission is called upon to examine a number of petitions either from popular bodies or from individuals in Palestine, some complaining of individual grievances, some of the whole policy of the Mandate. The right of petition, together with the annual supervision over the working of the Mandate, constitute a genuine safeguard for the working of the difficult trust imposed in the Mandate.

There is one further international check upon the Government of Palestine. All the Mandates provide that, if any dispute should arise between the Mandatory and any member of the League of Nations, relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the Mandate, it shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice if it cannot be settled by negotiation. It is significant of the particular difficulty of the Palestine Mandate that the article has been utilized only in the case of that instrument. Three suits concerning it have been brought before the International Court, all touching a single subject-matter: concessions granted by the Ottoman Government to a Greek subject for the water-supply and electricity supply of Jerusalem and Jaffa. The litigation about the Mavrommatis concessions occupied the Court intermittently for a
period of three years from 1924-1927, and ended with "honours easy."

It is not only the International Court, however, which may pronounce upon the legality of the acts of the Government of Palestine. The Palestine courts exercise also that authority. They may decide whether legislation or executive action is in accordance with the provisions of the Mandate as laid down in the Order in Council. They have exercised that power on many occasions; indeed, it has been said that the maxim which finds favour is that "The King can do no right."
CHAPTER VIII

THIRTEEN YEARS OF BRITISH ADMINISTRATION

The story of the British Administration in Palestine is broadly a record of remarkable economic and social progress, tempered by violent outbreaks between Arabs and Jews which have checked, without stopping, the development. Since 1920 there have been three serious incidents of the kind: the Easter riots at Jerusalem in 1920; the May riots of 1921 in Jaffa and the coastal plain, and a minor repercussion of the same unrest, in November of that year, in Jerusalem; and last and most serious of all, the outbreak of August 1929 throughout the country. These incidents tend to take the prominent place in the minds of the public; yet, in fact, the outstanding feature of the history of Palestine since the British Occupation in 1918 has been the rapid development, not only materially, but socially and intellectually.

It was clear from the beginning that a primary task of the Mandatory Administration would be to keep the peace between the two communities, each of which was full of national ardour, and conciliate their interests. The Administration has to hold the balance fairly; to govern the country for the benefit of all the inhabitants; and while promoting the advancement of the Jewish National Home, to see that no injury is done to the civil and political rights of the Arab population. It has been continually exposed to a cross-fire. The Jews have com-
plained that the Government, instead of facilitating their development in the country, merely holds the ring for a contest between the two peoples; while the Arabs complain that the Zionist and Imperialist policy of the Government betrays their interests. They do not wish to be governed and claim the right to govern. It comes natural to the British official to be the umpire in a game; and some of the departmental and district officers have been inclined to take up that standpoint, rather than to assist positively the efforts of the Jewish settlers. The task of the Administration in Palestine has no parallel in the history of colonial government; and for that reason it has often been difficult for officers trained in the Colonial Service to appreciate the principles of the Mandate, and give effect to them in their relations to the population. They have found it easier to take the attitude of the Roman Gallio who "cared for none of these things." Their task, be it said, has been made difficult from the outset, because of the resistance of the Arab leaders to the execution of the policy of the Mandate, a resistance which has always been stubborn and intermittently violent.

The thirteen years which have passed since the Civil Administration was established fall into four periods.

(1) The period of constructive effort to initiate the policy of the Jewish National Home, followed by violent Arab resistance and non-co-operation with Government: July 1920 to March 1923.

(2) A period of appeasement and steady development from 1923 to 1929.

(3) The violent outbreak of the Arabs against the Jews, followed by a long-drawn-out series of Commissions and inquisitions: 1929 to 1931.
(4) A fresh period of appeasement and rapid development from 1931 to the present day.

In the first period Sir Herbert Samuel, immediately after the formation of the Administration, inaugurated measures for implementing the promise of the Balfour Declaration and promoting the development of the country in all aspects. Jewish immigration started on a regular scale of about 1,000 persons a month; transactions in land, which had been suspended by the Military Administration, were resumed; a Land Commission was appointed to ascertain what State and other lands were available for closer settlement; the formation of Credit banks was encouraged; a large number of public works were initiated; schools were opened in the Arab villages at the rate of one a week; and legislation over a wide field was enacted. At first the Arabs seemed to accept the emphatic assertion in act of the Government's determination to carry through the policy; and the Jews throughout the world were fired by a fresh enthusiasm to realize their age-long hopes. Enemies of the policy, however, both within and without Palestine, maintained their agitation. Palestine, like the rest of the world, was still disturbed by the ground-swell that followed the storms of the Great War.

Early in 1921, signs of unrest showed themselves. The visit of Mr. Winston Churchill, Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the East, for the purpose of dealing comprehensively with the government of the Mandated territories, was a stimulus to agitation and violent propaganda. On the day of his arrival in Jerusalem an affray occurred at Haifa between the police and an Arab nationalist demonstration. One fatal shot sufficed to break up the crowd; and no further outward trouble marred the visit. Mr.
Churchill received an Arab deputation which put forward extreme demands for the abolition of the principle of a Jewish National Home, and the creation of a National Government responsible to a Parliament elected by the inhabitants of Palestine. He made it clear that the Balfour Declaration was an international obligation definitely established, that the British authority rested on the liberation of the country by British armies, and so was a position of right as well as of trust. As regards the Jewish National Home, he said, "it was manifestly right that the Jews, who are scattered over the world, should have a national centre where some of them may be re-united; and that centre must be in the Land of Palestine, with which over more than 3,000 years they had been intimately associated. We think that it will be good for the world, for the Jews, and for the British Empire; but we also think that it will be good for the Arabs who dwell in Palestine; and we intend that they shall not be sufferers or supplanted in that country in which they dwell, or denied their share in all that makes for progress and prosperity." He ended by an appeal—"If, instead of sharing miseries through quarrels, you will share blessings through co-operation, a bright and tranquil future lies before the country."

The appeal was not answered; and at the end of the spring festivals of that year, always a period of national and communal excitement in Palestine, the Arabs suddenly burst on May-day in violent attack upon the Jews of Jaffa. The immediate provocation was given by some minor disturbances on the labour holiday between a Communist section of the Jewish Labour Party and the main organization. It led to the storming of the Jewish Immigrants' Home by a wild mob which killed thirteen and seriously wounded
twenty-four of the immigrants, and then went on to loot Jewish houses in the Arab quarter of Jaffa. The infection of violence spread from the town to the villages around; and had to be put down by the soldiers. Martial law was proclaimed in the district and maintained for two months. In order to prevent further excitement, the Government temporarily stopped immigration. That was generally regarded as a dangerous concession to mob violence; and was an unfortunate precedent for similar action after the riots in 1929.

It has been the normal course to appoint a Commission of Enquiry after each outbreak. After the Easter riots of 1920, there was a Military Commission; and after the May riots of 1921 a Civil Commission, composed of officers of the Government, and under the Chairmanship of the Chief Justice, Sir Thomas Haycraft, who had only recently assumed office. The Commission considered not only the immediate events of the disturbances, but also the predisposing causes; and their report, which was published as a Command Paper in September 1921, found that the fundamental cause was a feeling among the Arabs of discontent and hostility to the Jews, due to political and economic causes, and connected with Jewish immigration and their conception of Zionist policy. The outbreak was not premeditated or expected, but the state of popular feeling made conflict likely on any provocation.

It has also been the normal outcome of each outbreak that an Arab Delegation has gone to England to make representations to the Government against the policy of the Mandate. In 1921 the Delegation was headed by Musa Kasem Pasha El Husseini, a former Turkish official, and the Mayor of Jerusalem from the time of the Occupation till Easter 1920.
It contained Christian as well as Moslem Arabs; and the alliance of the two Arab communities against the Jews has remained constant. The Delegation embarked on a long-drawn negotiation with the Colonial Office with regard to the projected constitution for the country. It took up an uncompromising attitude, and refused to accept the White Paper of 1922, which interpreted the Mandate and gave a moderate application to the idea of the Jewish National Home. On its return to Palestine empty-handed, it organized the boycott of the elections for the Legislative Council, and the general programme of Arab non-co-operation with the Government. It made the task of the Government harder, and the resistance of the Arabs more obstinate that a large and noisy part of the English press, and sections of English politicians, maintained during this period of unrest a violent agitation against the Mandate, and particularly against the policy of assisting the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

The need of tranquillizing Arab feeling in Palestine, particularly with regard to their apprehensions of being dispossessed of their land, induced the Government in the later part of 1921, to negotiate with the Arab tenants of the State domain in the Jordan valley for the transfer of the ownership of the land which they cultivated. Jewish hopes of a grant or lease by the Government of State-domain for a large scheme of Jewish settlement had been centred on these lands; and they were bitterly disappointed by the arrangement. For years they regarded it as a major grievance, and as a violation of the Article in the Mandate by which the Government was directed to encourage close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands not required for public purposes. The Government, indeed,
expected that a considerable area of good land would be available for Jewish settlement after the allocation of the Arab holdings; but that hope was not realized, partly because the provision for the Arabs erred on the side of generosity, and partly because of the difficulty of checking claims rigidly. Nevertheless, about one-third of the area, comprising the less cultivable part, remains for distribution; and the report of a Director of Development published in 1933, recommends that the whole area shall be brought under Government control, with a view to a more systematic user.

After the failure to complete the election of a Legislative Council in 1923, the Government set itself to promote the development of the country by direct administration and to conciliate the two communities. Its efforts in both directions met with considerable success; and the last months of the five years' term of Sir Herbert Samuel, which ended in June 1925, marked a stage of achievement and of tranquillity. During these months Lord Balfour visited the country for the purpose of inaugurating the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. While the Arab nationalists, who regarded him both as the author and the symbol of the policy which they hated, demonstrated passively against him, and would take no part in any ceremonies attendant on his visit, no violent action and no insulting word marred his progress through the land. It was only when he reached Syria that the sympathetic strike of Arab nationalists in Damascus was transformed into a dangerous riot. Speaking a little later before a Parliamentary committee, he was able to draw the contrast between the position in Syria, where the French had an army of 30,000 troops, and Palestine where a single cavalry regiment was quartered, and
order was adequately kept by the police force, in which Jews and Arabs served side by side. His visit was followed by that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Amery, whose coming inevitably invited the repetition of protest against the Mandate and the Government from the Arab leaders. But while Mr. Churchill's visit was marked by turbulent demonstrations, now there were orderly deputations and relatively moderate criticism of the British policy.

An extraordinary wave of enthusiasm passed through the Jewish world at the time, consequent, in part, upon the inauguration of the university and the ceremonies connected with it. There was an elation such as had not been experienced since the Balfour Declaration was issued. The immigration, which had hitherto brought an average of 1,000 persons a month, was trebled. It comprised a large number of persons of "independent means," who were required to satisfy the authorities that they disposed of a capital of at least £500; and who brought new enterprises to the country. Some of this middle-class immigration was indeed unstable; and failed to make good in the country. It swelled to excess the class of little shopkeepers and rentiers in the sense of persons living on the rent of houses which they built. A slump and an economic setback followed in the two succeeding years; and a fraction of the immigrants chose to leave Palestine and return to their homes in Central and Eastern Europe.

At the moment, however, when Sir Herbert Samuel laid down his office and rendered an account to the Mandatory of his rule, the prospects were uncloudedly bright. His report is the best summary of the development of the country during that quinquennium. On the side of public security, which
was the primary condition of welfare in any country, he could point to the gradual pacification and the solid organization of the Civil Forces; of the administration of justice he could say that the Courts had won the confidence of the people. On the financial side the Government had not only been able to pay its way, but to accumulate a surplus and pay off certain capital charges. Turning to the administrative services, he recorded a remarkable improvement of communications by rail and road, by post, telegraph, and telephone; the sanitation of the country by the Health Department; the provision of 200 new village schools for the Arab population; the beginning of the work of afforestation by the Government’s planting of a million trees, and the increase of the live stock in the country by over 50 per cent; the increase of the annual value of the exports of Palestine from £350,000 to nearly £2,000,000, while the value of the imports remained stationary; and, the initiation of schemes for the harbour at Haifa, the cadastral survey, the settlement of the land, etc.

With regard to the establishment of the Jewish National Home, the outstanding feature of the record was that the Jewish population had nearly doubled, and the area of agricultural land owned by Jews had more than doubled. The character and quality of the Jewish population had changed as much as the quantity. The immigrants had a passion for social progress and were conscious that they were engaged in a creative task. "They know quite well that they are an integral part of the movement for the redemption of Palestine."

Sir Herbert Samuel was succeeded as High Commissioner by Field-Marshal Viscount Plumer, who held office from the summer of 1925 to the summer of 1928. Politically and economically Lord
Plumer was happy in the time of his office; and if the country passed through a short period of economic setback in the first half of his term, it remained politically tranquil under his strong, firm, and just rule. So peaceful, indeed, did it seem, and so bright were the prospects of a better understanding between Arabs and Jews, that the High Commissioner agreed to the removal of the single regiment left in the country, and to the disbandment of the force of British Gendarmerie which had been brought to support the police and check inter-racial disturbance. Sir John Shuckburgh, the head of the Middle East Department in the Colonial Office, who appeared before the Permanent Mandates Commission in 1927, could state: "We have reached a stage, not perhaps of mutual affection between Arabs and Jews, but of mutual tolerance." Later events showed that the expectations were too optimistic, and that, as soon as the firm hand was withdrawn, elements of unrest were waiting to break out in violence. Yet, though both on the northern and eastern frontiers of Palestine fierce fighting took place, in 1925 and 1926, between the French troops and the rebel inhabitants of Syria, and though the Palestine Arabs were naturally sympathetic to the rising, no incident happened to disturb internal or external peace. The opportunity, however, of the internal calm was not taken—as it might well have been—to initiate a big advance in the political development. The citizenship law came into force; and an ordinance was passed for the regulation of municipal elections, in which all Palestine citizens could take part. The elections were held on the basis of communal representation in the principal towns of mixed population, and to that extent there was an introduction of self-governing institutions. But the proposals for the
creation of a Legislative Council for the country, that were discussed with Arab leaders, did not come to any positive result.

The three years of Lord Plumer’s Administration were much more equable than the five years of Sir Herbert Samuel; they were not marked by any dramatic incident or by any striking departure. Their primary feature was stabilization, which was shown in the steady maintenance of public security both in Palestine and Transjordan; the continuous prosecution in Palestine of the policy of establishing a Jewish National Home; the development of the resources of the land, particularly of its agricultural interests; the encouragement of local self-governing institutions, and the avoidance of national politics; the reform of the fiscal system and, finally, the closer knitting of the ties between Palestine and Transjordan. It may be noted as a coincidence that the period of Palestine tranquillity, 1924-1929, was also a period of world tranquillity, when the Powers of Europe and the League of Nations contrived to remove some of the causes and symptoms of violence and national conflict. It was an all too short period of recovery from the national passions which harassed and harass the post-war world.

Sir John Chancellor, who was appointed High Commissioner in succession to Lord Plumer, did not take up the appointment for four months after the departure of his predecessor. The Government was administered in the meantime by the Chief Secretary, Mr.—now Sir—Harry Luke, who had been appointed to that post shortly before Lord Plumer’s departure. During the interregnum, a little cloud appeared on the Palestine horizon, which was to grow until it produced a violent cataclysm. It gathered over the Jewish right of prayer at the
Western Wall of the “sacred enclosure” at Jerusalem; and it roused to a dangerous degree, for the first time since the Occupation, the religious fanaticism which is latent in the uneducated Moslem population. The Wall, it is said, became the focus of the claims of the two races, each of whom sought to utilize incidents unimportant in themselves, in order to establish their respective claims. It is not necessary to recount details of the strife which, with some lulls, was maintained for a year. But in August 1929, while the High Commissioner was on leave in England, fierce rioting broke out in Jerusalem, and spread from there to all parts of the country.

The Administration, though it had reason to expect trouble, because feeling had been systematically worked up on both sides for some weeks, had not the force necessary to put down the outbreak. The Arabs fell upon the Jewish quarters in Jerusalem, on Friday, August 23, and killed and wounded a number of persons; on the following day the defenceless Jewish population in Hebron was attacked by a wild mob which killed over fifty people “in circumstances of unspeakable savagery,” and seriously wounded over 100. On the same day mobs massacred a family of nine Jews in the little village of Moza, five miles outside Jerusalem, and destroyed three of the smaller settlements in the coastal plain and foothills. Troops were rushed up by air from Cairo and brought by sea from Malta, and a strong naval force was landed. But there was a final massacre and outrage in the Jewish quarter of Safed in Galilee, where the mob killed some twenty persons, and destroyed 120 houses and shops, while troops were on their way to guard the town. It was the most serious and determined riot against the Jewish settlement since the giving of the Mandate, and it
evoked tremendous feeling throughout the world. It came as the greater shock because immediately before the outbreak a fresh wave of enthusiasm and hopefulness about Palestine stirred the Jewish people. The very week before the catastrophe the enlarged Jewish Agency had been inaugurated at a meeting in Zurich, and approved a budget of £1,000,000 for the annual expenditure, and laid plans for raising a capital fund of three millions for agricultural development.

It was felt on this occasion that the enquiry should be conducted by a more authoritative body than could be found within the Administration; and a Commission was appointed of a Colonial Ex-Chief-Justice, Sir Walter Shaw, and three Members of Parliament, one from each of the parties. The legal character of the enquiry was emphasized when it was decided that the parties might be represented by counsel. The Zionists, through leaders of the Bar brought from England, made a direct attack on the Government for its negligence in not taking proper measures to maintain the peace, and for its sympathy with Arab resistance, to which they ascribed one of the deeper causes of the trouble. They charged also the leaders of the Arabs with having deliberately organized the outrages. The Arabs, on their side, put forward through an array of counsel their grievances about the Mandate, the broken terms about Arab independence, Jewish immigration, and the dispossession of the Arab cultivators from the land. The Government of Palestine found it necessary, finally, to have legal assistance for the defence of its officers against the charges.

It was not intended that the Commission should examine the larger aspects of the trouble; and in the notice of its appointment the Colonial Office declared
that "His Majesty's Government have no idea of reconsidering the British tenure of the Mandate for Palestine, and that no enquiry is contemplated which might alter the position of this country in regard to the Mandate or the policy laid down in the Balfour Declaration of 1917 . . . of establishing in Palestine a national home for the Jews. The enquiry now initiated is limited to the immediate emergency, and will not extend to the consideration of major policy."

Nevertheless, the Arab witnesses and the Arab counsel contrived from the beginning to broaden the basis of enquiry, and the Commission did not check them. The feeling of the two communities was steadfastly embittered by the proceedings before the Commission, by a series of outrages and attempted assassinations which were perpetrated while the Commission was sitting, by unbridled violence of the press, and by boycotts of trade between the two communities. Finally, the execution of three of the twenty Arabs found guilty of murder in the outbreaks, nearly a year after the events, kept alive hatred for a further period. The report of the Commission which was published in the early part of 1930 found that the outbreaks were for the most part a vicious attack by Arabs on Jews, accompanied by wanton destruction of Jewish property; but they were not premeditated, nor intended to be a revolt against the British authority in Palestine. They found also that the Zionist charges against the Arab leaders, and particularly the Mufti of Jerusalem, of fomenting the troubles were not established, and the charges against the Arab executive of organizing the disturbances were likewise not proved. The Government was exonerated from blame; the Commission found that it adhered to the best of its
ability to the difficult task of maintaining "a neutral and impartial attitude between the two peoples, whose leaders have shown little capacity for compromise." The policy of reducing the garrison, however, had been carried too far, and the Intelligence Service of the police was inadequate.

These—whitewashing—pronouncements on the immediate troubles were not so important as those of the Commission on the major questions, which had been declared outside its purview. On the not very complete or searching evidence before them, they thought fit to declare that (a) the claims and demands from the Jewish side with regard to the future of the Jewish immigration have been such as to rouse among the Arabs apprehension that they will in time be deprived of their livelihood, and pass under the political domination of the Jews; (b) a landless and discontented class was being created among the Arabs, which was a potential danger to the country; (c) the difficulties in the Mandate were a factor of supreme importance, and the issue of a clear definition of the policy would be of the greatest assistance in securing the government of the country. "Its value would be greatly enhanced if it contained a definition, in clear and distinct terms, of the meaning which His Majesty's Government attach to passages in the Mandate providing for the safeguarding of the rights of the non-Jewish communities in the country, and if it laid down for the guidance of the Government of Palestine directions more explicit than have yet been given as to the conduct of policy upon such vital concessions as land and immigration."

The report of the Commission, though unanimous in form, was accompanied by a memorandum of the Labour Member, Mr.—afterwards Lord—Snell, who on the one hand was more critical of the Arab part
in the riots and of Government responsibility, and on the other dealt more sympathetically with Jewish aspirations, and stated explicitly that he believed in the rightness and practicability of the idea of a Jewish National Home. "What is required in Palestine is less a change of policy in matters of immigration and land, than a change of mind on the part of the Arab population, who have been encouraged to believe that they have suffered a great wrong and that the immigration of the Jew constitutes a menace to their life and future. I am convinced that this view is exaggerated, and that on any long view of the situation the Arab people stand to gain rather than to lose from Jewish enterprise."

The Labour Government which was in office in England chose, however, to disregard the memorandum of the member of its party, and to adopt uncritically and wholeheartedly the major report. It acted straightway on the recommendations for the appointment of an expert adviser into the organization of the police force, and of another expert to conduct a fuller economic enquiry into the questions of immigration and land settlement. Sir Stanley Dowbiggin, of Ceylon, conducted the first enquiry; Sir John Hope-Simpson, a former Indian Civil Servant, who had directed for some years the Greek refugee settlement in Greece, the second. At the instance of the Commission also, the Government approached the League of Nations with a request for the appointment of another—international—Commission to enquire into the rights and claims at the Wailing Wall, so as to allow the Mandatory to dispose of that source of strife.

The Government rendered a report to the Permanent Mandates Commission, which held a special session at Geneva, in the beginning of June, to
consider the affairs of Palestine and the report of the Shaw enquiry. They again emphatically endorsed the findings of the majority of the Commissioners. The international body, however, was not deeply impressed by these findings, though they were supported in person by the Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Dr. Drummond Shiels. They considered that the disorders could not justly be regarded as an unexpected disturbance in conditions of political calm; they doubted whether the indulgent judgment passed by the majority on the Arab leaders was fully justified, they questioned the conclusion that the outbreak was not directed against the British authority, and imputed a certain responsibility to the Mandatory Government on account of the lack of foresight and the inadequacy of the forces to repel the disorder. Turning, as the Shaw Commission had done, to larger questions, they were inclined to ask whether the Government had done all that it should to implement the policy, "whether the obligation to encourage close settlement of the Jews on the land does not imply the adoption of a more active policy which would develop the country's capacity to receive and absorb immigrants in larger numbers with no ill results."

The British Government published a somewhat irritable rejoinder to this criticism, urging that the Commission had largely ignored the conditions in the Mandate that the Mandatory should be responsible for safeguarding the religious and civil rights of all the inhabitants. They sought also to turn the imputation of Arab resistance to British authority by a suggestion that Arab protests were directed rather against the Mandate and the League of Nations. They were antagonized by the reflection on their policy and administration. The most
serious outcome of all this enquiry and disputation was a fresh statement of policy, which was issued by the British Government in October 1930. It was designed to give that fuller interpretation of the Mandate, and particularly of the policy of the Government with regard to the safeguarding of the rights of the non-Jewish population, which the Shaw Commission had recommended. It was based on the report of Hope-Simpson, but the dominant note was to emphasize the obligation of the Mandatory towards the non-Jewish population and to subordinate to that the obligation towards the Jews. It transposed, as it were, the two parts of the Declaration and changed the emphasis. Moreover, its tone and temper were unsympathetic to Zionist endeavour.

It was generally agreed that the drafting of the White Paper was inept; and even if it was desired to placate Arab feeling, the document was "unnecessarily rude" and offensive to the Jews. The impression given was that Jewish development was prejudicial to the well-being of the Arabs, and must be checked; and that the positive provisions of the Mandate about the Jewish National Home must be whittled down in practice. The statement succeeded, not in placating the Arabs, but in violently estranging the Jews; and the non-Jewish friends of the Jewish National Home were roused. The leaders of the Conservative and Liberal Parties and General Smuts, who was one of the creators of the Mandate idea and the sponsor of the Palestine Mandate, at once made declarations expressing their apprehensions of a change of policy with regard to the Jewish National Home, which was not in accordance with the spirit of the Mandate. On the Jewish side Dr. Weizmann, who had steered the Jewish ship of State for fifteen onerous years, and throughout earnestly
sought co-operation with the British Government, Mr. Felix Warburg, the American Chairman of the Jewish Agency, and Lord Melchett, one of the vice-chairmen, who had of recent years been an enthusiastic upholder of Jewish effort in Palestine, resigned their offices in protest. The White Paper, it was said, was an attempt to break the barrel and still keep the wine. A debate upon it took place in the House of Commons on November 17, when the Government insisted that it did not intend to depart from the policy of its predecessors.

"I like a Parliamentary Debate—Especially when it's not too late"

said Lord Byron; and the mischief of intensifying the division between the two communities had been done. The Labour Prime Minister, indeed, feeling the weight of English opinion and Jewish indignation, sought to repair the mischief by an explanation of the explanation. In February 1931 he published a letter which was addressed to Dr. Weizmann, "In order to remove certain misconceptions and misunderstandings which have arisen as to the policy of His Majesty's Government with regard to Palestine." The letter was to be read as an authoritative interpretation of the White Paper, was published in Hansard, and sent as an instruction to the Palestine Administration. Its general purpose was to affirm and emphasize the obligations of the Mandatory concerning the Jewish National Home, to remove the slurs in the White Paper upon Jewish effort, and to give fresh assurances about Jewish immigration and Jewish settlement upon the land. It stated explicitly that "the Government have not proscribed, and did not contemplate, any stoppage of Jewish immigration in any of its categories." The claims
of Jewish labour to a due share of employment in public and municipal works, taking into account Jewish contributions to public revenue, would be taken into consideration. Finally, "the obligations imposed on the Mandatory by its acceptance of the Mandate are solemn international obligations from which there is not now, nor has there been at any time, an intention to depart." Like the previous statements of the British Government it ended with an appeal for co-operation "and an unqualified recognition that no solution can be satisfactory or permanent which is not based upon justice, both to the Jewish people and to the non-Jewish communities of Palestine."

The Arabs in their turn were dismayed and incensed by what they called "the Black Interpretation of the White Paper." The Jews, though not yet trusting, were relieved; and Dr. Weizmann announced that he was prepared once more to cooperate with the Government. The latter, however, saddled Palestine with yet another enquiry, to ascertain what State or other lands were available for closer settlement by the Jews. The latest Commissioner conducted his investigation during 1932, and his report, like several which preceded, examined the basis of the Mandate policy with regard to land. It may be doubted whether the series of enquiries by experts from other administrations who came, reported, and departed, was the best means of formulating a clear and consistent policy.

It may be said of Palestine that during this period it was the land not of promise but of inquisition. Both communities, Arabs and Jews, attacked the Government for "sins of omission and commissions." Government began to weary of the constant investigation and interrogation, and in weariness of that
negative process turned to more constructive measures. In 1933, after tranquillity was restored, the Colonial Secretary, Sir Philip Cunliffe-Lister, expressed a prevalent feeling when he said: "White Papers appear to me to be a form of literature which afford unnecessary scope for learned commentators of every creed; and their elaborate and meticulous examinations do not necessarily illustrate the true inwardness of the uninspired word."

Palestine remained in a condition of unrest throughout the years 1930 and 1931. In the summer of the latter year, Sir John Chancellor's term came to an end, and in the winter he was succeeded by General Sir Arthur Wauchope. The arrival of a new Governor, who brought with him a fresh spirit of hopefulness about the country, the will to act and a determination to get in touch with all sections of the people and win their confidence, did mark a change. The peoples turned to economic activity. A fresh stage opened of Jewish expansion and enterprise. It was partly induced by the depression in the rest of the world, and assisted by the fall in the exchange of sterling. That encouraged Jewish investors in foreign countries to place their money in Palestine where they might hope for a better return than in the collapsed economy of their own country. The depression abroad started that rare thing, a Virtuous Circle—investment in Palestine, stimulation of enterprise, encouragement of immigration, and further investment of capital. Immigration, which had declined since the outbreak of 1929 to a few thousand a year, rose in 1932 to over 10,000, and in 1933 promises to attain a much higher figure. There was an extraordinary outburst of private enterprise, both in the way of orange plantation and of industrial activity; and when the Secretary of State for the
Colonies visited the country in April 1933, he witnessed such a manifestation of activity as his predecessor, Mr. Amery, had found in 1925. The calamity of the ruthless Jewish persecution in Germany, which stirred the world, Jewish and non-Jewish, at that time, has also been a stimulus to the development of the Jewish settlement in Palestine. The Jews could look to that little country as the one place for building a new home; and not only the Jews of Germany, but the Jews of the whole Diaspora realized that their effort for re-construction must in large measure be concentrated there.

At the same time the political cleavage between the Arabs and Jews has shown little sign of being bridged. Public security has been restored; and save for a few sporadic outrages of a terrorist gang, inter-racial violence has ceased. But the Arab leaders maintain their attitude of uncompromising resistance to the Mandate, and an extreme Jewish section, known as the Revisionists,¹ has arisen and gained followers among the youth. It demands more drastic action on the part of the Government to fulfil the promise of the National Home, and is both aggressive towards the Arabs and denunciatory of the Zionist direction. And it has engendered a violent terrorist section within its ranks. An extreme section of the Arabs, organizing a party for complete independence (Istiklal), has called for active non-co-operation, but so far with but little response. It marks, however, its hostility to the Government by treating not only the anniversary of the deliverance of Jerusalem, but also Armistice Day, as occasions of strike and protest; and it organized a boycott of Lord Allenby and the Colonial Secretary when they visited Palestine in the spring of 1933.

¹ They have their name from their demand for revision of the Mandate.
It is clear from this record that the British Administration of Palestine has no easy or grateful task. It is required to show constant vigilance; and whatever it does, it is fairly certain of reproach from either side. In dealing with the Arabs it seeks to placate the implacable. The Jews, whose leaders seek co-operation with the Mandatory Government in England and with the Administration of Palestine, are at the same time critical of Government action. The greater part of the Jewish population, which comes from central or eastern Europe, is unversed in the ways of Government, and from its past bitter experience is unduly suspicious of its activity. Psychologically it finds it difficult to understand the British character; and the reverse is equally true. The Jews are too contemptuous of facts, the English of ideas. The Jewish settlers come to Palestine aflame with enthusiasm for their ideal; the British officers are absorbed in the details of fair administration. Here are, as it were, two chosen peoples, each feeling that they have a mission, who do not meet but remain in splendid isolation and do not comprehend each other’s ideals. The Jews expect that the British officer will have the same sympathy and understanding as a Balfour or a Cecil. On the other side few British officers have had any education in the special conditions of Palestine administration. It is observed that nations touch at their summits but not lower down.

The Jewish population, moreover, from their ignorance of the problems of Empire, are inclined to treat the Palestine of the Mandate as if it were an isolated territory, and as if British interest must be devoted to the rapid fulfilling of the Mandate policy. They cannot appreciate England’s responsibilities as a great Moslem power, and her need for treading
warily in the East. They are afe to realize their age-long ideal; an old people in a hurry. The Prime Minister remarked in opening an Anglo-Palestine exhibition in 1933, "Governments are made to disappoint those in a hurry." So it comes about that the cautiousness of the Administration is ascribed to a policy of betraying the Mandate; and a lack of sympathy, which is not as rare as it should be in individual officers of the Administration, is taken as an indication of a deliberate anti-Jewish policy. Unsparing attacks of the Hebrew press or of the Jewish public bodies against individuals tend again to estrange the goodwill of the Administration. These bodies and the Administration have, at times, engaged in a kind of trench warfare, weary and indecisive.

From the Arab side, the attack on the Government is more insistent and indiscriminate, but less resented, perhaps, than the more reasoned attacks from the Jewish side, because of underlying British sympathy with a simpler and less intellectual people. The British Administration is represented by the Arab political leaders as a hostile Government of "colonisers," that is, the promoters of Jewish colonization, and imperialists. It is incessantly attacked for its wasteful expenditure and its multiplication of British office-holders, its disregard of Arab claims and its denial of Arab independence. One of the most intelligent and authoritative Arab spokesmen, trained in England, has described it as a "Chimera bombinans in vacuo." Both Arabs and Jews are prone to charge the Government with playing the part of "divide and rule," deliberately keeping the two communities apart, as "a third party rejoicing." The charge, on the Arab side, is amazingly oblivious of the constant girding of the leaders against the
Jews; and on the Jewish side is oblivious of the difficulties of the Government with relation to the Arabs. But if the Government has a bad public, so to say, and a bad press in Palestine, its achievements must speak for it. And the unparalleled development of Palestine during the last thirteen years, which makes the country stand out not only in the East, but in the whole civilized world as a region of material, social and intellectual progress; and the comparative tranquillity which it has enjoyed, save for the one grave outbreak in 1929—these are the truer witnesses of its capacity and its sincerity.
CHAPTER IX

THE ARABS

The Arabs constitute more than three-quarters of the population of Palestine. The Census taken in 1931 gives a total of 759,712 Moslems, and 91,398 Christians, who are all, save some 13,000 foreign Christians, counted as Arab. The fundamental political problem in Palestine is to conciliate the national aspirations of this majority with the ideals of the Jewish population which comes to the country to build up in it a National Home. The fundamental moral problem is to harmonize the different standards of living and different cultures of the two peoples.

Writing in the middle of the last century, Mr. Finn, who was British Consul in Jerusalem, pointed out that the Arabs of Palestine fell into three classes, the Baladeen, the inhabitants of the towns; the Fellaheen, the peasant inhabitants of the villages; and the Bedouin, the tent-dwelling nomads who are found not only in the desert marches but in all parts of the country. That division still applies, and the three classes are in different stages of development. They are distinguished by their dress, and especially by their headgear. The town Arabs mostly wear the Tarbush, the Turkish stiff red hat; the Fellaheen wear the turban, with different colours according to the district; the nomads wear the kerchief, with a woollen or silken cord. The women of all classes are secluded; those
of the towns and villages are normally veiled. A considerable portion of the town Arabs, who comprise one-quarter of the Arab population, are literate; and many have had some modern education, and are quickminded and energetic. They love to talk politics in the cafés. The bulk of the Fellahaheen and Bedouin are illiterate. They are conservative in their habits, incredibly credulous, irresponsible like children, always hospitable, usually kindly, but prone to attacks of violent fanaticism when moved about their religion. This excitement is most readily roused on the occasion of the popular Feasts and Fairs, when the village population comes to the towns and is on holiday. It engages in singing and dancing—often with swords and heavy sticks (Nabouts); and the singing and dancing may be repeated till the people are in a state bordering on frenzy and ecstasy.

The Feasts are associated with some saint or religious person nominally Moslem; but the origin is often pagan. The most famous of these gatherings is the Nebi Musa Fair of Jerusalem, coinciding with the Easter holidays, when the Moslem villagers of southern and central Palestine forgather in Jerusalem and then troop out—to-day in motor cars—to a place of pilgrimage in the Jordan valley which is the reputed burial-place of the prophet Moses. The Nebi Saleh of Ramleh is held a little later in the spring when the villagers of the maritime plain forgather in that town, and go out to the tomb of a holy person and camp there. The feast of Mar Elias on the Carmel Mountain is held in midsummer, at which time the Christian and Jewish, as well as Moslem villagers, gather around the cave sacred to the prophet Elijah. The recent history of Palestine has shown the explosive possibilities of the crowd
at these gatherings in times of tension, and the celebrants have to be watched and shepherded.

When Finn wrote, the outbursts of violent fanaticism were directed against the Christians. To-day that feeling against the Christians may be occasionally roused, as it was when the International Missionary Conference was held at Jerusalem in 1928. But normally it is directed against the Jews; and it had its most violent expression in 1929, over the question of the Western Wall.

The Bedouin are almost entirely illiterate. The last census gave a return of only fifty-three literate persons in a population of 55,000. One only of the fifty-three was a woman; and, generally, among the Arabs the literacy of the women is rare. The Bedouin are largely engaged in pastoral life. "Infamy enters with the plough," says one of their proverbs, and one of their poets wrote: "Beware of the cultivated land; it is a quick death to approach it." They dislike the idea of settled cultivation and fixed habitation; they demand the freedom of the soil and the road. Their women are kept in a position of subordination, and tribal custom takes the places of law.

The Fellaheen Arabs are still living, in great part, in a feudal stage of society. Many are tenants of big landlords (Effendis) who not only own the land, but frequently supply seeds and implements, and in return receive a portion, varying from one fifth to two-thirds, of the produce. That form of lease is more common than the payment of a money rent. The landlords have little sense of responsibility for the well-being of the Fellah. Not a few of those who have sold land to the Jews since the Occupation were absenteees who drew their tribute in Syria or elsewhere. The tenants had no legal security of
tenure till the Government passed legislation in 1929 which required a landlord to give a full year's notice of termination of the tenancy or of an increase of rent to any tenant who had worked the land for two years, and to pay compensation for disturbance and for improvements.

The leading Arab families in the Turkish time exercised an authority over the Fellaeheen which, though not recognized by law, was effective in practice. And they held nearly all the minor offices of Government such as tax-collecting, membership of the courts, etc., which supported that authority. Although the offices are no longer monopolized by them, they retain to this day a heritage of authority because of the customary respect which they command and the economic dependence and helplessness of the Fellaeheen.

Most of the peasants are in a permanent condition of indebtedness; and it has been estimated that the average debt per family is £30. They pay interest at any rate from 20 per cent. to 100 per cent. The larger landowners and the merchants in the towns are the normal moneylenders. The Ottoman law fixed a maximum rate of interest at 9 per cent., and made any contract for a higher rate invalid. The law, however, like most legislation of the kind, is easily and regularly evaded. An attempt of the British Government to give it greater force, by allowing the debtor under a usurious agreement to give verbal evidence of the illegal interest against the written document, has not had much greater success. Since the Jewish demand for land has greatly enhanced its value, the landlords and moneylenders have enforced their claims on a large scale by foreclosures; and it is reckoned that 30 per cent. of the peasants' land in the hills has passed to them during the last
The Arabs

ten years. Little of that land has been transferred to the Jews who have not spread their settlement to the hills, save in a few places in Judea.

The agricultural methods of the Fellahcen are normally primitive and backward. They are content with cultivating a single grain crop in the year, and that usually of poor quality. In the hilly country, particularly where Jewish settlement has not penetrated to any large extent, their standard of life is wretchedly poor. They derive little income from the land; and of that little a great part has to be paid to the landlord, the moneylender, and the tax-collector. In the plains, where the soil is much more productive, and where the big landlord and the Jewish settler have introduced scientific agriculture, and in many places turned lands which were scratched for a grain crop, or lying waste and marshy, into flourishing orange orchards, the Fellah is learning to put his holding to a better use. Yet here, too, he frequently lacks the means to exploit his property to advantage, and continues in the old unproductive fashion.

The High Commissioner stated before the Permanent Mandates Commission in 1932, that the average yearly income of the Fellah was only £25; and his destitute condition was the most serious agrarian problem of the country. The census figures of 1922 and 1931 have revealed a steady growth of the Arab population in the maritime plain, with a decline of the population in the hills. That indicates that economic causes are working to bring the Arabs to the areas of greater productivity. In the maritime plain two-fifths of the population is now living, with a density of 135 persons per square kilometre; while in the hill country, which is nearly twice as large in extent, the population is the same and the
density about half. The more scientific cultivation of the plains is providing a better standard of life for the old and the new population, and enabling the country to support an increasing native as well as an immigrant peasantry. In the plains, too, the standard of life of the Arab villager is poor. But the average wage for agricultural labour, which before the Occupation was equivalent to about one shilling a day, has been doubled in terms of money, and has a real value half as large again as it had before the war. Sir John Hope-Simpson observed in his report on Immigration and Settlement in Palestine, that in many directions the Jewish development has made more work for the Arabs.

The Bedouin, who are for the most part pastoral, combine with the rearing of their herds and flocks rough cultivation of the areas on which they squat during fixed periods of the year. Registered legal ownership of land by their tribes is rare, because they refused in the Turkish time to register, fearing that that might involve them in military service. They have, however, a title based on long usage in the southern and eastern marches, where there is little settled population. In other parts they are squatters on lands which were derelict and regarded as of no value for regular cultivation. Now that these marshy or sandy areas are being rapidly reclaimed and turned, indeed, into some of the most productive portions of the country, the presence of the Bedouin without legal title, but with a title of habit and necessity, constitutes one of the embarrassing difficulties in the way of closer settlement. In several cases where land of this character has been transferred by large landowners to Jewish buyers, Bedouin squatters have vehemently resisted any attempt to evict them, or to restrict them to any
portion of the land which they may cultivate in a less wasteful way. Political agitation finds in them a ready instrument for obstructing Jewish coloniza-
tion. As Palestine fills up it is difficult to find for a pastoral tribe which has to be moved any area on the west side of the Jordan in which it can carry on its old way of life. The legislation of the Government requires that, where such squatters have been on the land for five years, provision must be made for their livelihood before the transfer of title can be registered. The nomad is an anomaly in these areas of close settlement. A solution of the difficulty appears to be that the pastoral Bedu must be turned by agricultural education and by financial help into a cultivator, so as to leave the spaces, over which he has sprawled with his flocks, free for their proper development, and at the same time to raise his own standard of living. Action of the kind was taken by the Government in 1932 to settle on a part of the Jordan State-lands semi-nomad Arabs who squatted on land in the maritime plain sold to Jews.

Village and family feuds and factions have been, and are, characteristic of Arab life. When Finn wrote in the last century, the Fellaheen in many villages were divided into two principal parties, the Kaisis and the Yemenis, which claimed their origin from inter-tribal differences in the heart of Arabia. Be this as it may, it was common in those days for village to go out to battle with village in armed array, or for one party within a village to do battle with the other party. The firmer rule of the British Administration has in large measure put an end to this internecine warfare; but it breaks out occasion-
ally. What is more difficult to check is agrarian crime, the burning of the crops, the destruction of the animals, the cutting of the trees of an enemy village
or an enemy faction, which still takes place on a considerable scale. In order to combat it, the Government introduced legislation imposing collective responsibility of a village or tribe in cases where the individual criminal could not be detected.

Local intrigue—what the Arabs call Fasad—is rampant in this primitive society. A popular proverb illustrates the activity of the wilful sower of dissension—"A thing small as a seed of Sesame may bring up horses with their bridles"—that is, bring into a village a foray of armed men.

Another feature of the Fellah and Bedu life is the blood-feud. It is the duty of the family of a murdered man to take revenge directly by killing the murderer or one of his family or tribe. The Turkish Administration had already set itself to check this lawless morality; and the British Administration has continued the effort. By appointing commissions which have examined the old blood-feuds, and fixed the money compensation to be paid to the aggrieved families, it has contrived to reduce to small dimensions the perpetuation of the tribal law of "A life for a life." It has not, however, as yet been equally successful in checking another form of customary morality, which cuts against the modern conception of an orderly and law-abiding society. When a woman is unfaithful to her husband, or is suspected of infidelity, or even if she marries a man without the consent of her male kinsfolk who wish to give her in marriage or sell her to one of their tribe or clan, the relentless village and tribal rule enjoins her kinsmen, usually her father and her brothers, to kill her, so that the family honour may be vindicated. They would not be able to hold up their heads in their society if they failed in their duty. If there is a paramour, he too will sometimes be
murdered; but more often he gets away, and only the woman pays forfeit. This obligation is responsible for the most frequent class of murder in Palestine, where murders are still abnormally rife. The British Administration, applying its severer conception of law, treats such murders as capital offences. Yet even so the primitive morality dies hard.

Outwardly the life of the villages has been rapidly and remarkably modernized since the British Occupation. In the Turkish time locomotion was restricted. The Fellaheen moved either on foot or on donkeys. Now motor-buses penetrate to the remotest parts of the country, and the Fellah frequently visits the towns in his district. That, no doubt, is one of the causes making for the movement of the population to the towns.

Easy communications corrupt good manners; and something of the old courtesy and leisureliness goes with the passing of the camel and donkey. Other mechanical innovations which are altering the outlook of the rural population are the gramophone and electric light. A less welcome innovation is the kerosene tin, which is replacing the more picturesque water-jar, and not infrequently is an auxiliary building material. The proposal has recently been made in Jerusalem for a system of Arabic and Hebrew broadcasting under Government control to Arab and Jewish villages. So far that wonder of the modern world has not penetrated beyond the towns. Experience elsewhere has shown that it may be a potent instrument for educating an illiterate people; and its use is recommended in Palestine in connection with the establishment and work of village co-operative societies which the Government seeks to promote as the best means of countering usury. A
rural welfare campaign has been instituted by the Education Department. A trained lecturer visits the villages, and shows films concerning health and agricultural education and co-operation to the wondering audience. The unchangeable East, as it was considered in the last century, is rapidly assimilating the ways of the mechanical west.

The Arabs in the towns are already advanced in modernization. They are eager for education, and they are politically minded. The new wine of nationalism has gone to their heads. Certain survivals, however, remain from the earlier and more feudal order of society which existed during the nineteenth century. In the towns, as in the villages, they tend to be divided by families and factions; and the feeling between these inner divisions is at least as strong as the national feeling. Thus in Jerusalem two families compete for public offices and privileges, the Husseinis and the Nashashibis; and each gathers its crowd of retainers and followers. There are similar divisions in the other chief towns. The general mass follows the hereditary quasi-feudal leaders. Political parties are formed and dissolved lightly. But they all profess a hostility to the idea of the Jewish National Home, and the difference is largely in the degree of their hostility.

Political Arab parties comprise without discrimination Moslems and Christians. Yet each religious community is separately organized for its communal purposes. The Government of Palestine, soon after the Civil Administration was established, took steps to form a Moslem authority for the control of Moslem communal affairs, including the Wakfs, or charitable endowments. In the Turkish regime no such organization existed, because Islam was the State Church, and all the high officials and
judges were Moslems. Other communities were in a condition of subordination. Under the Mandate the Moslems took their place on equality with the other communities. Previously the Arabs, indeed, possessed a popular religious hierarchy separate from the Turkish official hierarchy. In the principal towns they elected a Mufti, who received some small stipend from the State, and whose function it was to give learned opinions on Moslem law to the Judge of the Moslem Court, the Kadi, and to any individuals who sought it. The electoral college was composed of the learned men, the Ulema, who were known by repute, and the Moslem members of the municipal council. The college elected three persons whose names were submitted to the Government for the selection by it of the Mufti. So it came about that, when the British administration was established, the Muftis in the principal cities, Jerusalem, Jaffa, Nablus, Acre, etc., were generally regarded as the chosen leaders of the Moslem population.

When the Mufti of Jerusalem died in 1921, the succession to his place was hotly disputed between the rival Moslem families. He belonged, as had his predecessor, to the family of Hussein, and finally his brother succeeded to the place. Haj Amin el Hussein has become the Moslem leader of Palestine, and is so recognized throughout the world of Islam. In addition to his position as Mufti of the Holy City—commonly but unwarrantably called Grand Mufti—he is the elected head of a Moslem Council which exercises authority over all Moslem affairs in Palestine. The body known as the Supreme Shari Council was elected in 1921, in accordance with a scheme which had been drawn up by a Moslem assembly. It consists of five persons chosen by electoral colleges, who at that first election represented the survivors
of the Moslem electors in Palestine to the Turkish Parliament. The President is entitled Rais el Ulema, or the Chief of the Learned; and the present Mufti of Jerusalem has held that office from the beginning. There was a second election of the other members of the Council in 1927, but it was invalidated by the courts because of technical irregularities. Thereupon the Government nominated provisionally four members to constitute the Council with the President, and it was contemplated that a new electoral system would be prepared by a Moslem Commission which the High Commissioner appointed to that end. The Commission, after a long time, submitted a report; but various reasons have contrived to suspend action to give it effect. The nominated members therefore have continued in office, to their satisfaction, if not to the contentment of the Moslem community.

The Council is not only concerned with the religious affairs of the Moslems, and with the control of the charitable endowments which include a substantial fraction of the tithes collected by the Government, now transformed into a fixed money payment. They exercise also control over the Moslem religious courts, which have complete jurisdiction in all matters of personal status of Moslems. These courts were, in fact, the only State tribunal in Turkey until 1830, and the judges were paid by the State. The British Administration has continued to pay the judges and staff; but the appointments, and, still more anomalously, the dismissals of the staff are in the hands of the Supreme Moslem Council, subject only to an obligation to submit the name of the officer appointed or dismissed to the Government. The Administration may exercise a veto over an improper appointment; it has not even that check
upon an improper dismissal. The anomaly of financial responsibility of the Government and judicial irresponsibility of the Council is criticized both within and without the Moslem community. It is generally recognized that the courts and judicial patronage are used for political purposes, and that the religious judges do not enjoy true judicial independence. Measures have been under consideration for a long time to retrieve the condition; but it is not easy to bring them to a head.

Besides its normal work of supervising Moslem religious endowments, the Supreme Moslem Council undertook, with the assistance of the Government, to raise a fund for the restoration of the fabric of the holy Moslem shrines in Jerusalem—the Dome of the Rock and the Mosque of Aksa. Both of these noble buildings were in a precarious state at the time of the Occupation. A fund of some £100,000 was raised from the contributions of the Faithful, and was used, in a manner worthy of the buildings and with a scrupulous regard to the traditions of Arabic art, for the re-construction of the threatened portions.

Arab political consciousness is by no means satisfied by the existence of this Moslem communal organization, combining though it does national with religious functions. It seeks, on the one hand, for Arab parliamentary institutions in Palestine, and on the other for some organization to give expression to the feeling of unity with the neighbouring Arab countries. It was said, and believed, in the nineteenth century, “There is no nationality in Islam.” That maxim, however, is no longer true. Nationality is as strong a force in the world of Islam as in western and central Europe. It was becoming dominant in the latter days of the Ottoman Empire; it has been enormously strengthened by the outcome of the
War—and the infusion of Western civilization. Moreover, the revolution in communications in the East has brought nearer to each other the Arabs of Palestine, Syria, Iraq, and Hedjaz than they have been since the days of the Arab Caliphates of the Middle Ages. Their political leaders resent the cutting up of this "Isle of the Arabs" into separate kingdoms and Mandated territories, much as the Poles must have regarded the partition of Poland in the eighteenth century. The late Miss Gertrude Bell pointed out in 1922 the striking influence of the Turkish Revolution of 1908 on the Arab National Movement. "Liberty and equality are dangerous words to play with in an Empire composed of divergent nationalities. Of these the Arabs, adaptable and quick-witted, proudly alive to their traditions of past glory as founders of Islam, and upholders for 700 years of the authority of the Caliphate, were the first to claim the translation of promise into performance, and in the radiant dawn of the constitutional era the Arab intelligentsia eagerly anticipated that their claim would be recognized."

That feeling has been enhanced since the British Occupation, when the opposition to foreign control was reinforced by opposition to the domination over Moslems of a non-Moslem ruler. It has found expression in a series of Pan-Islamic Conferences held during the last decade. The Pan-Islamic Movement was, before the Great War, one of the bogeys of a school of political writers; since the War it has been little considered by statesmen. As its danger was once exaggerated, its significance in our day may be underrated, particularly in the Middle East, where it is bound up with the Arab national revival. In its original Turkish home it is indeed dead as a doornail. In 1926 however, Ibn Saoud, King of the Hedjaz
and Emir of Nejd, summoned a conference at Mecca of the representatives of all the Moslem Powers. The gathering drew up an elaborate statute for the organization of Moslem communities everywhere, and did little else. In 1928 another assembly was convened in Cairo, which discussed the question of the Caliphate and other general Moslem problems, but did not come to any practical resolutions.

The Caliphate question had become urgent since the Turkish Republic in 1924 flatly repudiated the 400-year Turkish Hegemony over the Moslem world. King Hussein of the Hedjaz, who was at the time on a visit to his son, the Emir of Transjordania, at once put forward his claim to the succession to the Caliphate, and published a proclamation claiming the titles of "Prince of the Faithful, and Successor to the Prophet." He received the adhesion of the Moslems of Iraq, Transjordan, Syria, and Palestine; but his tenure was shortlived. His arrogation stimulated the hereditary hostility of Ibn Saoud, who led an attack against his kingdom and drove him from it. The ruling powers of the Turkish Republic were not only concerned to repudiate the Caliphate for themselves, but also to prevent any revival of the dignity. When, therefore, a third Pan-Islamic Congress was convened in Jerusalem in 1931, under the Presidency of Haj Amin El Husscini, the Turks made a protest to the British Government, and received an assurance that the question of the Caliphate should not be raised. The conveners accepted that limitation, and the purpose of the Congress was to consider the organization of Moslem defence against Western influence, and to strengthen Moslem solidarity.

The Congress was indeed, in only a restricted measure, representative of the World of Islam.
Nearly three-quarters of the representatives hailed from Palestine, Transjordan, Syria, and Iraq, so that it had rather a Pan-Arab than a Pan-Islamic character. Moreover, the largest number of its members had no official character; and the heads of the Moslem States for the most part disinterested themselves. Even King Ibn Saoud at first expressed his disapproval, though he subsequently sent a message of goodwill; and the ruling authority of Egypt sent no representative.

Family feud, which, as has been noted, is still strong amongst the Arab leaders, induced opposition to the Congress within Palestine. What has been called the Mayoral Party, composed of the Moslem Mayor of Jerusalem (a Nashashibi), the Mayors of the other principal towns, members of the Supreme Moslem Council and Moslem notables, held a rival conference during the sessions of the Congress. They passed resolutions expressing distrust of its aims and methods, and in particular asking the Government to remove the control of the Moslem religious courts in Palestine from the Supreme Moslem Council, presided over by the Chairman of the Congress.

Nevertheless, the Congress had more positive achievement than its predecessors. It considered four principal subjects: the organization of the Islamic Congress for the future; the Holy places of Islam, and especially those of Jerusalem; the Hedjaz Railway; and the foundation of a Moslem University in Jerusalem. It resolved to hold a Congress every two or three years, normally in Jerusalem, which, in the minds of the conveners, is to be the rallying point of Arab-Islam, to make those present permanent members of future assemblies, and to appoint an Executive Committee repre-
sentative of the principal Moslem centres. Concerning the Hedjaz Railway, it passed a resolution calling on the Mandatory Powers to hand over to a Moslem authority within six months the portions of the line in their control, under pain of a boycott of European goods. The six months have passed; the line has not been handed over; there has been no boycott of European goods. As regards the Holy places, the Congress declared that Moslems were not bound by the findings of the International Commission concerning the Western Wall in Jerusalem. And they professed to regard the Jewish claim to pray at that wall as a Jewish threat to the Mosque of Al Aksa. Their practical recommendation, however, was not minatory, but called for the better education of Moslem opinion throughout the world.

The most constructive decision concerned the founding of a University in Jerusalem, doubtless with the intention to off-set the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. In the Golden Age of Arab learning, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Arab University of Jerusalem was one of a chain that stretched through the East; and it is now contemplated to renew the chain and to make Jerusalem a centre of Moslem religious and intellectual development. Some steps have been taken to give effect to this resolution. The Moslem Supreme Council has announced that it will allocate temporarily for the University "of Aksa" a building erected by it and leased for a hotel—which has had to shut its doors. And a committee to collect money has started on its work. In the summer of 1933 the Mufti of Jerusalem and an ex-Minister of Egypt visited Iraq and India for the purpose. If the project is achieved an institution designed to compete may

1 See above, page 128.
remain to co-operate. The revival of Arab learning in Jerusalem should lead to a better understanding between the two branches of the Semitic peoples who must live together; and the two universities of Jerusalem would afford a point of contact between the Arab and the Hebrew intellect. As at Cordova, under the Moorish Caliphs of the Middle Ages, Arabs and Jews together built up the highest civilization of the time, so at Jerusalem in our day they may together or in emulation create a new civilization of the Orient.

At the concluding meeting of the Congress, Sir Mohamed Iqbal, one of the outstanding figures among Indian Moslems, declared that the two European dangers penetrating Islam were atheistic materialism and territorial patriotism, and that the prime weakness arose from Moslem internal decay. The revival of Islam alone could combat these dangers. There is as yet little sign of a revival, unless one feature of the assembly may be regarded as an omen of it. Islam has been divided, since the earliest centuries of its sway, into two main sects, the Shia, who regard Ali as the true successor to the Prophet, and the Sunni, who were the State Church throughout the Ottoman Empire. The Shiite Imam read prayers one Friday during the session in the Mosque of El Aksa. If that means that the historic feud of 700 years is closed, it may be a step forward towards Islamic unity, as significant as if the Eastern and Western Churches of Christendom should unite. And it would be remarkable if the union moved from Jerusalem.

The Moslem Congress was immediately followed by an Arab Conference at Jerusalem, which passed resolutions: to uphold the integrity of the Arab nation; to direct the effort in every Arab land
towards the goal of complete independence; and to oppose colonization in any form, as inconsistent with the dignity and supreme purpose of the Arab nation. The religious and national revivals are closely linked among the Arabs; but the national feeling dominates the other; and the religious revival is not at present associated with a strengthening of the feeling of amity and co-operation with other peoples.
CHAPTER X

THE JEWISH NATIONAL HOME

The British deliverance of Palestine from Turkish misrule and British administration have made possible a striking intellectual and spiritual, as well as a material, development of the Jewish National Home, which was in its infancy at the outbreak of the World War. It may be regarded as a symbol of that dependence that the Hebrew University, the cultural crown of the Hebrew revival, began to rise in 1924 from its site on Mount Scopus, between the British War Cemetery on one side, and the residence of the High Commissioner—which was, till, 1927, in the German Hospice on the Mount of Olives—on the other side. The reality of the Home is manifest to every visitor to the country. It is the dominant feature of the Palestine of to-day, and it has its visible public expression. Hebrew has its place with English and Arabic on every road-sign and public notice, on the coins and the stamps; the blue and white flag of the Jewish National Movement flies side by side with the Union Jack at every Jewish assembly; the Jewish Anthem, Hatikvah (meaning, literally, The Hope), is sung with the English National Anthem at every public Jewish gathering.

Turning first, however, to the material growth of the settlement (regularly known to the Jews as the Yishuv), the population has grown from some 50,000, to which it was reduced at the time of the Occupation, to 200,000. Palestine has become, in our day,
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the principal land of Jewish immigration. In the ten years preceding the war, the United States received 1,000,000 Jews, Palestine 15,000. In the first ten post-war years, the United States received 340,000, and Palestine 100,000. In the last three years, Palestine has received the major flow of the immigrants. The larger proportion come from Poland and from South-Eastern Europe. A smaller proportion, but now rapidly increasing, comes from Germany, the United States itself, and the British Dominions. Seven per cent. come from the Eastern lands, Turkey, Yemen, Iraq, and Bokhara; from Great Britain only 383 persons between 1919 and 1932. The new Jewry is, then, already a microcosm of world Jewry.

The immigrants fall into two main classes, those coming as workers, who comprise more than half, and those coming as persons of independent means, or dependent on other immigrants or existing settlers. The independent persons include as well those who have a capital of £500—£1,000 or more, and turn to agriculture, commerce, or the professions,¹ and those who have an assured income provided often by their families abroad, and come to pass years of study or their old age in the land. Together they comprise about one-quarter of the Jewish population. Over one-fifth of the class are dependent relatives, and 2 per cent. are persons filling a religious occupation. The last small figure marks strikingly the change in the character of the Jewish home-coming from that which obtained in the last century. Then more than half of the settlers had a specific religious character, and came for study and prayer.

¹ Under the stimulus of the German persecution, the number of persons who in each of the months of May and June 1933 were admitted as having a capital of £1,000 or over was 250.
The working class contains a large element of young idealists who have received a university training in Central and Eastern Europe, but are resolved to follow a simpler life of manual work, preferably on the soil. They are known generally as Halutzim, a Hebrew word meaning pioneers; and they are preparing the way for others. They aim not only at a simple life for themselves, but at a better social order for the community. A large majority of them are ardent Socialists; and they are building up a voluntary Socialist order in the concrete without the intervention of the Government.

Three-quarters of the Jewish population live in the towns, and only one-quarter in rural villages. Yet the movement "Back to the Land" is steadily and surely gaining. For fifteen hundred years the Jewish people have almost everywhere been kept by repressive legislation from the agricultural life of their ancestors. And when, some fifty years ago, a band of students came from Eastern Europe to Palestine to redeem the soil, the Jews were incredulous. What seemed a miracle then has now become a normal life. The few hundreds have increased to tens of thousands. It is one of the encouraging figures in the recent census that the rural population rose from 15,000, or 18 per cent. of the Jews in the country in 1922, to 46,500, or 27 per cent. in 1931.

Before the War the greatest number of Jewish agricultural villages were under the direction of the Jewish Colonization Association, to which Baron Edmond de Rothschild handed over the care of the villages which he had founded or assisted. The successor of that body, which is known as the P.J.C.A. (Palestine Jewish Colonization Association), is still responsible for about half the villages. The rest are mostly under Zionist auspices. Besides
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Colonization promoted by public bodies, there has been, particularly in recent years, a striking growth of individual settlements by persons with large capital, or by corporations which collect the capital of the Jewish middle class in many countries.

That form of colonization has made room for a class of Jewish agricultural labourers, who now number nearly 10,000. Prior to the Occupation, Jewish labourers on the land were few, and a great part of the rough work in the Jewish colonies was done by the Arab Fellaheen. It is one of the social aims of the Yishuv to restore the respect for manual labour in the community, to turn a nation of shopkeepers into a nation of productive workers. In this way it aims to create a healthy Jewish psychology, through the establishment of a normal Jewish economy on a basis of labour. The principle was taught by one of the leaders of the "pioneer" movement, Aaron Gordon, that without Jewish labour there would be no Hebrew culture, that the Jews should seek to do in Palestine, with their own hands, every manner of work required in life, from the easiest to the hardest and dirtiest and crudest. The soil of Palestine must be won not with money or with force, but by means of labour. That was the true redemption.

The land in the Zionist settlements is in great part owned by a public body, the "Jewish National Fund," which has collected in voluntary contributions from the people over £2,500,000, and expended it in the purchase and improvement of land in Palestine. The fund, which is in the form of an English Company, is recognized as a public national body, and it holds its property on behalf of the Jewish people. The land acquired by it is inalienable, but it grants long leases at a low rent to groups
of settlers or associations of labourers. The work of settlement itself is distinct from the acquisition of land, and is promoted by another public Jewish body which was constituted after the War. It is known as the Foundation Fund, or Keren Hayesod, and it has collected, in the same way as the National Fund, during the last ten years, the sum of £5,000,000. Of that sum about half has been spent on agricultural settlement, and the rest on assisting immigration, education, and other public purposes of the Jewish population.

Apart from these Jewish national bodies which further, directly, Jewish settlement, several public corporations have been created in England, America, and other countries, for the purpose of assisting and developing the settlement, rural and urban. They are at once philanthropic and investment corporations which limit to a modest interest the return to their shareholders, but conduct their operations on a business footing. The profit motive is subordinate to the national motive. They include the Economic Board for Palestine and the Palestine Corporation in England, and the Palestine Economic Corporation of New York. They have promoted several important credit institutions such as a General Mortgage Bank, a building association and credit bank, and a central bank of co-operative societies. Further, they have promoted, or assisted, several large industrial enterprises; a big factory near Haifa for the manufacture of cement, which has a capital of £350,000, a big hotel at Jerusalem with a capital of £200,000, a salt works for producing salt by evaporation of sea water at Athlit, with a capital of £50,000. Their principal activity, however, is to provide credit for agricultural settlers and groups of settlers and industrialists, and so to stimulate enterprise.
Altogether it is estimated that public Jewish bodies have invested during the last ten years £10,000,000 in settlement.

The settlement of individual farmers with their own capital goes on steadily, and in recent years has been the principal feature of Jewish agricultural expansion. Private enterprise has been directed particularly to citrus cultivation, which is the new "golden road" of Palestine. Each year some additional 10,000 dunams (about 2,500 acres) of citrus groves are planted. The area of plantations in the Jewish villages rose from 11,000 dunams in 1922 to 80,000 dunams in 1932. The total investment in the groves is estimated at over £10,000,000. Orange plantations of private owners have transformed the plain of Sharon, just as the Jewish co-operative and communal groups have transformed the Vale of Esdraelon.

Baron Edmond de Rothschild visiting Palestine in his old age in 1925 observed that, when he started to assist the Jewish settlers, he was derided for building on sand. "The sand has been turned into stone, and the settlements were the strong keystone of the House of Israel. The cultivated fields, the vineyards and orange groves, like oases in the desert, were evidence of the power and patience of the people of Israel." It is remarkable that Rishon-le-Zion, one of the settlements which he founded in 1882, and Rehoboth, a colony by its side, planted on the land of a few fellahin who reaped a scanty harvest of barley, are now inhabited each by over 2,000 families, and that land which was purchased for £9,000 is now worth £2,000,000. It paid taxes then to the Government of £25 a year. Now it pays taxes of over £25,000 a year.

The Jewish agricultural settlers include three
main types: the individual farmers, who own their holding, employ Jewish and Arab labourers, and are mainly engaged in plantation; the colonies of small-holders (in Hebrew, Moshav Ovdim) in which each family has its holding, and works it entirely with its own hands, without employing any outside labour; and lastly, the group-settlements (Kavuzot), in which associations of pioneers, usually numbering between 100 and 200, work a large farm as a unit, and share everything in common.

The group is formed by young men and women holding in common economic and social, and occasionally religious ideals. They pool their resources, and substitute collective for individual property. Their broad aim is to obtain social well-being by collective effort. They are like in some ways to the collective farmers in Russia; but they are purely voluntary organizations; and, differing from the practice in Russia, the members do not receive wages, but are supplied with their frugal needs from the society. Their settlements are communal in the full sense, and the members own no personal property. The work is distributed by a committee elected by the group. The children are the principal care of the community. The youngest are brought up together in a crèche by trained nurses; at a later age they are tended in the kindergarten while their parents are at work. The adult members have their meals together in the common hall, and meet there every evening for discussion. Their special recreation is the folk-dance, the Hora. In these ways the ideal of a new social order and of a return to the land is blended with the work of national upbuilding.

In the settlements of individual small-holders the co-operative movement is remarkably developed. Every village has two or three co-operative societies,
one for mutual credit, one for common purchase, and one, at least, for the marketing of their produce. The co-operative societies in the villages are branches of large organizations which direct Jewish effort throughout the country. Thus one controlling Society, the "Tenuva," disposes of the produce of all the villages. Another is responsible for carrying out engineering and irrigation works and plantations throughout the country. A third was a large construction and contracting enterprise, which was responsible for public works; but it fell into difficulties, and has been dissolved. In no community of the same size is such intense co-operative effort to be found as in the Jewish population of Palestine, both in the country and in the towns. Over 450 registered societies, with a membership of over 40,000, exist in the population of 200,000; and almost every calling is organized in a co-operative society with the aim of mutual help; blacksmiths and quarrymen, opera-singers and actors; motorists and teachers.

The bulk of the Jewish people are still resident in towns. Jerusalem, with its 90,000 inhabitants, includes a substantial Jewish majority. Till the later part of the nineteenth century the Jews were concentrated in a cramped quarter of the walled city. Now they have spread out on all sides in modern suburbs which cover the hills for a circuit of some five miles. The saying of the medieval Arab geographer that Jerusalem united the advantages of this world and the next applies equally to the Jerusalem of to-day. The city is more richly endowed with philanthropic and educational institutions and religious foundations than any other in the world; and the Jewish charities are proportionate to the Jewish population.
A more remarkable development of Jewish urban expansion is the township of Tel-Aviv, which has grown up since the British Occupation by the side of Jaffa. Its Hebrew name means "the hill of spring," and it represents more glaringly than anything else in the country the hopefulness and determination of the Return. It started, in 1909, as a small suburb built, characteristically, round a secondary school. At the outbreak of war it had some 2,000 inhabitants; to-day it is a township of 60,000. The riots in Jaffa of 1921, induced an exodus of the Jews of the town to the growing suburb; and the great expansion of the years 1925-6 produced an extraordinary and an almost excessive growth. That was followed by a slump of a few years; but the wave of hopefulness, which has beaten on the shores of Palestine in the last years, has again brought remarkable expansion to the town. The economic foundation for this growth is to be found principally in the remarkable development of the agricultural hinterland of Tel-Aviv, the plantations that cover the Plain of Sharon. Moreover, the cheap electric power which is brought from the Hydro-electric station of the Jordan has caused some 300 small industries and a few larger industries to be established. It is a city of concrete and brick, because the stone which is so abundant in Jerusalem and elsewhere in the land is lacking in the Plain of Sharon. The town, therefore, does not appear to grow naturally from the soil, like the Greater Jerusalem, or the new Haifa. But it does spring naturally from the Return.

The government of the town has a special character. Till 1921 it formed part of the municipal area of Jaffa; and there were Jewish members of that municipality. The township, however, desired to
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have a local council, in order to supplement the municipal functions of the Jaffa authority for its population, which aspired to a more advanced stage of corporate social life. An order issued under the Local Councils Ordinance of the Government, therefore, vested a council with added powers of local rating and taxation, including a graduated tax on undeveloped land, an education rate and a hospital rate. Later the township raised a loan in America for public purposes, and, in its buoyant expansion, borrowed money for housing schemes from the banks. It maintained its police force, entirely Jewish, with its own commissioned officers. It was in a large measure responsible for the primary and secondary schools, and instituted a system of free primary education. When the slump came in 1926-7, the council passed through a searching period. But with some Government help it weathered the storm. To-day its municipal budget exceeds £175,000 a year, which means a contribution of £3 a head.

The population of the town bursting with energy forms a main centre of Jewish intellectual and artistic life. Most of the poets and writers, the actors and musicians, the painters and sculptors live there. It has an art gallery and a public library. It boasts, too, a large athletic stadium, by the banks of the River Yarkon, which was built for a gathering in 1932 of the Maccabee, a Jewish world-organization for sport. Every two years an exhibition and fair, which has already some international importance, is held, and for 1934 a new and vaster exhibition ground has been acquired. The municipal destinies of the town have been directed almost uninterruptedly by one man, Mr. Meir Dizengoff.

Haifa has its Jewish third; and Jewish enterprise
is rapidly developing in a town which is destined to be the commercial centre of the country. The largest of the industrial enterprises, the cement factory, salt works, vegetable-oils factory, etc., are in its neighbourhood; and the lovely heights of the Carmel are dotted with Jewish garden suburbs. Another city which has witnessed a remarkable Jewish revival since the British Occupation is Tiberias, on the borders of the Sea of Galilee. It was one of the four holy cities in Jewish tradition, because the principal schools and Sanhedrin were established there after the fall of Jerusalem; and in the Middle Ages it remained a place of Jewish learning. To-day the Jews form a majority of the 10,000 inhabitants; and a Jewish Mayor presides over the municipal council. Jewish enterprise dominates in and about the town. The hot springs which made the place famous in the Roman Empire are being turned by it into a modern spa. Above Tiberias "the city on a hill," Safed, was and is a town of Jewish interest. But the sacking of the Jewish quarter during the disturbance of 1929 caused a setback to its development from which the community has not yet recovered.

The Jewish population of Palestine requires a high level of social services. It would be beyond the means of the Palestine Government to supply this level, and from the beginning the community has been independent in these respects. The Jewish Agency, until recent years, directed the public activities which have now been handed over to a representative body of Palestine Jewry. The education system is dealt with in another chapter. Here it may be mentioned that practically every Jewish child receives primary schooling, and that an annual sum of about £180,000 is spent on education,
of which roughly half is derived from local contribution. The health organization is equally comprehensive. The Hadassah medical unit, founded by the Jewish women of America, has, since the Occupation, contributed on an average nearly £100,000 a year for medical services in Palestine. The services are not restricted to the Jewish population, though principally enjoyed by Jews. In addition, the General Federation of Jewish Labour has its own sick fund, on a contributory basis, and expends annually £60,000. It has some 35,000 members, and extends its services to the families of members, and also to certain non-Jewish workers who may elect to pay the dues though they are not members of the Federation. It provides altogether for some 40,000 persons. It maintains a central hospital for agricultural workers in the Valley of Esdraelon, several convalescent homes and clinics. Another auxiliary of the Zionist Organization, founded by the women Zionists of Europe, is particularly devoted to infant welfare. It maintains three infant welfare centres in Tel-Aviv alone; a baby-home in Jerusalem, and a centre in Haifa. The Government contributes to the maintenance of several of the Jewish hospitals and clinics; and Jewish patients are admitted without discrimination to Government hospitals and asylums. Nevertheless, it is broadly true that the Jewish community is responsible for its own health administration.

The public Jewish bodies maintain, for the assistance of the agricultural settlement, several scientific experimental stations. It is an indication of the standard of their research that the Empire Marketing Board participated in the work. The Jewish National Fund, likewise, carries out a scheme of afforestation, and, since the Occupation, has planted
over 1,500,000 trees, about equal to the afforestation work of the Government Agriculture Department.

In the towns, as in the agricultural settlements, the Jewish workers are, in a large measure, organized within a single labour movement. The General Federation of Jewish Labour (commonly known as the Histadruth), is the controlling body, and is affiliated to the Trade Union International at Amsterdam. It includes several branches which have their distinctive outlook; the Haopel Hazair, or Young Labourer, which advocates self-labour for the individual, and no paid labour; the Poali Zion, or Workers of Zion, who hold more advanced socialistic ideas; and the Achdut Avoda, the Unity of Labour, who aim at the establishment of a socialistic society in which the Arabs will have a part. A striking feature of this socialistic organization is that there is no idea of State-control, or the dictatorship of the proletariat, two things which are obviously impossible in the country. It is a voluntary community depending on the conviction and devotion of its adherents, and not relying in any way on the authority of the State. The Jewish Socialists of Palestine have modified the teachings of Karl Marx by their idealistic tradition. They endeavour, with the ardour of a religion, to permeate the whole Jewish life, and they have succeeded in introducing into Jewish-controlled industry, by moral force, the eight-hour day, maternity and children's allowances, and sickness insurance.

The White Paper, issued by the British Government in 1930, reproached the Jewish Labour movement with a certain tyranny over its members, and with a policy of excluding Arab labour from the Jewish settlement. For the first charge there was little warranty; but the second does touch on
one of the problems in which the Socialistic ideal struggles with the other ideal of redeeming the Jewish people from their excessive intellectualism to manual work. There have been some unfortunate incidents in which Jewish labour has fallen foul of Jewish farmers over the employment of Arab Fellaheen in the plantations. The Labour principle at the back of the conflict is that there shall not be exploitation of cheaper Arab labour by the Jewish settlers; that the Arabs shall not be hewers of wood. The Jew must do all manner of work if he is to live a full and healthy life in the Homeland, and to that end Arab labour is discouraged in Jewish enterprise. On the other hand, the Jewish Labour movement encourages co-operation in every way with the Arabs, their absorption into the Socialist structure, and the organization of their workers in Trade Unions. It is genuinely seeking the way to raise the condition of the Arabs; but it is not altogether consistent with its attitude that it considers the employment of Arabs by Jewish farmers or Jewish industrial enterprises as a blow at the Jewish worker.

An outstanding feature of the Jewish settlement is that the Jew in Palestine, more than anywhere else, is proudly conscious of being a first-class citizen. Outwardly he loses the Ghetto look, and has a freedom and independence of manner obvious to all, and almost offensive to some visitors. In many other countries the Jew enjoys equal rights, but nowhere else is he conscious of being in a national home, where he is stimulated to develop his own social, intellectual, and spiritual ideas, rather than to assimilate his ideas to those of his neighbours. He feels that he has become a whole man instead of a half-man.
One expression of that consciousness is the extraordinary establishment of Hebrew as the language of the people since the Occupation. We have seen that Hebrew was already gaining ground in the early years of the nineteenth century, before the War. But a census that was taken of the Jewish population during the War showed that of the 34,000 then in the country, 14,000 gave Hebrew as their usual language, 10,000 Yiddish, and 4,500 Arabic. The two censuses which were held in 1922 and 1931, gave a return of 959 and 948 per thousand, respectively, who named Hebrew as their language, 23 and 27 who gave Yiddish, and 4 and 5 who gave Espanol, the Spanish-Jewish dialect of the Levant. It was unfortunate that both the Hebraists, who contend for "Hebrew only," and the anti-Hebraists, who object to the use of Hebrew for secular purposes because of religious scruples, conducted propaganda before the census, so that the figures are not absolutely reliable. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that Hebrew has become within fifteen years the principal language of the people, and a great bond of unity between the diverse elements. It is a curious sidelight on the acceptance of Hebrew that the Italian Banco di Roma publishes its report and balance-sheet in that tongue. Yiddish has been thrown off as a language of the discarded Ghetto.

The community is organized, not only for economic and social purposes in co-operative societies and unions, but also for communal purposes in both national and local units. It was a minor compensation of Turkish misrule, or neglect of rule, that it stimulated the development of unofficial local bodies which were concerned with the development and wellbeing of the Jewish settlers both in town and country. The Vaads, or Committees, of that period
have now been merged in a larger, and more regular
and official organization of the "Keneseth" or
Congregation of Israel, which was established by
regulations of the Government in 1930. The
organization includes a General Assembly of seventy-
one members—the number of the old Sanhedrin—
which is elected by adult suffrage, and meets
annually; and a National Executive Council, Vaad
Leumi, composed of men and women chosen by the
Assembly. The Council watches over the general
interests of the Jewish community throughout the
country, and represents them before the Government
authorities. The religious side of the Kneseth
comprises a Rabbinical Council composed of two
Chief Rabbis, one for the Sephardic or Eastern, and
one for the Ashkenazic or Western Jews, and six
Rabbinical members. They exercise authority in
religious matters, and form the Rabbinical Tribunal
which has jurisdiction in matters of personal status
of members of the community. Besides that tri-
bunal, Arbitration Committees, with elected or
nominated lay members, are common in the towns
and larger villages, and dispose of civil affairs
between Jews.

The lay authority has powers of taxation, subject
to Government approval; and is responsible now
for Jewish health, education, and philanthropic
activities. In each town and in each village of any
size the local Vaad is elected, usually by a system of
adult suffrage. Where local councils of the Gover-
ment are established in Jewish villages, they may
discharge also the functions of the Jewish communal
authority. The local committees are concerned with
the provision of communal services, such as schools,
synagogues, ritual slaughter, and particularly
education.
The "Jewish Community" does not, indeed, contain the whole of the Jewish population. From the first attempts at organization strong opposition has been maintained by a pious section who are fearful of the national development, lest it should cut away the hold of the religious law. They are affiliated to a world-organization known as the Agudath Israel, or Band of Israel, which is strong also in Central Europe. According to their outlook, the return to Israel is to be brought about by divine intervention, and not by human effort; and they are perturbed by the lack of religious conformity of the leaders of the Jewish National revival. They are found principally in the so-called "holy" towns, and they have their separate Rabbinical organization. They have contracted out of the community, in accordance with enabling powers in the legislation, and are not subject to the Jewish taxation or to the Rabbinical Council for purposes of jurisdiction in matters of personal status. They have incessantly demanded recognition as a separate community, with powers of internal taxation and separate rabbinical jurisdiction; but that claim has, so far, been refused by the Government; and their numbers, which would appear to be not more than 6,000 in the country—though the figures are vehemently canvassed—hardly warrant the establishment of yet another autonomous community.

An opposition of an opposite kind from that of these Fundamentalists is conducted within the community by the Revisionists. They are the extremer section of Jewish Nationalists who demand drastic action by the Government to carry out the Jewish part of the Mandate, and are violently op-

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1 The number of persons who notified their desire to have their names removed from the Jewish Register was 5,366.
posed to what they regard as the complacent and feeble tactics of the Zionist Organization. They are opposed, also, to the Socialistic experiments and to the ideology of labour. They remain within the community, and are trying to capture the youth in the manner, and to some extent with the methods, of extreme Nationalist parties of other countries. Their "desperado conception," which excites both the Arab majority and the Jewish majority, is one of the difficulties in the way of producing a better understanding between Jews and Arabs, and of the tranquil development of the Jewish community. It is inevitable, however, that the Jewish community in Palestine shall contain every shade of Jewish thought, from the pious medievalism of the Ghetto scholar to the aggressive modernism both of the Communist and of the Fascist. For if the outstanding characteristic of the country is its diversity, the outstanding characteristic of its Jewish population is its intellectual and social variety. The Jewish nationality of 200,000, is, as it were, a microcosm of humanity, and a living laboratory of social experiment.
CHAPTER XI

ARAB-JEWSH RELATIONS

At a meeting held in May 1920, shortly after the Mandate for Palestine had been conferred on Great Britain, Lord Balfour spoke of the difficulties of dealing with the Arab question as it presents itself within the limits of Palestine. It will require, he said, all the sympathetic goodwill on the part of Jews and Arabs. "I hope that the Arabs will not grudge a small notch in what are now Arab territories being given to a people who, for hundreds of years, have been separated from it." The Arabs, however, have grudged the small notch, and the conflict between them and the Jews is the principal problem of Palestine. The Arabs have not the historical sense which might have helped them to understand the deep attachment of the Jewish people to Palestine, and to co-operate with another branch of the Semitic race in building up a new civilization in the East. In his book, The Land of Three Faiths, Mr. Philip Graves has remarked on the absence of that historical sense, and on the fact that no Arab has dealt with the history of any people before the days of the Prophet. Although, therefore, no fundamental psychological difficulty, and no superstition about racial superiority of one or the other people, stands in the way of co-operation between Jews and Arabs, there has been, from the beginning, the difficulty that the Arab political leaders refuse to recognize the historical right of the Jewish people,
laid down in the Mandate, to return to their old land, and the historical connection of the Jewish people with Palestine, as grounds for re-constituting their National Home in that country. For them Palestine is part of the "Island of Arabia," and should be under Arab rule. They will not admit the conception of a bi-national country. Some Jews may be permitted to enter the land and become citizens in it; but they should not be accorded national rights to any greater extent than was accorded by the Ottoman Government to the non-Moslem religious communities.

The Moslem-Christian Association, which was formed during the military regime to combat Jewish efforts, was transformed under the civil administration to the Palestine Arab Congress, which has held meetings at irregular intervals. It claims to represent the vast majority of the Arab population of Palestine, and there is no means of testing the validity of the claim. The Fellahaen are for the most part non-vocal; and, left to themselves, they get on happily enough with Jewish neighbours. But they are prepared, normally, to follow the Effendis, to whom they are related much as the serfs were related to the feudal lords in the Middle Ages.

The attitude of the Arab Congress has been consistently one of uncompromising opposition to the development of the Jewish National Home. The differences between the parties in it are in the vehemence and violence of their attacks. A typical example of their opposition is to be found in the memorandum which they addressed to the Council of the League of Nations in April 1925, a period when Palestine was enjoying remarkable economic prosperity. They protested against the Balfour Declaration as in conflict with the principle of Article
22 of the Covenant of the League. It totally ignored political rights of the Arab inhabitants, who formed the overwhelming majority of the population, and safeguarded only "their civil and religious rights," which are safeguarded in all countries even for minorities.

"Was this condition of treating a liberated nation as a minority in its own country, where the followers of a certain creed, dispersed over the world . . . are treated as full citizens, for the reason that 2,000 years back they held sway over that country for a period of 250 years [the historical falsification is characteristic]—was this premeditated by the League of Nations, to whose tender care the national interest of Palestinians was laid as a sacred trust of civilization?"

The memorandum proceeds to argue the conflict between the Balfour Declaration and what is called "the MacMahon Declaration" to the Sherif of Mecca in 1915. It then passes to an alleged conflict between the different parts of Article 2 of the Palestine Mandate, which, on the one hand, lays stress on the development of self-governing institutions, and on the other declares that the Mandatory shall be responsible for placing the country under such political, administrative, and economic conditions as will secure the establishment of a Jewish National Home. It urges also the conflict between the latter direction and the provision that the Mandatory shall safeguard the civil rights of non-Jews. It is blind to the economic benefits of Jewish activity. With an ingenuous theory of political economy, it contends that "the statistics of imports in Palestine during the last four years could best show the financial precipice on the verge of which the country now stands. During these years exports were less than one-quarter of the imports. How does the Council
of the League explain this ambiguity?" It was not in the minds of the authors of the memorandum that the difference between the exports and imports was, in the main, caused by the introduction into the country of Jewish capital, which helped to raise the standard of life of the whole population. The memorandum next attacks Jewish immigration on the ground that Palestine is, and must remain, an agricultural country, and the Jews have proved their inability to work on the soil without outside financial help. It was a grievance "that the Jewish colonies have been almost all subsidized, and most, if not all of the work was done by the Arab workmen."

A year or two later the grievance was that Jewish agricultural colonization was rapidly extending, and was dispossessing the Arab of his land, and that Arab labour was being excluded from the Jewish settlements. The Arab Conference, in its campaign against the Jewish National Home, has been equally regardless of history, political, economic and social science. The deeper reason of the Arab leaders' opposition is not to be found in economic theory or economic fact, in democratic theory or historical fact. It is grounded on the conflict between two civilizations, the one in which the feudal families settled on the land hold to their traditional customary domination over the common people, the other bringing an inrush of new ideas which involve a social and economic revolution of the conditions of the whole population. When Mr. Ramsay MacDonald visited Palestine in 1922, he thus expressed that conflict which was already visible as the principal problem of the country.

"The Jew comes with an alert mind, with modern ideas, with a buoyancy that disturbs and frightens the Arabs of conservative habits and volcanic enmities. It
is like an east wind blowing over nooks long protected in sunny placidity. Conservative habits maintain conservative interests that shrivel up so soon as fresh minds examine them, that can maintain themselves only by excluding every incursion foreign to themselves. . . . So, to the Arab leaders, the Jewish immigration is the coming of the doom, and they stir up their followers to resist it.”

Another observer, the late Dr. D. G. Hogarth, who had a profound knowledge of the East, ascribes the persistent Arab hostility to “an original and general consciousness of social inferiority. The Arabs are conscious of their inability to maintain their position against Jewish immigration, unless the scales be weighted in their favour, as the Ottoman Government used to weight them.” And the Shaw Commission remarked that “the Arab notables saw that their leadership was likely to be threatened by the advent of a new and powerful element composed of a progressive people.”

The Zionist leaders, on their part, have from the beginning stated that they desired co-operation with the Arabs, and have repudiated any idea of domination. The declaration made by Dr. Weizmann when the Zionist Commission arrived in Jerusalem in the early part of 1918 has been quoted above. And at the first Zionist Congress held after the granting of the Mandate, a declaration was made that “the Jewish people desire to live with the Arab people on terms of amity and mutual respect, and together with them to make a common home into a flourishing community, the upholding of which may assure to each of its peoples undisturbed national development.” The Zionist Organization gave a like undertaking to the Council of the League

1 *Awakening Palestine*, p. 23.
2 Introduction to Philip Graves’ *The Land of Three Faiths.*
of Nations in the following year, after the White Paper of the British Administration interpreting the policy had been adopted by them. "The Jews," they said, "demanded no privilege, unless it be the privilege of re-building by their own efforts and sacrifices, the land which once was the seat of a thriving and productive population and has long been suffered to remain derelict. They expect no favour in the matter of political or religious rights. They assume, as a matter of course, that all the inhabitants of Palestine, Jews and non-Jews, will be in these respects in a position of equality. They seek no share in the Government beyond that to which they may be entitled under the Constitution as citizens of the country. They ask, in short, no more than the assurance of the opportunity of peacefully building up their national home by their own exertions."

After the second crisis in the relations between the Jews and the Arabs, the outbreak of 1929, the Zionist conception of a bi-national Palestine was stated before the Commission of Enquiry as "neither dominating nor being dominated." Dr. Weizmann amplified that conception at the Zionist Congress held in the summer of 1931, where his address, which was as it were a political testament to the Organization of which he was ceasing to be the head, concluded with a plea for Jewish-Arab understanding:

"The Arabs must be made to feel, by deed as well as by word, that whatever the future numerical relationship of the two nations in Palestine, we on our part contemplate no political domination. But they must also remember that we on our side will never submit to any political domination. Provided that the Mandate is recognized and respected, we would welcome an understanding between the two ancient and kindred races on the basis of
political parity. . . . With a strong national home in Palestine, built up peacefully and harmoniously, we may expect, in co-operation with the Arab, to open up also for Jewish endeavour the vast areas which for their development need intelligence, initiative, organization and finance; we shall, with mutual benefit to the two races, contribute towards the establishment of a belt of flourishing countries stretching from the Mediterranean to the Indian Ocean, where the two races which stood together at the cradle of civilization, may co-operate in peace and in harmony."

Unfortunately, the extreme section of Zionists call for Jewish supremacy; and the Arab politicians claim that they speak with the genuine voice. The main features of the development of Palestine during the last thirteen years, since Jewish immigration began on a considerable scale, should have done much to dispel Arab apprehensions of being driven from the country, or of being dominated by the Jew. Notwithstanding the Jewish immigration, the increase of the Arab population has been twice as great as the Jewish increase, and has been at a rate almost unparalleled in other countries. So far from the Arabs of Palestine being driven into other Arab countries, there has been a movement of immigration into Palestine from the neighbouring territories which enjoy the blessings of self-government. So far from the Arabs being ousted from the more fertile part of the country by Jewish settlement, the Arab population in the maritime plain, where Jewish enterprise is most developed, has steadily increased, while the Arab population in the hill-country, to which Jewish settlement has hardly penetrated, is stationary. In truth, the economic interests of Arabs and Jews are closely bound up together in agriculture, in industry, and in every other aspect of economic life.
There is, admittedly, an agrarian, economic problem concerning part of the Arab Fellaheen, particularly those in the hill districts: so to adjust the new and closer settlement of the country as not to involve their destitution. Sir John Hope-Simpson, the expert commissioner appointed by the British Government after the disturbances of 1929, suggested that the sole way in which the Mandate could be carried out with fairness to the two elements of the population was an intensive development of rural Palestine, by which the standard of life of the Fellaheen might be raised and, at the same time, a margin of land be provided for additional colonization. That idea is amplified in the report of Mr. French who was appointed in 1931 as Director of Development, with the function of examining the possibilities of closer settlement in accordance with the directions of the Mandate. His report, indeed, is excessively critical of the possibilities of closer settlement and of more intensive cultivation, because of the uncertainty of markets for the fruit, dairy produce, and poultry to be raised.

It provoked the criticism of the Jewish Agency that it substituted apprehensions for facts; and the words of the Psalmist might be applied to it: "Who will sow if he looks at the wind?" Following the White Paper of 1930, Mr. French recommends legislation designed, on the one hand, to give legal protection to the occupancy rights of tenants on the lines of the Irish Lands Acts, and on the other to secure the inalienability of the homestead of the peasant owner, on the lines of the Egyptian Five Feddan Law. He recommends, also, Government control of settlement in the areas fitted for irrigation schemes, in the valley of the Jordan, so that the full resources may be available for the development of
both Arabs and Jews. The Arab Executive Committee, in pursuance of their policy of refusing to approve any Government measure which sets out to implement the Mandate; rejected the report. The Jewish Agency also rejected it as the basis of a policy, on the ground that it was contrary to the spirit of the Mandate; but offered to lay before the Government alternative proposals. So the matter stands at present.

It is the contention of the Jewish colonization experts that the two problems of assisting the destitute Fellaeen and extending the Jewish agricultural settlement are not distinct from one another, but are interdependent. The Fellah cannot turn to intensive cultivation or raise his standard of life without the help of capital or credit, and it is contended that he may best get capital or credit with Jewish assistance. The solution of his dilemma is considered to be that he shall sell a part of the land, which at present he cultivates wastefully, to Jewish colonizing bodies, and with the purchase-price be enabled to pay off his burden of indebtedness and turn the balance of his land into a more productive farm providing the means of a more decent standard of life. The bodies which would in this way acquire land in blocks from Arab villagers would be able to establish Jewish villages on the portion of the land so acquired; and these villages would, in their turn, help to raise the condition of the surrounding Arabs by their example of a more scientific cultivation, just as the earlier Jewish colonies have helped to raise the condition of the surrounding Arabs.

In concrete terms the Jewish advisers estimate that the coastal plain, the most productive part of Palestine, comprises some 2,500,000 dunams of cultivable land of which to-day over 2,000,000
dunams are in Arab ownership and support some 22,000 Fellahaen families. The average holding of the family is ninety-five dunams. That is much more than is required for the maintenance of a family at a decent standard of life if the land is irrigated; and irrigation is possible almost everywhere. The size of the holding could be reduced by a third, leaving an average area of over sixty dunams, which is considerably more than the Jewish farmer, with his higher standard of life, requires. The Fellah would sell his land at a price of about £5 a dunam, and so would receive a sum of about £150 a family, which would suffice to pay off his debts, with the crushing annual burden of usurious interest, to improve his live stock, to irrigate part of his remaining land, and to plant a portion of the irrigated plot with oranges. Agrarian reform means smaller holdings more intensively used. It is interesting that Mr. Strickland, the expert in village Co-operative Societies, who was sent to Palestine in the period of intensive enquiry, included a recommendation on similar lines in his report on agricultural co-operation:

"There is in general much to be said for encouraging the Fellah to sell part of his irrigable land through the agency of the Land Fund Committee, and to re-pay the reasonable claims of his creditors from the sale of the proceeds, and develop the remainder of his irrigable land with any surplus remaining and with such additional money as the Fund will advance."

The scheme would require Government assistance, and, possibly, legislation. But it is on these lines that the directions of the Mandate, and the more active policy for improving the position of the Arab cultivators, which has been emphasized by the Mandates-Commission, would appear to be capable
of fulfilment. Where the land is owned by large landowners, and cultivated by tenant farmers, the law requires that on a sale provision shall be made for any cultivators of a sufficient area for their maintenance. That law has been occasionally evaded in the past through the acceptance of money compensation by the tenants in place of land. It should be exactly enforced; and the tenant cultivators should be assisted, in the same way as the Fellah owners, to turn from extensive to intensive cultivation. The Government is to amend the present legislation for protection of cultivators to this end.

As regards the Arabs in the hill-country, who are worse off, normally, than those in the plains, the solution of the economic problem by the sale of part of their land to the Jews is not so readily available. For them the foundation of village co-operative societies, which the Government is now earnestly seeking to foster, the issue of good seed and the multiplication of demonstration plots which the present High Commissioner has promoted, and some improved system of agricultural credit initiated and helped by the Government, that is to be provided from the new Palestine loan, may bring adequate aid. But if the scheme of Arab and Jewish agricultural co-operation in the plains were successful, the example would soon affect the population of the hills, and render possible the extension of Jewish settlement to what was of old the core of the national home.

Turning to other aspects of Palestine life, the experience of the last twelve years has shown that, in spite of the denunciations of the Arab political leaders, Jews and Arabs have been able to live together in various walks of life. They have worked side by side in industrial enterprises, on the Haifa
Harbour—which is a Government undertaking, in the Nesher (Cement) Company, the largest manufacturing concern in the country, and the Jordan Hydro-electric Station, which are undertakings of Jewish Corporations, and in the chemical works at the Dead Sea, which are the undertaking of a mixed English and Jewish Corporation. It is noteworthy that many of the Arabs employed in the two latter enterprises are from Transjordan.

They have worked happily together, save at times of extreme tension, in the Government Railways, which are actually the largest employers of labour in the country, and in departments like the post office and the police. The contact has everywhere served to stimulate the labour organization of the Arabs. In some cases, as with the railway and postal employees of the Government, Arabs and Jews belong to a common trade union. In other cases, the Arabs have formed their own unions, but have received the sympathy and more positive assistance of the Jewish bodies in their demands from the employers. A large number of Arab workers in Haifa participated with the Jews in the May Day celebrations of 1933. The purely Arab unions, indeed, have not hitherto prospered. The report of the Government for the year 1931 records that a Federation of Arab Labour Unions established by the first Congress of Arab Labour in 1930 "has not succeeded in extending to a National Organization." The only active Arab unions in Palestine were a Christian (Orthodox) Labour Union, and an Arab Carpenters' Union, both of Jaffa. On the other hand, a combined association of motor-car owners and drivers, both Arab and Jewish, which was formed during that year, with the function of organizing a strike to protest against the high taxation, held together and was
successful in its purpose. A common antagonism again stimulated union.

It is amongst the workmen that the movement for co-operation and mutual understanding has been most developed. Economic and social interest has there prevailed against political propaganda, and the influence of the feudal lordship of the big families is weakened. Understanding may be reached on the basis of a common economic and social outlook rather than on the basis of a conciliation of political and national ideas. There is no doubt a difficulty in the way of full industrial co-operation because of the different standard of life of the Jews and Arabs, which makes it hard to fix a common wage. The minimum amount which the Jewish workman requires is still an abnormally high wage for the Arab unskilled labourer. But that difficulty does not prevent joint action for the raising to a higher standard of conditions of labour, such as hours of work, compensation for injury by accidents, rest-days, etc. The Government, on its part, may help to raise the Arab wage level to a more decent minimum in its contracts for public works, as it did in the Haifa Harbour construction. Proposals have been made for common Arab-Jewish co-operative societies for marketing agricultural products, oranges, tobacco, and the like.

In the commercial and professional classes the efforts of co-operation have been consistently, and for the most part effectively, obstructed. At one time there was a single Chamber of Commerce in each of the principal towns, Jerusalem, Jaffa, and Haifa. Then came agitation on one or on both sides; and now there are separate Chambers in Jaffa and Haifa. In Jerusalem alone, where the President has for years been a British merchant, has the single
Chamber survived. The medical profession for some years organized a Medical Academy in which Arab, Jewish and Government members were associated for the furtherance of their professional and scientific interests. After the disturbances of 1929, that effort at co-operation was wrecked. The lawyers who, in Palestine as elsewhere, provide most of the leaders of nationalist agitation, have never succeeded in forming a common Bar association.

A certain measure of social mingling and "intellectual co-operation," as it is called in the jargon of our day, obtains in learned associations. Yet here, too, the wedge of political segregation is constantly driven into any breach which shows itself. At one time the Jewish schoolchildren made it a regular habit to visit Arab villages and schools in tours of the country, and, going farther afield, to visit the neighbouring Arab countries. Again the estrangement of the communities after the disturbance of 1929 checked that hopeful attempt to bring about the better understanding of the younger generation. The Scout movement, which in many lands of conflicting national feelings is a bond of union for the young, has failed in that function in Palestine, partly because Jewish Nationalists stood out for independence of the Baden-Powell Association.

These abortive efforts are certainly discouraging. Yet the essential truth must, it is hoped, prevail in the end; and it is the essential truth that the economic and social interests of Arabs and Jews call for co-operation. In any long view, it has been said, the Jewish National Home in Palestine cannot be other than a creative centre of untold benefit in the economic transformation of the whole of the Near East. And without this economic transformation, political nationality for the Arab would be largely a
thing compounded of poverty and desolation. An experienced English governor of Eastern countries, Lord Lytton, who has several times visited Palestine and is the Chairman of the Potash Company that is developing the Dead Sea minerals, has put it: "The interests of the Arabs are, in fact, identical with the interests of the Jews. In making Palestine a rich and prosperous country, and in the creation of a free self-governing Palestinian nation, each race is necessary to the other; neither can achieve those objects without the other." It is not to be hoped that any political formula will be found in the near future which would be acceptable to the Arab political leaders. The gap between the two peoples can be bridged only by the process of education and of economic progress and of constant and daily personal contacts. What is important is that education should be directed in the way of stimulating understanding, and not of stimulating hostility. Economic progress can be left to work its conciliatory influence. Education may help or hinder that influence.

The estrangement between Jews and Arabs is inevitably at its greatest in this generation. The Arab Effendis and Fellaheen on the one side, and the immigrant Jews from Central and Eastern Europe, on the other side, are poles apart. The environments in which they have lived are fundamentally different. They have no common outlook or common aspiration. The Jewish child born in Palestine, and the Arab child of this generation should be much nearer each other. The Palestine Jew is becoming more orientalized, the Palestine Arab more occidentalized, largely as the outcome of the carriage of civilization to the country by the British Administration and

1 Lord Lytton—The Problem of the Mandate in Palestine, 1930.
the Jewish return. It may be said that both peoples to-day resemble a Janus with two faces, one turned to the East and one turned to the West; but in their relations with each other the Jew turns his Western face and the Arab his Eastern face. That can be remedied. Many of the Jewish children in Palestine schools learn Arabic; it is hoped that all in the near future will learn it as well as English. Not a few of the Arabs are learning Hebrew. The young generation will then have a vehicle of communication. And they will, moreover, be more like, and therefore more likeable, to each other. The Jew is recovering his oriental heritage in the land of his fathers. The Arab, who realizes to the full the value of modern education and science, is slowly but surely acquiring a more western outlook. These, then, are the fundamental if invisible factors that should make for better understanding and peace, and prevail against the forces of reaction and fanaticism.

It is a curious reflection that one of the political activities in which a few Jews and Arabs participate jointly is Communist agitation. They are combined in violent hostility to Imperialism; but while on the Arab side that expresses itself principally in an attempt to stir up the Arab people against the Jews, regarded as an instrument of British Imperial purposes, on the Jewish side it expresses itself in the attempt to bring about a social and economic revolution. The agitators are at one in seeking to promote strife as the means of embarrassing the Imperialist enemy.

In the Jewish population of Palestine a group was formed some years ago with the title of the "Brith Shalom," or Covenant of Peace, which has the specific aim of pursuing understanding and good relations with the Arab population. It includes a
number of the "intellectuals," though it has but a small following among the mass. Its programme calls for the adoption by Jews and Arabs together of a demand for development of representative institutions in Palestine, the acceptance of the equality of Jewish and Arab rights, and the extension of mixed Arab-Jewish organizations for common ends. Lord Snell, the Labour member of the Shaw Commission, in the memorandum which he appended to the report of that body, endorsed the last aim, and indicated specific measures by which it should be pursued. Shortly before, at the time of the disturbances in 1929, Professor Einstein, who has consistently taken a deep interest in the question, made an appeal in an Arab newspaper for "sympathetic co-operation between the two peoples who are at home in the country." The present High Commissioner stated before the Permanent Mandates Commission, at its last session, that he regarded it as one of the three main tasks of the Mandatory to encourage the growth of goodwill between the communities; and Jewish leaders such as Dr. Weizmann have steadily asserted that that is one of the primary functions of the Jewish Agency. The combination of Government and Jewish leadership in the task should be fruitful of result; and the facts of common economic and social interests prevail in the end over propaganda of national hostility.

It may be a good augury of a new relation that, when the Secretary of State for the Colonies visited Palestine in 1933, some Sheikhs of the north, welcoming him together with the Jewish colonists, pointed out that the Arab and Jewish cultivators were like stones in the same wall. If one slips, the other collapses. The Arabs must come to realize that they cannot drive the Jews into the sea, as the Jews
realize that they cannot drive the Arabs into the desert. And the principle of Symbiosis, the association in the world of nature of two different organisms which live attached to each other and contribute to each other's support, will operate in human relations so that neither people will be a parasite on the other.

It is indeed sufficiently clear that there can be no merging of the two peoples into one nationality. The relation to be sought is that between peoples each holding an enlightened national consciousness, and co-operating for the progress of the whole country. The problem has to be tackled in an intense form in the little country of Palestine, where two peoples live side by side in a tiny land, having each a special and intense attachment to it and diverse historical traditions. The idea of cultural nationality which was put forward by the Jewish author, Ahad Ha'am, may be defined as a body of people united by a corporate sentiment of peculiar intensity and intimacy related to a home-country and developing their culture freely, without the exercise of political power over others. The realization of that idea by the two populations of Palestine and the abandonment of any idea of domination would make for the tranquil progress of the country. It cannot be rapidly attained; but the examples of Switzerland and Canada justify the ultimate hope of a tranquil and autonomous Arab-Jewish Palestine.
CHAPTER XII

THE CHRISTIAN AND MINOR COMMUNITIES

The Christians of Palestine, as shown in the recent census, numbered only some 91,000 in a population of 1,050,000. They were about half the population of the Jews, and about one-eighth of the population of the Moslems. Nevertheless, they play an important part in the life of the country, and have a large proportion of Government officers. They are a link between West and East, between past and present. The Christian population is as completely a microcosm of Christendom as the Jewish community is a microcosm of Jewry. It has representatives of every variety of Church; there are no fewer than 200 varieties. The largest community, that of the Orthodox or Eastern Christians, numbers 40,000 persons. The next largest community is that of the Roman Catholics, who number 35,000. Of these 31,000 are Palestinians, and the rest foreigners, many of them belonging to monastic bodies. The Roman Catholic community is nearly equally divided between the Latin rite and the Uniate Churches, which comprise the Melkites (Greek Catholics), the Maronites, the Armenian Catholics, the Syrian Catholics, and the Assyrian Catholics. Other Churches which have their separate religious hierarchy within Palestine are the Gregorian Armenian, the Coptic (the historic Church of the Egyptian Christians) the Abyssinian, the Anglican, the Presbyterian and the Lutheran. In addition, there are a
number of unclassified Christian denominations with very small groups. They include the Christian Nazarenes, the Plymouth Brethren, etc.

The principal Churches have each their special right in connection with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre; and the precincts of that church have been described as a living museum of Christianity. For in the sects which take part in the worship and in their ceremonies one may trace the development of the Christian Church through the nineteen hundred years of its history. For the smaller Christian bodies Palestine is not a national home, but the Holy Land to which each religious congregation looks for inspiration. For the larger communities, however, the Orthodox, the Catholics in their division, and the Anglicans, Palestine is both the Holy Land and a fatherland. Whatever their variety of religious belief and acceptance, the bulk of the adherents to these Churches regard themselves as Arabs, and are united with the Moslems in the assertion of Arab nationality. They are indeed among the bitterest opponents of the Jews who are competitors in the economic life.

Till the middle of the nineteenth century the Christians of Palestine were treated by the Moslems as an inferior caste; and it required the constant intervention of European Consuls to secure observance of the legal equality which was declared by the Sultan’s decrees after the Crimean War. The growth of national as against religious feeling in the latter part of the century, and the expansion of Jewish enterprise have combined to foster a common Arab consciousness, though they have not been equally successful in eliminating ecclesiastical jealousies and prejudices. These ecclesiastical differences, however, which formed the mainspring of political action
in the Palestine of the nineteenth century, when an armed Turkish patrol kept the peace at the holy shrines, have been a minor motive of that action since the British Occupation. Occasionally the old jealousy is roused by some real or imagined infringement of ancient liturgical rights; for example, when the Archbishop of Canterbury, during a visit in 1931, sought to take part in a service in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, there was an outcry on the part of the Latins. But, for the most part, the sacred principle of the status quo is uncontested.

The Orthodox community is not only the largest, but the most indigenous. It is the Church which derives directly from that which ruled in Palestine at the time of the Arab conquest; and it is also the Church to which the Turks gave pre-eminence among the Christian communities from the time of the capture of Orthodox Constantinople. It is, however, among the major Christian Churches most divided internally. Its ecclesiastical hierarchy is composed of the Fraternity of the Holy Sepulchre, which consists entirely of Greek monks, not only Greek in origin, but Greek-speaking. For years before the Occupation, the Arab laity demanded the opening of the doors of the Fraternity to natives of the country, and an equal voice in the administration of the funds of the community. They obtained certain concessions with regard to the funds, but no change with regard to the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and the position has not been modified by the British administration.

It has been necessary, indeed, for the Government to intervene in the affairs of the community, because of its financial embarrassments. At the time of the Occupation a burden of debt amounting to nearly £500,000, which had been accumulated during the
devastating years of war, threatened the Patriarchate. Hostilities had cut off the main source of revenue, which was provided by pilgrims from Eastern Europe; and the suppression of Holy Russia, which has been followed since the War by the confiscation of the property of the Orthodox Church in that land, and the agrarian revolution of Rumania, have deprived the Patriarchate of its former large estates in Europe. The first High Commissioner appointed a British Committee of two members who had special knowledge of the history of the community to examine the position and make proposals for reform. And following on their report he established a commission, including Government membership, to exercise a control over the finances of the Patriarchate. The Commission, to which in 1926 the Treasurer of the Government was appointed in order to carry out a scheme of debt liquidation, has been successful in paying off the mass of creditors. Its work has now been handed over to a non-official Commission, which has as its limited function the administration of the valuable immovable properties of the Patriarchate—largely in the suburbs of Jerusalem—that are allotted as a security for a loan raised to pay the debts.

The internal trouble in the community between the Hellenic clergy and the Arab laity has not yet been solved. A report of a second Commission indicated how the matter should be handled; and on the death in 1931 of the aged Patriarch Damianos, who had ruled from the time of the Occupation, the opportunity for reform appeared to present itself. It was thought better, however, to elect a new Patriarch before engaging on the amendment of the constitution; and the election procedure was suspended because of certain irregularities by order.
of the Civil Court, at the instance of one of the contending parties.

The recent census of Palestine indicates the extraordinary variety of the Orthodox community in Palestine. The 19,000 persons belonging to that community in the Jerusalem district include, besides 17,600 who are Palestinians, nearly 1,000 who come from various European territories, 418 from Greece, 383 who derive from the Soviet Union, 122 from America, and 106 from Africa. The Russian element forms a pathetic survival of Holy Russia, the relic of those monks, nuns, and pilgrims who, before the Great War, came in their thousands every year to the Holy Land. They now haunt the vast convents and hospices which were built for the reception of the thousands, and they are maintained largely by the rent which the Government pays for the use of those buildings.

The affairs of the other historical Orthodox Church have been easier to handle. On two occasions it has fallen to the Mandatory Power to approve the appointment of an Armenian Patriarch, in 1921 and again in 1931. On the second occasion it was found that the electoral rules which were enforced under the Turkish regime were inapplicable to the new circumstances; and a General Assembly of the Congregation was convened, which amended the rules so as to permit of the election. The election of the new Patriarch was confirmed by His Majesty; and a Royal Commission of Appointment was presented to the Patriarch by the High Commissioner.

Of the smaller Eastern Churches, the most picturesque are the Abyssinians, who number less than 300, but represent one of the earliest of the Christian communities. At one time their congregation had an important place in the Church of the Holy
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Sepulchre; but they have been gradually squeezed out, and now only share a right in a section of the roof of St. Helena's Chapel. In the last century, however, their Emperor Menelik built a round church for them in the outskirts of the city; and they have, further, a sanctuary, like an Abyssinian village, on the banks of the Jordan.

The most powerful and the best ordered Christian community in Palestine to-day is the Latin Church. Of its 19,000 members, some 2,500 hail from Europe or America. Most of these are members of the many monastic establishments which are spread along the country. Some of the monasteries form oases of good cultivation and industry. Others are hearths of learning. All the Monastic orders are represented; the Dominicans, the Franciscans, the Benedictines, the Jesuits, the White Fathers, the Carmelites, etc. It has been estimated that some £500,000 a year are sent to Palestine for the maintenance of their religious and philanthropic institutions. Since the middle of the fourteenth century, the Franciscans have been the appointed guardians of the Christian Holy Places. King Robert of Naples purchased for them that prerogative from the Mameluke Sultan of Egypt, who then held sway over Palestine; and despite the advance of the Orthodox Church after the capture of Constantinople, they have never lost their position. The head of their Monastery in Jerusalem bears the proud title Custode di Terra Santa. Till the time of the Crusades, the Augustinian Fathers exercised that function; but they disappeared in that long-drawn struggle between the Cross and the Crescent.

The Anglican Church is among the youngest to establish itself in the Holy Land. Its beginnings go back only to the early part of the nineteenth
century, when agents of the London Association for promoting Christianity among the Jews began work in the towns of Syria and Palestine. We have seen how the work was extended during the short period of progressive government, when the Egyptian Viceroy made himself master of the country. The Protestant Episcopate, shared between the Anglican and Prussian Churches, was established in 1841. The second Bishop, who was a Swiss, Gobat, multiplied congregations throughout the country, winning over to the Anglican Church a number of dissenting groups from the Orthodox Church. To-day the Church numbers some 9,000 members, most of whom are Arabs. The Arab community has formed a Palestinian Native Church Council, which is in large measure self-governing, though subject to the English Bishop. It has not, however, the rights of jurisdiction in matters of personal status which are enjoyed by the older communities. The community conducts a number of medical missionary establishments and schools. The Catholic and the Anglican Churches are largely responsible for the educational activity amongst the Christian communities. France and Italy maintain the Latin schools; British, American, and German missionary bodies maintain the Protestant schools. The Anglican institutions include a Secondary College for Girls in Jerusalem, which is reputed to be the best girls' school in the country, another school for girls at Haifa, and a school for boys at Jerusalem. The English Bishop, too, regards it as part of his function to maintain relations of Christian charity with the other Churches represented in Jerusalem, especially the Eastern Orthodox Church, "with a view to co-operation on Catholic principles and to the promotion of Christian unity."
The vexed questions between the different Christian communities about the Holy Places have not been brought nearer to a solution since the beginning of the British Occupation. The Commission contemplated by the Mandate remains a pious aspiration. Pending its formation, the rights of the communities are regulated with an extreme strictness in accordance with the provisions of the status quo, which, it has been said, forms one of the most curious codes in human history. The code is made up of a number of Turkish decrees, firmans, and rulings, and a collection of precedents defining exactly, to the hairbreadth, the prerogatives of each sect with regard to each of the sites, its furnishings and equipment. The British Administration is prepared at any time to implement the articles of the Mandate and let a Commission get to work. As Lord Balfour declared before the Council of the League, on the occasion of the ratification of the Palestine Mandate, "The British Government has not, and never can have, any desire with regard to the Holy Places, but that of administering historical justice between all the communities concerned." In the meantime, the jealousy between the communities is so strong that any repair to the structure of the Sepulchre Church has to be carried out by the Government itself. And in 1932 the windows of the Nativity Church went uncleaned because of wrangling as to who should clean them.

The Holy Land has still the power to throw up or attract from time to time religious leaders who believe that, by leading a Christian life in the Land, they may bring the world nearer to the Messianic age. During the last century, besides the Temple sect from Wurtemberg which was mentioned above, groups with that conviction were formed from Swedish
mystics and American mystics. It was to one of them that Laurence Oliphant, who took a prominent part in the earliest Jewish colonization in Palestine, attached himself.

Outside the multiple Christian communities and the larger Moslem and Jewish nations, there are three smaller sects in Palestine, which illustrate strikingly the permanent power of the country in generating and nurturing religious movements. They are the Samaritans, the Druzes, and the Bahais; and they represent respectively religious development in the ancient, medieval, and modern world. The Samaritans are the descendants of the "mixed multitude" of settlers transplanted by the Assyrian kings to Northern Palestine, to take the place of the tribes of Israel when they were exiled in captivity. In the days of the Maccabean kingdom and of the Roman Empire they were a large community, and carried on a rival mission with the Jews throughout the Diaspora. Their centre was, and has always been, at the town now known as Nablus, which was the biblical Shekhem in the centre of the land. Their temple, which was destroyed by the early Christian Emperors, was on the Mount Gerizim, that rises above that town. They claimed that as God's Holy Mountain, and they carried out there, in their literalness, the precepts of the law of Moses. Although generally hostile to the Jews, they were in their culture too close to the Jewish religion to be favoured or to be tolerated by the Christian Emperors. When they rose in a desperate outbreak in the fifth century, they were crushed, and thereafter they were a small and declining community. In our day they have sunk to some fifty families. The last census gave their number in Palestine as 180 souls, an increase of twenty on their numbers in 1922. Outside Palestine
they count only half a score, who live in Transjordan. They are more like museum specimens than a living community. Yet they still maintain the old sacrificial worship on the Passover, when the community goes up to Mount Gerizim for the seven days of the Feast, and the High Priest and each head of a family sacrifices the paschal lamb. They are survivors of a Semitic Judaized people who have lived in Palestine continuously for 2,500 years.

The Druzes, who are a sect deriving from the Shia Moslems, have their origin in the eleventh century. Their founder, Darazi, was of Persian stock; and a learned anthropologist has sought to show that they are the descendants of the ancient Hittites.¹ Be this as it may, there is little doubt that they are one of “the pools left on the shores of the Middle East by the waves of opinion which resulted from the struggle of Christianity and Islam against the ancient fast-rooted systems of Semitic and Persian paganism.” For a thousand years they have held fast and sacred their esoteric doctrines. According to one of these doctrines they are in a “period of concealment,” and may not divulge anything about their faith. It is known that they ascribe divinity to the Fatimite Caliph known as El Hakim, who ruled in Egypt from 996 to 1020, razed the older church of the Sepulchre, and thus helped to bring on the Wars of the Crusades. The bulk of the Druze community lives in Syria in a wild and mountainous region which is called after them, Jebel Druz. The sect in Palestine numbered in 1931 some 9,150 persons, being about one-twelfth of the whole Druze population. They live almost entirely in the Northern district, and are tillers of the soil. They are sturdy and warlike; their standard of life is higher than that of the

¹ See the Palestine Census report; Volume I, page 83.
average Moslem peasant, and they have a higher standard of literacy.

The third of the curious sects has also a Persian origin, and was formed during the last century in that country when a religious reformer, Mirza Ali Mohamed, claimed to be the forerunner of the Moslem Messiah. He assumed the title of the Bab, or Gate, because he was the Gate to the new era foretold in the doctrines of the Shiites. One of his Persian disciples, asserting that he was the prophet foretold, preached a universal religious teaching in Persia, and when exiled from that country to Turkey, continued his teaching. The Sultan took alarm at the spread of the new creed, and caused him to be imprisoned in the Fortress of Acre. Eventually he was released and made his home in that town, and later in Haifa. He preached international peace and "human brotherhood"; "Let not a man glory in this, that he loves his country, but let him glory in that he loves his kind." His son Abbas, who succeeded him, continued to spread the doctrine not only in the East, but in "God's own country"—America. He died in 1924, and is buried together with the founder of the creed in a beautiful garden on the Carmel Mountain.

Another lovely garden belonging to the community at Acre is the burial-place of Baha Ullah, the disciple of the Bab and the Supreme Prophet. The guardianship or headship of the community passed to the grandson of Abbas, who was educated at Oxford. He continues to live at Haifa; and round his house a little Bahai enclave, inhabited largely by Persians, has been formed. Their religious teaching has not spread very rapidly in the Middle East, though it numbers a large following in its first home and it has gained many followers amongst the Western peoples,
both in Europe and in America. Palestine may indeed be now regarded as the land not of three but of four faiths, because the Bahai creed, which has its centre of faith and pilgrimage in Acre and Haifa, is attaining to the character of a world-religion. So far as its influence goes in the land, it is a factor making for international and interreligious understanding.
CHAPTER XIII

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

One of the singular features of the world-wide depression during recent years has been that Palestine has formed an oasis of economic hopefulness in a desert of despair. It is the "promising land" of our time, and has been enthusiastically called the eighth wonder of the world. Despite temporary setbacks, it has achieved, since the beginning of the British Occupation, a remarkable progress in every aspect of economic life. Its government, almost alone amongst the governments, has been able to balance its budget; its foreign trade has increased; its outputs have been multiplied several-fold; it has received a steady stream of immigration. Without doubt this surprising result is due in principal measure to the rooting in the country of Jewish enterprise, and the bringing of Jewish capital. These factors have brought about a large expansion of agriculture, and a development both of big and small industries. At the same time, the establishment of a firm and progressive Government has given the country a new place, or, rather, restored to the country its old place in the communications between East and West.

Agriculture remains the principal activity of the country. Under the Turkish regime, a common feature of the economic structure of the three Arab countries, Palestine, Syria, and Iraq, was peasant agriculture together with a simple grade of capitalism.
The Economic Development

The Arabs were, and are, mainly devoted to grain cultivation, conducted in primitive style and with old-fashioned implements. They can obtain but a poor return from their land; and the catastrophic decline of world prices for grain has made the position worse. On the other hand, the Jewish agricultural settlers have devoted themselves principally to fruit-growing, particularly the plantation of oranges and grapefruit, but also to the plantation of almonds, vines, and other fruit-trees. Where they are engaged in the older form of agriculture, they use irrigation and modern machinery, so as to get two or three crops annually from the land. They have also brought to the country the most modern methods of dairy farming and increased twofold the yield of milk of the cow and the laying capacity of the hen. Their example has influenced the Arabs in the regions around their settlements.

While, therefore, in the hill-country agriculture goes on in its old way, and the Arab life is primitive and patriarchal, much as it may have been in Bible times, in the plains and the Jordan valley it is modern and intensive. An observer who visited the country some years ago pointed the contrast in The Times:

"In the middle of this typical Asiatic civilization the traveller suddenly comes upon European settlements. There is no mistaking the heavy expenditure of capital involved in the fencing of all cultivated land, the planting of trees as wind-breaks, the laying out of orchards, and the improvement of the soil. Cattle are kept in small units, and have special buildings. Irrigation from wells is by mechanical pumping plants, usually on a large scale. The settlers' houses are modern, laid out like a European village."

The scientific fruit-cultivation has led to a steady rise in the export of oranges from about
1,500,000 cases a year at the beginning of the Occupation, to 4,500,000 cases in the year 1932-33. The value was £1,300,000, or nearly 60 per cent. of the total exports of Palestine. It is expected that the export will increase by at least 1,000,000 cases a year for the next five years, since the area which has been planted and will come to full bearing during that period amounts to some 10,000 dunams (2,500 acres) a year. Ultimately it may reach between twenty and thirty million cases. So far the pursuit of fresh markets in Europe and America has kept pace with the vast increase of production; and the Government conducts an inspection of the fruit with a view to maintaining its reputation abroad. Formerly British markets took a very large proportion of the export; to-day, owing to Imperial Preference, which is granted to the South African fruit but denied to the Palestine fruit, the market is not so favourable, although it is still the principal outlet. But the consuming capacity of Central Europe increases.

One of the outstanding features of the intensive agricultural development is the conversion by irrigation of marshy areas into fruitful regions. That has been done, most signally at present, in an area known as the Kabbara Marshes, between the ancient Cæsarea on the coast and the ruins of the Crusaders' Fortress of Athlit—or Castellum Peregrinorum—also on the coast some twenty miles to the north. Irrigation schemes, on a smaller scale, have transformed regions in the plain of Esdraelon and the Jordan valley. A much larger scheme is now under consideration for the reclamation of the Huleh Marshes, in northern Galilee. A Turkish concession, which is still in force, allocated the area to a Syrian company to be drained, but the Director of Development, in his report on land settlement in Palestine,
has recommended that the scheme of reclamation should be carried out by the Government. "Nature," he says, "has provided in that area the greatest superabundance of water, and the soil has the most fertile qualities." When the reclamation is completed, an area of about 100,000 acres will be available for settlement. The whole Jordan valley, indeed, can and should be transformed by irrigation, now that electric power is available; and the report recommends also that the Government should take control of the large stretch of former state lands in the Jordan valley.

The proposals for a new Government loan which were announced in July 1933 include the establishment of a hydrographical survey which must precede the execution of irrigation schemes. The remarkable agricultural development of Egypt under British occupation was due in a large measure to the Government control of the waters of the Nile for irrigation. The waters of Palestine, if less obvious, are not less important for the agricultural future of the country; and a scientific user of the underground and overground water under Government control may make the Jordan valley, within its narrower limits, as productive as the valley of the Nile, while the conservation of the rain water in the hills would change the stony face of Judea.

The industrial development of the country prior to the British Occupation was extremely rudimentary. A few factories in the Arab town of Nablus and elsewhere made soap from olive oil by simple processes. Baron Edmond de Rothschild, the Jewish philanthropist, had established the manufacture of wine on a considerable scale in some of the Jewish villages; and, for the rest, there was little beyond small village hand-industries. One of the administrative
innovations in 1920 was the establishment of a Department of Commerce and Industry. Jewish immigration, from the beginning, included a number of industrial workers together with a smaller number of industrial capitalists from Poland and Russia, who invested their capital in the National Home, and employed their experience in establishing factories and workshops. In his report on his five years' administration Sir Herbert Samuel pointed out: "If this movement continues at its present rate, in a single generation Jaffa and Haifa will have become the principal manufacturing centres of the Middle East." The expectation is being realized, and the last years have witnessed a progressive development of industry in these towns, and, to a lesser extent, in Jerusalem and the smaller towns. Credit facilities are abundant. Besides the Jewish semi-philanthropic organizations mentioned in Chapter X, four large banks and a steadily growing number of smaller banks offer credit for industry and business. Of the four major banking enterprises three are English companies and one Italian.

A principal factor in the development of industry has been the supply of relatively cheap electric power by the Palestine Electric Corporation. Till 1930, the Corporation supplied power from fuel stations at Jaffa, Haifa, and Tiberias; but it has now completed the first part of the scheme for harnessing the waters of the Jordan and the Yarmuk for hydro-electric supply. The Company, whose Chairman is Lord Reading, and whose directing brain is Mr. Rutenberg, a Russo-Jewish engineer, has an authorized capital of £1,000,000. The construction of the Jordan plant, which was begun in 1927 in accordance with the terms of a Concession that was vehemently disputed for five years by Arab and
English opponents of the scheme, was completed during 1931. The Power-house is at Jisr Majami, the "Bridge of Assembly." Where for centuries a Roman bridge has spanned the Jordan, just below the junction of the Yarmuk, to-day the waterfalls have been cut off, and the waters of the two rivers are led tamely and obediently in channels made by men to form a placid lake in union; and then, tamely and obediently again, they pass through great tubes down a cemented slope, to work turbines which can generate some 30,000 horse power of electricity.

The current is carried on wires that bestride the pylons to all parts of the country—except to the city and region of Jerusalem. That region forms an enclave excluded from the area of concession; because it is the subject of another pre-war concession, that is operated by a separate English company, at a higher cost for the electric lighting and power to the inhabitants. The power from the Jordan station supplies a number of industries in Jaffa and Haifa. An industrial census of 1931 showed over 4,000 undertakings with an annual production valued at £5,000,000. It is an example of the growth of the use of electricity that the kilowatt-hours sold for industry rose from 3,300,000 in 1930 to 6,900,000 in 1931. The country is passing "from the region of the living horse to the region of horse-power."

The large-scale industry of Palestine, such as it is, is centred round Haifa. In or around that town there are the railway workshops of the Government, the Nesher Factory, which supplies nearly all the cement used in Palestine, and in addition has a growing export trade, the "Shemen" factory for vegetable oils, erected at a cost of some £200,000, and the Grands Moulins, which is the largest milling
industry. Nearby is the enterprise of the Athlit Salt Company, which has an annual output of some 10,000 tons produced from evaporation of sea water, and supplies again nearly all the requirements of the home market. The Imperial Chemical Industries have their Near-Eastern centre in the town, and show a steadily increasing market for fertilizers and their other products. Palestine is itself becoming an important centre of the chemical industry owing to the development of the enterprise of Palestine Potash.

The concession for the extraction of the minerals from the Dead Sea was granted at the beginning of 1930. The company is predominantly English in composition; but a Palestine Jew is its Managing Director, and its Board includes an Arab member. Some 200 Jews, and nearly an equal number of Arabs, many of them from Transjordan—which has an equal share with Palestine in the royalties—are working in the salt pans and factory on the northern shores of the Dead Sea. The potash extracted is shipped to various parts of the Empire in the East, and the whole of the bromide product goes to Great Britain. By the terms of the concession the company must, within ten years, reach a minimum production of 50,000 tons of potash. There is every likelihood that it will attain to that stage well before the decade has passed. It is already surveying a track for a railway from the salt pans to link up with the Hedjaz system at Baisan. If its enterprise develops propitiously, it may have to consider the laying out of pans at the southern end of the Dead Sea, and the making of a road for heavy transport to the Gulf of Akaba, so that its products for the East may avoid the tolls of the Suez Canal. By its narrow strip of territory
round the northern edge of the Gulf of Akaba, Palestine is on the Red Sea.

Besides these bigger industrial undertakings, hundreds of minor industrial enterprises have been set up, particularly in Tel-Aviv. All kinds of manufacture, from textiles to artificial teeth, have made good in the Jewish town. It is an indication of progress that the Levant Fair which was held there in the spring of 1932, attracted exhibits from 1,300 firms, as compared with 300 at the previous Fair in 1929, while the Governments of ten foreign countries had official pavilions. A different indication of the development of agriculture and industry is the steady rise in the ratio of exports to imports. The value of the exports amounted at the beginning of the Occupation to only 30 per cent. of the value of the imports. In the last twelve years, it has risen to nearly 50 per cent. Of the exports, about 40 per cent., largely fruit, were sent to England, 20 per cent. to Egypt, 10 per cent. to Syria. Of the imports, which amounted in 1932 to some £7,000,000, £1,250,000 came from the United Kingdom, and a slightly larger amount from Egypt. The general development of industry and enterprise may be gathered from the growth of the import of benzine and other oils. Between 1922 and 1932 the amount of benzine imported rose from 2,500,000 to 20,000,000 litres, of kerosene from 15,000,000 to 37,000,000 litres, and of fuel oils from 460 tons to 16,500 tons.

The one considerable Arab industry which flourished prior to the Occupation has, indeed, suffered a serious decline. The value of the soap manufactured was in 1925 £250,000, and in 1931 less than half that sum. On the other hand, the Arabs are largely concerned in the development of tobacco factories which numbered thirteen in 1931, and gave employ-
ment to over 1,000 persons. The abolition of the Turkish monopoly of tobacco, which prohibited cultivation and manufacture in Palestine, has given a great stimulus to the industry. Building, as was to be expected from a country of steady immigration, takes an important place in industrial enterprise. Another and less expected development has been furnished by the setting up of printing presses, particularly for Hebrew books. Already in 1931 the country counted seventy-five establishments. And the proscription of Jewish books and publications in Germany, which is part of the German Government’s war against Jewish culture, is likely to foster a great extension of printing and publication in the Jewish national home.

There are those who object to the electrification and industrialization of Palestine as contrary to the character of the Holy Land. They would like the country to be preserved as a kind of open-air museum. They appear to forget that in Bible times Palestine was a centre of civilization, materially as well as spiritually, and had a population two or three times as great as the present population. It was very different from the wasted land to which Mongol invasion and centuries of Turkish neglect had reduced it before the Mandate was given to Great Britain; and it is now resuming the place in the world economy which it had in the days of antiquity.

A different kind of economic development, which Palestine owes to its unique position in history and to the religious interest of the world, is the tourist traffic. Of recent years, Jerusalem has been equipped, if not adorned, with several large hotels; and although the world depression has checked the stream of wealthy tourists which was expected, there is, nevertheless, an annual visitation of some 50,000
persons, and a prospect of much larger numbers when world prosperity is restored.

By far the largest employer of labour in the country is the Government, which, besides maintaining the railways, the roads, and normal public works, has been engaged, during the last years, in the construction of a harbour at Haifa. It has employed on that work some 1,700 men, 1,350 Arabs and 350 Jews, working under British technical direction. So the harbour is the combined work of the three elements that are re-making Palestine. Built at a cost of £1,250,000, it will be second only to Alexandria in the Eastern Mediterranean, and it is well fitted by nature to become the principal outlet for the seaborne trade of the Middle East. It will confirm the place of Palestine as a nodal point in world communications, and by making it a distributing centre between Europe and Asia, will vastly enhance the trading facilities of the country.

For the making of the new port, a mole runs out over one mile from the point of Carmel, below the Monastery of Elijah, northwards and parallel with the shore, and it is met by a shorter breakwater running out at right angles. The front of the old town is completely changed by the re-claiming of a large area of the foreshore; and a German pier, which was built for the landing of the Kaiser in 1899, is now high and dry. Of the re-claimed area half is to be used for the purpose of the Port itself, wharves, sheds, a new railway station and customs offices, and half for warehouses and business premises. The area enclosed by the harbour is some 300 acres, and in sixty acres the depth of the water will be 37 ft. At the quayside there will be places for three large ships to berth at the same time. An oil area is rapidly growing up by the side of the shipping harbour.
Two submarine pipe lines are already installed, and it is contemplated that a special oil export dock will be constructed when the pipe line which is now being carried from the Iraq oilfield to Haifa is completed.

The pipe line is over 600 miles in length; and, together with a branch that debouches at Tripoli in Syria, is being built at a cost of some £10,000,000 by the Iraq Petroleum Co. It is giving employment to 6,000 persons in Palestine and Transjordan, and it will make Haifa, to which three-fourths of the oil extracted is to be brought, one of the principal oil ports of the world. Beirut was a tiny fishing village less than a hundred years ago; now, through its port and the development of its hinterland, it is a city of over 200,000 inhabitants. The growth of Haifa promises to be more phenomenal. A railway line has been surveyed by the side of the pipe-line, to run across the Plain of Esdraelon and Transjordan, and then across the Syrian Desert to Baghdad. The making of it may be delayed, owing to the adverse economic circumstances of the world; but the Iraq Government made the construction of such a line a condition of the concession to the company. Sooner or later it must be built, and secure the economic linking up of the Middle East.

The centre of gravity of the trade of Iraq and Persia will be diverted from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean. The harbour and pipe-line, the motor-car and the railway, all have their part in the diversion. A scheme which was designed fifty years ago, when the first concession for a railway in Palestine was obtained by an English company, will then come to fruition, and Haifa will succeed to the title, which Napoleon gave to her neighbour Acre, of the Key of the East. One other project of a railway enterprise, which would further enhance the nodal
position of Haifa, is the linking of the line from Tripoli in Syria to the Palestine Railway System. The Turkish railway from the Eastern shore of the Bosphorus, the section of the contemplated Baghdad-Bahn, is linked up with Tripoli through the French-Syrian lines; and all that is required to complete the chain is a line along 150 miles of the coast of what was once Phoenicia, passing through Beirut, Sidon and Tyre to Haifa. If that project is carried out, there will be through communication from Calais to Cairo without change of gauge.

Palestine has begun in recent years to take an important place also in the third form of world-communications. The caravan route of antiquity is now the Imperial Air Route to India and the Far East, and the air corridor of Palestine has been called "the Suez Canal of the Air." The Royal Air Force have stations at Ramleh and Haifa, and also at Amman and Maan in Transjordan. The Imperial Airways, which are responsible for the British civil flying service to the East, have their stations at Gaza and Semakh, at the southern end of the Sea of Galilee. The Dutch Line to the East Indies has also a stage at Gaza, and has brought Palestine within 2½ days' voyage from England. Minor landing-grounds are already dotted about the country.

The development of motor-transport since the Occupation has been remarkable. Before the War, a single motor-car had entered the country. For the last ten years, there has been an average annual import of over 800 cars. And motor-traction is being steadily developed in agricultural enterprise. The camel is being gradually driven from the road, and the pace of movement is being changed from that of the camel to that of the motor-car.
Another aspect of the linking-up of Palestine with the world is afforded by the installation of radio and telephonic communication with Great Britain and all parts of the British Empire. The service is carried on through the Imperial station in Egypt. The Colonial Secretary, in inaugurating the service in April 1933, remarked that "the development was an augury of a clearer mutual understanding and ultimately of a solution of many difficulties which distance tends to complicate and magnify." Through the connection with London, Palestine is brought into telephonic communication with all countries of Europe and with America.

In the era of antiquity, the eastern coast of the Mediterranean was the homeland of a Semitic people who were the great traders and merchants of the civilized world. The Phoenicians carried through the Mediterranean, and to the countries of Europe to the north and west, the commerce of goods, language and culture. They discovered the Western Mediterranean and the Eastern Ocean; and their flag, it has been said, waved at once in Britain and the Indian Ocean. To-day an old Semitic people are returning to Palestine. They were in those ancient days purely agricultural and pastoral, but in a thousand years of life in Europe they have turned to commerce, to industry and professional callings, and now are taking the place of the Phoenicians in the life of the Middle East. In relation to the commerce and industry of great industrial countries, the commerce and industry of Palestine are, of course, still on a small scale. What makes them important is the equal steadiness and rapidity of their development, and the fulfilment, in the fifteen years which have passed since the War, of the promise long obscured, of making the country again the economic
land-bridge between three continents. The past fifteen years have been a period of laboratory experiment; now the results of experiment are beginning to show.
CHAPTER XIV

EDUCATION, LITERATURE, AND ARCHAEOLOGY

It is not so much the economic or political development of Palestine which is important to the world at large as the cultural and spiritual revival in a hearth of civilization. Palestine, Greece, and Rome are the three principal sources of the intellectual heritage of the West; and not only the Jews are concerned in the restoration of a Jewish spiritual home. That aspect of life, also, has shown extraordinary development during the fifteen years of British occupation.

The report of the Census of 1931 points a remarkable contrast between the two nations of Palestine as regards literacy and education. Of the Moslems, three-quarters amongst the males and over 90 per cent. of the females are illiterate; while amongst the Jews, 90 per cent. of the males and 80 per cent. of the females are literate. The Christian proportion approximates to the Jewish; 70 per cent. of the males and 40 per cent. of the females in that community are returned as literate. It has been said of the Jews that they are born educated; but the community in Palestine is not leaving it at that. They provide elementary education for almost all the children, and have established a system of secondary and higher schools culminating in the Hebrew University of Jerusalem. In every village, moreover, and every Jewish quarter of the principal
towns they have a kindergarten—"Gan" as it is called in Hebrew—for the youngest children. In Palestine, as in Russia, it may be said that the well-being of the children is the principal concern of the society.

When the Jewish return began in the latter part of the nineteenth century, they brought with them something of the spirit of the exile. The schools were largely of the character which was found in the Ghettoes of central and eastern Europe, where Jewish education was shot through with a spirit of antiquity from the Middle Ages. Yiddish was the normal language; and rabbinical lore was the principal study. To remedy the intellectual defects which this system was calculated to perpetuate, the Jews of Western Europe established a different kind of school in the towns of the Holy Land. The French "Alliance Israélite," followed by the Anglo-Jewish Association, and the Hilfsverein Der Deutschen Juden, founded schools conducted according to modern educational ideas for girls as well as boys. Each school, however, was to some extent designed according to the ideas of the country of the philanthropic body, and aimed at instilling that foreign culture into the pupils. Its teaching was given in the native language of the teachers sent out from France, England, and Germany. As we have seen, the Hebrew revival in Palestine amongst the new settlers fostered opposition to this foreign education; and before the War a system of schools giving modern education in the Hebrew tongue had been established in the land. Spread and consolidated since the War, it is now a national educational system directed by a Jewish representative authority, the National Council (Vaad Leumi).
The Government leaves the provision of Jewish education largely to the Jewish community. It makes a grant-in-aid to that authority, which in principle should be one-fifth of the Government expenditure on education, that being broadly the Jewish proportion of the population. Hitherto, the grant in fact has fallen considerably below that proportion. By the side of the national education system, which is directed by the organized Jewish community, there remain a number of Jewish schools, some conducted by the foreign Associations, others by the Orthodox dissenting section which still clings to Yiddish, or by other dissenting bodies. Two-thirds of the children attend what is called the Jewish public school system, about 30 per cent. other Jewish schools, 2 per cent. Christian schools, which are conducted by missionary bodies, and ¼ per cent only the Government schools. The number of children in the public schools in 1932 was over 23,000, of whom 5,000 were in kindergartens, 15,500 in elementary schools, 1,500 in secondary schools, and the rest in teachers' training colleges and vocational colleges.

Under a recent Education Ordinance of the Government, power is given both to local and communal authorities to levy an Education Rate. The principal part of the income of the Jewish Education Budget is provided by the local rate, or, where there is no rate, by the tuition fees. The Jewish Agency makes a substantial contribution, and the Government grant-in-aid has amounted recently to £20,000 a year. The total expenditure of the public school system alone is in the neighbourhood of £200,000 a year; and nearly an equal sum must be estimated for the expenditure on the schools and colleges outside the public system. Among the more notable
of the foreign establishments are the girls' school conducted in Jerusalem by the Anglo-Jewish Association, and the Agricultural School, Mikveh Israel near Jaffa, which was established in 1870 by the Alliance Israélite. Jerusalem, Tel Aviv, and Haifa each have a large secondary school, which, like the elementary schools of the public system, is open equally to boys and girls. There has been a movement of recent years to extend technical teaching. A few years before the War, the German Association, the Hilfsverein Der Deutschen Juden, with the help of a Russian-Jewish philanthropist, erected on the lower slopes of Carmel, above the town of Haifa, a technical institute which was designed to have departments of engineering, chemistry, and textile industries. The fight about Hebrew as the language of instruction was started in connection with this college. After the War, the reinstatement of the institute, which had been partially wrecked by the Turks and subsequently was used for several years as a hospital by the British Military Administration, was undertaken by the Jewish Agency. It was reopened in 1925 as an engineering college, to which a manual training school and evening Polytechnic for artisans are attached. The majority of the students who have qualified for the diplomas of the Institute are engaged in engineering work in Palestine, some on the Haifa Harbour works, others on preliminary studies in connection with the Haifa-Iraq railway.

Another development of vocational education is the provision of agricultural schools. An Oriental Jew, Sir Ellis Kadoorie, bequeathed to the British Government the substantial sum of £150,000 for the purpose of education in Palestine and Iraq. The Government decided to apply it in Palestine,
and to found two agricultural colleges, one for the Arabs and one for the Jews. The project of a common school for the young men of the two communities had to be abandoned because of popular opposition on both sides. The Arab college, which is at Tulkarem, has been working for some years; the Jewish, which is under Mount Tabor, was only completed in 1933. A school for the agricultural training of young women, which is maintained by the Women's Zionist Organization, was established some ten years ago, at Nahalal, one of the Jewish settlements in the plain of Esdraelon, and has played an important part in the fitting of young women, both of the country and from abroad, for life on the land. The equal part of men and women in all vocations and professions is one of the outstanding features of Jewish social life. Besides the school at Nahalal, the Jewish women's organizations maintain several farms and horticultural schools for girls.

Another expression of the Jewish national revival is found in art. Music, drama, and the plastic arts are cultivated with enthusiasm. In the past, music has had the deepest hold of the arts on the Jewish people, for it is closest to the inner life. Even in the Ghettos, where they were cut off from the inspiration of nature and free life, they have given birth to some of the great musicians of the last two centuries. They believe that, restored to a happy and free environment, a higher creative genius in music, which has been lacking in their composers of the nineteenth century, will be fostered. They are already seeking to develop in Palestine folk music, and to collect the traditional songs and melodies of their dispersed people. Each of the three principal towns has at least one conservatoire of music.

An early effort in fostering the plastic arts and
craftsmanship among the Jews was made before the War by the establishment in Jerusalem of the "Bezalel" school. Called after the craftsman who designed the Tabernacle of the Israelites in the Wilderness, it was to be both a school of art and a practical institution for arts and crafts, to revive among the Palestine community the skill in the applied arts for which the Jews were famous in the Middle Ages, as well as to provide teaching in painting and sculpture. It was largely the creation of an enthusiast from Eastern Europe, Professor Schatz, who died in 1932. In its heyday before the War, it gave employment to some hundreds of young men and women who were engaged on carpet weaving, wood-carving, inlaid metalwork, etc. Like other institutions in the land, it was wrecked during the War; and it has not altogether recovered its place. Painting and sculpture, indeed, are practised by a growing number of Jewish artists in the land, who have to seek largely outside it a market for their work.

The Palestine Government, on its side, aims at fostering traditional arts and crafts amongst the Arab population which have survived in many villages. Its Education Department includes a Director of that side of education.

As regards drama, the Jewish national revival has attracted to Palestine a company which was trained in Russia before the War, and has obtained worldwide repute. It is the "Habima" (the Hebrew word for stage) which performs, in Hebrew, plays of Jewish interest and also some of the masterpieces of the European theatre. Besides this professional company, the new life has stimulated the formation of dramatic groups of working men and women, who under skilled direction perform plays based on Jewish
life either of antiquity or of modern times. A Hebrew magazine devoted to the theatrical art is published in Palestine.

The crown of the Hebrew educational system is the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. The project for the university was adopted at the Zionist Congress held in the year before the outbreak of War, which appointed a Commission to elaborate a scheme. The University was opened for study in the Hebrew and Oriental sciences and for research in chemical and biological sciences, in the year 1924-25. The formal inauguration by Lord Balfour was held in April 1925, and brought to Palestine a remarkable gathering of men of learning from all countries of the world. That ceremony symbolized, as it were, the harvest festival of the Balfour Declaration. Sir Herbert Samuel wrote of it:

"On that occasion, and in that place, there coincided the three different interests which have long commanded Lord Balfour’s service: Great Britain’s mission in assimilating the blessings of orderly government and the opportunities for progress; the advancement of philosophy and of knowledge; and the redemption of the Jewish people. . . . Could there have been a more fitting inaugurator than the man who was at once a former Prime Minister of Great Britain, a philosopher of repute and a life-long friend of scientific research, and the author of the Balfour Declaration?"

The ceremony brought it home to the world that the movement for re-establishing the Jewish National Home involved great questions of intellectual, human, and spiritual development, that the Jewish people relied on knowledge and not on arms, and that its new Sanctuary in Jerusalem shall be a house of learning. The University, indeed, is still in its infant stage, and by no means full-grown. In its
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first years it was mainly engaged in research; now it provides teaching in two schools, which are destined to become Faculties; one for the humanities and the other for the biological sciences. Its students number only 200, but it has an academic staff of over sixty. Its scientific workers have done work in the field of chemistry, micro-biology and hygiene, which has been recognized as of value both for science and for the well being of the populations of the Middle East. In its buildings on Mount Scopus the most complete collections of Palestine natural history, botany, zoology, etc., have been gathered. Its library building, which rises also on Mount Scopus, houses the greatest collection of books in the Near and Middle East. It comprises nearly 250,000 volumes, in all the European languages as well as in Hebrew. The University is open to students without distinction of sex, race, or creed; but as the language of instruction is Hebrew, the great majority of the students are Jews. The revival of Hebrew, which is the historical and, we may believe, the necessary vehicle of Hebraism, makes it at least more likely that there will be a new flowering of the Hebraic genius, and a fresh expression of the Hebraic ideal, “True to the kindred points of heaven and home.” The university is the seed-ground in which the ideas may grow; the soil in which the tree of the Renaissance may bear its fruit. One other feature of the University has its part in the revival. Its open-air amphitheatre on Mount Scopus offers a setting for popular festivals of drama and music which may come to play the same part in the national life as the theatre on the Acropolis of Athens played in the life of the Hellenes.

Turning to the educational system of the other Palestine nation, Moslem education depends in large
measure on the Government Department. The Turks passed a law of primary education which proposed a general system of elementary schools throughout the Empire. Like most Turkish legislation, it had little application in practice. The population are eager for education for their children, but are often too poor to pay local rates for its provision. Schools have, therefore, to be opened by a direct grant of the Central Government. In some of the towns education committees which own school buildings have survived from Turkish time, and the Government in these cases supplies the teachers, lays down the curriculum, and carries out inspection. In villages the Government's part is to provide and pay the teachers, while a local body maintains the building. The number of village schools maintained by the Government is nearing 300, and the number of children in the Government schools is about equal to that in the Jewish Public School system. In a few, a very few, places Arab children attend the Jewish village school.

The Moslems, indeed, insistently demand a great increase of elementary schools for both boys and girls, so that there may be a chance of primary education for all. They demand also popular participation in the Government system, in order that the education may be national. Both demands will have to be satisfied as the country progresses.

For the children of the Christian Arabs sufficient schools are provided by local and foreign Christian bodies, which compete with each other in attracting the young. In 1932, there were 179 Christian schools with an attendance of about 16,000 children, of whom 10,000 were in Catholic, 4,000 in Protestant, and 2,000 in Orthodox institutions. Of these schools no less than 99 were conducted by foreign bodies, 38
being French, 21 British, 18 German, and 13 Italian. They are the earnest of the interest of the Christian Churches of the World in the Holy Land. The Orthodox schools, on the other hand, are conducted by the local Palestinian Churches, and have as marked a national character as the Moslem schools. The Latin bodies, and particularly the Salesian Order, are concerned to provide vocational as well as elementary education.

The Government maintains two training colleges, for men and women teachers respectively, and these are the only secondary schools under its control. It gives scholarships to a few of the cleverest boys to attend the Syrian Protestant College in Beyrouth, an American university which has played, and is playing, a large part in developing the minds of the professional and ruling classes throughout the Near East. Apart from the Government scholars, over 250 Palestinians of all communities are students at the College. The Government also gives scholarships to a smaller number of Palestinian boys tenable at English universities. The language in its school system is Arabic; but the teaching of English is introduced in the higher classes, and the desire for English is widespread in the population, both urban and rural. The Department encourages physical exercise and organized games, and the sport-movement, under its auspices, has been widely spread among all sections of the population. A scheme for an English university, to give professional training, was mooted some years ago. It would meet a genuine demand, and be a valuable instrument for establishing higher standards of education. But the world depression has compelled the postponement of the project.

Moslem national bodies conduct a number of
independent schools in addition to those provided by the Government. They are subject to Government inspection, but the teachers are provided, and the curriculum is laid down by the Supreme Moslem Council, or similar association. It is one of the causes for anxiety in Palestine, as in many other countries, that the education conducted by popular bodies tends to be chauvinistic in outlook. Both the Jewish and the Arab national schools manifest that tendency. The attempt to foster a broader and more international understanding among the populations is engaging the attention of the leaders of the communities, but so far has found inadequate expression in the schools. An institute which seeks, by the beauty and symbolism of its halls, to give outward, as well as inner, expression to that ideal is the palace of the Young Men's Christian Association, which was opened in Jerusalem in 1933. It is designed to be a place of physical and intellectual recreation for the young men of the city, and also a meeting place for other persons of all creeds and nations who come to Jerusalem for study, recreation, or inspiration.

The report of the census includes, besides the tables of literacy for different communities, tables showing the number of publications in the two vernacular languages, during the period 1923-1931. These figures also throw a striking light on the intellectual ardour of the Jewish settlers. During those nine years over 2,300 books and pamphlets were published in Hebrew, of which nearly 2,000 were original works, and 360 translations. Seeing that the average Jewish population at the time was about 120,000 persons, that gives the remarkable output of one book or pamphlet for every sixty
persons. The figure, of course, give no indication of the quality of the output; but the very quantity is impressive. The principal classes were literature and children’s books; but every branch of learning and science was represented. For the same period the output of Arabic literature was more modest; the figures may not be complete, but they show a total of ninety-six books and pamphlets, in which politics are the principal subject. The English books published in Palestine during the nine years, many of them by the Jewish presses, numbered 129.

The production of periodical literature was equally remarkable. Over 300 Hebrew publications of the kind are classified. They include five daily papers, twenty-eight weekly, and thirty-three monthly journals, nine quarterly and seven annual reviews. The number of Arabic issues is again much more modest. The total is thirty-nine, which comprises three daily papers, six bi-weekly, eight weekly, and ten monthly journals. It is evident that both the press and the pamphleteer are active. And the country has taken the place of Western Europe as the chief source of Hebrew publications. The violent expulsion of Jewish writers from Germany is likely to stimulate Jewish publications in the National Home.

Most of the Hebrew-speaking population are readers of newspapers; and the papers with the largest circulation are three Hebrew dailies. One is directed by the Labour Federation, another by the Revisionists, the right-wing branch of the Jewish National Movement, and the third by what may be termed the middle-class Zionists. The Arab daily papers are the vehicles of political parties, and take up a critical attitude towards the Government and the Jews. Personal polemics play no small part in their columns. The single English
daily newspaper which is issued in the country pursues a moderate line of sympathy with the Government and with the Jewish settlement.

The British Administration has maintained and amplified a Press law which it took over from the Turkish regime, in order to have power to curb any excesses touching on sedition and calumny to which the local journalists are prone. The High Commissioner may at need suspend any newspaper for a time, or exclude from the country a foreign journal which is regarded as subversive. Suppression of Communist journals and leaflets and the temporary interdiction of newspapers and periodicals which step over the line in times of public excitement are not uncommon. The Government, however, has sought not only to check but also to educate the press, and has appointed a press officer, whose function it is to provide reliable information about Government activities for the journals and also to encourage higher standards of journalism.

The new Palestine has not yet had time to produce from its own soil, as it were, any outstanding figures in literature, whether in Hebrew or Arabic. Three, however, of the most famous Hebrew writers of the time have made their homes in Palestine. The philosopher of Zionism, Ahad Ha-am, from whose essays extracts have been given in earlier chapters, came to settle in Tel-Aviv in his old age and died there in 1927. He was buried in the cemetery of that Jewish township by the side of the writer Max Nordau who held a different view of the methods by which the National Home is to be established, but shared with him the faith that it would be established. Ahad Ha-am was the prophet of spiritual Zionism. He conceived Palestine as the intellectual and spiritual centre of the Jewish people; the
agricultural villages and townships, the schools and the university were various power-stations of the National spirit, generating a spiritual electricity which would illuminate the communities of the Diaspora.

The most distinguished Hebrew poet, in the opinion of many judges the greatest since the medieval period of Hebrew literature in Spain, is Nachman Bialik, who lives in Tel-Aviv and directs there a publishing house. He has abandoned the muse for the interpretation of the history and tradition of the Jewish people. Another poet, who is a heretic in regard to Jewish tradition, and pagan in his outlook, Tchernichovski, lives also in Tel-Aviv, and writes there songs of love and humorous poems of contemporary Russia. He is the singer of the return to nature; at the same time he carries on an abundant activity in the Hebrew translation of the great poems of other languages. He has rendered into Hebrew the myths of ancient Babylon, the poem of the heretic king of Egypt, Akhnaton, the love songs of the Greek Anacreon, the philosophical dialogues of Plato, the idylls of Theocritus, the Finnish epic Kalevala, comedies of Molière, poems by Burns, Shelley, and Goethe. He has translated in Hebrew hexameters, though not yet published, the Iliad and the Odyssey of Homer. That amazing activity is characteristic of the Hebrew revival in Palestine. There is an eager and breathless determination to bring into the Hebrew orbit the whole intellectual achievement of man. A different illustration of this activity is the publication of the principal philosophical texts in Hebrew by the University of Jerusalem.

On its cultural side the Jewish National Home is already marked by two distinct achievements. On
the one hand, it has made Hebrew the living language of the people, and stimulated a revival of creative literature in Hebrew, such as has not been known for over 600 years. On the other hand, it is making the Jews into the carriers of culture from the West to the East. In the Dark and the Middle Ages, the Jews played a great part in carrying the heritage of the Greek and Roman philosophy and science, first to the Arabs, and then, in co-operation with the Arabs, to the peoples of Europe, who had been severed from that root of ancient civilization. To-day the Jew who returns to the East, after a thousand years of life in the West, and brings with him the acquired knowledge and science of the West, in the development of which he has taken no mean part, seems destined to be the sympathetic interpreter of Western thought to the Eastern peoples. In that sense the little land of Palestine may be, as George Eliot visioned it: "a Covenant of reconciliation between the peoples."

One of the cultural interests of the world in Palestine is connected with its antiquities, the monuments of its past. As the Bible land, as one of the centres of Greek and Roman, and later of Byzantine civilization, and lastly, as one of the hearths of Arab life and thought, Palestine makes a profound appeal to all who are concerned with the march of civilization. Since the early part of the nineteenth century archaeological research in the land has engaged the interest not only of scholars of Europe and America, but of the general public. That work, indeed, brought some of the earlier and profounder contacts of Palestine with the West during the last century.
Scientific exploration may be said to have begun with the savant, Clermont-Ganneau, who was also French Consul in Palestine in the seventies and eighties. Of the English excavators for the Palestine Exploration Fund, the most remarkable has been Sir Flinders Petrie, who is equally famed as an Egyptologist. It was he who in 1890, at an excavation in Southern Judea, discovered the importance of pottery as a means of dating the strata; and that discovery has revolutionized Biblical archaeology. He returned to Palestine in his old age; and in recent years has been excavating the early city of Gaza. Several permanent foreign institutions in Jerusalem are devoted to archaeological research. They include the École Biblique of the Dominican Order, which is the French official archaeological school, institutes of the Jesuits and Franciscans, the American School of Oriental Research, the British School of Archaeology that was founded after the War, and an Archaeological Institute of the Hebrew university.

The Mandate for Palestine, recognizing the world's interest in antiquities of the country, included an article which laid down the general principles of archaeological work. The law as to antiquities was to ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and research to the nationals of all members of the League of Nations. A principle of that law was to secure for the country any antiquity discovered in it which the Administration desired to retain. The spoliation of the East for the enrichment of the museums of the West, which had marked earlier stages of archaeological endeavour, was to be checked.

Since the Mandatory Administration was established, there has been an extraordinary activity of
exploration in the land. Expeditions have come from half a score of European States and from America to throw light on the history; and in 1926 the International Archaeological Congress was held in Jerusalem. The Government Department of Antiquities is assisted by an Advisory Board representing the scientific bodies established in Palestine. It is not called upon itself to play an important part in the work of archaeological research. Its function is to see that qualified persons take part in the work, to secure for Palestine the finds which are necessary for the completeness of the museum, and, lastly, to conserve the existing wealth of monuments and antiquities. Expeditions, conducted with a thoroughness unknown in earlier periods, have excavated, among a number of historical sites, Megiddo and Baisan in the plain of Esdraelon, two of the fortresses which guarded the "Way of the Sea" and have revealed layer on layer of civilization from 2,000 B.C. onwards. Others are working at Samaria, the capital of the Kings of Israel, and one of the places in which Herod displayed his magnificence; Jericho in the Jordan valley, famous in Biblical records; the Hill of Ophel, which was the original site of the city of Zion; Athlit, one of the maritime fortresses of the Crusaders; Jerash across Jordan, one of the ten Hellenistic cities that ringed round the Jewish Land, and Petra, the mysterious caravan-city in the Wilderness of Midian. Other expeditions have revealed, in different parts of the country, extraordinary relics of pre-historic man in the caves which honeycomb the hills. If Palestine has not given sensational finds of great intrinsic wealth, comparable to those which have been unearthed in Egypt and in Chaldea, it has, on the other hand, exposed a wealth of history and a knowledge
of the relations of the peoples of antiquity and of the Middle Ages, such as can be paralleled in no other country.

The Government has hitherto had to be content with a cramped storehouse for the discoveries which have been made since the Occupation. The munificence, however, of Mr. John Rockefeller, Junior, has enabled it to build in Jerusalem a Museum, now nearing completion, that should be worthy of the place of the city in history, and will be a centre of knowledge about Palestine, and a treasury of its history. The development of a new culture in Palestine will be enriched by the abundant knowledge of the past culture of the most historical of countries.
CHAPTER XV
TRANSJORDANIA

When the Civil Administration of Palestine was established, the territory on the east side of Jordan was in the condition of No-Man's-Land. In the Turkish regime it was part of the Vilayet (province) of Syria; and until the early months of 1920, it had been included in the Occupied Territory Administration of Syria, of which the Emir Feisal was the head. When he was driven from Damascus by the French, the territory did not follow the destiny of the rest of Syria, since it was included in the region allotted to the British Mandatory at the Conference of San Remo. The undertakings given during the war to the Arabs as to the autonomous Arab region included the territory, and it was decided that the Balfour Declaration could not receive application in it. Lastly, by the summer of 1920 popular feeling was opposed to any extension of our responsibilities, and the British Government was unwilling to embark on any military commitments. The country was, therefore, not occupied by British troops, and the Arabs were left to work out their destiny with the aid of a few political officers. A local gendarmerie was organized under British supervision; and Col. Peake Pasha, one of the romantic band who had assisted Col. Lawrence in the Arab revolt, began the work of organizing public security. Local councils were constituted from the notables of the towns and the Sheikhs of the tribes; and the local
transjordania were kept separate from those of Palestine, and devoted to the local purposes, in accordance with the resolution of the Councils.

Man, however, like nature, abhors a vacuum; and the absence of a definite government in the Transjordan marches induced the incursion, during the latter part of 1920, of Arab bands, under command of the Emir Abdallah. He was a brother of the Emir Feisal, and came from Arabia bearing the banner of the Hashamite house, and claiming the complete autonomy of all the Arab countries. He threatened to march into Syria and drive out the French, to vindicate that claim; but he was stayed when Mr. Churchill, then on his visit to the Middle East, offered to recognize him as the ruler in Transjordania, on condition that he accepted English advice and abandoned more dangerous ambitions. He was to receive also English financial assistance, on that condition. He recognized that an Emirate in the hand was worth two in the bush, and settled down as a peaceful ruler who was to be subject to the general supervision of the Mandatory in matters of foreign and financial policy, but otherwise autonomous. He made Amman his capital; and in due course a modern palace was built for him.

The western borders of his territory in relation to Palestine were defined in a proclamation that was issued with the Palestine Constitution of 1922, and excluded from the operation of the Order-in-Council the territory that lies east of the line drawn from Akaba through the centre of the Wadi Araba, the Dead Sea, and the River Jordan to its junction with the River Yarmuk.

The southern and eastern boundaries were, for a time, undetermined. On the south a doubt existed as to the status of the former Turkish province of
Maan, which included the town of that name, and the romantic ruins of Petra and the access to the Red Sea on the Gulf of Akaba. King Hussein of the Hedjaz, father of the Emir, claimed it as part of his dominion, and professed to grant its administration to his son. When, however, his kingdom collapsed in 1925, before the attack of King Ibn Saoud, the area was brought directly under the authority of the Emir of Transjordania. No definite acceptance of the boundary has been made by King Ibn Saoud; but the de facto boundary from Akaba to Mudawara is recognized.

On the eastern side the half-settled area of Transjordan marches with the areas of wandering tribes who have little regard for the authority of international conventions. Here a definite attempt has been made to establish the frontier, by the agreement come to at the end of 1925 with King Ibn Saoud. Certain oases in the south-east of Transjordania, which are important watering-places for the tribes of the desert, were ceded to the King; while a strip of territory in the north is included in Transjordania, so as to furnish a continuous link between Palestine, Transjordania, and Iraq. The Sovereign of Nejd undertook not to establish any fortified post in the oasis, or utilize it as a military centre. He is to notify the British Government should he at any time think it necessary to take exceptional measures for the maintenance of order in the neighbourhood of the frontier. The agreement contains also careful provisions with regard to the movements of the tribes. It was a neighbourly arrangement between two states with a semi-nomadic population, designed to prevent by Government control the friction which tends to arise from the maintenance of the traditional habits of raiding,
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and seasonal migration of the desert tribes. Thus far it has proved an effective instrument; though the presence of detachments of the British Air Force in Transjordania, which, at need, may be called upon to protect the territory from incursion, no doubt assists in the maintenance of order.

A British Arbitrator was subsequently appointed in 1930, to deal with the raiding claims between the tribes of Transjordan and the Hedjaz tribes since 1925. His award was given in 1931, and carried out. In the same year an agreement was reached with the French Mandatory Government regarding the frontier between Syria and Transjordan, and was approved by the Council of the League of Nations. In 1932 the British authorities assisted King Ibn Saoud to put down a rebel chief on the Transjordan frontier; and lastly, in 1933, a second friendly agreement was reached directly between the Governments of Transjordan and the Hedjaz (now known as Saudite Arabia), which, together with the similar treaties made between Iraq and the Hedjaz, form a Middle-Eastern Locarno. The treaty signed at Jerusalem provides for the appointment of special frontier officers to prevent border raids and for arbitration tribunals to assess damages when raids occur.

The territory of Transjordania marches, in its north-eastern section, with the Kingdom of Iraq, of which the Sovereign King Feisal was brother to the Emir. A Fraternal Treaty of friendship between the two Arab countries was negotiated in 1931. It is expressed to have as its purpose: “To be a practical example of the good understanding which it is earnestly desired should exist between Arab rulers and Governments. The relations between the two Governments are to be established on the
basis of close co-operation and friendship; and the Governments are to conclude agreements relating to commercial, postal, customs, and travelling affairs."

The Mandate for Palestine (which in this sense includes the country east of Jordan), recognized the different condition of the eastern territory with regard to the establishment of the Jewish National Home. To the disappointment of the Jewish people, who had hoped that their National Home might be planted within the whole of the Biblical area, the British Government decided that the promise of Arab autonomy in the eastern country excluded the other undertaking. Article 25 of the Mandate, therefore, provides, in veiled but significant language, that "in the territories lying between the Jordan and the eastern boundary of Palestine, as ultimately determined, the Mandatory shall be entitled, with the consent of the Council of the League, to postpone or withhold application of such articles of the Mandate as he may consider inapplicable to the existing local conditions, and to make such provision for the administration of the territories as he may consider suitable to these conditions."

The Council of the League agreed that the Articles which dealt specifically with the development of the Jewish National Home should not be applied in Transjordania. At the same time, it approved the declaration of the British Government, in equally veiled but significant language, that the action which in Palestine is taken by the Administration of Palestine will be taken by the Administration of Transjordania, under the general supervision of the Mandatory. "His Majesty's Government accept full responsibility as Mandatory over Transjordania, and undertake that such provision as may be made for the administration of that country . . . shall be
in no way inconsistent with those provisions of the Mandate which are not by this resolution declared inapplicable." The words covered a plan of allowing the Emir to rule the country as a semi-independent but constitutional sovereign; while Great Britain was responsible towards foreign states for the observance of the principles of the Mandate other than those affecting Jews.

In April of the following year, 1923, the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, made an announcement that the British Government would recognize the existence of an independent government in Transjordania under the rule of the Emir Abdallah, provided the government was constitutional, and placed the British Government in a position to fulfil its obligations in respect of the territory by means of an agreement to be concluded. That development followed the evolution of British policy in Iraq, where from the beginning the Mandate was replaced by a Treaty between the two kingdoms, and a guarantee given to the League. It was to take four years, however, before the terms of the agreement were finally concluded and ratified, and a constitutional law was enacted. In the meantime, the Emir Abdallah governed the country through a Council of Ministers. His Arab bureaucracy and his too-generous expenditure, which involved the enforcement of taxation on tribes who were unused to regular payment of taxes, led to a little rising. That was put down, as was a more serious incursion of the Wahabi tribes from Nejd in the south—both in 1922 and 1924—by the Royal Air Force.

The external situation was relieved by the Hadda agreement with the King of Nejd; the internal situation was improved by the signing of the Treaty between His Britannic Majesty and the Emir in
February 1928. Simultaneously, an organic law for the government of the country, which was prepared by the Mandatory with advisers from Transjordan, was issued by the Emir. By the treaty the Emir agrees that there shall be a British Resident in the country, acting on behalf of the High Commissioner for Transjordan (who is the same person as the High Commissioner for Palestine, but holds office under a separate warrant), that communications between the Transjordan Government and all foreign Powers should be made through the British resident; and that he will not appoint any foreign officer save with British approval. The powers of legislation and administration, which in Palestine are entrusted to the Mandatory, are to be exercised by the Emir, through his constitutional government; and he undertakes to make all laws required for the discharge of any international responsibility. He is to be guided by the advice of the High Commissioner in all matters concerning foreign relations, and important matters affecting British international and financial interests. He will be guided similarly in matters concerning the grant of concessions for the exploitation of the natural resources, for the construction and operation of railways, and the raising of loans; and he will refer for the advice of the Mandatory the annual Budget law.

The principal concessions affecting Transjordania are common to the whole Mandated territory. They comprise the Dead Sea Potash Concession, and the Jordan Hydro-Electric Concession which have both been implemented by legislation of the Transjordan Government. No customs barrier is to be raised between Palestine and Transjordan, except by agreement; but Transjordania may be associated
for customs and other purposes with the neighbouring Arab States. Her administration receives from Palestine an annual sum in respect of customs, calculated on the portion of the imports which pass to the territory.

The Mandatory is responsible also for the defence of the country against invasion, and may, and does, maintain in the territory detachments of the British Air Force. Further, he may organize and control local forces for the defence of the country, and to assist the Emir in the preservation of order. In application of these provisions he has raised a frontier force of a thousand men, divided into three squadrons of cavalry and two mechanized companies. Like the Roman legions which kept order in these desert marches of old, the Force gathers men from many lands. The higher officers are British, the bulk of the men are Arabs, but there are a few Jews and Egyptians, Sudanese, Circassians and Druzes. The headquarters are at Zirka, on the Biblical River Jabbok, and detachments are stationed at Ma'an, in the south, and at Mafraq close to the Syrian frontier. Since the riots of 1929, other detachments have been placed within the Palestine border.

Besides these military forces, the Government maintains a police force with the fine name of "Arab Legion," consisting of some 900 officers and men, and divided into an urban police and a rural gendarmerie. The Legion, which includes about 150 Palestinians, and nearly as many Syrians, is primarily responsible for the internal order of the country. Its Commandant and second-in-command are British officers, and the other officers are Arabs, Druzes, or Circassians. The agreement with His Majesty recognized in principle that the cost of the military forces required for the defence of the country should be
charged on the revenues of the country. But the British Government, on its side, recognized the fact that the Transjordan revenues cannot at present meet the charges. Palestine and the British Treasury together contribute the greater part of the cost of the Frontier Force; and further, the British Treasury makes an annual grant, of a diminishing amount, and never exceeding £100,000, in aid of the revenue of Transjordania for civil purposes.

One other matter in which the agreement gives effect to principles of the Mandate is an undertaking by the Emir "to enact such measures as His Majesty may consider necessary in judicial matters to safeguard the interests of foreigners, and the law and jurisdiction with regard to the personal status of members of the different religious communities." To this end the Emir has appointed a British judicial adviser, who counsels the Minister of Justice, and assists the Ministers in the drafting of legislation. He and several other British officers hold magisterial warrants, so that in case of need they may deal with cases against foreigners who may claim to be tried by a British court. An appeal in such cases is provided to a court in which the Chief Justice of Palestine presides.

Transjordania has its own nationality, which is defined by a law issued by the Emir in 1928. Citizenship of the country is conferred on all who were Ottoman subjects resident in the country; and naturalization may be obtained by two years' residence and knowledge of the Arabic language. Diplomatic protection of Transjordanians is undertaken by the Mandatory, and passports are issued by the High Commissioner. The status of Transjordanians abroad is that of protected British subjects.

The organic law issued by the Emir follows the
established tradition of the written constitutions of both Oriental and European peoples, by starting with a declaration of the fundamental rights of man. Freedom of opinion, assembly and association and individual freedom are assured within the provisions of the law. Islam is the official religion, and Arabic the official language. The Christian minorities may maintain schools in their own language, for the instruction of their members. The flag of the country is a combination of four colours, representing four Arab dynasties: white for the Ommayads, the Caliphs who ruled at Damascus from the seventh to the eighth century; black for the Abbassids, who ruled from Baghdad; green for the Fatimites, who simultaneously ruled from Egypt; and red for the Hashemites, who rule now in Iraq and Transjordania.

The law goes on to set out the rights of the Emir. The Emirate is hereditary in his house, but a law of succession is yet to be enacted. He rules with an Arab Government consisting of ministers appointed by him and of a Legislative Council elected in accordance with the indirect system of primary and secondary elections. The Council of Ministers is responsible for executive acts to the Legislative Council to which, too, all legislation must be deferred. That Council was elected, not without considerable opposition from extreme nationalists, who were indignant at the limitations on the Sovereignty. It consists of six Ministers ex-officio, and sixteen elected members, of whom nine are Moslem Arabs, three Christian Arabs, two Circassians, and two Bedouin. At its first session, in April 1929, it was only brought after considerable persuasion to pass legislation confirming the Treaty; and in 1931 the Emir was compelled to dissolve it because of its refusal to pass the Budget. The Council contended that the
Mandatory Government had no right to concern themselves with the details of the Transjordan Budget Law. A new Legislative Council was, however, peacefully elected in the same year, with a similar composition. It was notable that all but one of the new members were of Transjordan birth.

The Emir appoints the Chief Minister and other Ministers; and, on the proposal of a responsible Minister, appoints and dismisses all the Civil officials and the Judges. The attempt is made to impose on him the usages of western constitutional democracy, by the provision that he must, in every case, exercise his powers by means of a written instrument on the proposal of a responsible Minister.

Compared with the elaborate Government of Palestine, the administration of Transjordania is of a simple nature. Its revenue, including the grant-in-aid from the British Government, amounts to less than £300,000; and that puts a limit to the progressive activities of the different departments. Public security requires one-third of the total revenue, the rest is divided between the Civil list of the Emir, the public works, education, health and agriculture, land and surveys, the courts and antiquities. The revenue of the country is derived principally, as in the Ottoman regime, from direct taxation, the house tax and the agricultural tithe. Customs and excise have not expanded here as in the country on the west side of the Jordan. A small revenue is derived from the postal service, and, in case of emergency, it is augmented by a special issue or surcharge of postage stamps. The head of the Emir appears on one issue of stamps which are aesthetically far superior to the stamps of Palestine. There is no separate currency, and the Palestine notes and coinage are the official circulation. The local Ministers are
Transjordania

assisted by British advisers for customs, land, the interior, and antiquities.

Transjordania has not enjoyed, like Palestine, any remarkable agricultural or industrial development during the last fifteen years. The population increases normally; but there has been an emigration of some 15,000 into Palestine, whereas, in view of the sparse settlement, one might have expected emigration from Palestine to occupy the unpopulated spaces. Agriculture, however, continues in its primitive way, because little capital is brought into the land for improvement. For a time sentiment continued to be opposed to any Jewish penetration. During the last year, however, there has been a notable attempt at negotiation between certain Sheikhs of Transjordania and Jewish bodies, with a view to Jewish agricultural settlement in superfluous and half-used lands. The example of Palestine has moved some of the heads of the tribes, possessing broad acres and no money, to offer part of their lands for Jewish purchase or lease, so that they may be enriched as the landowners on the other side of the river have been enriched. The Emir himself, it is believed, negotiated with the Jewish Agency for a lease of part of the Crown lands in the Jordan valley. Fierce opposition was worked up in Palestine amongst the Arab nationalists to these projects. "Palestine expects that every Transjordanian shall do his duty," might have been taken as their slogan.

As the result of the agitation the negotiations of the Emir were abandoned, and no scheme was brought to fruition. But an economic conference, held in June 1933, after the heat and burden of the agitation had passed, passed a resolution favouring the introduction of foreign—i.e. Jewish—capital.
Sooner or later, without a doubt, economic considerations must prevail over political; and the lure of prosperity will not be subdued by the call of an exclusive nationalism, on behalf of others.

The Jordan is an absurd and untenable boundary, economically if not politically; and Jewish enterprise, which has already brought a new prospect for a limited number of Transjordan out-of-work peasants at the Dead Sea salt-pans and the Power Station of the Jordan, is bound to penetrate into a country that can only fulfil its promise with the help of fresh enterprise and capital. One large-scale industrial enterprise, indeed, which is independent of Jewish expansion, is bringing much-needed help to the destitute Fellaheen. One of the main bases in the construction of the Iraq pipe-line is at Mafrak, a station on the Hedjaz line in Transjordania near the Syrian frontier. There the Iraq Petroleum Company has already recruited some thousands of Transjordanian natives for the digging of the trenches, the making of the roads, and other work on that vast subterranean canal. The I.P.C. or, as the Arabs call it, the A.B.C., not only employs the natives, but it serves to train them for steady work. The requirements of the workers have brought, too, a welcome demand for the products of the country.

The completion of the line will, on the one hand, open a new prospect of economic development for Transjordania, and on the other will necessitate a patrolling of the desert marches which must, in the end, extend the area of civilized government in a way that has not been known there since the Roman Legions departed. Here, as in Palestine, the nomad Bedouin tends to become an anachronism, and must give place to the more settled cultivator. As you watch the gangs of Arabs building the road across the
lava field of the desert, or laying the pipes, and see the huge mechanical carriers forcing their way over the boulders, you are reminded that the British and French Mandatories are the heirs of the Roman Empire in bringing order and development to the Middle East, and linking it up again with the Western world. The pipe represents concretely the arrival of Western material civilization, and its dominance over the traditional desert ways and desert peoples. It passes under the east-to-west caravan route which has been trodden by the camels of countless generations; and Mafrak is twenty miles east of Jerash, the ancient Gerasa which was one of the chief caravan centres of the Roman Empire. The line is the establishment of a permanent occupation where the aeroplane and the motor-car have blazed the modern trail. From Mafrak, where it reaches

"The strip of herbage strown,
Which just divides the desert from the sown."

the line drops to the Jordan valley south of the Sea of Galilee, and, crossing the river, passes along the plain of Esdraelon to the sea.

It is inevitable that modern agricultural development shall accompany modern industrial development in Transjordania, as in Palestine; and it seems equally inevitable that the Jews shall play their part in that transformation. Economically Palestine and Transjordania are one connected region, and any scheme of land settlement must take into account that connection. That does not mean, of course, that the Jews will drive out the Arabs from their lands, or that they will drive out Palestinian Arabs to the country on the east side of the Jordan. But it does mean that some Arabs from Palestine, and
particularlly from the hill country of Palestine where the Fellaheen eke out a poor existence, and some Jewish trained farmers and labourers should make their way to the more productive and more spacious land in Gilead, Ajlun, and Moab, and make it again, as it was in the early centuries of the Christian era, populous and prosperous. Public security is fairly established, and the Bedouin raiding, which for centuries has threatened any settled population in the border-land, has in great measure been stopped. If it does not come from the west a new population will come from the deserts to the east and the south. The interests of progress call for migration from the west, because the Palestine Arab with his settled habits, and the Jewish pioneer with his enterprise, intelligence, and science, will be the progressive element. And in Transjordan, as in Palestine, it is Jewish capital which can give the means of turning the inhabitants from pastoral life, extensive cultivation and a wretched living to intensive agriculture and a higher standard of well-being.
CHAPTER XVI

THE FUTURE OF PALESTINE

It is difficult to prophesy about the land in which prophecy had its origin. Progress during the last fifteen years, since the British Administration began, has been so rapid that the changes which will take place in the next fifteen years and beyond are unpredictable. Certain dominant features, however, of the present conditions in Palestine are likely to determine the future development. In the first place it is abundantly clear that the Jewish National Home is well on the way to be established. It is true that the Jewish population is still only some 200,000 in a total of over 1,000,000, and that, compared with the Jewish masses in the United States, in Poland, and in Russia, it appears to be almost negligible in number. It is only one-third, too, of the Jewish population in Germany, and much less than the Jewish population in Great Britain. Nevertheless, that remnant which has returned to the land has more influence upon the Jewish world than the millions in any country of the Diaspora. Palestine to-day is something more than the National Home which is contemplated by the Mandate. It is the spiritual anchorage of the scattered and much-tried people. The intellectual and spiritual revival which has already transformed the life of the community in Palestine is the profoundest Jewish influence on the whole of Jewry outside.

Moreover, Palestine has already, in this short
space, become the principal—indeed, the only—land of hope for the hard-pressed Jewish masses of Europe. In Poland, Rumania, Austria, and Hungary, it has been that for a generation; the resumption of medieval persecution of the Jews in Germany has made it that with fresh force for German Jewry. It is to be expected, then, that the migration of Jews to Palestine will proceed in greater volume. It will be mainly determined by the measure in which the Jewish people provide the capital for the more intensive development of the land and the establishment of new enterprise. After the issue of the Balfour Declaration, a wave of enthusiasm passed over the Jewish people; but for the most part it left the leaders untouched, or at least unconvinced. To-day the reality of the revival in Palestine on the one hand, and the threat of the destruction of Jewish life in a great part of Europe on the other hand, have brought it home to the leaders as well as to the mass, that the building up of the national home is the principal means of preserving Judaism, and the Jewish people.

In the second place, it is certain that Palestine will assume the function that it had in the ancient and medieval world as a place of meeting of East and West, and an important centre of world trade. It is already a vital junction of railway routes and air routes; and the completion of the harbour at Haifa will make it a place of equal importance in sea communications. It is the land-bridge between Europe and the East, the Western springer of the British arch from the Mediterranean to India. For the British Empire in particular it is bound to have a special significance, both because of its proximity to the Suez Canal and because, when the British control in Egypt is diminished, as it is likely to be in the near
future, the communication through Palestine to the Allied State of Iraq and so to India will be a vital link of Empire.

It is certain, again, that Palestine will in the near future become increasingly an industrial and commercial country. The growth of industry in the last ten years has been remarkable, and the conditions which make for its further development are assured. The provision of cheap electric power from the Hydro-electric station—or stations—of the Jordan, and the bringing to Palestine of inexhaustible supplies of oil from Iraq, on the material side; and the steady immigration of industrial workers on the human side, are the principal factors which will help to turn Palestine into a Belgium of the East. The textile, woollen and silk factories which have been set up are at present only in an infant stage; but some of them have started an export trade, and others, having passed through the troubles of infancy, should steadily expand. There need be little apprehension as to the powers of the country to accommodate the larger population which industrial development would bring. The best authorities estimate that, in the early centuries of the Christian era, Palestine and Transjordania together were inhabited by not less than 3,000,000 persons. If that population could be supported in an age which was innocent of the aids to productivity that modern science has given, at least an equal population should find a home in our day. As regards agricultural production, the use of the abundant water supply for irrigation, on the one hand, and the use of the inexhaustible reservoir of fertilizers on the other, should enable the yield of the soil to be multiplied. There will be room then in the country for an increasing Arab population together with an increasing
immigrant population. No physical or economic causes stand in the way of a prosperous bi-national Palestine in which Arabs and Jews will multiply and develop side by side.

The census report of 1931 observes that immigration itself stimulates production and a more effective utilization of natural resources, so that a larger population may be supported; and "associated with this immigration is an import of valuable commodity by means of which the population as a whole has enlarged its capacity of purchase and, consequently, its prospects of supporting its own growth." The writer, indeed, goes on to urge that the experience of the world shows that this process is not capable of indefinite extension in time; and within a measurable future there will be required a much greater rate of growth of production, and a more intense utilization of the natural resources combined with the invisible import of value, if the present dual process in the growth of the population is to continue. The new industrial and agricultural possibilities should satisfy that condition. An old Hebrew saying compares Palestine to a deer whose skin grows when it is well fed. It has shown already surprising elasticity.

It is certain also that the economic development of Palestine must be more and more bound up with the development of the neighbouring countries, Syria, Iraq, and, possibly, Egypt. They form one complex of the Middle East, and therefore their commercial and economic life must be in great measure inter-dependent. The political divisions made at the end of the Great War were artificial; and they are steadily being bridged. The revolution in the communications between the countries, whether by rail, air, or motor-car, must bring their peoples closer
together. At present, Jewish enterprise is mainly concentrated in Palestine west of the Jordan; but again economic considerations should break down gradually these barriers. And the Jews who have been international traders in Europe will be that in Asia. The two nations which live in Palestine must gradually approach to a single economic standard. Jewish effort must aim at raising the standard of life and demand in the majority of the population. There cannot be economic health in a country in which three-fourths of the population live on a different and lower level from the rest.

The supreme problem for the future, as for the present, is, indeed, the relation between Jews and Arabs. That is too a problem not only of Government and Administration, but also of daily economic and cultural life. What seems abroad primarily a political question is on the spot a human question. It is ever present to the mind of the administrator in Palestine, and of all who are directing the development of the country. The High Commissioner, when he appeared before the Permanent Mandates Commission in 1932, and expressed his confidence in the future of the country for the government of which he was responsible, at the same time gave a warning that the task of the Mandatory Power was fraught with great difficulties! "It was the task of governing a country inhabited by two races which viewed each other with feelings far removed from cordiality." The problem can, indeed, find no ready or immediate solution and cannot be disposed of by any formula, because the solution involves a change of mind and heart in two peoples.

Lord Snell, who wrote on the problem in his note appended to the Report of the Shaw Commission of Inquiry, has recently repeated his counsel:
Jewish impatience of the slow response of the Arab population to the new conditions appears to be unjustified. . . . The mentality, outlook, and age-long habits of an Eastern people cannot be supplanted in a decade: and the Arabs have accommodated themselves to Western influences as quickly as anyone had the right to expect. The supreme need at the present time is, by kindly contacts and helpful associations, to build up a reservoir of neighbourly goodwill, which will hold fast against the assaults of those who aim to foment hatred between them."

It is well, therefore, to remember, with regard to the problem, the adage that time consecrates only those works in which it has taken part. The immediate and urgent task is to prevent the outbreak of hostility, and to lay the foundation for better understanding. On the political side the Arab leaders will doubtless continue to demand national self-government. That cannot be granted in the measure in which they demand it because it would frustrate the purpose to which Great Britain and the League have given their promise. The Jewish people on their side do not ask for political power or national sovereignty. They are content that Palestine should remain under British Administration until the two nationalities in Palestine are more developed and have come to a fuller understanding. In the meantime they ask for self-government only in the sense of limited autonomy for their communities. They have no need or desire to rule over others. Ultimately, they would ask within the territory to form an integral part of the government of the land, together with the Arab inhabitants. As steps towards that end, there may be in the near future a development towards popular representation in the legislative and executive aspects of government. Safeguards there must be in any constitution
of an elected legislative body which will have regard to the trusts of the Mandate; and as the Permanent Mandates Commission has emphasized, popular responsible government should be introduced in stages.

Once understanding is established between the two peoples, a large vista of co-operation may open. They may then unite for the development of the Middle East. Palestine will take its place in a group of countries in which the Jew will work with the Arab for an Eastern renaissance. While it would be the centre of Jewish national life, the centre would have a larger as well as a nearer circumference. Once that understanding is established, too, the future political destiny of the country will be envisaged from a different angle. It may be possible ultimately—but not in the near future—to bring the Mandate to an end in the way in which it has been brought to an end in Iraq, and substitute for it a treaty of alliance and friendship between the new independent state and the former Mandatory. Palestine in that case might, at one and the same time, be an independent state in alliance with Great Britain, and a member of an Arab federation in which the fact of a Jewish National Home will be accepted.

The primary condition for the development of a happy and prosperous Palestine is that both Arabs and Jews should acquire consciousness of belonging to a country in which the two nationalities are interdependent, and that they should co-operate with each other, and not fight against each other in building up their homes in the one land. The Jews must make the first effort, both because they are the newcomers, and because they are at present the more developed and intellectual of the two peoples, and
lastly, because they are the bearers of a great moral heritage with regard to the relations between nations. The prophets conceived the mission of Israel of old as making for right dealing and justice between man and man, and nation and nation. The application of that notion to-day is that the Jew must seek to realize in his restored national life the highest ethical standard. Even if the Arabs make no response to the Jewish effort to co-operate, the Jew must set the example of an altruistic nation which looks not only to the well-being of its own nationality, but to the economic, social, and cultural well-being of the partner nationality.

In opening the World Economic Conference in 1933, the Prime Minister declared: “The Nation that looks after itself in an international frame of mind will not only lead the world in enlightenment, but in well-being.” It may be for the Jews in Palestine to give that lead. Throughout the international society of our day all nations must have regard to the welfare of the whole society. But in bi-national countries like Palestine, South Africa, and Ireland, where two peoples, each with ardent aspirations and different tradition, live side by side, the need of a new sense of loyalty exists in a more intense form, and in more difficult circumstances. In his National Home the Jew may give a lesson and an example to the modern world in international relations, as in ancient times he did in social and moral relations. He must apply, in relation to the nationality by his side, the principles of his Socialism and his Universalism. For it is the distinguishing mark of Jewish nationalism that it is bound up with his universal ideal.

In 1927 the leaders of all communities in South Africa issued a declaration with regard to the Jewish
The Future of Palestine

National Home in Palestine which contains a remarkable expression of this idea. "The position of Palestine," they said, "relative to other Eastern lands, is such that one may expect it to become increasingly important from the material and temporal side. But its spiritual contribution should be of even larger significance. Nurtured and rejuvenated by contact with its national soil, Israel cannot but initiate a new chapter in the annals of the human spirit. We may confidently hope that in Palestine there may again be found a source of healing and enrichment for the nations of the world." The Jewish people may not, without peril to the fulfilment of their hope, fall behind their highest ethical ideal. Other nations which have fallen a victim to the abuse and disease of a nationalism corrupted by exclusiveness own and possess the land in which they live. The Jews own and possess only a small fraction of the land with which their national ideal is bound up. They do not desire, and they cannot hope, to acquire that land by force of arms. They can win their place in it only by force of moral right, and by gaining the conviction of humanity that their return to the land will mean a spread of justice to all the inhabitants of the country. "Palestine must be a land set for a halting place of enmities."

The Jewish and Arab national homes in Palestine should, then, be an embodiment of ethical ideas in social and economic reconstruction. They will also be, still more in the future than they are already, a nursery of new intellectual and spiritual creation. Hitherto that revival has been shown mainly by the Jewish people in the development of language, literature, and the other forms of artistic expression. So far no genius of the first rank has sprung from the
young life of Palestine. It was hardly to be expected from a small community in a short period. Yet it has been revealed to Jews and Gentiles alike that the Jewish genius is taking on a fresh life in the home where the dismembered units of the people are being united. The literature, the music, the painting, the drama that are springing up in Palestine—have touched the Jewish world and have stirred the non-Jewish world. On the Arab side, also, we may expect a literary and cultural renaissance. That has begun in Egypt and in Syria, and will surely affect the people in the country between them as their economic conditions improve. The brilliance of the Arab-Jewish civilization of the Middle Ages may be revived.

There is about Palestine a mysterious quality which makes it on the one hand a hearth of great ideas, and on the other a centre of intense passions. That quality which made it in the days of antiquity one of the nurseries of civilization, and in the Middle Ages the battleground between East and West, should in our day make it a nursery of international ideals. The revival of Arab nationality and the re-establishment of the Jewish Nationality in Palestine should mark the union of the two branches of the Semitic family which once worked together for civilization and carried on the torch. The Jews are the natural intermediaries between East and West, and they have never suffered from the cleavage which has split the Aryan and Semitic families for over one thousand years. A still larger destiny may lie before the little land and its peoples placed at the cross-roads of humanity. Jerusalem, ideally considered, is the fitting centre for the movement for World-Union. The old geographers placed it at the centre of the globe; and the new orientation between
the white, brown, and yellow races has restored it to that place. It is not, however, geography which is so material as the human factor; and Palestine and Jerusalem can attain their destiny as the focus of a movement for human brotherhood only if their peoples can live up to that ideal of human brotherhood.
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