1925

SOCIÉTÉ DES NATIONS. 1919-1920. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

Section.

MANDATES.

REGISTRY.

Section No.	Document No.	Dossier No.
1.	47040	2413

Document précédent, No. 47016

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Index A. See Schedule *Index B.* within

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The British Mandate for Palestine.

Report by Sir H. Samuel on the administration of Palestine for the years 1920 - 1925.

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PALESTINE.

REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF PALESTINE, 1920-1925.

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PALESTINE.

REPORT OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER ON THE ADMINISTRATION OF PALESTINE, 1920-1925.

To the Right Honourable L. S. AMERY, M.P.,
Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Government Offices,
Jerusalem,
22*nd April*, 1925.

SIR,

It is now nearly five years since the Civil Administration in Palestine succeeded the Military Administration, which had been established as the outcome of the War. My term of office as High Commissioner, which is about to end, has covered that period. I ask leave to present a survey, as concise as may be, of the work that has been done by the Government of Palestine, and of the development of the country, during those eventful years. I propose to deal in the first instance with administrative and economic matters, and afterwards to pass to questions that are more definitely political.

PUBLIC SECURITY.

The first of all the conditions necessary for the welfare of any country is public security. Palestine is a small territory, but it is broken up by hills and mountains, over a greater part of its area, into rocky slopes and valleys, difficult of access. Its frontiers to the north and east are open at almost any point. The country as a whole is thinly populated; the majority of the people are illiterate, placid, and, as a rule, easily led by men in whom they place confidence; they are prone to fierce personal and family quarrels, and, like other Oriental peoples, are occasionally liable to be swept by passion or panic into excitement and unreasoning violence. Strangely credulous as they often are, the most improbable and unfounded stories may find a ready acceptance and give rise to sudden riots. Here and there, among the villagers and in the Beduin tribes, which occupy considerable stretches of the country, are to be found individuals who are attracted by the adventure and the profit of a life of brigandage; some of these develope into dangerous criminals.

I found the country in 1920 still disturbed by the ground-swell that followed the storms of the War. It had been for some years the scene of the operations of great armies. Villages had been destroyed; the stock of cattle and horses had been depleted; olive trees had been cut down in great numbers for fuel for the Turkish troops and military trains; many orange groves, left without irrigation, had ceased to bear fruit; there was a general air of poverty and depression. Further, the political expectations, both of the Arabs and of the Jews, had been raised to a high pitch; it appeared to many at that time as though those expectations must clash; racial feelings were inflamed, and, as the outcome of war-time habits of mind, there was a readiness to flout the control of law and to resort on small provocation to violence. The political future of Palestine seemed uncertain; there were forces outside the country which found an interest in stimulating internal unrest. The presence of large numbers of troops did not prevent, although it quickly suppressed, serious racial riots, which broke out in Jerusalem in the spring of 1920; there was an even graver recurrence in Jaffa and its neighbourhood a year later. Beduin tribes in Trans-Jordan seized the opportunity of the prevailing unrest to resume the incursions into Palestine which had been traditional among them for centuries.

The Military Administration had organised a police force, drawn from the local population and commanded by British officers. It was a new force and could not be expected at that time to be efficient. During the years that have since elapsed it has developed into a keen and competent body of men. A large proportion of its members have passed through a well organised Police Training School. Its officers, British in the highest ranks, and Palestinians, drawn from all creeds, in the others, have become efficient and zealous. In addition, a unit of mounted Palestinian Gendarmerie was raised in 1921, consisting of 500 men with British officers; the non-commissioned officers and men are Arabs, Jews and Circassians intermixed together. The reports on this unit by the General Officers who have inspected it are most favourable. It possesses a fine *esprit de corps*, and no difficulties have been experienced on account of the diversity of its composition. To the Palestine Gendarmerie has been entrusted the defence and policing of the whole of the eastern part of Palestine from north to south.

In 1922 a battalion of British Gendarmerie was enlisted, mainly in Ireland, for service in Palestine. Its numbers, originally 762, have since been reduced to 555. This also has proved an excellent body of men, fulfilling well the purposes for which it was raised.

Satisfactory arrangements have been made with the Governments of Syria and of Trans-Jordan, as well as with the Government of Egypt, for the mutual surrender of criminals.

In 1922 also His Majesty's Government issued a declaration which clearly defined the purposes and the limits of their policy in relation to the establishment of a Jewish National Home in Palestine. The pronouncement largely achieved its object in removing misapprehensions and fears, and in moderating antagonisms. Certain political measures were taken also in Palestine, as well as in Trans-Jordan, to which I shall refer later. The international situation as well gradually cleared, and the stability of the régime that had been set up became more certain.

The combination of these factors—on the one hand the formation of effective police and gendarmerie forces, and on the other the adoption of the political measures that were needed and the stabilization of the situation generally—resulted, within the last three years, in a rapid pacification of the country. The spirit of lawlessness has ceased; the atmosphere is no longer electric; there have been no more raids from Trans-Jordan; all the brigands have been hunted down and either shot, executed or imprisoned. One life was lost in an inter-racial conflict over a piece of land, and occasionally a crime is committed which is suspected to have a political or racial origin. But there have been no disturbances of the public peace from those causes during these years. For some time past Palestine has been the most peaceful country of any in the Middle East.

As a consequence it has been possible to reduce the garrison to very small dimensions. The large number of units, infantry, cavalry and artillery, British and Indian, which were here five years ago, have all been removed, with the exception of one cavalry regiment. That regiment itself has not been allocated to Palestine at the request of this Administration; it has been stationed here by the desire of the War Office, and it was, in fact, recently transferred to Egypt for several months; only a part of its cost is included in the charges in respect of Palestine. The garrison now consists of the 450 British gendarmes previously mentioned, the regiment of cavalry, one squadron of aeroplanes and one company of armoured cars. Some of the aeroplanes and cars are stationed in Trans-Jordan. The cost to the British taxpayer, excluding expenditure in Trans-Jordan, which was £3,155,000 in 1921–22, has been reduced year by year, and is estimated for 1925–26 at £640,600. If no untoward events occur, this sum also may be subject to reduction in the near future. I would recall that, apart from the cost of the garrison, there is not, and has never been, any grant from the British Exchequer in aid of the Civil Administration of Palestine. (I shall refer later to the financial assistance given to Trans-Jordan.)

Justice.

After public security, the second essential is a sound system for the administration of justice. Without impartial and fearless tribunals for the judgment of crime and for the decision of

civil disputes, public security itself cannot be maintained, nor economic prosperity develope. Such a system was lacking under the Turkish régime. Its establishment was one of the first tasks of the Military Administration, and my duty has been only to maintain the structure which was then erected, with such minor amendments as experience has shown to be necessary.

British judges preside over the two sections of the Court of Appeal, over each of the four District Courts, and over two Land Courts. All the other judges and magistrates are Palestinians, drawn impartially from among the qualified members of the three religious communities. The scale of salaries of the Palestinian judicial officers has been largely raised above the Turkish standard, so as to conduce to a higher standard of character. The disappearance of the capitulatory rights enjoyed by foreigners before the War enabled a simplification of the judicial system to be effected. Provision was lately made for appeals from the Supreme Court in Palestine to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Executive is, of course, scrupulous in abstaining from any invasion of the independence of the Judiciary, and the Courts have won the confidence of the people. The cost of the civil judicial system is more than covered by the fees and fines received by the Courts. Cases of religious law and personal status are still judged, as under the Turkish régime, by the special tribunals of the several creeds. In the Moslem and the Jewish communities, the nomination of those tribunals has been put upon a new and more acceptable footing.

Finance.

The third pre-requisite of good government is a sound system of public finance. It was necessary to establish an honest and efficient organisation for the collection of revenue and the control of expenditure, and, for these purposes, to create a Treasury Department and an Audit Office, to train their staffs, to provide and supervise competent collectors, to construct the framework of departmental estimates, and to draw up financial regulations. Through the work of experienced and zealous officers transferred from the Colonial Service these heavy tasks have gradually been accomplished. Above all, it was necessary to stamp out the corruption among the officials which had been traditional in the country; it is believed that this also has, in the main, been effected.

Except in cases of clear necessity, it has not been thought desirable to effect rapid changes in systems of administration to which the people were accustomed, even though a certain measure of improvement might be expected to follow. For this reason the Turkish taxes have, in general, been continued. Certain among them that were irritating and vexatious have been repealed or amended. The practice of farming out to contractors

the collection of agricultural tithes has been abolished. The tax payable to secure exemption from military service has disappeared with compulsory military service itself. A number of changes have been made in the customs tariff. But, as a whole, the fiscal system remains much as it was.

Since the revenue is derived mainly from customs and tithes, and those duties have been on an *ad valorem* basis, the financial situation has been subject to serious disturbance on account of the fluctuations in prices that have been a feature of the post-war period. In particular, the sudden fall in agricultural prices in 1922 and 1923 throughout the world, involved the loss to the Palestine Government of more than half the revenue it had previously received from tithes. Owing to this, and to the economic depression from which Palestine suffered in common with most other countries, the year 1922–23 resulted in a deficit of £E73,000. The previous years had shown a surplus. Through the enforcement of drastic economies in expenditure, in 1924 the position was retrieved. A steady growth of prosperity, together with some minor changes in the customs tariff, have resulted in the year 1924–25 closing with a surplus on the year's working of approximately £E263,000.

It has therefore been possible to reduce the rate of the tithe which under the Turkish régime had been raised to 12½ per cent. The tax took from the cultivator one-eighth of the gross value of his produce, and was felt as an onerous burden. The Government has reduced it this year to its ancient figure of 10 per cent., and has relieved the agriculturist at a single step of one-fifth of the weight of the tax.

During the period of nearly five years from the initiation of the Civil Administration on 1st July, 1920, to the end of the last financial year on 31st March, 1925, the total revenue of the Palestine Government has been £E8,900,000, and its total expenditure £E8,397,000. Included in the annual expenditures also have been a number of charges for what are usually regarded as capital expenses. In particular, the sum of £E175,000 has been provided towards the cost of purchasing the railway between Jaffa and Jerusalem from the French Company which had constructed it. The expenditure also includes the first instalment of £E69,000 on account of the annuity under the Treaty of Lausanne in respect of the Ottoman Pre-War Debt; but Palestine will only now begin to bear in full the heavy annuities laid upon it by the Treaty on account of its share of that debt.

An additional sum of £E2,436,000 has also been provided for further capital expenditures upon railway and other public works and services. Of this £E476,000 has been furnished from certain monies collected in Palestine by the Ottoman Debt Administration, which have not been spent for the service of that debt. The remainder has been provided by temporary loans from the Crown Agents of such amounts as have been necessary.

Palestine has hitherto had the benefit of the use, free of payment, of the main line of railway, and of certain other works, constructed by the British Army for military purposes during the war. The post-war value to Palestine of these assets has been variously estimated at from one to two million pounds. His Majesty's Government, in view of the financial difficulties of a new administration in its early stages, with a small revenue and much leeway to make up, has generously held it to be its duty as Mandatory not to require as yet any payment in respect of these assets. But the people of Palestine enjoy the use of them, and from some of them revenue is derived. They will not dispute that, in equity, interest and sinking-fund should be paid upon this debt when the financial situation of the country permits.

Communications.

Under the shelter of adequate safeguards for public security, protected by an efficient judicial system, and fostered by the careful management of the finances, the other activities of Government of direct advantage to the people have developed within the limits fixed by the available resources. Necessary to all the rest of those activities has been the improvement of communications.

One of the very few services rendered to Palestine by the Turks was the construction of a considerable mileage of main roads. The system was extended and improved by the Military Administration, and still further by the existing Government. In addition, under the influence of the District Officers, a number of secondary roads have been built in many parts of the country by the voluntary labour of the villagers themselves. In this climate there is little agricultural work to be done during several months of the year, and the people are very willing to work, without payment, upon the construction of local roads, the advantage of which to their own interests is obvious and immediate. Altogether 280 kilometres of main roads have been newly constructed or rebuilt, and 600 kilometres of secondary roads, serving 177 villages, since the establishment of the Civil Administration.

Among the effects of this has been a remarkable development of motor traffic. In 1914 there was one motor-car in Palestine, a source of lively interest to the population wherever it went. There are now over 1,000. A number of these ply for hire in the principal towns and provide omnibus services between them. All sections of the population readily avail themselves of these facilities.

The revenue derived from motors, in the form of import duties on cars and on petrol and licence fees, is sufficient to cover almost the whole of the cost of maintaining, apart from constructing, the main roads.

The opening of the country by means of roads has encouraged the adoption of a higher standard of agriculture and a greater activity of trade; it has facilitated police control of the more remote and lawless areas, and it has greatly promoted the development of the tourist traffic.

The railway system before the war consisted of the line from Jaffa to Jerusalem, of which mention has already been made, and of a line, belonging to the Hijaz Railway, from Haifa to the Jordan Valley on the way to Damascus, with a branch to Acre. A branch to Nablus was added by the Turks during the war. All of these were narrow gauge. The British Army, in its advance from Egypt, constructed a broad gauge line across the desert to the frontier of Palestine, and then along the Maritime Plain to Haifa. It constructed also a branch line to Beersheba.

It was obvious that the efficient working of the railways in this small country required that all of them should be under a single management, and that this could only be a department of the Government of Palestine. This policy was approved by His Majesty's Government. A right conferred by the Treaty of Sèvres—which was unratified but accepted by the British and French Governments as operative for this purpose—enabled the Jaffa-Jerusalem line to be purchased, at a price fixed by arbitration. This line had already been converted to broad gauge, partly by the Military, partly by the Civil Administration. The main line across the Sinai Desert to the Palestine frontier, which remains in the ownership of the British Government, and the lines belonging to the Hijaz Railway, are under the management of the Palestine Railway Department, to which also has passed the main line along the coast from the frontier northwards to Haifa, with its branch to Beersheba.

Large sums have been provided to ballast and otherwise improve the main line, hastily constructed in the course of the campaign. A number of new engines, carriages and waggons have been purchased, and the system is now well provided on the whole with rolling stock. The train service is efficiently run. Great pains are taken to promote the comfort of tourists. Workshops at Haifa, in spite of a somewhat primitive equipment, carry out all the necessary repairs, even the most extensive, to the engines and rolling stock generally. Well-equipped new workshops are now under construction.

The Railway system taken as a whole yielded a revenue in the financial year 1924–25 of £E558,000, and involved an expenditure of £E390,000, or an excess of revenue over expenditure of £E168,000. Of this balance, £E124,000 accrued to the Palestine Treasury in respect of the Railways belonging to the Palestine Government itself.

The postal services, before the war, were largely maintained by agencies established by certain of the European Powers: the

telegraph service was restricted, and telephones non-existent. A complete system, modelled on the British Post Office, has been established for these three purposes; it is efficiently managed. There are frequent deliveries of letters, in Jerusalem three times daily, and in Jaffa and Haifa twice; thirty-four telegraph offices are available to the public; there are thirty-one public telephone exchanges serving over 1,300 subscribers, and trunk lines are provided to all parts of the country. The revenue of the Post Office in 1924 was £E123,000 and the expenditure £E86,000. After allowing for interest on the capital expended, and for the value of the services rendered by the Post Office to other Departments of the Government, and by them to the Post Office, there was a net profit on the year's working of £E33,000.

Public Health.

Nowhere was there a more pressing need for action, and nowhere has greater progress been achieved, than in the sphere of public health.

Palestine was a country infested by malaria. Before the war, the hospitals in Jerusalem, and in most of the other towns, were crowded in the autumn months with malaria patients. In a number of districts the whole population was decimated, and the survivors debilitated, by the disease; many places were uninhabitable by Europeans during a considerable part of the year. Malaria was the principal danger to the health of the people and the gravest obstacle to the development of the country.

Happily, the beneficent discovery by medical science that this disease is transmitted only by certain genera of mosquito, that mosquitoes can breed only in water, and that by denying them their breeding-places malaria can be entirely eliminated, has pointed the way which it was the obvious duty of any modern Administration to tread. In September, 1920, I appointed a permanent Anti-Malarial Advisory Commission, under the able chairmanship of the Director of the Department of Health, and including representatives of the other Government Departments and the non-official bodies concerned with the question. In April, 1922, an Ordinance was passed enabling the measures that were found necessary to be put into effect. Under the direction of the Commission, and with the powers so provided, an intensive effort has been made to rid Palestine of this pest.

The Department of Health has been reinforced for this purpose by a Survey Section, generously sent from America by the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation. It has had the active co-operation also of a Malarial Research Unit sent by the Jewish Joint Distribution Committee of America. The Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association (Edmond de Rothschild Foundation) has undertaken and

nearly completed the drainage of a large swampy area—the Kabbara—in the plain between Jaffa and Haifa, together with other minor works. The Jewish agricultural colonies that have been newly founded have made it their first task to eliminate any marshes or pools that might exist in their neighbourhood. The Arab population has not been slow to appreciate the significance, and the benefit, of such work. The municipalities of the towns and the peoples of many of the villages, under the direction of the Government medical officers and engineers, have been active in draining swamps where they existed, and in canalising marshy streams. Wells have been covered; great numbers of the rain-water cisterns, which provide the chief water supply in the towns, have been provided with pumps and sealed up; a further number, and other possible breeding-places, are regularly oiled—a film of oil on the surface of the water being effective in killing the mosquito larva when it hatches.

Through the activity of these various agencies a total of 170 kilometres of drainage canals and ditches have been constructed, affecting an area of 5,574 acres of marshy ground. No fewer than 45,000 wells, cisterns, and cess-pits, are now being regularly oiled; the actual number of oilings is over 700,000 a year.

The result of this work has been remarkable. The Anopheline mosquito has disappeared from the larger towns, except Haifa. In those towns new cases of malaria are now almost unknown. With regard to Haifa, a scheme for the drainage of the marshes of the Kishon River, which adjoin one end of the town, has been elaborated and its application is now under consideration. In most of the the smaller towns similar results have been obtained. Jenin and Beisan which, during and after the campaign, were regarded as particularly unhealthy stations for troops on account of malaria, are now entirely free from it. Almost the whole of the Jezreel Valley, formerly very malarious, has been cleared of the disease.

Much yet remains to be done. There is a great swamp adjoining Lake Huleh, in the extreme north of Palestine. The Turkish Government had agreed to grant a concession, for the drainage and cultivation of this area, to certain residents of Syria. The present Administration has entered into an agreement for the grant of a revised concession with a similar object; but as yet no effective steps have been taken by the concessionnaires to carry out the undertaking. There are several swamps still remaining in other parts of the country, with which it is hoped to deal at an early date; and there are, of course, innumerable breeding-places for mosquitoes, scattered throughout the open country, which can only be eliminated as settlement and cultivation extend. But what has already been accomplished is a source of deep satisfaction to the Government and to the bodies which have co-operated with it. The results

have been of incalculable benefit to the people. They are the best argument, and the strongest incentive, to further effort on the same lines.

The campaign against malaria, however, of prime importance as it is, has commanded only a fraction of the activities of the Department of Health. In other parts of its field that Department has again enjoyed the invaluable co-operation of a number of voluntary bodies. Religious and philanthropic societies—British, French, Italian, German, Swedish—find in the Holy Land a duty of assistance. Working on parallel lines is the large and efficient Hadassah Medical Organisation established in Palestine by American Zionists, and there are other Jewish bodies. By them, and by certain of the municipalities, has been undertaken the task, in particular, of providing the greater part of the hospital accommodation necessary for the population. They co-operate also in another campaign that has been actively pursued in Palestine—against eye-diseases, which, as in other Eastern countries, have been distressingly prevalent among the people. Results are already apparent from the measures that have been taken. Constant inspection, and treatment, when necessary, of the eyes of the children in the schools—50,000 school children are kept under medical observation for trachoma; the work, on an extensive scale, of the Eye Hospital at Jerusalem of the Order of St. John, the training of nurses in the treatment of eye-diseases, under the auspices of that hospital, for service at eye clinics in various parts of the country—these are beginning to have an effect upon a scourge that has long afflicted the poorer classes of this population.

Close attention has been paid to the sanitation of the towns and the larger villages. A water supply, which will average seventy million gallons a year, has been brought to Jerusalem, through the enterprise successively of the Military Administration, the Civil Administration and the Municipality. Water supplies have been improved in many other places. Infant Welfare Centres and Clinics have been established, mainly through the effort of non-official bodies, in six towns. Complete courses of training for nurses and midwives are given, both by the Government, by British Missions and by the Hadassah Organisation; ninety-one women have already qualified as nurses and twenty-three as midwives. Three Government and six non-Government laboratories carry on bacteriological and other medical work. The Health Department exercises a control over medical practitioners, dentists and pharmacists, and over midwives. It provides for the quarantine and disinfection of immigrants and of the pilgrims returning from Mecca. It inspects and regulates trades and industries that are liable to cause injury to the health either of employees or of the public. To make head against rabies, which has been prevalent from time to time, it supplies anti-rabic treatment, and it has effected the destruction of many thousands of jackals and pariah dogs.

In November, 1924, a " Health Week " was organised, on the initiative of the Hadassah Unit and with the active co-operation of the Department of Health and of other bodies. As part of the propaganda for the improvement of sanitation, a small exhibition of appliances, models and diagrams was opened for fourteen days in Jerusalem, with free admission. It is an illustration of the keen interest of the people in health problems, and the desire for progress which now prevails in a country where, not long ago, disease and suffering were accepted with fatalistic resignation, that there were no fewer than 30,000 admittances to the Exhibition among a population of under 70,000.

Education.

This keenness prevails also in the sphere of education. The Arabs, a quick-witted people, are beginning to recognise how much they are handicapped by illiteracy. Not only in the towns, but in many of the villages as well, they are eager for the opening of schools, and display their eagerness by subscribing voluntarily considerable sums for their establishment. The Government announced, in December, 1920, that it was prepared to undertake the cost of maintenance of a certain number of village schools, if the villagers themselves would provide the buildings. There ensued an active competition to obtain these new schools. In less than three years 190 were established, and the number could have been largely increased if the financial situation had not compelled suspension of the programme. Among the Jews the demand for educational facilities is at its maximum, and nearly all the Jewish children, of both sexes, attend school, a large proportion proceeding to secondary and technical education.

There are now in Palestine 314 Government and over 400 non-Government schools. The Jewish schools are all in the latter category. In it are included also a number of schools conducted by missionary bodies of several denominations and nationalities, owing to whose efforts the percentage of children belonging to the Christian communities who attend schools is high, compared with the percentage among the Moslems. There are twenty Arab voluntary schools, of which twelve have been established since 1920.

The Government has opened secondary sections at certain of the elementary schools in the towns, and possesses two Training Colleges, one for men and one for women. The former of these combines the functions of a training college for teachers and of a secondary boarding school. Peripatetic teachers are employed by the Education Department to travel among the Beduin and give elementary instruction to their children; they are welcome guests among the tribes. In the total, some 48,000 children aged from 5 to 14, and some 10,000 aged from 15 to 18, receive a measure of education in Palestine, being about 34 per cent. of the boys, and 24 per cent. of the girls, between the ages of 5 and 14.

Scouting is popular among the boys, and there are now 1,600 boy scouts enrolled; the girl guide movement has also been introduced in some of the Christian and Jewish girls' schools.

Under the auspices of the Attorney-General's Department, a Board of Legal Studies was established in October, 1920, under a British Director; it has organised courses in law subjects in Arabic and Hebrew. No fewer than 250 students have attended these classes; not all of them, however, propose to practise the law as a profession.

Antiquities.

Since the special interest of Palestine to the world at large lies mainly in its historical associations, archaeology has here an exceptional importance. The Mandate under which the country is governed lays emphasis upon the duty of the Administration in this regard. There is undoubtedly a wide field in Palestine for exploration and research, as well as a pressing need for measures of preservation. A Department of Antiquities was established in July, 1920, and the legislation necessary to make its work effective was enacted soon after. Under capable and scholarly direction, the Department has already achieved much for the protection of the known antiquities and for the promotion of further discovery. In this sphere, as in others, the special claims of Palestine led organisations in other countries, for many years past, to engage in activities here, and their enterprise now supplements the action of the State. British, French and American Schools of Archaeology are established in Jerusalem. Work in the field has been undertaken by those bodies, by the Palestine Exploration Fund, founded sixty years ago, by expeditions promoted by other organisations of various nationalities, and by a Palestine Jewish Archaeological Society. To harmonise these activities, an International Board has been formed, which consists of local representatives of the bodies interested, under the chairmanship of the Director of the Department; it advises on all matters of importance relating to archaeological work in Palestine, including, in particular, the allocation of permits to excavate.

The results already achieved by exploration are of interest in themselves and of encouragement for the future. In addition, a list has been made of all the known historical sites. A museum has been established at Jerusalem which, although at present on a small scale, contains many objects of interest. It is remarkable that, in this comparatively small town, besides the ordinary attendance on other days, over a thousand persons visited the museum each Saturday during the greater part of last year.

Useful work in several directions has been done by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, founded by the Governor of the city, Sir Ronald Storrs, soon after the occupation. The Society has encouraged arts and crafts, employs a qualified architect and

town-planner to advise on the development of the town, and has collected £15,000 in subscriptions and spent it on the prosecution of its work. Chief among its activities has been the protection of the antiquities and of the amenities of the ancient city. Modern Jerusalem is spreading far and wide over the hills that surround Moriah and Zion. It is a town full of enterprise and activity, demanding, and to some extent securing, the facilities and public services that are essentials of Western civilisation. But the old Jerusalem remains. It lives on within its mediaeval walls and towers, which surround it, still complete. It is compact, thronged, uneven, typically oriental. Within it, sedate and apart, is one of the most beautiful groups of buildings in the world, the Haram-es-Sharif, occupying the site of Solomon's Temple. Pervaded by the most sacred religious associations, old Jerusalem is a magnet that draws tens of thousands of pilgrims and travellers from all quarters of the earth. To preserve unchanged its ancient character and its charm, to eliminate such vulgarities as had crept in and to prevent the invasion of others, is the plain duty of those who are charged with the guardianship of the city. The Government of Palestine, aided by the Municipality of the town and by the Pro-Jerusalem Society, has endeavoured to fulfil this trust.

Throughout the country, also, efforts have been made in various ways to maintain the standard that should mark the Holy Land. Public gaming and lotteries are prohibited. Cinema films are subject to censorship. Branches of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals are active in some of the towns. The liquor traffic is controlled. Houses of ill-fame have been almost entirely suppressed. And—a point seldom observed by the visitor, for a negative fact is not often noted—the country is free from disfigurement by advertisements. An Ordinance, enacted in July, 1920, before any vested interests had appeared, restricts the posting of placards to notice boards, provided in suitable places by the municipalities, and to railway stations. In this one country at least, the beauties of the landscape and the amenities of the towns are free from the intrusion of the hoarding.

A number of women, British, Palestinian and others, have formed a Palestine Women's Council, representing over fifty organisations in the country, and affiliated to the International Council of Women. This body keeps a watch upon many questions of social welfare, helps to mould public opinion with regard to them, and offers valuable suggestions to the central and district administrations. It has also established a small home for wayward girls, which is utilised as a State reformatory. The Government has in its service as a full-time officer an Englishwoman, charged with the duty of inspecting the prisons and other government establishments, and of proposing measures relating to the welfare of women and children and the prevention or suppression of social evils.

I pass on to deal with economic development. In agriculture, in industry and in commerce, there are satisfactory signs of activity and of growth.

Agriculture.

Although nearly two-thirds of the population of Palestine are engaged in agriculture and allied occupations, the country districts are thinly peopled and, for the most part, poorly cultivated. I shall deal in a subsequent section with the work of the Jewish colonists. By far the greater part of the cultivable area remains in the hands of the Arabs. Each year a considerable portion of this is left untilled. The methods of cultivation employed are usually primitive. Until recently land was rarely manured; when one patch was exhausted another was ploughed. Many villages had suffered severely by the felling of olive trees for fuel and by the loss of their ploughing animals during the war. The few forests that had survived till then were almost all cut down during those years. The characteristic that, to the European eye, most distinguishes the typical Palestinian scene is its absolute bareness of trees.

To redeem these conditions a number of measures have been taken. In the first place the Military Authorities made an arrangement with the Anglo-Egyptian Bank for the advance to the Administration of a considerable sum, to be used for loans to cultivators. In the five years that followed £E562,000 has been lent, mostly in small sums, on the security of land or crops. These loans have enabled the peasants to buy animals and seed and in many ways to restore their holdings. They went far to save the situation for the agriculturists of Palestine. Of the sum lent £E405,000 has been repaid up to the present date by the borrowers to the Government and by the Government to the Bank.

Next, a Department of Agriculture and Forests was established, which, within the limits of the funds allotted to it, has been active in protecting and forwarding the interests under its charge. An expert staff gives instruction in the villages, promotes the use of improved implements and methods, including the employment of chemical manures, encourages especially the development of fruit-growing, of the poultry industry, and of the production of the honey, with which once the land was "flowing." It assists the farmer to deal with diseases among his animals and with pests among his plants, teaches him to use gassing machines for the destruction of field-mice, sometimes a source of serious loss, fumigates for him his orange trees if they are affected by scale, prepares measures beforehand to meet an invasion of locusts if one should occur, protects his cattle from imported diseases by means of quarantine stations at the frontiers and veterinary control at the ports, and in a score of ways acts as the cultivator's guardian and friend. All this activity, together with the object lesson of the results obtained by the practice of

modern agriculture in the Jewish villages that are dotted over many parts of the country, has had an effect. Some of the Arab villages are beginning to adopt improved methods, and a larger number than before are specialising in crops that are more remunerative than cereals.

With respect to afforestation, the work of the Department has been severely restricted by the inadequacy of its budget, but it has demarcated certain uncultivated State lands as protected forest areas; it has fostered regrowth from the stumps still existing in the destroyed forests, has planted about a million trees, and, through the nurseries it maintains, has facilitated plantation by others. Altogether four to five million timber and fruit trees have been planted in these years in Palestine. The Department has conducted successful experiments also in the planting of grasses and trees on sand dunes—a matter of great importance, for the line of dunes along the coast is slowly advancing inland: it has already overwhelmed a considerable area of cultivated land, and, unless stopped by planting, will certainly prove fatal to the adjoining cultivation.

Another noteworthy measure relates to tobacco. The climate and much of the soil of Palestine are eminently suited to the growth of tobacco; its manufacture is possible anywhere. But under the Turks a monopoly of manufacture and sale was vested in the hands of the Tobacco Régie, and, for the protection of that monopoly from contraband, the cultivation of tobacco was prohibited in several parts of the Turkish Empire, including Palestine except in a few villages in the north.

No long investigation was needed to prove the harmfulness of this monopoly, and, with the approval of His Majesty's Government, it was abolished in 1921. There followed two years of experimenting by private enterprise, aided and advised by the Agricultural Department. In a considerable number of villages very satisfactory results were obtained, and the production of tobacco of excellent quality was shown to be possible. In 1924 a wave of enthusiasm for tobacco cultivation passed over the country. Thousands of acres were devoted to it, both in Arab and Jewish villages. No less than 1,800 tons of leaf were produced; about one-half of the yield is being consumed in the country and the other half exported. The good quality of a large part of the crop, and the remunerative prices obtained, indicate that here may be found one of the chief future sources of the agricultural wealth of Palestine.

Meantime, the one factory which existed in Palestine before the war, that belonging to the Régie Company employing 150 workers, has been replaced by eleven new factories employing a total of about 360 workers. The Government is deriving a revenue from tobacco, in excise and in customs, estimated at over £E100,000 for the current year, and prices to the

consumer have fallen. When account is taken of all these factors—the advantage to agriculturists, the employment offered in industry, the revenue accruing to the State and the cheapening of the commodity to the people—what has occurred in Palestine may furnish to political economists yet another example of the evils of monopoly and the benefit of abolition.

The various measures that I have described, together with the growth of the area under Jewish cultivation to which I shall refer later, and, not least important, the recent rise in the general level of agricultural prices, have combined to rescue the country districts of Palestine from the depth of depression into which they had fallen. Large numbers of the Arab peasantry are still exceedingly poor. Their poverty is due sometimes to an infertile soil, sometimes to a deficiency of water, sometimes to lack of industry, and sometimes to the exactions of landlords, or to improvident borrowing at exorbitant rates of interest; these causes are usually combined with primitive methods of cultivation. But there is good ground for believing that the poverty-stricken are becoming fewer, and the comparatively prosperous more numerous, than they were. There is no doubt that the area of cultivation, in the country as a whole, has extended, and many new houses are being built in the villages in every part of the country.

A further indication of the comparative state of agriculture is given by the annual enumeration of the sheep, goats and camels that is made for the purpose of tax on those animals, levied under a Turkish law still in force. That test shows a satisfactory result. In 1920 there were enumerated 540,000 of those animals; in 1924, 836,000. Part of this large increase in the return may be due to more efficient enumeration in the later year, but much of it unquestionably represents a rapid growth in the number of animals possessed by the people.

Fisheries.

Among the fiscal reforms that have been carried out has been the abolition, in 1921, of the Turkish tax of 20 per cent. levied on the value of all fish caught; a tax not only onerous in itself, but destructive of the fishing industry through the restrictions imposed by the method of collection. The fishermen have been slow to take advantage of the better conditions that now prevail, but recently there have been signs of a revival, and the catch of 1924 was double that of the previous years. Measures have been taken to protect the fisheries in the Sea of Galilee, which are not now so prolific as they are reported to have been of old.

Industry.

Before the war, industries were almost non-existent in Palestine. A few factories, in the Arab town of Nablus and elsewhere, made soap from olive oil by simple processes. Baron

Edmond de Rothschild had established the manufacture of wine on a considerable scale in some of the older Jewish colonies. For the rest there was little beyond the usual village hand-industries. The practical interest that is now being taken in Palestine by Jews throughout the world, and especially the tendency of a number of industrialists in Poland and in Russia to invest their capital and to employ their experience in establishing factories and workshops here, are rapidly changing the situation. 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.

Already four establishments on a large scale have been founded—a flour mill, and factories for the production of silicate bricks (made of sand and lime), of vegetable oils and soap, and of cement. The first three have involved a capital expenditure of over £100,000 each, the last of nearly £300,000. Another company is producing salt by the evaporation of sea-water in artificial basins covering 600,000 square metres. The number of smaller enterprises is large. In the Jewish town of Tel-Aviv, which adjoins Jaffa, over seventy have been founded in the last four years —for the manufacture of various textiles, of shoes, of hats, thread, stoves, corks, mirrors, cigarettes, electric batteries, soap, candles, leather, furniture, confectionery, ice, and a score of other products. It is estimated altogether that about 150 industrial enterprises have been founded in Palestine since the war, with a total investment of £E1,200,000 of capital, of which all but £E100,000 is Jewish.

The remarkable development of manufactures in Tel-Aviv has been made possible by the availability of electric power. In 1921 an agreement was signed for the grant, under certain conditions, of a concession for the supply of electricity throughout Palestine to Mr. Rutenberg, a Russian electrical engineer, who had prepared, after prolonged investigation, a scheme for the utilization for this purpose of the water-power of the upper waters of the Jordan and its tributary the Yarmuk. He was to form a company with a capital of not less than £1,000,000. The subscription of a minimum of £200,000, stipulated as a condition of the concession, has been made within the period specified; land is being acquired for the first hydro-electric power station, and it is intended to commence and complete its construction in the near future. Meantime a company, with a capital of £100,000, formed by Mr. Rutenberg under a parallel concession limited to the Jaffa district, has constructed a power station with oil engines at Tel-Aviv, which began working in June, 1923. The larger company is now providing similar stations at Haifa and Tiberias. When the Jordan supply becomes available these stations will be maintained as reserves in case of emergency. So great has been the demand for electricity at Jaffa and Tel-Aviv and their neighbourhood that the two engines of 500 h.p. each, which were first

installed in the power station there, have already had to be supplemented by a third of 250 h.p. and again by a fourth of 1,000 h.p. The development of industry that has followed from the supply of electric power in this case is a good augury of what may be expected when the Jordan installation is completed and power is available on a large scale throughout the country at cheaper rates. The first hydro-electric station will produce 24,000 h.p. for 24 hours a day; others can be added in the future, as the conditions may demand, up to a total output of 300,000 h.p.

Commerce.

The growth of industries has contributed to an increase in the volume of exports and to a diminution in the volume of imports, which have been features of the recent years. In spite of the general fall in values the exports (including specie) have risen between 1920 and 1924 from £E1,361,000 to £E1,918,000; the value of the imports has been stationary at a little over £E5,400,000. So far as particulars are available of the commerce of Palestine before the war, they indicate that exports in 1913 amounted, in Turkish pounds, to the equivalent of £E1,093,000 and imports to £E1,616,000.

The large difference between the volume of imports and that of exports which now prevails is mainly accounted for by the expenditure in Palestine of sums borrowed or subscribed from abroad. The Imperial Government, for expenditure upon the garrison; the Palestine Government, for expenditure upon public works; the Zionist Organisation and allied bodies, for a variety of purposes; missionary societies, for the maintenance of schools and convents; industrialists, for the erection of factories; tourists, for their accommodation and their purchases, have together brought into the country since the occupation many millions of pounds. These funds, disseminated among the people, have been available, directly or indirectly, for the purchase of goods from abroad, and explain the high figures of importation.

It is of interest to note that, of the imports into Palestine, one-fourth come from the British Empire, more than twice as much as from any other country—except the neighbouring territory of Syria. Of the exports, nearly one-third are sent to the British Empire.

The commercial activity that has prevailed has led to the formation, under the law of Palestine, of 103 limited companies. In addition, fifty-two foreign companies have registered themselves locally with a view to conducting business in the country. Co-operative societies are popular and successful among the Jewish population; sixty-six have been formed for a variety of purposes, and have been registered under an Ordinance that has been enacted for their encouragement and regulation.

A small department of the Administration was formed in 1920 to promote the development of commerce and industry. It rendered most useful service, but, to my regret, the urgent need of financial economy in 1923 compelled its absorption into the Department of Customs. The present Department of Customs, Excise and Trade is active, however, in watching the requirements of commerce and in meeting them so far as the conditions allow. It has the advantage of frequent consultation with the Chambers of Commerce that have been established in the principal towns.

His Majesty's Government have conferred upon Palestine the great advantage of securing her inclusion in the provisions of the Commercial Treaties concluded between Great Britain and other countries. Although a Mandated Territory, and not, therefore, a part of His Majesty's Dominions, Palestine was also admitted to participate in the Empire Exhibition at Wembley. Her pavilion was thronged by visitors, and brought gratifying financial results to the commercial firms that exhibited.

Palestine has always been a centre of attraction for tourists as well as for pilgrims, but the difficulties of access in earlier days limited their numbers to small proportions. The direct railway communication with Egypt, with her ports and excellent shipping services, has removed this obstacle. As a consequence, the tourist traffic is increasing with rapidity.

Local Improvements.

I have had occasion to mention that the Government has been greatly aided in many departments of its work by the co-operation of a number of non-official bodies. It has had the active co-operation also of the Municipalities, established under Ottoman Law in all the towns, and of the Local Councils, created under new legislation in the larger villages. Municipal enterprise has been active, encouraged and guided by the officials of the District Administration, and almost all the towns have to show, as the result of work done since the war, many street widenings, some new streets constructed, municipal gardens laid out, avenues planted, and, most important of all, water supplies developed and improved.

Legislation.

All this new wine could not be contained in the old bottles. The laws of Turkey were not adequate for the needs of a progressive State. An active Administration, a developing industry and commerce, could not dispense with the facilities and authority that a body of modern Statute Law alone could give. I have mentioned that it has been the policy of the Government not to change the laws which closely touched the lives of the people and to which they were accustomed, except in cases of

clear necessity. But in many matters, especially on the economic side, the Turkish legislation was hopelessly inadequate. It has been imperative to enact a fresh code of modern commercial law, dealing with Companies, Banking, Insurance, Trade Marks, Patents, Copyright, Railways, Electricity, Mining, and many other matters. In addition, in almost every department of Government, some fresh legislation was found to be unavoidable. With respect to the Judicature, Criminal Law and Procedure, Police, Extradition, Taxation, Sanitation, Immigration, Land Registration, Town-Planning, Antiquities, Diseases of Animals, Agricultural Pests, Game Preservation, Forests and a great variety of other affairs, laws had to be drafted, considered and passed. Altogether no fewer than 130 Ordinances have been enacted during the five years. So heavy a labour would have been beyond the capacity of the Law Officers Department, on whom the main burden fell, and the innumerable technical points involved would have overtaxed the knowledge and experience of my other advisers, if we had not had the advantage in this task of the assistance of His Majesty's Government. The experience of centuries of law-making in all parts of the Empire, and a knowledge of the latest legislation in foreign countries, were placed ungrudgingly at the service of this young Administration. No trouble was too great to aid in perfecting the principles and the details of our somewhat copious legislation. I would express my gratitude for the pains that were taken, and the patience that was shown, in helping the Palestine Government in this part of its task.

Future Work.

It will be readily understood, however, that in all these matters what has been accomplished in so short a period could be no more than a beginning. Whether in legislation or in administration, there is work already in sight which will tax the energies of the Government for many years to come. Plans have been prepared for the execution of many of the measures that are needed.

The principal requirement at present of the commerce and industry of Palestine is the construction of a harbour. They are heavily handicapped by the inconvenience and the costliness of handling goods in the open roadsteads of Haifa and Jaffa. An eminent consulting engineer was invited by the Palestine Government to examine the situation; he has presented a report, which has received the closest consideration. It has been recommended that a deep-water harbour should be built at Haifa, and that several minor works should also be carried out to improve the present very inadequate facilities at Jaffa. The best method of financing the harbour construction is now under examination, and the details of the Jaffa improvements are being elaborated by a local Commission.

Various railway improvements are needed. A project is in course of preparation for diverting the main line of railway—constructed during the war with a natural regard for military rather than for commercial needs—so as to pass through Jaffa and Tel-Aviv. There is a proposal also for extending the line northward from Haifa to the Syrian frontier, to join with a new line, the construction of which has been under consideration by the French Authorities, from the frontier to Beirut, and onward from there to connect with the Turkish and European systems.

The land system of the country was left under the Turks in a state of complete confusion. There was no cadastral survey; a system of registering land transactions existed, but the Registration Officers were notoriously corrupt, titles were uncertain and a source of innumerable disputes; the valuation was wholly out of date; the bad cultivation of much of the land was due to undetermined or scattered ownership. In January, 1921, a Department of Surveys was created and a survey of the whole country initiated. The major triangulation and other preliminary work has been completed and areas covering 1,100 square kilometres have been mapped in detail. This work is steadily proceeding and should soon be sufficiently advanced to render possible the commencement of a proper land settlement, a definite registration of titles, and a revaluation. Reform of the system of taxation would follow. The Palestine Government recently enlisted the services as an adviser of Sir Ernest Dowson, formerly the head of the Department of Surveys in Egypt and afterwards adviser there to the Ministry of Finance. He has spent some months examining the local conditions and is about to present a series of recommendations on which it is intended that early action should be taken.

Projects are on foot for the development of such natural resources as are known to exist in Palestine; a qualified geologist is employed by the Administration to assist in their consideration. Chief among those projects are schemes for the exploitation of the valuable minerals contained in the waters of the Dead Sea. It is proposed also to develop the use of the hot springs at Tiberias, to which resort has been had for curative purposes for many centuries. The construction by a private enterprise of a modern hotel and bathing establishment is projected there, as well as the construction of new hotels in Jerusalem and elsewhere, a necessary condition for the development of the tourist traffic.

Plans are under consideration for the improvement of several of the town water supplies and drainage systems and for water conservation and irrigation in the agricultural districts. For some of these and for other purposes of development, as well as for the funding of the Administration's temporary borrowings, a Government loan has been for some time contemplated.

The currency of Palestine has been furnished from Egypt. It has been decided that a local currency should be established, under the control of an Official Currency Board in London, the notes being issued by the Board and fully covered by securities to be held in London. An arrangement for easy exchange into British currency would ensure the maintenance of parity with the sovereign. Although the high value of the Egyptian currency, which has been in use, has sometimes been regarded in Palestine as a disadvantage, through hindering producers in their competition with countries with depreciated currencies, experience has taught the great benefit in the long run of a stable exchange, approximating as nearly as may be to gold value.

The standardization of weights and measures, at present subject to many local variations, is another matter to which attention has been given and on which it is hoped that action may be taken before long.

In the sphere of education the principal development which is in prospect in the near future is the establishment of two important new institutions—one an Agricultural School, in which the language of instruction will be Arabic; the other, a school the character of which is not finally determined, in which the language of instruction will be Hebrew. These undertakings have been made possible by a munificent bequest, entrusted to His Majesty's Government for such purposes, by the late Sir Ellis Kadoorie, a Jewish merchant of Hong Kong and Shanghai. It may later be decided that the Government's Training College for teachers shall be moved to the neighbourhood of the Agricultural School, so that the new entrants into the teaching profession may be instructed in elementary agriculture and be qualified to give an education in the village schools of a more practical value than that which it is possible at present to provide.

Finally, there remains much to be done in the sphere of legislation. A reform of the Penal Code has been elaborated. Several measures for the improvement of the conditions of labour have been recently under preparation, a branch of legislation which is rendered specially difficult by the presence side by side of bodies of labour belonging to two different types of civilisation.

I turn to the political aspect.

The Jewish National Home.

The fact that has dominated the situation in Palestine has been the Declaration, made on behalf of the British Government by Lord Balfour, then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, on 2nd November, 1917. It was in the following terms:—

"His Majesty's Government view with favour the establishment in Palestine 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 was endorsed at the time by several of the Allied Governments; it was reaffirmed by the Conference of the Principal Allied Powers at San Remo in 1920; it was subsequently endorsed by unanimous resolutions of both Houses of the Congress of the United States; it was embodied in the Mandate for Palestine approved by the League of Nations in 1922; it was declared, in a formal statement of policy issued by the Colonial Secretary in the same year, "not to be susceptible of change;" and it has been the guiding principle in their direction of the affairs of Palestine of four successive British Governments.

The policy was fixed and internationally guaranteed. But what meaning was to be set on the phrase "A National Home for the Jewish People"?

There were some among the Jews, scattered throughout the world, who, inspired by the hopes of two thousand years, and filled with enthusiasm at the prospect now opened before them, expected to see immediately a mass movement of the people into what was once again the Promised Land. In the excitement of the moment difficulties and obstacles were ignored. The presence of more than half a million Arabs, owning most of the soil, was forgotten; the fundamental importance of retaining the approval and support of British public opinion was not recognised; considerations of employment and livelihood were brushed aside, and fervid imaginations saw a rapid occupation of the country by great numbers of Jews, hurrying from the lands in which they were oppressed, the consequent creation, within a few years, of a Jewish State, the sudden fulfilment in almost apocalyptic fashion of the most far reaching of the ancient prophecies.

For many years a body with branches in many countries, the Zionist Organisation, had given form and direction to the desire, innate among the Jewish people, for a return, in some manner, and at some time, to the Holy Land. The leaders of this Organisation were for the most part practical men, fully acquainted with the conditions of the problem by which they were faced. The Organisation gave no support to these visionary views.

But the Arab population of Palestine were well aware that they were entertained, by some at least among the Jews. They did not know how far attempts would be made to realise them in practice. They did not know how far they could in fact rely upon the second half of the Balfour Declaration, which guaranteed the rights of the existing population of the country. What if, on the strength of the first part of the Declaration, a large majority of Jews were rapidly brought into Palestine under British protection, and then the British were to withdraw,

leaving the application of the second part to a local government dominated by that majority? Belonging to families or tribes most of which had been rooted in the country for centuries, regarding themselves as trustees, on behalf of the Moslem world, of shrines which were among the most sacred of their religion, they viewed with real alarm the prospect which appeared to threaten them. Reassuring statements were made from time to time; but in the pressure of after-war events they were delivered with little authority or emphasis and had but little effect. The Arabs organised a political movement to resist the menace of Zionism, as they understood it. Many of the best known men in the country, both Moslem and Christian, previously as a rule antagonistic to one another, united in this movement. Propagandists were sent through the towns and villages to stir up the people. Some believed, and many asserted, that the Jews were coming at once in masses, that they would take away the lands of the Arabs and rob them of their Holy Places. Many parts of the country were thrown into a state of unrest. The outcome was seen in the disturbances of which mention has been made. In the riots in Jerusalem at Easter time in 1920, and in Jaffa and its neighbourhood in May, 1921, 104 persons lost their lives, 407 were injured, and extensive damage was done to property.

Outside Palestine, both among Jews and non-Jews, there was much uncertainty as to the real intentions of British policy. Above all, it was asked, what was the meaning of the word "national" in the Balfour Declaration? In the languages of Eastern Europe, the words that translated "nationality" were not regarded as corresponding to "citizenship." In Russia, in Austria, in Turkey, men were accustomed to speak of several distinct "nationalities" being members of the same State. Conversely there was to them nothing strange in the idea of people, belonging to a single Jewish "nationality," being resident in various countries, and being citizens of those countries. In Western Europe, on the other hand, the term "a national" denoted the same thing as the term "a citizen." All the members of a State must be of that "nationality." Residents who were not, were aliens. People of the same "nationality," also, could not normally be citizens of different States. Although the Balfour Declaration stated categorically that in its application "nothing should be done which might prejudice the rights and political status enjoyed by Jews in any other country," it was asked by some whether that provision could really be consistent with the use of the phrase "a National Home for the Jewish People." If the Jews were declared to be a "people," and entitled to a "national home," a member of that people, it would seem, must possess that nationality. But if he were already a national of England, for example, or of France, or of the United States, was the citizenship that he cherished, unaffected by this, or was it not? The Balfour Declaration asserted that it was unaffected. But could it, in logic or in practice, so remain?

As a result of these doubts, many Jews, patriotic citizens of the countries in which their families had lived, often for generations, regarded the Declaration, and indeed the whole Zionist movement, with embarrassment, and sometimes with hostility. Others, equally patriotic, held the contrary view. They pointed to the specific language of the Declaration itself. They refused to engage in fine-drawn discussions as to the meaning of "national" and "people." They were deeply interested in the return of a body of their co-religionists to Palestine; they wished to see the movement succeed, and were ready to help in promoting it; and at the same time they saw no reason why they should not remain, in spirit and in action, as loyal citizens of the States to which they belonged as if Palestine had not entered the field of political discussion and as if the Balfour Declaration had never been made.

It was imperative that all these doubts should be removed and the situation cleared. The Zionists, the Arabs, the Jews throughout the world, were entitled to know exactly where they stood. The case could be met in only one way, by a formal and authoritative statement of policy on the part of the British Government.

After two years of experience of conditions in Palestine I returned to London in May, 1922, in order to represent to Ministers the necessity of such a statement. The recommendation was accepted; a statement was drawn up with much care, and it was presented to Parliament as part of Command Paper No. 1700, in June, 1922.

It is desirable that I should recall here the purport of that statement, which determined the course along which the Palestine Administration has since proceeded.

In the first place, with a view to removing misapprehensions, the statement made clear what was *not* the Government's interpretation of the Balfour Declaration. It did not mean that the purpose in view was to create a wholly Jewish Palestine. It did not contemplate the disappearance, or the subordination, of the Arab population, language or culture. The terms of the Declaration did not propose that Palestine as a whole should be converted into a Jewish National Home, but that such a Home should be founded *in Palestine*. It was pointed out also that the Zionist Organisation had not desired to possess, and did not possess, any share in the general administration of the country. Finally it was made clear that the "nationality" to be acquired by all citizens of Palestine, whether Jews or non-Jews, whether for the purposes of domestic law or of international status, would be "Palestinian," and nothing else.

The statement then proceeded to define positively what the Balfour Declaration did mean, and continued in the following terms:—

"During the last two or three generations the Jews have recreated in Palestine a community, now numbering 80,000, of

whom about one-fourth are farmers or workers upon the land. This community has its own political organs, an elected assembly for the direction of its domestic concerns, elected councils in the towns, and an organisation for the control of its schools. It has its elected Chief Rabbinate and Rabbinical Council for the direction of its religious affairs. Its business is conducted in Hebrew as a vernacular language, and a Hebrew press serves its needs. It has its distinctive intellectual life and displays considerable economic activity. This community, then, with its town and country population, its political, religious and social organisations, its own language, its own customs, its own life, has in fact " national " characteristics. 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 recognised to rest upon ancient historic connection."

In subsequent sentences it was added : " For the fulfilment of this policy it is necessary that the Jewish Community in Palestine should be able to increase its numbers by immigration. This immigration cannot be so great in volume as to exceed whatever may be the economic capacity of the country at the time to absorb new arrivals."

The statement was sent before publication to the Zionist Organisation with a letter, written on behalf of Mr. Churchill, then Secretary of State. In that letter it was said that he regarded it as essential, " not only that the declared aims and intentions of your Organisation should be consistent with the policy of His Majesty's Government, but that this identity of aim should be made patent both to the people of Palestine and of this country, and indeed to the world at large. . . . He would accordingly be glad to receive from you a formal assurance that your Organisation accepts the policy as set out in the enclosed statement and is prepared to conduct its own activities in conformity therewith." The Organisation in reply gave an unqualified assurance in the sense desired, and added that " it has at all times been sincerely desirous of proceeding in harmonious co-operation with all sections of the people of Palestine. It has repeatedly made it clear both in word and deed that

nothing is further from its purpose than to prejudice in the smallest degree the civil or religious rights or the material interests of the non-Jewish population."

There was in London at that time a delegation of the Palestine Arab Executive, a committee which then represented a large body of organised opinion in Palestine. The statement was sent to them also. It did not succeed in effecting any change in the delegates' attitude, which was one of intransigent opposition. The ultimate effect, however, of the definition of policy upon Arab opinion in Palestine was very considerable; combined with other causes, it helped to bring about the marked change in the situation to which I made reference at the outset of this report.

To the nature of those causes, and to their results, I shall return later. I would desire now to describe what progress has so far been made in the work of establishing a Jewish National Home, such as was contemplated in the Balfour Declaration and in the statement of June, 1922.

Jewish Immigration.

At the time of the Armistice, the Jewish population, which had probably diminished considerably during the war, was estimated to number about 55,000 persons. The pressure to enter the country was then, and has since remained, very great. The intense feeling for Palestine, traditional among the Jews for ages; the example of the Jewish agricultural colonies, founded in the previous thirty or forty years in Palestine, largely through the energy and the munificence of Baron Edmond de Rothschild of Paris; the facilities for immigration now offered through the funds subscribed by Zionists all over the world; on the other hand, the disabilities, the antagonisms, sometimes the persecutions, to which the Jews were subjected in many countries of Eastern Europe—all these combined to set flowing towards Palestine a tide of immigration, fed by a thousand streams, which, if it had not been regulated, would have overwhelmed, economically, the small and undeveloped country towards which it was directed. Upon the Palestine Administration fell the invidious task of confining this tide within the limits that the situation imposed.

A Department of Immigration and Travel was constituted (since converted, for reasons of economy, into a special branch of the Secretariat). An Ordinance for the regulation of immigration was enacted. Officers of the Administration were stationed at the ports and frontiers, and one was sent first to Trieste, afterwards to Warsaw. The special duty of these officers was to examine the immigrants and enforce the control imposed by law. A careful investigation was made periodically of the demand for

labour in the country; a schedule of the different classes of workmen who could be admitted as immigrants was drawn up accordingly. This schedule was communicated to the Zionist Organisation, after provision had been made for individual applications for immigrant labour addressed to the Government direct. The Organisation, through its branches in various countries, then made application to the British consulates for permits for individuals, within the limit of numbers, and belonging to the classes, specified in the schedule. Special arrangements were made for non-Jewish or non-Zionist workpeople, for persons who had means sufficient for their support, for persons of religious occupation, belonging to all creeds, for returning residents, for the families of persons already resident in the country, and for pilgrims, tourists and other travellers. This machinery continues substantially unchanged. It involves no expense to the tax-payer of Palestine, its cost being more than met by the fees paid by, or on behalf of, the immigrants, and by the travellers.

On the whole, the system works successfully. It is, of course, a difficult matter to gauge in advance the precise demand for labour and to regulate admissions so that the workpeople at any moment shall be neither too many nor too few. The world-wide depression of 1923 resulted, in Palestine, in the unemployment, during the winter of that year, of about 2,000 Jewish workers, who were mostly immigrants; others were working short time. The revival of the following year absorbed the surplus, and although a considerable increase was allowed in the flow of immigration, the labour market recently has probably been under- rather than over-stocked.

Between the 1st of September, 1920, and the 28th of February, 1925, the total number of immigrants into Palestine has been 48,252—of these, 46,225 were Jews and 2,027 non-Jews. Of the 31,542 Jews who entered between the 1st of January, 1922, and the 28th of February, 1925, 12,944 were men, 10,119 women, and 8,479 children under sixteen. Thirty-two per cent. of the men who entered since the 1st of January, 1922, belonged to the working class. There have been no reliable figures, until recently, of the extent of re-emigration, but it is probably not more than one in ten of the immigration. The effect of these movements, together with the natural increase through the excess of births over deaths, has been that the Jewish population, which, as I have said, was estimated to be 55,000 at the time of the Armistice, was found to be 84,000 when a census of the country was taken in October, 1922, and is estimated to be 108,000 in March, 1925.

The Jewish Population.

The Jews of Palestine belong to a variety of types. They vary in the degree of their religious orthodoxy, in the characteristics they bring from the countries of their provenance, in their attitude towards social and political questions.

There are rabbis and laymen to whom the ancient religion is alone of importance, and in whose lives the study of the Law and ritual requirements are the chief concern; they accept the support provided by the pious in other lands, or, indifferent to comforts, live as best they can from such precarious resources as they may command. There are eager young workers, essentially modern, who have rejected the letter, though they often retain the spirit, of the religion; intellectual, they are nevertheless keen to engage in manual work in the up-building of the country; they may be inspired by the past, but they live actively in the present, and are moving consciously towards a planned future. Between these types there is every gradation and combination of creed and outlook.

There are in Palestine Oriental Jews from Bokhara and Persia and Iraq, and there are University men and women from New York and Chicago. There are Jews from the Yemen, of small stature and with gentle, refined features, good craftsmen in silver and ivory, or good labourers on the farms; and there are agricultural experts from the colleges of France, engineers from Germany, bankers from Holland, manufacturers and merchants from Poland and Russia. There are students and writers, doctors and lawyers, architects and musicians, organisers and social workers, from Eastern Europe and Western, from Asia and America. Among all these, some are conservative in temperament; some are eager above all for social progress. Those who are interested in politics have organised themselves into half-a-dozen distinct parties or sections; others are indifferent.

Taking a general view, it may be said that at least one-half of the present Jewish population come from Eastern Europe; that those who are strictly orthodox in religion are a minority, those who are wholly irreligious are also a minority, and the mass lie between; that the majority are politically inclined, and progressive in their views; that communists are few, and those who may be regarded as revolutionary or "Bolshevist" are a group negligible in numbers; and that three-fourths of this population live at present in the towns and one-fourth in the agricultural colonies.

The Agricultural Aspect.

Although the Jewish population outside the towns is only a fourth of the whole number, it is the movement to the land on which Zionism sets most store and on behalf of which the greatest effort has been made. It is recognised that a people of town-dwellers, fed by the produce of others, without roots in the soil, will be far from possessing the characteristics of a "nation." So, as a first step, funds have been subscribed from all over the world for land purchase.

The total area of Palestine may be estimated at nearly 10,000 square miles. In the absence of a survey it is not possible to give a precise figure. Large tracts of this are barren mountain or dunes, or, in the south, sandy desert. The cultivable area is probably about one-half of the whole. Before the war, Jewish organisations, groups or individuals, possessed about 177 square miles of this. The figure has now been increased to 319 square miles, including certain properties, the purchase of which is now being completed. This is still only a little over 6 per cent. of the area fit for cultivation.

The Mandate for Palestine requires, in its sixth article, that the Administration, " while ensuring that the rights and position of other sections of the population are not prejudiced, shall facilitate Jewish immigration under suitable conditions and shall encourage . . . close settlement by Jews on the land, including State lands and waste lands not required for public purposes." It has not been found possible, however, to go far in giving effect to this last provision. On most of the State lands Arab cultivators are settled, and possession cannot be transferred to others without injustice, and without infringing the clause in the article itself inserted for their protection. Most of the rest is waterless or rocky; to attempt close settlement upon it would be to invite certain disaster. It has been mentioned that for a large area of swampy ground in the upper valley of the Jordan a concession, for drainage and cultivation, had already been granted to certain Syrian applicants by the Turkish Government, and an agreement has been entered into for the grant of a revised concession to representatives of the original concessionnaires. Apart from some areas of minor importance, the only instance in which it has been possible as yet to apply this provision of Article VI of the Mandate has been in the case of the swamps of the Kabbara, to which reference has already been made; a stretch of sand dunes adjoining is also included. In this instance an agreement had already been negotiated by the same concessionnaires with the Turkish Government, and had been on the point of conclusion at the outbreak of war. Here an area of 18 square miles is now being drained and brought under cultivation, or planted with trees, by the Palestine Jewish Colonisation Association, under a lease from the Government of fifty years, renewable subject to certain conditions as to readjustment of rental.

For the rest, the land purchase has been effected by voluntary agreement between Jewish societies or individuals and the local owners. The Government does not intervene in any way, except to make sure that proper provision is made, whether by money payment or by the offer of suitable land elsewhere, to protect the interests of any Arab tenants who may have been established on some portion of the land. The price paid for these purchases is usually two or three times the pre-war value of the land. Large as is the demand, the quantity of land that is offered for sale is far in excess of the possibility of purchase.

The extent and the rapidity of Jewish agricultural colonisation are determined by the funds that are forthcoming, not only for land purchase but also for the cost of settlement. They are not limited, as I have said, by land being withheld from the market. They are not limited by the country being already fully populated. On the contrary, its agricultural resources have been very poorly developed; in course of time and with proper methods, the country districts could support two or three times their pre-war population, or even more. Least of all is the pace of Jewish colonisation restricted by lack of colonists.

Among the eight millions of Jews in Eastern Europe there are numbers of young men and women whose most eager desire is to get to Palestine; their ambition, once in Palestine, is to become producers on the soil. They are well aware of the history of the Jewish people, of their present position in the world, of the difficulties and dangers that surround them. They do not wish to live in ghettos, or to devote their lives to petty trade. Palestine makes to them a most powerful appeal; they wish particularly to contribute to the productiveness of Palestine and above all to help to recreate in Palestine a people of Jewish agriculturists.

Some of the young men and women who come in as settlers have had agricultural experience. There are Jewish farmers in Transylvania and in South Russia, from among whom some of the immigrants are drawn. Many others are members of an organisation, with a membership of 20,000 young men and women and branches in most of the countries of Eastern Europe, which exists for the purpose of supplying a training, mostly in agriculture, for future settlers in Palestine. This organisation maintains six training farms in Russia, three in Poland, three in Germany, and eight in other countries. It furnishes a three-years' course, partly in those establishments and partly on private farms. Elementary training is also given in building, engineering, carpentry and other trades. It is stated that 4,000 members are now receiving training, and that more than twice that number have passed on as immigrants to Palestine. Such immigrants usually obtain paid employment on arrival on Jewish farms, in the hope that in time a chance will occur to obtain land of their own. A large proportion enrol themselves as members of co-operative groups, which take leases of land from one or other of the large organisations that have purchased it, and obtain loans to assist them to settle. Many of those, again, who obtain land in the new colonies are the sons of settlers established in the older colonies, sometimes of forty years' standing; the new generation has been bred in the country and has an intimate knowledge of the peculiarities of its soil and climate.

There is no one system of colonisation. Experiments are being made in many directions. There are men who come with means of their own, buy land and start from the beginning as

independent farmer-owners. There are villages where the settlers are individual proprietors, gradually paying for their land by annual instalments to the organisation which was the original purchaser, or holding it on hereditary lease. There are other villages of the same type, but where there is a large measure of co-operation in the buying of requirements and in the sale of produce. In others again the co-operation is carried further, and the whole of the land, or the greater part of it, is worked in common, the workers receiving pay out of the proceeds. And there are a few villages which are worked on a communal basis, the people living together, allocating the work among themselves, and drawing food, clothing, and their other requirements from the common store—" from each according to his capacity, to each according to his needs." Time will show which of the systems will best succeed.

There are now about one hundred Jewish agricultural villages in Palestine, scattered from the Syrian frontier in the north to the neighbourhood of Gaza in the south. The principal groups are in the Maritime Plain and in the Valley of Esdraelon, fertile and well watered areas. There are several others in Upper and Lower Galilee, but few in Samaria, the hills of Judæa, or the south. Most of the existing colonies are growing in population, and new ones are founded as land is purchased.

The most striking result in this sphere that has been achieved during the last few years has been in the Valley of Esdraelon. This is a belt of rich, deep soil, which stretches for forty miles from the sea at the Bay of Acre eastwards down into the Jordan Valley; it is some nine miles broad, between the range of Mount Carmel and the hills of Samaria in the south, and the hills of Galilee about Nazareth and Mount Tabor in the north. When I first saw it in 1920 it was a desolation. Four or five small and squalid Arab villages, long distances apart from one another, could be seen on the summits of low hills here and there. For the rest the country was uninhabited. There was not a house, not a tree. Along a branch of the Hijaz Railway an occasional train stopped at deserted stations. A great part of the soil was in the ownership of absentee Syrian landlords. The River Kishon, which flows through the valley and the many springs which feed it from the hillsides, had been allowed to form a series of swamps and marshes, and, as a consequence, the country was infested with malaria. Besides, public security had been so bad under the former régime that any settled agriculture was in any case almost impossible.

By an expenditure of nearly £E900,000 about 51 square miles of the valley have now been purchased by the Jewish National Fund and other organisations; twenty villages have been founded, with a population numbering at present about 2,600; nearly 3,000 donums (about 700 acres) have been afforested. Twenty schools have been opened. There is an Agricultural Training College

for Women in one village and a hospital in another. All the swamps and marshes within the area that has been colonised have been drained, and cases of malaria are proportionately rare. An active trade in dairy produce has sprung up, mostly finding a market, by means of the railway, in Haifa. The whole aspect of the valley has been changed. The wooden huts of the villages, gradually giving place to red-roofed cottages, are dotted along the slopes; the plantations of rapidly growing eucalyptus trees already begin to give a new character to the landscape; in the spring the fields of vegetables or of cereals cover many miles of the land, and what five years ago was little better than a wilderness is being transformed before our eyes into a smiling countryside.

The question naturally arises, how far are these colonies financially successful? Is the economic basis sound, and is there good hope therefore of the enterprise proving permanent and extending? Or is it an artificial product, maintained by a well-meaning philanthropy, doomed to meet the fate of so many idealistic schemes of land colonisation?

The financial situation of the numerous colonies varies considerably from one to another. No figures have been collected presenting the situation as a whole or by average. I have, therefore, obtained particulars relating to two colonies which may be regarded as representative of their different classes; one, Petah Tikvah, a village near Jaffa of individual landholders, which was one of the first colonies to be established; the other, Degania, a village in Southern Galilee, which is a workmen's co-operative group, founded in 1910.

Petah Tikvah was established in 1878, on an area of about 700 acres, by former residents of Jerusalem, subsequently joined by a number of families from Bialestok in Russia. Its population was then 125. The present area is about 5,000 acres and the population is 4,000. Of these 1,800 are farmers and their families, 1,100 are workmen, and 1,100 form the remaining population of the village. Much of the land is planted with orange trees, almonds, olives, vines and other fruit trees and eucalyptus groves; the remainder is in arable land and building sites. The total assets of the colony are valued at a little over £E1,000,000; the debts amount to about 15 per cent. of the assets and the farmers are steadily repaying the remainder of the original advances. An annual subsidy of about £E1,400 is received from Jewish organisations for the school and for general communal purposes.

Degania suffered greatly during the war and heavy losses were incurred from 1914 to 1918. The scheme of colonisation could only be completed in 1923. The population now numbers 65, cultivating an area of about 350 acres, partly devoted to the growth of vegetables for the early season markets in Damascus. The group received loans from the Zionist Organisation and the

Jewish National Fund amounting to £E17,700, and they have other debts amounting to £E3,500. Against these liabilities of £E21,200 there are assets valued at £E19,500, so that there was a loss—up to September, 1924—of £E1,700. In addition, the group have not hitherto been able to pay rent for the land or interest on the loans. The Colony, however, is now self-supporting, and the sale of produce covers the living expenses of the population. It is intended that rental for the land shall begin to be paid at the end of this year and that repayment of the loan, over a period of 36 years, shall commence the year after.

Most observers who have studied the new type of character that is being produced in these villages have been struck by the cheerfulness of the people. In spite of disappointments sometimes, of hardships often, of heavy work always, these men and women seem remarkably happy. The reason is not hard to find. It is partly because they are almost all healthy. It is partly because the climate is genial, never too cold, and only for a few days or weeks in the year oppressively hot. But it is chiefly, I believe, because there are three factors in their lives which make them contented. The first is that they are workers on the land, close to nature, enjoying that satisfaction which belongs especially to those who feel that they are causing the earth to yield produce for the sustenance of mankind. The second is that they are on an intellectual level distinctly above that of the ordinary peasant; they are much more than hewers of wood and drawers of water; they read, they think, they discuss; in the evenings they have music, classes, lectures; there is among them a real activity of mind. And the third factor is that they are fully conscious that they are not engaged in some casual task, without special significance other than the provision of their own livelihood; they know quite well that they are an integral part of the movement for the redemption of Palestine; that they, few though they may be, are the representatives, and in a sense the agents, of the whole of Jewry; that the daily work in which they are engaged is in touch with the prophecies of old and with the prayers of millions now. So they find the labour of their hands to be worthy in itself; it is made lighter by intellectual activity; it is ennobled by the patriotic ideal which it serves. That is the reason why these pioneers are happy.

The Industrial Aspect.

The development of industry, though not of such essential importance as the development of agriculture, can proceed more quickly, and has proved, therefore, the larger factor in the growth of the population. I have described already the establishment of new industries in Palestine during the last few years. Almost the whole of this movement may be regarded as a contribution, on the economic side, to the up-building of the Jewish National Home.

Among its results is the remarkable growth of the town of Tel-Aviv. A private company purchased in 1908 an area of vacant land on the sand dunes adjoining Jaffa to the north. At the outbreak of war, 182 houses had been built; four kilometres of roads had been made; the town had a population of 2,000 and an annual budget of £E2,500. By the beginning of 1921 there had been little development. In March, 1925, there were 2,245 houses, seventy-three kilometres of streets, a population of 30,000, and an annual budget of £E65,000. For some time past new houses have been completed at the average rate of two every day. Large additional areas of land have been bought; all the requirements of a modern community have been, or are being, provided. Tel-Aviv is the only town in the world which is wholly Jewish. The Town Council and its energetic President, the professional classes and the merchants, the manufacturers and the workpeople, the electricians, the police, the postmen, the sanitary workers, the teachers in the schools and the children, the doctors in the hospital and their patients, all are Jews.

The foundation of new industries has been the chief cause also of the increase in the population of Haifa, where the number of Jews has grown from an estimated figure of less than 2,000 in 1920 to 8,000 in 1925. This population is not concentrated, however, but distributed in various quarters of the town, as well as in the new garden suburbs, which have been built adjoining the sea and on the slopes of Mount Carmel. Around Jerusalem, also, several such suburbs have been begun, as well as one at Tiberias. All of these, and most of the agricultural colonies also, have been laid out, with expert advice, in accordance with town-planning principles.

The workpeople employed in the industries are mostly organised in trade unions. As in England, there is a revolutionary group, which has been excluded from the general labour association. The eight hours day is customary. The unions are active in the defence of the economic interests of their members. They have formed also a co-operative society for undertaking building and other works, which competes for contracts with private employers, and has carried out a large number for the Government, for other public authorities and for private persons. Except the Railway Department, this society is indeed the largest employer of labour in the country, with an average of about 1,700 workmen on its rolls, and with works already executed to the value of nearly a million pounds.

The Cultural Aspect.

The Jewish Community in Palestine being drawn from so many different countries, it was early recognised that there could be no unity of purpose or of action without a common language. That common language could only be Hebrew. Forty years

ago, however, Hebrew was nowhere spoken as a vernacular. It was not, indeed, a dead language, for it was used everywhere for ritual purposes in the synagogues and in the home; the children, at least of the orthodox, learnt Hebrew to some extent as a matter of course. But with the affairs of daily life it had no relation and its vocabulary had in no way kept pace with the developments of civilisation. An essential part of the Zionist movement was the revival of Hebrew. A few men, who combined enthusiasm with learning, devoted themselves to the expansion of the language, so as to meet the needs of modern life without departing from its spirit. Text books on all the subjects taught in the schools have been published in Hebrew; a lexicon is being compiled so as to standardise the new terms; many of the principal works in the literature of the European languages have been translated; many new works have been written in Hebrew and published. Hebrew is now definitely established as the language of the Jewish population of Palestine. All the younger generation speak it and most of the older generation who have lived long in the country. It is the only language of instruction in almost all the Jewish schools. All the Jewish newspapers are printed in Hebrew. The Mandate for Palestine specifically declares it to be, with English and Arabic, one of the official languages of the country.

In accordance with that requirement, all the laws and other publications of the Government and of its Departments are issued in those three languages, and any one of them may be used for pleadings in the courts of law. It would be both useless and costly, however, to employ Hebrew in those parts of the country where no Jews are living, or only a small number. It is, therefore, not used officially in the district administration of those areas where less than one-fifth of the population are Jews.

A number of synagogues have been built in the towns and the older villages. A large synagogue at Tel-Aviv, to seat 4,000 persons, is nearing completion.

The educational institutions that have been founded include a sufficient number of primary schools for all the children of both sexes, several secondary schools, a well-equipped technical college, an agricultural school (of nearly fifty years' standing) with over a hundred pupils, and recently the Hebrew University on Mount Scopus. The University is chiefly a research body at present, but a beginning has been made in teaching. The Faculties that have so far been inaugurated are for Jewish Studies, Bio-chemistry and Electro-biology; others, including an Arabic section, are in contemplation. There is also an excellent Agricultural Research Institute at Tel-Aviv, which is included as a faculty. The University was formally opened at an impressive ceremony by the Earl of Balfour on 1st April, 1925, and is intended to become one of the principal constituents of the Jewish National Home.

Not least interesting among these developments is the establishment of Opera in Hebrew. There are as yet no theatre buildings in Palestine, and the performances have to be given in cinema halls adapted for the purpose. A former conductor of Grand Opera in Petrograd and Moscow has come to reside in Palestine, has enlisted singers, has trained his orchestra and chorus, has caused the librettos of several of the classic operas to be translated into Hebrew, and—with the assistance of a few local supporters, but without any subvention—has produced, always to crowded houses, a series of performances which would do credit to the opera houses, if not of the capitals, certainly of many of the large towns of Europe.

Organisation of the Jewish Community.

In the passage which I have quoted from the White Paper of 1922, it was mentioned that the Jewish Community had an elected central assembly, and elected local bodies for the management of its affairs. For some time proposals for providing a definite constitution for these bodies, by means of an Ordinance, have been under discussion with His Majesty's Government.

The Jewish National Home : Conclusion.

Such, in outline, are the results that have been attained till now by the Jewish effort in Palestine. So far as they can be measured quantitatively by the amount of the funds that have been expended, they are considerable. Large sums had been spent before the war on the foundation of the older colonies, on the establishment of educational institutions and in other ways. Since the occupation, although exact estimates are not possible, there is good reason to believe that the expenditure has reached a total of at least £6,000,000. Of this, about £1,000,000 has been spent in land purchase; more than an equal sum in the establishment of industries; about £500,000, soon after the war, in the relief of orphans and similar purposes; the remaining sum of perhaps £3,500,000 has been expended in colonisation, education and a variety of other purposes.

But the spiritual results of the effort, the moral results, are, of course, the more significant, and these cannot be measured quantitatively.

If the man-power has come mainly from Eastern Europe, the funds have been contributed mostly from the United States. South Africa, Canada, the Balkan countries, and the Far East have played a considerable part also; Great Britain a smaller one, considering the wealth of the Jewish community there.

It is contemplated by the Mandate that a Jewish Agency should be created, fully representative of the Jews of the whole world, which should organise and focus the energies to be devoted to the rebuilding of Palestine. Until such an Agency is established, the Zionist Organisation is recognised as fulfilling that

function. Discussions have for some time been proceeding with a view to the constitution of the Agency, and it appears probable that they will be carried before long to a definite conclusion.

Some of the Arab political leaders are accustomed to assert that the Government of Palestine devotes its chief efforts to promoting the establishment of the Jewish National Home, favouring the Jews unduly in the allocation of land, in matters of education, in the appointment of officials, and in other ways. From the Jewish side, on the other hand, the complaint is often made that the Government is inactive in all these matters; that it does less than is required by the articles of the Mandate; that the up-building of the National Home has been left to the efforts, almost unaided, of the Jewish people themselves. So far as there is any truth in these criticisms, it is the latter that has most substance. For the reasons that I have given the Government has found it possible to do little in the provision of land for Jewish settlement. The school system as it stands, although a reform is already under preparation, leaves almost the whole burden of the education of the Jewish child population upon the shoulders of the Jews themselves, in addition to the contribution which they make through their taxes to the Government system of Arab schools; of the many competent Jews who have offered themselves for Government positions, it has not been possible, without injustice to others, to employ more than a small number. But the consequence has been that the Jewish movement has been self-dependent. If it has had the moral encouragement of the Balfour Declaration and of the official recognition of the Hebrew language, if it has been able to rely on the Government of Palestine to maintain order and to impose no unnecessary obstacles, for all the rest it has had to rely on its own internal resources, on its own enthusiasm, its own sacrifices, its own men. What the future will bring it would be foolish to try to forecast. There are too many factors involved to enable anyone to foretell with assurance how successful will be the Jewish agricultural colonies and industries, how much support will be forthcoming from other countries, how efficient will be the direction of the community's affairs, and how fast, in consequence, its numbers will increase. But this one factor, at least, is propitious: that the building of the National Home has not been the work of any Government; it is not an artificial construction of laws and official fostering. It is the outcome of the energy and enterprise of the Jewish people themselves.

Attitude of the Arabs.

I have described what was the attitude of the Arab population at the outset towards this movement, and have mentioned that several causes contributed to make the situation in time less acute. Those causes were as follows:—

In the first place, the people discovered that the disasters, which they had been told were about to fall upon them, did not

in fact occur. The attacks upon their villages by well-armed Jewish colonists, which some of the agitators had announced, did not take place. The day when a hundred thousand Jews were to disembark in Palestine in order to occupy their lands, came and went, and there was no such invasion. Month followed month and year followed year, and no man had his land taken from him. So far from the mosques being closed and turned into synagogues, a new, purely Moslem, elected body was created to which the control of all Moslem religious buildings, and of their endowments, was transferred; it rebuilt those that were in ruins and began to restore those that needed restoration. It is difficult, under such conditions, to maintain indefinitely an attitude of alarm; people cannot be induced to remain constantly mobilised against a danger which never eventuates.

In the second place, the population gradually came to understand the spirit that animates a British Administration. The activity of the district officers, always in and out of the villages, obviously working for the benefit of the people, had a widespread effect. This small number of Englishmen, each required as a condition of his appointment to know one or other of the local languages, all, in point of fact, knowing Arabic, and some with a knowledge of Hebrew as well, impartial, incorruptible, assisted by a staff of carefully chosen Palestinians, came in time to exercise a remarkable personal influence. Under their auspices there were signs of progress such as had been unknown before. Nearly 200 villages could show new schools. Roads were being constructed in every direction. Several villages were provided with new water supplies. Fresh land was being brought under cultivation. Agricultural experts gave useful advice. Tobacco growing was encouraged. Robbers were put down. Old blood feuds were settled. What seemed indeed surprising was that, although the war had for some time been over, tens of thousands of pounds were received in hard cash by villagers in various parts of the country in payment for damage that had been done by the British Army. And when the new Government needed land it paid for it at a fair price. The old Arab officials who had received pensions under the Turks received them still; the rights of those who retired and were qualified were recognised and met. Slowly the suspicions of the new Administration yielded under the influence of experience; gradually it acquired in the minds of the people a reputation for justice and goodwill.

One measure in particular contributed greatly to this tendency. There was in the Jordan Valley, south of the Sea of Galilee, a large area of about 106 square miles of land which had been cultivated by certain tribes of Beduin for a long period. Some forty years ago these people had been called upon by the Turkish authorities to register the ownership of their land; they had not done so; it had consequently been declared to be the property of the Sultan and afterwards of the Turkish State.

that the Government should be controlled by a legislature in which the Arabs should have a clear majority. Until these demands were conceded they should adopt an attitude of non-co-operation.

Such a policy could have no result, and did, in fact, achieve nothing. As a consequence many of the more thoughtful men among the Arabs of Palestine withdrew their support from the Committee. Its general meetings became the scene of controversies, and at last ceased to be held. Subscriptions, which at first were plentiful, fell to a small figure. One newspaper after another passed from support to criticism. Finally, a definite division took place, and a separate "National Party" was formed, which included among its leaders men of at least equal authority to that wielded by the heads of the original "Arab Executive."

Meantime, the Government of Palestine patiently proceeded along the path that had been set. The constructive measures that have been described were set on foot. The Administration was as active in promoting the welfare of the Arabs as if there had been no Zionist complication and no refusal to co-operate; it has been animated in this respect by the same spirit as any British Administration in Asia or Africa.

No attempt was made to control the expression of opinion. Except for a few weeks after the disturbances of 1921, there has been no censorship of the press; nor has any subsidy been paid to any newspaper. There have been no political prosecutions, and no deportations, except of alien communists, and one temporary expulsion of an Arab of little note in 1921.

On several occasions opportunity has been offered to the leaders of the population to share in controlling the administration of public affairs. In October, 1920, I established a nominated Advisory Council, consisting of ten British officials and ten Palestinians—seven Arabs (four Moslems, and three Christians) and three Jews. This Council sat for two years; all legislation was submitted to it; any subject of public importance could be raised by any of the members. The Council rendered useful service, and it was a fortunate fact that, although criticism was frequent, on no occasion did the Government find itself unable to accept the considered opinion of the non-official members.

When the promulgation of the Mandate was at hand it was thought advisable to confer upon Palestine a constitution of a more representative character. An Order-in-Council was therefore issued in August, 1922, which provided, among other matters, for the creation of a Legislative Council. This body was to consist of the High Commissioner and twenty-two other members. Of these, ten were to be official, and twelve elected. The elected members were to be eight Moslems, two Jews and

two Christians. The system of election was to be that which had been established under the Turkish constitution: primary election of delegates by all male citizens over the age of twenty-five years, followed by secondary election of the Members of the Council by the delegates so chosen. The Council was to have the usual powers of a legislative body.

When this constitution was promulgated it was met by the Arab Executive, in accordance with the policy I have described, with strong opposition. Unless, they said, the Council consisted of elected members only, or unless it contained a clear majority of the Arabs over the official members together with the Jews, they refused to participate.

For the Government to have conceded either of these demands would have been to invite a permanent deadlock. It was very possible that the more extreme element would secure a monopoly of the Arab representation. Then, on the one hand, His Majesty's Government would be required by the terms of the Mandate to carry out a certain policy, and, on the other hand, a Legislature would have been constituted in Palestine which would render it impossible to do so. Besides, the political leaders, though full of self-confidence, were confident partly because few among them had had any experience of government and its difficulties. That Palestine should in time become self-governing was conceded; but the time was not yet. As in the countries of Europe and throughout the British Dominions, self-government could only be established by stages; to take the last step first would be to court disaster. So the demands were not conceded, and the Administration proceeded with the primary elections in accordance with the provisions of the Order in Council.

There was already at that time some division of opinion among the Arab political leaders as to the policy to be pursued, but the only section which showed any considerable energy was that which favoured abstention from the polls. As the Government did not regard it as its duty to exercise any pressure on the people to participate, and as great numbers of them were in any event indifferent, the consequence was that the large majority did not vote. The secondary electors who had been chosen could not be considered to be really representative, except so far as the Jews were concerned. An amending Order-in-Council was therefore issued by His Majesty's Government nullifying the proceedings. It provided for the exercise of legislative powers by the High Commissioner, in consultation with an advisory body to be constituted by him, with the approval of the Secretary of State.

In these circumstances I proposed to restore the nominated Advisory Council, which had rendered good service to the country during the preceding years. But I thought it preferable that its membership should be composed in the same proportions as had

been intended for the elected Council, namely the High Commissioner and ten officials, and eight Moslem, two Jewish and two Christian Palestinians. Invitations were sent accordingly to ten leading members of the Arab population, eight Moslems and two Christians, men who were recognised by all parties to be among the most representative and most capable in the country. All these gentlemen accepted the invitation, and confirmed their acceptances in writing. There was then set on foot a further agitation on the part of the extremists, directed to securing their withdrawal. Urgent appeals were made to the selected Councillors not to destroy the effect of the abstention from the elections; they were assured that if they also upheld the policy of non-co-operation, in a short time the British Government would certainly change its course; the strongest pressure was brought to bear to induce them to withdraw their acceptances. Under this pressure, with much reluctance and against their better judgment, seven of the ten asked leave to retire. As I did not wish to form a Council of men of less standing the proposal consequently lapsed.

His Majesty's Government were still desirous of giving the fullest opportunity to the leaders of the Arab people to share in the administration of public affairs, without inconsistency with the principles that had been laid down. They examined the question afresh in July, 1923; they recognised that the fourth article of the Mandate, under which a special position is accorded to a Jewish Agency in Palestine was resented by the Arabs, as involving preferential treatment for the Jews. I was, therefore, instructed to convey to them an offer of equal representation by means of an Arab Agency, which should be established with analogous functions. A meeting of the leaders of all sections was accordingly summoned and this proposal laid before them. It received no favour, and it also was not proceeded with.

On three occasions, therefore, and in three different ways, opportunity has been given to the Arab population of Palestine to take part in the direction of public affairs, and three times the opportunity has been declined. In consequence the Government has been conducted without that participation. The present system is that Ordinances are considered first by the Executive Council, which consists of the High Commissioner and his three principal officials, the Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General and the Treasurer. They are then submitted to the Advisory Council, which consists of the four members of the Executive Council, together with five heads of Departments and one of the District Governors. They have also to receive the provisional approval of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. They are then published in the Official Gazette, in the three languages, and, except in rare cases of special urgency, they are not finally enacted until a month has elapsed after publication. During that time public opinion can express itself if need be, and suggestions from interests concerned may be received. If useful

amendments are suggested to an Ordinance, the matter can be again considered. On several occasions alterations have been made in Ordinances after publication in the Gazette and before enactment.

Such, then, has been the method of Government since 1922. It is to be regretted that the participation of the Arabs has not been secured. Whether their attitude will change cannot be foretold. A large proportion take no interest in public affairs. Among the rest, some have undoubtedly been reassured as to the implications of Zionism; these consider that the Jewish movement in Palestine is now, and may remain in the future, more to their advantage than to their disadvantage, and are ready to co-operate on the lines that have been decided. Others are still apprehensive, but have a large measure of faith in the assurances of the British Government; in any case they regard a policy of non-co-operation as futile, and consider that, if measures are needed for the protection of Arab interests, they can be better taken from inside the governing system than from outside, and will be more effective if there are Arab Councillors, whether nominated or elective, than if there are not. And there are others who still think that in the long run, under the policy that has been declared, the Arab will find himself subordinated, or even forced out of the country. These will have no part or lot in a Government directed by such a policy, nor will they allow anyone else to take part, if they can prevent it. They stand uncompromising and aloof. There are no means of forming a reliable judgment as to the relative numbers of these three sections. My impression is that, among thoughtful Arabs, the first section is a minority; that the second has been increasing of late and the third decreasing; though which of these two now includes the greater number or carries the more weight it is not possible to say.

The Administrative Staff.

Meantime it has been practicable gradually to reduce the numbers of the British officials. As the heavy task of creating the new system of administration was completed step by step, and as the hundreds of new problems were solved one by one and precedents for future action established, the work became smaller in volume and of less difficulty. The Palestinian officials also gained experience and improved in capacity. Reductions in the staff of the British district officials became practicable, and their number, 29 in 1920, is now only 19.

The total number of British officials, of all grades and in all departments, is 340. If the officers of the police and gendarmerie, and the officials of the railways, are excluded, the number is 196. The Service generally is divided into two sections, the Senior and the Junior. In the Senior Service there are 206 British officials, 157 Palestinians and 36 others. In the Junior Service

there are 134 British, 2,114 Palestinians and 277 others. Of the Palestinian officials 855 are Christians (Senior 47, Junior 808); 914 are Moslems (Senior 72, Junior 842); and 496 are Jews (Senior 32, Junior 464).

The Population of Palestine.

A census of the population was taken in October, 1922, probably the first that was ever taken since that recorded in the time of Solomon, certainly the first of a reliable character in modern times. It showed a total of 757,182 of whom 590,890 were Moslems, 83,794 Jews and 73,024 Christians. The small remainder, 9,474, were principally Druzes. Since then there has been a steady growth. To this the measures that have been taken in defence of public health have contributed. The abolition of compulsory military service, also, has saved the Arab population from a serious drain, to which it was subjected under the Turkish régime. The Jewish immigration has been an important factor. It is estimated, with such accuracy as is possible, that the present population is 802,000. Of these, it is calculated that 615,000 are Moslems, 104,000 Jews and 75,000 Christians. In May, 1920, a careful estimate of the population, made by the British district officials, gave a total of 673,000. If this was correct, there has been an increase of 129,000, or close upon 20 per cent., in five years.

The progress of the country may also be measured by the fact that since 1920, and almost entirely since 1922, 6,713 new houses have been built.

The Holy Places.

I turn to an aspect of the affairs of Palestine which is among the most important and perhaps most difficult, that relating to the care of the Holy Places.

All the chief shrines sacred to Christendom are here; Islam sends pilgrims to mosques in Palestine which rank next only to the Kaaba at Mecca and the Tomb at Medina; there are spots round which are entwined the strongest affections of Judaism. The access to these places, their ownership and care, have given rise to controversies through the centuries. Local disputes have often caused disturbances; the support, given by great Powers, to one party or another, has been a factor in diplomacy, and sometimes a contributory cause of enmity and of war. A new authority was now charged with the Government of Palestine. What effect would this have upon the guardianship of the Holy Places?

The Mandate, in its thirteenth Article, gave a clear direction. By it the Mandatory assumed full responsibility, and undertook to preserve existing rights and the free exercise of worship,

subject, of course, to the requirements of public order and decorum. The duty of the Administration, therefore, was to secure the observance of the *status quo*.

But what if there were disputes as to the nature of the "existing rights"? Here also the Mandate intended that provision should be made of a means of solution, an intention which has not yet, however, been fulfilled. The fourteenth Article is as follows:—

> "In accordance with Article 95 of the Treaty of Peace with Turkey, the Mandatory undertakes to appoint as soon as possible a special Commission to study and regulate all questions and claims relating to the different religious communities. In the composition of this Commission the religious interests concerned will be taken into account. The Chairman of the Commission will be appointed by the Council of the League of Nations. It will be the duty of this Commission to ensure that certain Holy Places, religious buildings or sites regarded with special veneration by the adherents of one particular religion, are entrusted to the permanent control of suitable bodies representing the adherents of the religion concerned. The selection of the Holy Places, religious buildings or sites so to be entrusted, shall be made by the Commission, subject to the approval of the Mandatory.
>
> "In all cases dealt with under this article, however, the right and duty of the Mandatory to maintain order and decorum in the place concerned shall not be affected, and the buildings and sites will be subject to the provisions of such laws relating to public monuments as may be enacted in Palestine with the approval of the Mandatory.
>
> "The rights of control conferred under this article will be guaranteed by the League of Nations."

Accordingly His Majesty's Government prepared a scheme for the constitution of such a Commission. Several of the Powers represented on the Council raised objections, however, to their proposals; Great Britain invited them to present for consideration an alternative plan; this has not yet been done, and the Palestine Administration has not had the advantage of being able to refer to an external authority any difficulties and disputes that might arise. As an interim measure an Order in Council was issued in 1924, withdrawing from the law courts of Palestine jurisdiction over matters relating to the Holy Places or claims relating to the religious communities.

Fortunately, during the last five years no serious difficulties have in fact arisen. The Government has been strictly impartial in maintaining whatever arrangements existed under the former régime, even to the extent of continuing in their functions the

Moslem family who are the hereditary doorkeepers of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. Its impartiality has been recognised by the several creeds and churches and sects. Pending the constitution of a Commission, and no fresh cause of complaint arising, they have refrained from urging claims, which, they have realised, could not in any case receive consideration. Many small matters have required the attention of the District authorities; but, with the exception of one or two unimportant incidents between the adherents of the Orthodox, Latin and Coptic churches, a complete calm has been maintained.

The Religious Communities.

Another Article of the Mandate, the fifteenth, provides for the "complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals." It is added, "No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language." The Administration has, of course, observed these injunctions. An attitude of absolute impartiality is indeed the only means of preserving the goodwill of the many religious communities, and so of maintaining tranquillity and peace. And it is the only method of promoting a purpose, which must be a prime object for all who care for Palestine, and particularly for her spiritual influence—a reconciliation of religions, and co-operation in their efforts for human welfare.

For centuries Jerusalem, which should be the one centre above all others from which should radiate an impulse towards harmony and goodwill, has been notorious among the nations for the bitterness, and sometimes the violence, of its ecclesiastical disputes, creed contending against creed, and sect against sect, treating trivialities as though they were fundamentals, emphasising points of division and relegating points of agreement to the background. The present age is weary of such contention.

So far as the Government of Palestine can have influence over these matters, it has steadily discountenanced all such disputes; it has endeavoured to reduce trifles to their true proportions; it has taken every opportunity to encourage union and harmonious co-operation. Noteworthy in this connection is the service held annually on December 9th, the anniversary of the entry of Lord Allenby and his liberating army into Jerusalem. This ceremony is attended by the High Commissioner and the heads of the Administration, and by the Mayor and the principal notables of the city. It is held in the Anglican Cathedral, under the direction of the Bishop. The Patriarchs of the Orthodox and Armenian Churches attend and take part in the service. The principal ecclesiastics of the Syriac, Coptic and Abyssinian Churches have seats by the High Altar. Representatives of the Jewish Community are among the congregation. Parts of the service are delivered in English, others in Arabic, in Hebrew, in Greek, and

in Armenian. This annual service, simple as it is, and sincere, appears to me profoundly significant; it is of good augury for the growth of the spirit of religious harmony, for which mankind is eager, and for which Jerusalem may yet be again a centre.

Animated by this conception, as well as in accordance with its general duty, the Administration has been anxious to serve the various communities in any matter that affects their well-being and in which it can usefully intervene. In three matters in particular it has been able to assist.

The Orthodox Church in 1920 found itself in an unhappy situation. The Synod had revolted against the Patriarch, had declared his deposition and refused in any way to co-operate with him. As the joint action of these two authorities was necessary for the transaction of any business of importance, the Patriarchate was in a state of paralysis. The lay community was also at variance with the ecclesiastics; it protested against the monopoly of appointments in the hands of Hellenists, and demanded for the Arab Orthodox population a larger share in the control of affairs. And this was not all. The income of the Patriarchate had been drawn mainly from the contributions of pilgrims, and of members of the Church in Russia, Greece and other countries of Eastern Europe, together with the rents from valuable properties in Russia and Bessarabia. The war had cut off almost all its revenues and had been followed by the sequestration of a large part of those properties. The expenditure had not been reduced in proportion; formidable debts had been contracted. At that time the Patriarchate was faced by claims from its creditors amounting to no less than £E636,000; its revenue was £E17,000, and its annual expenditure, apart from interest charges, was £E70,000. In addition £E30,000 a year was payable for interest. It possessed, it is true, valuable assets in real estate in Palestine, but these were difficult to sell, and the Patriarchate was saved from bankruptcy only by a measure of the Military Administration, protecting it by a moratorium against its creditors. In these circumstances, the Government found it necessary to appoint a Commission of Inquiry, which was placed under the Chairmanship of Sir Anton Bertram, the Chief Justice of Ceylon, whose previous experience in Cyprus had enabled him to gain a special knowledge of such problems. In pursuance of the recommendations of this Commission, the action of the Synod was declared to be unconstitutional; the authority of the Patriarch was restored; a new statutory Commission was created to control the finances and to re-establish a balance. This has proved a difficult task, but in the four years that have followed, the Financial Commission has succeeded in considerably reducing the debt, partly by repayments from the proceeds of sales of land, and partly by requiring proof of the claims. It is expected that the proved debt will be reduced in the near future to about £E450,000. The annual expenditure, apart from interest on the debt, has been reduced by more than half, and

now amounts to £E33,000; the revenue has been increased to £E26,000, and there is good reason to believe that next year these accounts will balance, with a growing surplus in subsequent years available for interest payments. The conflict between the lay community and the Patriarchate having become more acute, Sir Anton Bertram has recently been invited to preside over a second Commission of Inquiry, with the task of examining into the merits of the controversy, and, if the intervention of the Government is found to be necessary, of proposing a suitable course of action.

The system for dealing with Moslem religious affairs presented another case in which action by the Administration was imperative. Under the Turks these matters were regulated by the Ministry of Waqfs (Religious Endowments) and by the Sheikh-ul-Islam (the principal ecclesiastical authority) in Constantinople. With the severance of Palestine from Turkey a new arrangement became necessary. It was decided that the right course would be to place upon the shoulders of the Moslems themselves the fullest measure of responsibility for managing their own religious affairs. Conferences were held accordingly with a number of the leading Moslems in the country, both lay and ecclesiastic. A committee chosen by themselves drew up a constitution for the purpose, which was accepted by the Government and put into operation. The register of secondary electors for the last election to the Turkish Parliament before the war was taken as a basis; a permanent body of five members, with the title of the Supreme Moslem Council, was chosen by these electors; to it was entrusted the care of religious buildings and charitable endowments, and the supervision of the religious courts of law. The Council has now performed these duties for a period of over three years; it controls a revenue of £E30,000; it has in addition collected large sums from the Moslem world for the restoration of the Haram es-Sharif in Jerusalem, an urgently necessary task, which is being carried out with care and skill; it has established, in a portion of those buildings, a Moslem Theological College and an Orphanage.

The third intervention which the Government found necessary related to the Jewish religious community. The Turkish authorities had nominated a titular Chief Rabbi, who, however, had small powers and exercised little influence. Several other rabbis had assumed similar titles, and the ecclesiastical organisation was in a state of confusion. Here again a conference of the leading men from all parts of the country was brought together; they elected two joint Chief Rabbis, and recommended the establishment of a Rabbinical Council, to be chosen by a system of election provided for the purpose. The Council was established accordingly, and consists of eleven members, eight clerical and three lay. Official recognition was given to these authorities in 1921, and their authority is accepted by almost the whole of the Jewish population.

Trans-Jordan.

Although Trans-Jordan is under an administration separate from that of Palestine, this Report would be incomplete without a summary, however brief, of events in that territory. It forms part of the same Mandatory Area; its Government is under the general superintendence of the High Commissioner for Palestine; it demands, indeed, no small share of his attention, and is the source of not a few of his anxieties.

When the war ended, Trans-Jordan found itself within the administrative area which had been entrusted to His Highness the Amir Faisal, the third son of King Husain of the Hijaz; his capital was at Damascus. In July, 1920, the Amir came into conflict with the French authorities, who exercise the Mandate for Syria, and left the country. At that moment Trans-Jordan was left politically derelict. The frontier between the two Mandatory zones, as agreed between Great Britain and France, cut it off from Syria, but no authority had been exercised from Palestine. The establishment of a direct British Administration was not possible, since Trans-Jordan was part of the extensive area within which the British Government had promised in 1915, in the course of negotiations with the Hijaz, to recognise and support the independence of the Arabs. Nor would His Majesty's Government have been prepared in any case to send armed forces to maintain an administration. These conditions having arisen soon after my arrival in Palestine, I proceeded to Trans-Jordan in August, 1920. I held a meeting with the leading inhabitants, and, as no centralised government was at that time possible, I took steps to establish Local Councils in the three districts into which the country is divided by its natural features. These Councils assumed the administration of affairs, with the assistance of a small number of British officers who were sent from Palestine for the purpose.

A few months later, His Highness the Amir Abdulla, the second son of King Husain, arrived in Trans-Jordan from the Hijaz. He had with him a small force, and he expressed hostile intentions with regard to the French authorities in Syria. The Secretary of State, Mr. Churchill, was at that time in Palestine. A conference with the Amir was held at Jerusalem, and an agreement made, under which the Mandatory Power recognised him, for a period, as administrator of Trans-Jordan, with the condition that any action hostile to Syria must be abandoned. In 1922 the Amir visited London, the arrangement was confirmed, and in April, 1923, I was authorised to make the following announcement, at Amman, the capital of the territory: "Subject to the approval of the League of Nations, His Majesty's Government will recognise the existence of an independent Government in Trans-Jordan under the rule of His Highness the Amir Abdulla, provided that such Government is constitutional and places His Britannic Majesty's Government in a position to fulfil its international obligations in respect of the

territory by means of an agreement to be concluded between the two Governments." Owing to various causes, the discussion of the terms of such an agreement has been postponed from time to time, and has not yet been undertaken. The Government of the Amir has continued, however, to receive recognition and support.

In pursuance of this policy, an annex to the Mandate for Palestine was presented to the Council of the League of Nations in September, 1922, and approved by them, making it clear that the Articles that related to the establishment of a Jewish National Home did not apply to Trans-Jordan.

The territory is now governed by His Highness the Amir, through a small Council of Ministers. A British Representative resides at Amman and advises the Government in the conduct of its affairs, acting under the direction of the High Commissioner for Palestine. The relations which have been maintained with the Amir and his Ministers are, and have been throughout, close and friendly.

Order is maintained by a local force, named the Arab Legion, with an establishment of forty-two officers and 972 men, under a British commanding officer and a British second in command. The Royal Air Force has at Amman a flight of aeroplanes, a section of four armoured cars, and an aerodrome, which is the starting point for the trans-desert journey to Baghdad. The Air Force has rendered most useful service in repelling, with promptitude and effectiveness, raids across the desert attempted, in 1922 and 1924, by considerable forces of Wahabis from Nejd against Trans-Jordan and its capital.

The finances of the territory had for some time not been efficiently managed. A considerable improvement has been effected since August, 1924, when, after the appointment of a new Chief British Representative, the Amir agreed that a larger measure of control should be vested in his hands. For these and other purposes the Representative is assisted by two British officials, making, with the officers of the Arab Legion, a total of five stationed in Trans-Jordan.

Some improvements, especially in roads, schools and telephone services, have been carried out by the Administration, and now that the collection of revenue and the control of expenditure have been put on a better footing, it may be hoped that funds will be available to effect progress in these and other directions on a larger scale. His Majesty's Government has made grants-in-aid to cover the expenses of the Chief British Representative and his staff, and as contributions to the cost of the Arab Legion. These grants amounted to £180,000 in 1921–22, to £90,000 in 1922–23, and to £150,000 in 1923–24. In 1924–25 the grant was £15,000, supplementing a sum of nearly £80,000, available from deposits held in Palestine to the

credit of Trans-Jordan. No British forces are stationed in the country other than the Air Force, and the Arab Legion is a factor in the protection of the aerodrome, and therefore in the maintenance of the air route to Iraq, as well as in safeguarding the tranquillity of Palestine.

Provision has recently been made in the estimates of the Trans-Jordan Administration to meet expenses in connection with the preservation of the important archaeological remains in Trans-Jordan. The assistance of the Director of Antiquities in Palestine and of his expert staff will be made available for this purpose.

A Report on Trans-Jordan, describing the situation in general and dealing in some detail with the various departments of the Administration will shortly be issued as a non-Parliamentary publication accompanying the Annual Report on Palestine for the year 1924. It is unnecessary, therefore, to dwell further upon these matters here.

External Relations.

The Mandatory Area of Palestine has been able to maintain the friendliest relations with its neighbours to the north and south. A spirit of cordial co-operation has prevailed with the authorities of Syria. Some difficulty, it is true, was at one time experienced owing to the unwillingness or the inability of the Trans-Jordan Government to extradite persons who were charged with fomenting disturbances or committing other offences in Syria and who had taken refuge in Trans-Jordan; but that cause of friction was ultimately removed and no complaints on that score are now made. The many questions of detail that arise between Syria and Palestine from the existence of a common frontier are adjusted without difficulty, and a frequent interchange of visits between the frontier officers of the two territories, as well as between the principal officials of the Governments, maintains a close personal contact which ensures the smooth despatch of business.

The boundary line between the two areas was adjusted in April, 1924, in accordance with an Anglo-French Convention of March, 1923. An area of 75 square miles with 20 villages was brought within the frontiers of Palestine. It included the ancient district of Dan, and its addition re-established the Biblical boundaries of Palestine—" from Dan even unto Beersheba."

With Egypt also the most cordial relations have prevailed. The two Governments endeavour to meet each other's convenience in every way, and no occasion of friction has occurred.

I would take this opportunity of expressing my appreciation of the assistance rendered to the Palestine Railways by the Egyptian Government and its State Railway Department. The

systems in the two countries are necessarily in close relationship, and the help that was given from Egypt was of the greatest value to our new organisation. I trust that the Egyptian Railways will not fail themselves to derive benefits, both direct and indirect, from the growth of the tourist traffic to Palestine.

The Palestine Administration has derived a moral advantage from the international authority conferred by the League of Nations' approval of the Mandate, and much encouragement from the interest taken in its activities by the Permanent Mandates Commission of the League. It was one of the privileges of my term of office to have attended the session of the Commission, held in Geneva in October, 1924, and to have had the opportunity of furnishing information on those branches of the work of the Administration in which the members were specially interested.

Conclusion.

During the military occupation of Palestine the Administration was conducted, under the general direction of the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Allenby, by a Chief Administrator. This office was held successively by Brigadier-General Sir Gilbert F. Clayton, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G., Major-General Sir A. W. Money, K.C.B., K.B.E., C.S.I., Major-General Sir H. D. Watson, K.B.E., C.B., and Major-General Sir L. Bols, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., D.S.O. By them and their staffs the foundations of the British régime were firmly laid. They were fortunate in enlisting the services of a number of able officials, many of whom have served continuously from then. Among these are several of the heads of the principal Departments: Mr. N. de M. Bentwich, O.B.E., M.C., the Attorney-General; Colonel C. W. Heron, D.S.O., O.B.E., the Director of the Department of Health; Mr. E. R. Sawer, the Director of the Department of Agriculture and Forests; Colonel R. B. W. Holmes, O.B.E., the General Manager of Railways; and Mr. W. Hudson, O.B.E., M.C., the Postmaster-General. Soon after the establishment of the Civil Administration Sir Thomas W. Haycraft was appointed Chief Justice; Mr. H. E. Bowman, C.B.E., Director of Education; Professor J. Garstang, D.Sc., Director of Antiquities; and Mr. C. H. Ley, O.B.E., Director of Surveys. These gentlemen also continue to preside over their respective Departments. The principal administrative office, that of Chief Secretary, was held for a period of nearly three years by Brigadier-General Sir Wyndham Deedes, C.M.G., D.S.O., and for the last two years by Brigadier-General Sir Gilbert F. Clayton, K.B.E., C.B., C.M.G. The task of financial control was entrusted first to Mr. H. A. Smallwood, C.M.G., who was appointed temporarily as Financial Secretary, and since May, 1922, by Mr. S. S. Davis, C.M.G., as Treasurer. The head of the Department of Public Security, afterwards renamed the Department of Police and Prisons, was first the late Colonel P. B. Bramley, O.B.E., then

Major-General Sir H. H. Tudor, K.C.B., C.M.G. Since the latter's departure the officiating appointment has been held by Mr. A. S. Mavrogordato. The Department of Public Works has been successively under the direction of Colonel G. Gray-Donald, O.B.E., till February, 1922, of Major-General P. G. Grant, C.B., C.M.G., till September, 1923, and of Mr. H. B. Lees, M.C., since then. Mr. R. Harari was the first Director of the Department of Commerce and Industry; he was succeeded in November, 1920, by Lieut.-Colonel Harold J. Solomon, O.B.E., M.C., who held that office until the Department was amalgamated with that of Customs in October, 1923. Of the latter Department, Mr. J. B. Barron, O.B.E., M.C., was the first Director; he was succeeded in July, 1924, by Mr. K. W. Stead. Subsequently to the organisation adopted for the government at the outset, it was found necessary to establish three new posts, those of Auditor, Director of the Lands Department, and Geological Adviser. They have been held continuously, the first by Mr. H. S. Brain, the second by Mr. J. N. Stubbs, M.C., and the third by Mr. G. S. Blake. A heavy share of work and of responsibility has fallen upon the district staff, and particularly upon the District Governors. Under the military organisation immediately after the Occupation the country was divided into thirteen districts; this number was reduced to seven in 1919, to four on the establishment of the Civil Administration, and afterwards to three. The present District Governors are Sir Ronald Storrs, C.M.G., C.B.E., Lieut.-Colonel G. S. Symes, C.M.G., D.S.O., and Mr. Abramson, O.B.E.; the first-named has been in charge of the Jerusalem District since the capture of the city in 1917. The British Section of Gendarmerie was formed by Lieut.-Colonel A. J. McNeill, C.B., D.S.O., the Palestinian Section by Lieut.-Colonel F. W. Bewsher, D.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., and the Arab Legion in Trans-Jordan by Lieut.-Colonel F. G. Peake, O.B.E. All three of these officers remain in command of the forces they have raised and trained. Lieut.-Colonel C. H. F. Cox, D.S.O., was the Governor of one of the Palestine Districts that was afterwards amalgamated; since the 1st April, 1924, he has been the Chief British Representative in Trans-Jordan.

The military command in Palestine has been filled successively by Major-General, now Lieutenant-General Sir John Shea, K.C.M.G., C.B., D.S.O., by Major-General Sir Philip E. Palin, K.C.M.G., C.B., by Major-General A. E. Wardrop, C.B., C.M.G., by Major-General Sir H. H. Tudor, K.C.B., C.M.G., and by Air Commodore E. L. Gerrard, C.M.G., D.S.O. Owing to their ready co-operation, the relations between the civil and military authorities have been at all times most satisfactory, and I do not recall a single case of friction having occurred. The District Governors have received much assistance from the heads of the principal municipal bodies, in particular from four who have held their offices throughout the period of five years—Ragheb Bey Nashashibi, C.B.E., the Mayor of Jerusalem, Assam

Bey al Said, O.B.E., the Mayor of Jaffa, Abderrahman Effendi el Haj, the Mayor of Haifa, and Mr. M. Dizengoff, O.B.E., the President of the Council of Tel-Aviv.

To all these gentlemen, and to their staffs, of all grades, British and Palestinian, civil and military, I would offer my thanks. It is upon them that the burden of the task has fallen. No administrator could desire more loyal or more efficient colleagues. The volume of the work that has been done, and the prevalence throughout of a spirit of friendly co-operation, speak more in their praise than could any words of commendation from me.

I trust that that work, accomplished under conditions sometimes of difficulty, will be considered in the retrospect not unworthy of the Land on whose behalf it has been done. It is my hope that it may perhaps be judged not unworthy also of the conceptions of duty which guide the policy of the Empire to whom in these latter days the guardianship of that Land has been entrusted.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

HERBERT SAMUEL,

High Commissioner and Commander-in-Chief.

The following Official Publications relate to Palestine :—

Cmd. 1499, 1921. Interim Report on the Civil Administration of Palestine, 1st July, 1920—30th June, 1921.

Stationery Office Publication, Dec., 1922. Report on Palestine Administration, July, 1920—December, 1921.

Stationery Office Publication, July, 1923. Report on Palestine Administration, 1922.

Non-Parliamentary Publications : Colonial No. 5, 1924; Colonial No. 9, 1925. Report on Palestine Administration, 1923.

Non-Parliamentary Publication : Colonial No. 12, 1925. Reports on the Administration of Palestine and Trans-Jordan, 1924.

Cmd. 1195, 1921. Franco-British Convention of December 3rd, 1920.

Cmd. 1540, 1921. Palestine : Disturbances in May, 1921. Reports of the Commission of Inquiry.

Cmd. 1700, 1922. Correspondence with the Palestine Arab Delegation and the Zionist Organisation.

Cmd. 1708, 1922. Miscellaneous No. 4. Mandate for Palestine. (Note in reply to Cardinal Gasparri's letter of May 15th, 1922, addressed to the Secretary-General of the League of Nations.)

Cmd. 1785, 1922. League of Nations : Mandate for Palestine.

Cmd. 1889, 1923. Papers relating to the Elections for the Palestine Legislative Council, 1923.

Cmd. 1910, 1923. Agreement between His Majesty's Government and the French Government respecting the Boundary line between Syria and Palestine.

Cmd. 1989, 1923. Proposed formation of an Arab Agency; Correspondence with the High Commissioner for Palestine.

PRINTED BY H.M.S.O. PRESS, HARROW

1925

REGISTRY NUMBER 47040 / 413

X

Expéditeur.

Foreign Office,
London,

Date October 19, 1925.

The British Mandate for Palestine.

Transmit copies of Sir H. Samuel's report on the administration of Palestine for the years 1920-1925.

(Commentaires.)

(T.S.V.P.)

SOCIETE DES NATIONS. LEAGUE OF NATIONS.

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1/47040/2413.

GENEVA. 16th October, 1925.

Sir,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 12th October, 1925, (No.E 6108/308/65) transmitting to the Secretariat for the use of the Permanent Mandates Commission, fourteen copies of Sir H. Samuel's report on the administration of Palestine for the years 1920-1925.

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

V.C.

For the Secretary of the Permanent Mandates Commission.

The Under-Secretary of State,
Foreign Office,
LONDON, S.W.1.

Voir suite: Schedule No:

- 10000

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In any further communication on this subject, please quote

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"The Under-Secretary of State,"
Foreign Office,
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RECEIVED IN REGISTRY
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11/47040/24/13 I.

FOREIGN OFFICE.

S.W.1.

12th October, 1925.

Sir,

I am directed by Mr. Secretary Chamberlain to transmit to you herewith, for the use of the Permanent Mandates Commission, fourteen copies of Sir H. Samuel's report on the administration of Palestine for the years 1920-1925.

Sent to Mandates Sec 14/10/25

I am,

Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

Lancelot Oliphant.

The Secretary,
Permanent Mandates Commission,
League of Nations,
Geneva.

Voir suite: Schedule No:

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