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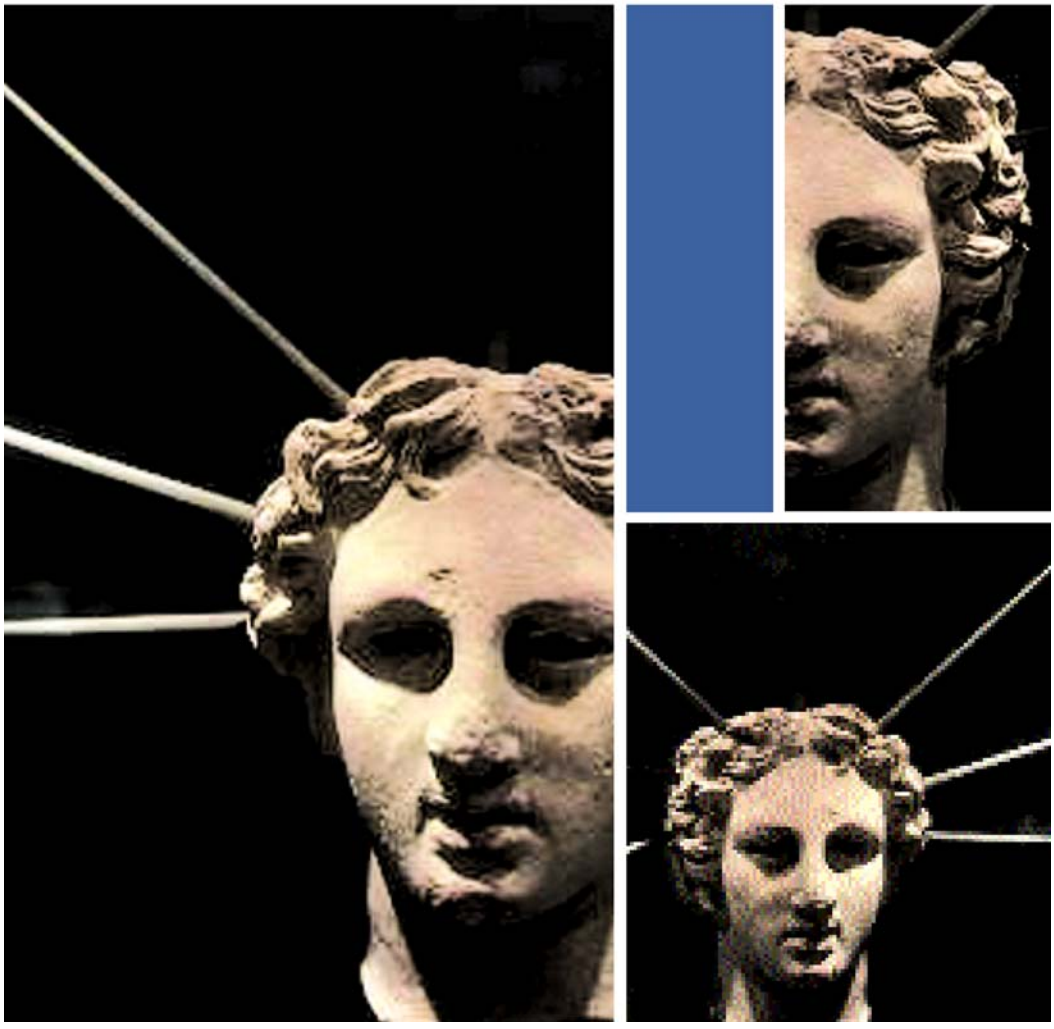

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The Non-Jewish Origin of Zionism

Mohameden Ould-Mey

The State of Israel has always claimed that the Jews invented Zionism. This paper takes issue with this claim. It examines the religious conception and geopolitical gestation of Zionism in Europe. First, it traces the non-Jewish origin of Zionism to (1) the Reformation and Counter-Reformation conflict in Europe, (2) the rise of the Puritans in England and the English-Dutch commercial wars, and (3) the Anglo-French rivalry and Napoleon's attempt to estrange the Jews from their European and Ottoman rulers. Second, it outlines how British imperialist imperatives and religious motives ultimately forged Zionism as the "solution" to the "problems" they carefully help create and label the Eastern Question and the Jewish Question.

The Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs defines and presents Zionism as "the national liberation movement" for the "re-establishment of the Jewish people" in "their homeland and the resumption of Jewish sovereignty in the Land of Israel." It claims that Zionism came as an answer to Jewish "yearning" for Zion (considered a synonym for Jerusalem) and a response to anti-Semitism (hostility to Jews), which is considered the core of the "Jewish Problem" (Jewish communities living within non-Jewish societies), whose "only solution" is "a Jewish state in the Land of Israel, with a Jewish majority" (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2002). According to this historiography, the founding fathers of Zionism include German Moses Hess (who was shaken by the blood libel of Damascus in 1844), Russian Leon Pinsker (who was shocked by the pogroms in Russia in 1881), and Hungarian Theodor Herzl (who was traumatized by the Dreyfus case in France in 1896).

The paramount Zionist claim here is that the Jews alone invented Zionism. Bernard Lewis (often hailed as the *doyen* of Middle Eastern Studies) argues that "the first modern precursor" of "the new idea" of Jewish "restoration" in Palestine was a Bosnian rabbi called Yehuda Alkalay, who conceived the idea in 1843. Lewis identifies Vienna as the birthplace of Zionism, Theodor Herzl as the founding father of Zionism, and the publication of Herzl's booklet, *The Jewish State*, in 1896 as the *beginning* of the history of Zionism (Lewis 1986, 68-69). Nahum Goldmann (Founder President of the World Jewish Congress) repeats the same claims and traces the "Zionist idea" to the year 1897 (Goldmann 1978, 72), while Claude Duvernoy considers Herzl the "Prophet" of Zionism and "the corner stone upon which rests the entire Zionist structure" (Duvernoy 1966, 122). Martin Peretz (editor-in-chief of the *New Republic*) tried to dig a little bit deeper in his 1997 article, *Zionism at 100* (again counting from 1897), but did not go beyond the mid-19th century, writing, "the first 'modern' Zionist was Moses Hess" (1997, 2). He even claimed that "the State of Israel was born when the Zionists sent the British packing" and "Israel was an anti-imperialist creation" (1997, 8).

Many political geography textbooks used in the United States continue to parrot the above Zionist claims (Pounds 1963; Norris and Haring 1980; Glassner 1996) or keep quiet about them and do not even index the word "Zionism" in their abundant

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and pertinent political geographies (Prescott 1972; Taylor 1985; Wallerstein 1991; Goldewska and Smith 1994; Agnew 1997; O'Tuathail 1998). Since the relevance of Zionism (as a political idea involving the conquest and appropriation of territory and history) to political geography cannot be questioned, one can only assume that many geographers accept Zionist claims or remain silent about them because the possibility of being charged with *anti-Semitism* frightens them. The charge is that "individuals or nations" who are against Israel or Zionism are "anti-Semitic" (Halkin 2002). Such a political weapon in combination with deep-seated guilt among many Europeans vis-à-vis their Jewry continues to keep Zionism and Israel above and beyond criticism in the Western world. Some of the recent apologies for "politically incorrect" statements or comments subject to this charge have come from celebrities like British Prime Minister Tony Blair's wife (Cherie), CNN founder Ted Turner, and U.S. Southern Baptist Reverend Bill Graham (*BBC News* 2002; Billy Graham 2002; CNN 2002).

The horrifying 9/11 attacks put Zionism in the spotlight when Bin Laden and other Al-Qaeda leaders listed their two "justifications" for 9/11: (1) America's support for Zionism and Israel and (2) America's military presence in the Arabian Peninsula. The centrality of Zionism to 9/11 and the subsequent "War on Terrorism" should stimulate American political geographers to rethink their traditional positions about Zionist historiography. Such positions have plagued and continue to plague American curricula and Middle East foreign policy. For example, in the aftermath of 9/11 Bernard Lewis (a prominent octogenarian Zionist) was brought back from his "formal retirement since 1986" to serve as a Middle East consultant for the U.S. Government, and he was awarded a seat on NBC's widely watched *Meet the Press* (Lewis 2002; AbuKhalil 2002,18).

This paper is an attempt, based on published primary and secondary sources, to rethink the genesis of Zionism in light of the historical geography and geopolitics of the movement. The overall focus will be on when and where Zionism was born and who fathered it. It is argued that from the time of the Reformation on, many schemes of colonial "Restoration" or Zionist colonization were conceived and developed by non-Jewish Europeans (religious as well as atheist), well before Yehuda Alkalay (1798-1878), Moses Hess (1812-1875), and Theodor Herzl (1860-1904), whose emergence actually marked only the beginning of the Zionization of the Jews themselves and their direct involvement with the originally and essentially non-Jewish idea of Zionism.

Reformation Leaders Saw the Jews as Possible Allies against Catholicism and Potential Converts to the New Religion of Protestantism

The conflict between Reformation and Counter-Reformation was the main ideological event in the geopolitics of Europe in the 16th and 17th centuries. During the Reformation era, European Jews were often caught in the middle between Catholics and Protestants in Western Europe and between Catholics and Orthodox Christians in Eastern Europe (Klier 1986, 9; Lewis 1986, 59). Before the Reformation called for the Bible to replace the Pope as the final spiritual authority, the idea of a "Jewish return" to Palestine and the concept of a "Jewish nation" had no place in traditional Catholic thought (Sharif 1983, 10). The Reformation invented those ideas and subsequently developed an End Time theology that

included Jewish conversion to Christianity as a prelude to Christ's Second Coming. It particularly stressed the Palestinian origins of Christianity in order to reduce the pretensions and claims of Roman Catholicism. The Protestants put more emphasis on the Old Testament, the Biblical Israelites, and Jerusalem, as opposed to the New Testament, the Pope, and Rome (Epstein 1984; Tuchman 1984). At the same time, the major European powers were competing for the use of the Jews and Judaism as a religious title and a fig-leaf for their schemes of colonizing the Holy Land of Palestine in the heart of the decaying Ottoman Empire and the emerging Arab world.

Political and theological interest in the Jews came first from the Reformation founder Martin Luther (1483-1546), a German monk and professor of theology at the University of Wittenberg, who was excommunicated by Pope Leo X (1520) and outlawed by the Emperor Charles V (1521) after he nailed a 95-thesis critique of the established church (especially when it came to the sale of indulgencies) to the door of Wittenberg Cathedral on October 21, 1517. Luther saw the Jews as possible allies against Catholicism and potential converts to the new religion of Protestantism. In the pamphlet, *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* (1523) (Luther 1971a), Luther designates the Jews as the true blood heirs of the Biblical Israelites and the blood relatives of Jesus (even though many scholarly works have now established the non-Semitic, non-Israelite, and non-Palestinian origin of contemporary Jews; Wexler 1993; 1996; Bradley 1992; Shakir 1981). Luther glorified the Jews in his pamphlet as if to instil a permanent religious inferiority complex and a psychic feeling of guilt among his Christian fellows, who until then had satanized the Jews and considered them to have rejected, persecuted, and killed Jesus. Luther wrote:

> I will cite from Scripture the reasons that move me to believe that Christ was a Jew born of a virgin, that I might perhaps also win some Jews to the Christian faith. … I hope that if one deals in a kindly way with the Jews and instructs them carefully from Holy Scripture, many of them will become genuine Christians and turn again to the faith of their fathers, the prophets and patriarchs. … When we are inclined to boast of our position we should remember that we are but Gentiles, while the Jews are of the lineage of Christ. We are aliens and in-laws; they are blood relatives, cousins, and brothers of our Lord. Therefore, if one is to boast of flesh and blood, the Jews are actually nearer to Christ than we are, as St. Paul says in Romans 9 [5]. God has also demonstrated this by his acts, for to no nation among the Gentiles has he granted so high an honor as he has to the Jews. For from among the Gentiles there have been raised up no patriarchs, no apostles, no prophets, indeed, very few genuine Christians either. … Accordingly, I beg my dear papists, should they be growing weary of denouncing me as a heretic, to seize the opportunity of denouncing me as a Jew (Luther 1971a, 200-1).

In another Jewish-friendly act of defiance towards the Pope and the established Catholic Church, Luther removed from the Old Testament the books (the so-called Protestant Apocrypha) that were not accepted by the Jewish canon as part of the Hebrew Scriptures. Since then the Protestant Bible has excluded these fourteen books and established them as Apocrypha, or Scriptures of dubious authenticity. But Luther reversed his attitude towards the Jews, perhaps after the poisoning incident (involving a Polish Jewish physician) in 1525 and in connection with John Frederick's (Elector of Saxony) decision to banish the Jews in 1536 (Holmio 1949, 108, 157). Luther then assaulted the Jews as "disgusting vermin" and their synagogues as "devil nests of insolence and lies" (Putnam 1908, 10-11). In the

pamphlet, *On the Jews and Their Lies* (1543) (Luther 1971b), Luther criticized the Jews for boasting about their blood and lineage, as if salvation were by race rather than grace.

> There is one thing about which they [the Jews] boast and pride themselves beyond measure, and that is their descent from the foremost people on earth, from Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, Jacob, and from the twelve patriarchs, and thus from the holy people of Israel. … In comparison with them and in their eyes we Gentiles (Goyim) are not human; in fact we hardly deserve to be considered poor worms by them. For we are not of that high and noble blood, lineage, birth, and descent. This is their argument, and indeed I think it is the greatest and strongest reason for their pride and boasting. … We must rejoin, first of all, that the question at issue is whether nobility of blood in itself is so valid before God that one could thereby be or become God's people (Luther 1971b, 140,146).

Competition between Protestants and Jews over the Ethnic and Religious Inheritance of Biblical Israel

Luther's pamphlets reflect increasing competition between Christians and Jews over the ethnic and/or spiritual inheritance of the Biblical Israelites. The debate (which culminated later in the social construction of the so-called Aryan and Semitic races) fuelled the myth of the so-called Lost Tribes, whom the Spaniards, the English, and early colonial authors saw in Native Americans, while theological seminaries, as well as erroneous anthropological and ethnological assumptions, disseminated the myth worldwide (Godbey 1930). At the same time (between 1550 and 1750), most Jews in Western Europe were experiencing their own Reformation: the Jewish Cabbala, with its development of the concepts of "Jewish uniqueness" and "Jewish blood" (and even "Jewish DNA" today) as the reason why Jews *are different* from non-Jews (Shahak 1999, 11, 62; Wade 2002). The naïveté of European historians about the origin of the Jews continued well after Martin Luther: in 1866 Henry Milman wrote that the Jews were "perhaps the only unmingled race, which can boast of high antiquity" (Milman 1866a, 20).

Amidst this relentless search for an ancestor and a national origin, the great Elizabethan historian, William Camden, discarded Brutus (the grandson of the Trojan Aeneas and the eldest *known* British ancestor) and picked up Gomer (the grandson of Noah) as the eldest Briton. Similarly, Cambridge scholar Aylett Sammes wrote *The Antiquities of Ancient Britain Derived from the Phoenicians* in 1676 (Tuchman 1984). By the 19th century the Anglo-Israel movement was well under way, with its adamant claim that the English were the true, Semitic descendents of the Lost Tribes of Israel: Queen Victoria (1837-1901) had convinced herself that she was a descendant of Biblical David. Manifestations of British-Israelism's obsession with a Biblical and/or Semitic ancestry were still to be found as late as 1924, when Lawrence Waddel published the book, *The Phoenician Origin of Britons, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons* (Tuchman 1984; Duvernoy 1966). As a result of this competition for a Biblical history or ancestry, Protestant-Jewish relations have since developed into a vicious circle of love-hate, exemplified by contemporary support of Zionism and Israel by many fundamentalist evangelists who may harbour anti-Jewish feelings. For example, Southern Baptist evangelist Rev. Billy Graham had to apologize to the Jews for chatting with President Nixon in the Oval Office in 1972 about how Jews controlled American media (Freedman, 2002). On the other hand, Israel Shahak

cited one incident of Jewish fundamentalists' "hatred of Christianity and Christians":

> Israeli educational authorities removed the international plus sign from the textbooks of elementary arithmetic used in the first grade of Israeli schools. Allegedly, this plus sign, which is a cross, could religiously corrupt little Jewish children. Instead of the offending cross, the authorities substituted a capital "T" (Shahak 1999, 154).

Relics of what might now be called the British "ethnic apostasy" are still found today among some American white supremacist/separatist groups who, like many Jews, have constructed a myth about a supposed Biblical Israelite ancestry. The deep-rooted identity crisis on both sides seems to underline much of the hate-related literature in the United States, such as is found in the Simon Wiesenthal Center's *The New Lexicon of Hate* and in David Duke's *Jewish Supremacism* (Simon Wiesenthal Center 2001; Duke 2002). For example, members of the Christian Identity movement claim that they are descendants of the Biblical Israelites, whereas the Jews are the children of Satan (Beit-Hallahmi 1993). By the same token, the Israeli government boasts about the alleged Israelite origin of contemporary Jews by disseminating statements that almost appropriate the "copyright" of the Bible by claiming that the Jews "gave to the world the eternal Book of Books" (Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2002). In his booklet, *Identity of the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel with the Anglo-Celto-Saxons*, Edward Hine wrote, "it is almost unpardonable to allude to the Jews as embodying Judah and Benjamin." Then he claimed that "the Anglo-Saxons are identical with the Ten Lost Tribes" because the word "Saxons" is derived from the phrase "Sons of Isaac" (Hine 1999, 13-14, 62).

The Jews Did Not Invent Zionism, Anglican England Did

The Judeophile mood or Zionization of the English elites actually began when King Henry VIII proclaimed himself head of the Church of England (the Anglican Church) in 1534 and later ordered one English copy of "the whole" Bible to be placed in every church in England. As the new *lay* interpretation of the Bible penetrated English culture, with a particular emphasis on the Old Testament, the English Reformation began to look like a process of false Judaization of the British people. This is probably when the words "Semites," "Hebrews," "Israelites," and "Jews" began to be viewed as almost synonymous by an English culture deeply penetrated by the new *literal* interpretation of the Bible. By 1589 Zionism had become visible in England, when a man named Francis Kett was condemned and burnt alive for adhering to Zionism ("Restoration"), then considered heretical (Epstein 1984). British Zionism continued to grow, despite occasional anti-Jewish incidents, such as in the case of the Jewish personal physician of Elizabeth I, who was "accused of high treason and of an attempt to poison the Queen" (Carmichael 1992, 91).

Zionism reached a new peak with the emergence of the Puritans, considered by some Zionists as "practically Jews" (Zangwill 1904, 54). English Puritans were partly inspired and influenced by Calvin's attitude toward wealth and Calvinist teachings that financial success and industriousness (so-called *work ethic*) were God's greatest commandment (Webster's *New Encyclopedic Dictionary* 1993,

1529; Weber 1956,157). Calvinists also believed in the doctrine of predestination (God pre-selected some for salvation and others for damnation). The zealous Puritans proposed the transference of the Lord's Day to Saturday and adopted Old Testament names; some converted to Judaism, others rejected the divinity of Jesus. Most importantly, Jews were readmitted to England in 1655 (King Edward I expelled the Jews in 1290, after all debts to them were cancelled). In 1753 both houses of the British Parliament passed a Bill for the naturalization of all Jews who had resided three years in Britain. Though the Bill received royal assent, it was later repealed because of English mercantile jealousy and religious prejudice (Milman 1866b, 399). In another case, some of the voices hostile to the Jews suggested "disburthening the kingdom of the weight of Irish affairs by selling the island to the Jews" (Milman 1866b, 358). However, overall Protestant Judeophile tendencies, which started with Luther in Germany in 1523, continued to take roots in Anglican England, as is reflected in the Earl of Meath's speech to some two thousand members of the English clergy and nobility in a Guildhall meeting in 1890: "was not our Lord himself a Jew? If it had not been for this race Christianity would have been unknown. We owe the Bible to the Jews, both the Old and the New Testament" (Anglo-Jewish Association and Russo-Jewish Committee 1933, 101). In the United States, one can often read on the bumper stickers of many trucks similar statements, such as "My boss is a Jewish carpenter."

British Zionism was developing amidst broader geopolitical and economic changes. The most important changes include the shift of the centre of Europe's economic gravity from the Mediterranean Sea (especially the Italian shores) to the Atlantic Ocean (especially the Dutch and English shores) and the growing control of the seas by the Protestant countries following the destruction of the Spanish Armada by the English navy and bad weather in 1588. During and after the Revolt of the Netherlands against Spain, refugees (including many Jews) from religious persecution from all over the Catholic world flocked to Amsterdam, where the world's first national bank (the Bank of Holland) was established in 1604 (Barton 1985). English-Dutch trade wars intensified in the 17th century, as mercantilism began to crystallize in the form of protected trade by chartered companies such as the English Company of Merchants of the Levant (1581-1825), the English East India Company (1600-1874), and the Dutch East India Company (1602-1798); (Marlowe 1972; Tuchman 1984). During the English-Dutch trade war of 1652-54, the English struck at the heart of Dutch prosperity, when they decided to restrict imports to England to goods carried by English ships or ships of the country producing the goods (Roberts 1995, 635). Oliver Cromwell (who won the eight-year civil war and tried and executed King Charles I) invited the Jews because he was determined to transfer the Amsterdam Jewish merchants to London in order to strengthen England in its trade war against Portugal, Spain, and the Netherlands, whose Jewish communities were known for their wealth, commercial skills, and business contacts abroad (Sharif 1983). With the French Revolution of 1789 and the subsequent rise of Napoleon, following his invasion of Egypt and Palestine and his Jewish Proclamation, English Zionism and French Zionism entered a new phase of fierce competition over European Jewry.

French Zionism and Napoleon's Attempt to Estrange the Jews from their European and Ottoman Rulers

As an atheist European ruler, Napoleon represented, somehow, a middle ground between the Reformation and Counter-Reformation positions vis-à-vis the Jews (Kobler 1975). Before his rise to power, the French Revolution of 1789 had already emancipated French Jews, when the French National Assembly decreed on December 24, 1789 "that non-Catholics are eligible for all civil and military positions, as other [Catholic] citizens" (Glotzer 1997, 28-29). This new social policy haunted Europe's Old Regime during the entire Napoleonic era. Under the Napoleonic European order, many rulers had to issue ordinances opening the ghettoes and admitting Jews to civil rights. This was the case of the Grand Duke of Baden in 1809, the King of Prussia in 1812, the Duke of Mecklenburg Schwerin in 1812, and the King of Bavaria in 1813 (Milman 1866b, 412). But when Napoleon fell, the emancipation of the Jews was reversed, and some Jewish restrictions were restored in Counter-Reformation countries like the Papal States, Austria, and Germany (where anti-Jewish riots took place in 1818); (Kobler 1975, 182, 187). Despite or because of his Jewish policies of emancipation, Napoleon seems to have been determined to use the Jews as a fifth column throughout Europe and even within the Ottoman Empire. His invasion of Egypt and Palestine in 1798-99 was encouraged by his belief in the imminent fall of the Ottoman Empire and was part of a plan to destroy English power. He wrote in his manual of discipline for the army (dated 22 June 1798):

> You are about to undertake a conquest whose effects on the world's civilization and trade are incalculable. You will inflict upon England a blow which is certain to wound her in her most sensitive spot, while waiting the day when you can deal her the death blow (Kobler 1975, 33).

While in Egypt, Napoleon was about to convert to Islam and had professed himself as a friend of the religion of Islam and the Prophet Mohammed, "whom I love," he said (Bonaparte 1798). Following the destruction of his fleet off Alexandria by the English, Napoleon decided to invade Palestine. During his Jaffa campaign, Napoleon's forces are reported to have killed some 4 000 soldiers and a large part of the inhabitants (including Palestinian Jews) and ordered the execution of a group some 2 300 Turks after they had laid down their arms (Kobler 1975, 42). When Napoleon was anticipating the capture of Acre and Jerusalem (something he never did), he prepared a "Proclamation" promising the Holy Land to the Jews, whom he described as "the Rightful Heirs of Palestine." Franco-English competition for European Jews was clear from the Proclamation, when Napoleon said that France "offers to you [the Jews] at this very time, and contrary to expectations, Israel's patrimony!" He continued, "France calls on you not indeed to conquer your patrimony, nay, only to take over that which has been conquered and, with that nation's warranty and support, to maintain it against all comers" (Kobler 1975, 55). With such a Proclamation, "every Jew" was considered a priori a secret agent for Napoleon (Duvernoy 1966). The Proclamation was an important element of Napoleon's propaganda to influence European Jewry, as Napoleon's atheism and opportunism are legendary. He once told his State Council:

> It was by becoming Catholic that I ended the Vendée War. It was by becoming a Musulman that I established myself in Egypt, by becoming an Ultramontane that I

> gained the priests of Italy. If I governed a nation of Jews I should reestablish the Temple of Solomon (Kobler 1975, 82).

In 1806 Emperor Napoleon summoned 111 delegates of the Assembly of Jewish Notables drawn from the lands of the French Empire and Italy. Then he invited all Jewish communities of Europe to send representatives to the Great Sanhadrin, which ultimately met in 1807. The convocation and the rhetoric of the meeting encouraged Napoleon's enemies (especially Russia and Austria) to be more vigilant vis-à-vis the political loyalty of their large Jewish population. Napoleon wanted Jewish leaders to debate a possible French offer of citizenship for all Jews, after which the Jews would be obliged to defend France in its war with Russia and in its economic battle to deny English ships access to Europe's continental ports. Napoleon engaged in designs for the advantages of the Jews in order

> to turn to his own advantage, by cheap sacrifice of the national vanity, the wide-extended and rapid correspondence of the Jews throughout the world, which notoriously outstripped his own couriers; and the secret ramifications of their trade, which not only commanded the supply of the precious metals, but much of the internal traffic of Europe, and probably made great inroads on his Continental System (Milman 1866b, 407-8).

But while Jews welcomed Napoleon's emancipation, they rejected Napoleon's Zionism, as only one Jewish group in Prague welcomed the Proclamation, while French Jews reminded Napoleon, "Paris is our Jerusalem." Worse, the Great Sanhadrin declared, in the Preamble to the *Décisions doctrinaires du Grand Sanhadrin*, that Jews did not form a corporate nation any more. The Holy Synod of Moscow compared Napoleon's Sanhadrin to the infamous tribunal of the Crucifixion and ridiculed the possibility that Jews might proclaim the Messiah in the person of Napoleon (Klier 1986; Crawford 1838; Kobler 1975). As mentioned above, during the rise of Napoleon and after his defeat at the hands of Anglo-Belgian and Prussian armies at Waterloo in Belgium (on 18 June 1815) and his exile to St Helena, where he died in 1821, many European (especially German and Russian) restrictions against Jews were imposed to counter Napoleon's attempt to estrange Jews from their European rulers. On the one hand, it appears that Napoleon's Zionist Proclamation, the Assembly of Jewish Notables, and the Great Sanhadrin had crystallized what came to be known as the Jewish Question (Jewish communities living within non-Jewish societies) and made it a subject of controversy in European domestic politics and a source of competition between European powers over what came to be known as the Eastern Question (which European power would colonize which parts of the collapsing Ottoman Empire). On the other hand, Napoleon's Zionist Proclamation, the Assembly of Jewish Notables, and the Great Sanhadrin represented the blueprints and the forerunners of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews (1809), Leo Pinsker's ideas of a Jewish National Congress and a Jewish National Institute (1882), Baron Maurice de Hirsch's Jewish Colonization Association (1891), Theodor Herzl's schemes for a Society of Jews and a Jewish Company (1896), and the contemporary State of Israel and its World Jewish Congress and World Zionist Organization arms (Herzl [1896] 1946; Jewish Colonization Association 1942; Pinsker 1911; World Jewish Congress, 2001; World Zionist Congress, 2001).

English Zionism and French Zionism had a second major clash, with the rise of France's ally, Mohamed Ali, in Egypt and his decade-long (1831-41) conflict with the Ottoman Empire and its British, Prussian, and Austrian allies. Napoleon's Zionism continued with the ascent of Napoleon III in France (1848-70), the Crimean War (1854-56), the digging of the Suez Canal (1854-69), and the establishment of the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris in 1860. Abram Francois Petavel (a French Christian) wrote a memorandum entitled *Devoir des nations de rendre au peuple juif sa nationalité*. In 1860 Ernest Lahranne (a Roman Catholic and private secretary to Napoleon III) published his appeal (*La Nouvelle Question D'Orient: Reconstruction de la Nationalite Juive*) on behalf of the Jews (Epstein 1984, 40). Lahranne's appeal inspired the book, *Rome and Jerusalem* (1862), by Moses (Moritz) Hess (1812-1875), a fugitive Prussian Jew living in France. Moses Hess was condemned to death by the Prussian government in 1849 but he fled to Geneva. When the Prussian government demanded his extradition, he fled again and found refuge in Paris in 1853 (Hess 1917, 22). Hess was one of the first Jewish leaders to be recruited by French Zionists at a time when Jews continued to reject Zionism as in the days of Napoleon I. Moses Hess told the Jews, "without a country—you are bastards of humanity" (Tuchman 1984, 228). His emphasis on "race struggle" over "class struggle" put him at odds with his contemporary, Karl Marx. The main idea in *Rome and Jerusalem* was that Jews would always remain aliens and that even if some nations emancipated them for humanitarian reasons, such nations would never respect them (Sokolov 1935, 66). Hess (known in France as "Communist Rabbi Moses") urged Jews to be loyal to French colonialism as he himself was: "It is to the interest of France to see that the road leading to India and China should be settled by a people which will be loyal to the cause of France to the end" (Hess 1917, 167). Moses Hess worked for France as Rabbi Hirsch Kalischer worked for Prussia.

From the days of the Reformation to the ascent of Napoleon III in France and the digging of the Suez Canal, there were no Jewish leaders in the Zionism movement, despite repeated British and French attempts to recruit them. The non-Jewish origin of Zionism is further illustrated by the simple fact that the ideas of Restoration developed first in England (with no Jewish population) instead of Germany, Poland, or Russia (where the bulk of European Jewry lived). It took about one hundred years after Oliver Cromwell for the number of Jews to reach 12 000 in England and another hundred years to reach 25 000, while the census of 1897 showed 5 189 401 Jews (4.13 % of total population) in the Russian Empire (Carmichael 1992, 96; Bureau des Archives Israélites de France 1842, 759; Statistics of Prussian Jews 1885, 2; Jewish Colonization Association 1908, Tableau 1).

Imperialist Imperatives and Religious Motives Shape and Propel British Zionism

Barbara Tuchman's *Bible and Sword: England and Palestine from the Bronze Age to Balfour* provides a coherent analysis of the symbiotic and synchronous interplay between imperialist and religious motives within British Zionism from the days of Oliver Cromwell and the Puritans, through those of Lord Palmerston and Lord Shaftesbury, to those of Balfour and Weizmann. After the loss of the American colonies, British colonialism focused on India ("the Jewel of the Crown") and, perhaps more importantly, on the road to India. Napoleon's military campaigns in

Egypt and Palestine in 1798-99, the British take over of Malta in 1799, the French invasion of Algeria in 1830, the British capture of Aden (Yemen) in 1839, the erosion of Ottoman power, all marked an Anglo-French rivalry over the Eastern Question and the road to India. British foreign policy-makers believed that preserving the territorial integrity of a weak and malleable Ottoman empire was the best protection of the road to India against any French or Russian challenges. It was with the French invasion of Algeria in 1830 and Mohamed Ali's attempt to establish an independent Islamic state covering Egypt, Syria, and Arabia that a European crisis over the Eastern Question developed throughout the 1830s. The crisis ended with the restoration of Syria and Arabia to the Ottomans and the confining of Mohamed Ali to the hereditary rule of Egypt. Now Britain had the opportunity to draw upon Napoleon's Jewish policies in Europe and proclamation for a Jewish state in Palestine as feedback for more elaborate British Zionist plans and schemes, focused on settling Jews in Palestine with at least the tacit consent of the other major European powers. In the words of one of the *London Times'* correspondents, "the proposition to plant the Jewish people in the land of their fathers, under the protection of the five Powers, is no longer a mere matter of speculation, but a serious political consideration" (Restoration 1840b).

Secretary of State Lord Palmerston worked closely with Lord Shaftesbury (President of the Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews) on British Zionist policies at a time when there was no Jewish movement willing or prepared to "return" to Palestine. Because there were no Protestants in Palestine or any other part of the Ottoman Empire, Anglican England was working to place Ottoman Jews under its special protection, as Russia and France had been trying to provide similar "protection" for the Orthodox and Catholic Ottomans of the Holy Land. Since that time, British Zionism might be considered the main Protestant mission in the Holy Land. In March 1838 Britain appointed a vice-consul to Jerusalem, who soon reported back to the consul general at Alexandria a census of 9 690 Jews in Palestine (Tuchman 1984, 191). The first Anglican bishop entered Jerusalem in 1842 (Hechler 1883). The vice-consul of Jerusalem was given jurisdiction over "the whole country within the ancient limits of the Holy Land." His appointment represented the first step of a carefully planned strategy by Britain to use Jews for imperial domination, after Napoleon failed to achieve the same objective. A quote from the *Quarterly Review* of 1838 reveals one of the first major British Zionist plans to settle Jews in Palestine "for the maintenance" of the British Empire.

> The growing interest manifested for these regions, the larger investment of British capital, and the confluence of British travellers and strangers from all parts of the world, have recently induced the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs to station there a representative of our Sovereign, in the person of a Vice-Consul. This gentleman set sail for Alexandria at the end of last September—his residence will be fixed at Jerusalem, but his jurisdiction will extend to the whole country within the ancient limits of the Holy Land; he is thus accredited, as it were, to the former kingdom of David and the Twelve Tribes. The soil and climate of Palestine are singularly adapted to the growth of produce required for the exigencies of Great Britain; the finest cotton may be obtained in almost unlimited abundance; silk and madder are the staple of the country, and oil-olive is now, as it ever was, the very fatness of the land. Capital and skill are alone required: the presence of a British officer, and the increased security of property which his presence will confer, may invite them [the Jews] from these islands to the cultivation of Palestine; and the Jews, who will betake themselves to agriculture in no other land, having found, in

> the English Consul, a mediator between their people and the Pasha, will probably return in yet greater numbers, and become once more the husbandmen of Judæa and Galilee. Napoleon knew well the value of an Hebrew alliance; and endeavoured to reproduce, in the capital of France, the spectacle of the ancient Sanhedrim, which, basking in the might of imperial favour, might give laws to the whole body of the Jews throughout the habitable world, and aid him, no doubt, in his audacious plans against Poland and the East. That which Napoleon designed in his violence and ambition, thinking "to destroy nations not a few," we may wisely and legitimately undertake for the maintenance of our Empire (Crawford 1838, 188-90).

In August 1838 Britain instructed its Ambassador to Turkey to encourage the Sultan to allow the Jews of Europe to "return" to Palestine. In March and August 1840 *The Times* of London published more details about a *Memorandum on the Restoration of the Jews* addressed to the Protestant Powers of the North of Europe and the States of North America (Queen Victoria of Great Britain and Ireland, King William Frederick III of Prussia, King Frederick William of the Netherlands, King John Charles XIV of Sweden and Norway, King Frederick VI of Denmark, King Ernest Augustus of Hanover, King William of Wurtemberg, the Sovereign Princes and Electors of Germany, the Cantons of the Swiss Federation professing the Reformed Religion, and the States of North America (Restoration 1840c). The Memorandum "urges upon the consideration of the powers addressed what may be the probable line of duty on the part of Protestant Christendom to the Jewish people in the present controversy in the East" (Restoration 1840a). The term "controversy" refers to an incident in which a Catholic, Father Thomas, disappeared from a street in Damascus near a Jewish-owned barbershop where one eyewitness had placed him on 7 February 1840. The Jewish barber was arrested and tortured. The charge was that Jews had ritually killed Father Thomas, drained his blood, and used the blood to celebrate Passover (Epstein 1984, 31). The Damascus incident transferred the intensity of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation conflict from Europe to the Holy Land of Palestine.

Unlike Napoleon's "secular" Proclamation to the Jews as "the Rightful Heirs of Palestine," the Protestant memorandum (speaking of the Jews in the third person) cites several Biblical verses from Genesis, Exodus, Matthew, Isaiah, and Jeremiah to remind Protestant monarchs that the Jews ("our brethren of the circumcision") are a "peculiar people," whom God has "separated and taken into covenant" that "no act of theirs, however iniquitous and rebellious, can repeal or destroy." By such "unrepealed covenant, God declared unto Abram, concerning the land of Palestine, *Unto thy seed have I given this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river of Euphrates.*" The memorandum concludes with the following appeal:

> As the spirit of Cyrus, King of Persia, was stirred up to build the Lord's Temple, which was in Jerusalem (II Chron. xxxvi. 22, 23), who is there among you, high and mighty ones of all nations, to fulfil the good pleasure of the holy will of the Lord of Heaven, saying to Jerusalem, "Thou shalt be built," and to the temple, "Thy foundation shall be laid (Restoration 1840c).

The memorandum was anonymously "signed and sealed in London, 8th of January, in the year of our Lord 1839, in the name of the God of Abraham, of Isaac, and of Jacob, on behalf of many who wait for the redemption of Israel." In

his acknowledgement receipt Viscount Lord Palmerston referred to "a letter and a memorandum from some of Her Majesty's subjects who feel deeply interested in the welfare and future prospects of the Jews." He also noted that the Queen "has been pleased graciously to receive" the memorandum. In the same 26 August 1840 issue of *The Times*, an anonymous letter to the editor (signed F.B.) praised "the general expression of interest in the Jewish nation which has been elicited by the recent sufferings of their brethren at Damascus." The letter depicts Jews as

> Subject to the caprice and cruelty of any nation among whom they may dwell, fleeing from the persecutions of one only to meet with like treatment from another, having no city of refuge where they can be in safeguard, no single spot to call their own, they are in a more pitiable condition than the Indian of the forest, or the Arabs of the desert. *The wild bird hath her nest, the fox his cave, Mankind their country, Israel but the grave*. Is this state of things always to continue? They think not*. There are political reasons… arising from the present aspect of affairs in Russia, Turkey, and Egypt, which would make it to the interest not only of England but [also] of other European nations, either by purchase or by treaty, to procure the restoration of Judea to its rightful claimants (Restoration 1840c).

British Zionism opposed *assimilation* and preached *separation* for the Jews because they were seen as *unique*. In a long letter entitled "The State and Prospects of the Jews" and published by the *The Times* of 24 January 1839, the anonymous author ("From a Correspondent," perhaps Shaftesbury) attacked the idea and the process of assimilation and naturalization ("amalgamation") of the Jews, described "their own little communion as the church and the people of God," and called for "a more congenial" destiny "for the Children of Abraham," of whom the Numbers 23:9 says, "the people shall dwell alone, and shall not be reckoned among the nations" (*The Times* 1839; Crawford 1838). In the meantime, Shaftesbury instructed the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews to build an Anglican church in Jerusalem "if possible on Mt. Zion itself" (Tuchman 1984, 192). He also assured Palmerston that Zionism would be "the cheapest and fastest mode" of colonizing Syria, that no "pecuniary outlays" would be demanded of the guarantors, and that the "benefits to be derived from it would belong to the whole civilized world" (Tuchman 1984). Shaftesbury gave more details on how the plan for settling Jews in Palestine would not cost much to the British treasury:

> They [the Jews] will return at their own expenses, and with no hazard but to themselves; they will submit to the existing form of government, having no preconceived theories to gratify, and having been almost everywhere trained in implicit obedience to autocratic rule; they will acknowledge the present appropriation of the soil in the hands of its actual possessors, being content to obtain an interest in its produce by the legitimate methods of rent and purchase. Disconnected as they are, from all the peoples of the earth, they would appeal to no national or political sympathies for assistance in the path of wrong, and the guarantee which I propose, for insertion in the Treaty to be carried out by the personal protection of the respective Consuls and Vice Consuls of the several nations would be sufficient to protect them in the exercise of their right (Epstein 1984, 35).

British Zionists formed the Palestine Association in London in 1804 for the purpose of procuring and publishing information regarding the geography, the people, the climate, and the history of the Holy Land. This was a serious and

organized effort to re-write (and often distort) the historical geography of Palestine from an exclusively Protestant Zionist point of view. In this regard, researchers were asked to observe for themselves two important principles that should guide their research in the Holy Land: (1) avoid as far as possible all contact with the convents and the authority of the Catholic monks, and (2) examine everywhere with the Scriptures in hands (Robinson 1977, 377). Major publications of such Protestant-subsidized research and information about Palestine began with Lord Lindsay's *Letters from Egypt, Edom and the Holy Land*, the first in a flood of Holy-Land travel books that averaged 40 books a year for 40 years (Tuchman 1984, 191). The idea that was to become the British Mandate appeared first in the above-mentioned article in Lord Shaftesbury's review of Lindsay's book for the *Quarterly Review* of December 1838. The article explains that Zionism will create for Britain a "body of well-wishers in every people under heaven" (especially among millions of Jews in Russia). It attacked the Catholic and Orthodox "arch-assailants of our Zion" who "disparage the Old Testament by a contemptuously exclusive preference of the New" and "ascribe to the Gospels and Epistles *alone* the title of the Christian Scriptures!" (Crawford 1838, 188-90).

One problem of British Zionism was the voice of anti-Zionist Jews, represented in the Cabinet by the Secretary for India, Edwin Montagn, and aired in the press by Alexander and Montefiore, president and secretary, respectively, of the Jewish Board of Deputies. Though Shaftesbury and Colonel Charles Churchill put some efforts into recruiting Moses Monterfiore (who was sent to Palestine and Egypt in 1838 with a plan for land purchase and who asked in 1841 to organize a diplomatic representation of the Jews), English Jewish leaders continued to regard "Zionism as a mad delusion of an army of beggars and cranks" that could undermine their hard-won citizenship in Western countries (Tuchman 1984, 333). In 1841 Colonel Charles Henry Churchill, the British consul in Syria, pointed out the two *sine qua non* conditions for the success of Zionism: "Firstly that the Jews themselves will take up the matter, universally and unanimously. Secondly that the European powers will aid them in their views" (Epstein 1984, 35). When the Jewish Board of Deputies of London was called on to take the lead, they rejected Churchill's plan, contenting themselves with no more than a political aid or auxiliary to British Zionism (Epstein 1984, 36). With the difficulty of politically persuading the Jews, the London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews began to Judaize Zionism and Zionize the Jews, with more focus on Russian and Eastern European Jews.

The London Society for Promoting Christianity among the Jews was established in early 1809, obviously as a response to Napoleon's Great Sanhedrin in Paris in 1807. By 1841 the Society had appointed a baptised Jew, Michael Solomon Alexander, as its Anglican bishop in Jerusalem (Hyamson 1917). The Society aimed to teach "the Jews their own holy books" and works and to circulate them worldwide, where, in the previous two years (prior to 1838), some 5 400 copies [of the Old Testament in Hebrew] had been sold in addition to tracts, Pentateuchs, and other works. The Society estimated that some 20 000 copies were needed annually to educate world Jewry about Zionism (Crawford 1838, 185). The Society had 23 stations in Europe and the East, 49 missionaries and agents (24 of them Jewish converts), 10 schools (2 in London and 8 in the duchy of Posen), and had baptised many Jews (throughout Europe and Russia) who now "preach[ed] the faith they once destroyed" (Crawford 1838, 183-84). The Society had an eye on all of world Jewry, supposed to be around 6 million in 1871 (Hechler 1883). British Zionism

began also to combine religion and politics in the person of Lewis Way (lawyer and theologian), who travelled through France, Holland, and Germany, and visited Russia, where he studied the life of the Jews. His scheme of establishing, in south Russia, settlements for baptised Jews and his memorandum of September 1818 on the Jews (*Mémoire sur l'Etat des Israélites*) were said to be of interest to Czar Alexander of Russia (Kobler 1975). What was needed at this stage was a formal plan providing the nuts and bolts for Zionist colonization in Palestine.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler's Zionist Scheme for British Tranquillization of Syria and the East through the Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine

Following the failure of Colonel Charles Henry Churchill to involve the Jews in Zionism, Britain brought in Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler (1796-1869). From 1838 to 1841, Gawler was Governor of South Australia. During his term, British convicts were settled at an average of 180 per month (Price 1929,160). As an experienced military administrator and a colonization expert who established penal colonies in Australia, he was expected to help establish Jewish colonies in Palestine. In 1845 Gawler published *Tranquillization of Syria and the East: Observations and Practical Suggestions, in Furtherance of the Establishment of Jewish Colonies in Palestine, the Most Sober and Sensible Remedy for the Miseries of Asiatic Turkey*. He visited the Holy Land in 1849, retired from the army in 1850, and founded the Association for Promoting Jewish Settlement in Palestine, which evolved later into the Palestine Fund in 1852 (Epstein 1984, 37; Price 1929,164). Before we look at Gawler's plan, let us take a glance at the infamous British colonial policy of "converting the most useless men in one country into active citizens [settlers] of another" (Shaw 1997, 17). In 1656 Britain legalized the apprehending and deportation of British "lewd and dangerous persons" to the English plantations in America. The goal of the 1718 Transportation Act was to deter criminals and to supply the colonies and plantations with labour by sentencing (to a seven-year deportation to America) persons convicted of grand or petit larceny or any felonious stealing or taking of money or goods and chattels. Thousands of British convicts were deported (the unpleasant, unhealthy, and dangerous sea passage was about 8 to 12 weeks) during the century before the American Revolution, after which England could not sent her convicts to the American colonies.

In the aftermath of Captain James Cook's landing on Australian shores in 1770 and the American Revolution in 1776, Britain enacted the Transportation Act of 1784 to mandate transportation to New South Wales, an Act that was extended in 1788. Under this law Britain deported some 160 000 convicts to Australia between 1788 and 1868 (Shaw 1997). But while Britain was engaged in exporting its Irish peasants, Welsh miners, steelworkers, and English farmers, it was taking in at the end of the 19th century an influx of Jews from Eastern Europe (Roberts 1995, 768-69). Unlike the early imported Jewish merchants from Amsterdam, these low-income Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe were to be planted as settlers in Palestine. It was this policy that produced Jewish Zionist leaders like Vladmir Jabotinsky, who served his Majesty the Russian Czar, then the British King, before becoming the chief of the Zionist militia in Palestine during the British Mandate (Duvernoy 1966, 136).

In planning Jewish colonies in Palestine, Gawler had invested his experience and had learned from the main difficulty he faced with settling British convicts in Australia, namely the will of the settlers. He insisted that the colonial scheme must take into consideration the "feelings" of the settlers as well as the "desires" of the British. His vision was that Jewish colonies in Palestine would "tranquillize" Syria and the East. With his land-hungry settler mentality, Gawler conveniently claimed that 90% of the land of Palestine lay waste and unprofitable, waiting for the "civilized" settlers to make it productive. He was perhaps the first Zionist to conceptualize and articulate the Zionist myth that "Palestine is a land without a people" waiting for "the Jews, a people without a land". Gawler sums up his Zionist colonial plan in these words:

> Reduced to its practical form the question [of the tranquillization of Syria] becomes one of colonization [of Palestine]. THERE *is a fertile country, nine-tenths of which lies desolate*. ELSEWHERE, *are civilized men, for whom it is desired to make of that almost forsaken country, an established home*. For successful colonization three things are, in the highest degree, indispensable. *The probability of* SAFE SETTLEMENT *in the colony—the facility of* TRANSIT *to it—and the will, or the obligation to embrace these opportunities*. … On any other principle, *the will of the proposed settler* would be wanting. No members of the Jewish persuasion, worth sending to Palestine, would accept the boon so tauntingly proffered. We cannot, if we would, force them into colonization as convicts, under the moving agency of compulsory obligation, and must therefore carefully consult *their* feelings as well as our own desires (Gawler 1845, 8-9).

According to Gawler, Great Britain should gain "protection for, and give protection to, all Israelites who desire to establish themselves in depopulated Palestine," and should "prepare the Jews for their future station by political elevation in England" (Gawler 1848,25). It was in this political context that (baptised Jew) Benjamin Disraeli rose from stock market speculation and journalism to become British Prime Minister in 1868 and in 1874-80. But beyond the big scheme Gawler provided some interesting practical details on what he called "the civilization of Palestine and the East through the Jews." He was perhaps the first to come up with a blueprint for the *yishuv* and *kibbutz* system of Jewish colonies (a modernized version of the *kehillah* and *shtetl* of Eastern Europe) that were later experimented within both Argentina and Palestine. He recommended "the establishment of a colony or colonies, *large enough to be respectable and influential; but not so large as to be unmanageable*, as regards system of internal order, individual employment, or the supply of the necessaries of life" (Gawler 1845, 12). In terms of population, the colony should range between 700 and 1 200 "effective men," making a community of 3 000 to 5 000 souls with women and children. The colonies should be within 25 miles from the maritime roadsteads of Palestine, in order to be able to export their products and enjoy the protection of British naval forces, frequently present on the coast (Gawler 1845, 16-17). In terms of the security of the settlers, the British would put the Jews under their protection, as the French and the Russians did the same for the Catholic and Greek Palestinian communities. The colony should be formed of three classes of settlers, who would receive protection and land privileges: (1) persons possessing sufficient capital to provide entirely for themselves would receive up to 300 acres, (2) persons with a small amount of capital, providing wholly their own passages and means of transit to the location, would receive up to 50 acres, and (3) persons of very small means,

receiving a free conveyance for themselves, their families, and a regulated weight of luggage, would receive up to 10 acres.

As in the days of Napoleon, Britain continued to defend its imperial policy of protecting the territorial integrity of the decomposing Ottoman Empire as the lifeline of its road to India. The Turco-Egyptian crisis of the 1830s and the Crimean war of the 1850s were fought over the same Eastern Question issue. In 1844 England turned down a Russian proposal for a joint partitioning of the Turkish Empire: Russia to become protector of Turkey's European possessions in the Balkans, England to have Egypt and Crete, and Constantinople to become a free city "temporarily occupied." Following the Crimean War, Henri Dunant (a representative of the *Compagnie Genevoise des Colonies de Sétif in North Africa and Sicily*) established the *Universal Society for the Revival of the Orient* and proposed a diplomatic status for the first Jewish agricultural colonies in Palestine (Duvernoy 1966, 28). With the advent of steam navigation (steamships depend on frequent ports of call for recoaling) and the completion of the Suez Canal, Zionism and the interests of world commerce began to link the establishment of depots and settlements along the road to India and China with the establishment of a Jewish state in Palestine, as is indicated by Thomas Clarke's treatises, *India and Palestine: Or the Restoration of the Jews Viewed in Relation to the Nearest Route to India*. Zionists began to argue that the Jewish state would even place the management of British steam communication entirely in friendly hands (Tuchman 1984, 214,216,254; Hess 1917, 260). This argument became even more persuasive when (baptised Jew) Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli purchased shares in the Suez Canal Company, thanks to financial aid provided by the Rothschilds (a Jewish family banking dynasty in London).

British Zionist plea and Gawler's doctrine about the "political elevation" of Jews in England were bolstered when George Eliot (the pseudonym for Mary Ann Evans, a non-Jewish author who created a noble Jewish character) published the novel, *Daniel Deronda* (1876), which focused on English fiction about the Jews (Eliot 1900). The novel presented a new image of the Jews as good and moral nationalist heroes, despite being non-Christians, in sharp contrast with their previous image as "Christ-Killers, apostates, money lenders, exotic foreigners, and poor immigrants" (Epstein 1984, 47). Again, like Martin Luther's pamphlet *That Jesus Christ Was Born a Jew* (1523), *Daniel Deronda* emphasized the notion that the Jews are descendants of Biblical Israelites and that "a whole Christian is three-fourths a Jew." It also stressed the idea of "the necessity of requiting a moral debt owed to the Jews" (Tuchman 1984, 237). Some even consider that *Deronda* created a Jewish nationalist spirit for Zionism and a role model that inspired Theodor Herzl (Sokolov 1935, 107). In line with earlier calls from Colonel Charles Henry Churchill and Lieutenant-Colonel George Gawler to involve the Jews into the Zionist movement, Mary Ann Evans' *Daniel Deronda* begins with a call for a myth or a make-believe story that can galvanize the Jews after so many unsuccessful attempts to involve them into Zionism: "Men can do nothing without the make-believe of a beginning" (Eliot 1961,1). As the "Zionist Novel" (Leavis 1960) drew to its conclusion, Deronda's vision became clear when he said "if I live,"

> I am going to the East to become better acquainted with the condition of my race in various countries there. … The idea that I am possessed with is that of restoring a political existence to my people, making them a nation again, giving them a national

> centre, such as the English have, though they too are scattered over the face of the globe. That is a task which presents itself to me as a duty: I am resolved to begin it, however feebly. I am resolved to devote my life to it. At the least, I may awaken a movement in other minds, such as has been awakened in my own (Eliot 1876; Eliot 1961,606).

Yet despite the various efforts either to create or instigate a Jewish Zionist movement and a Jewish leadership who were able and/or willing to assist in carrying out the British-proposed colonization schemes for Palestine, Zionism remained essentially alien to the masses of European Jews before Britain introduced it in the wake of the assassination of Russian Czar Alexander II in 1881 and the subsequent pogroms and mass migrations of Eastern European Jews to the Americas.

Conclusion

From this analysis one can safely conclude that the Jews did not invent Zionism. Rather Zionism invented the Jews, though not all Jews are Zionist and not all Zionists are Jews. During the Reformation and mercantilist era, Protestants were interested in the Jews as ammunition against the Catholics and as leaders of the interest-based rising capitalist sector. Martin Luther's Jewish-friendly writings in 1523, Oliver Cromwell's readmission of the Jews to England in 1655, and the quasi-Judaization of the Puritans are graphic examples. With the Industrial Revolution and the European Enlightenment, Napoleon boosted the emancipation of the Jews in an attempt to estrange them from their European and Ottoman rulers as part of his unsuccessful plans to destroy the power of England and Russia and dominate Europe. After Napoleon, the British articulated a complex set of imperialist and religious motives designed to make the Eastern Question fit the Jewish Question. Obviously all of this took place before the alleged founder of Zionism (Herzl) was born in 1860, as well as before anti-Semitism was encouraged as a propelling machine for Zionism. With the change in Zionism's guardianship and custody from Britain to the United States in the aftermath of the Second World War, Zionism continues to be a geopolitical configuration (rather than a national reality), which facilitates Western multilateral hegemony over the Arab world's strategic location (straits and waterways), cultural heritage (antique and Biblical history), economic resources (oil reserves and business contracts), and possible unification schemes (whether under pan-Arabism or pan-Islamism). The ongoing Anglo-American obsession with disarming Iraq while preserving Israel's weapons of mass destruction in the region illustrates such continuity.

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