

A Guide to the Anglo-Jewish Collections on the Arab-Israel Conflict at John Rylands Library, University of Manchester

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Overview

This guide is designed to highlight unique material in the Anglo-Jewish holdings on the Arab-Israel conflict at the University of Manchester. As can be seen below, the guide focuses on the Guardian Archive and, particularly, the papers of W.P. Crozier (editor of the Manchester Guardian between 1932 and 1944) and those of Lewis Namier (the noted historian and leading supporter of a Jewish homeland), because of the rich and extensive collection of papers available. The Guardian Archive also includes the correspondence of C.P. Scott (editor of the Manchester Guardian between 1872 and 1929) with Zionist leaders and the papers of the Zionist statesman and future president of the State of Israel, Chaim Weizmann (many of his papers can also be found in the correspondence of Samuel Alexander and W.P. Crozier as listed below. While the papers of C.P. Scott are relatively few in number, the material here sheds a unique light on the Manchester Guardian's support for the Balfour Declaration and the Zionist Movement, in general. Furthermore, the extensive material in the Crozier files will be of interest to scholars working on research projects reappraising the relationship between the Zionist leadership and the British Government in the years leading up to the establishment of the State of Israel.

Also listed in the guide are the small number of papers of Samuel Alexander (a renowned philosopher at Manchester University and a Zionist sympathizer) which are of historical interest because they include early correspondence with Chaim Weizmann. The papers of Major-General Eric Edward Dorman O'Gowan listed at the end of this guide are few in number but will have appeal for scholars researching British public attitudes towards Israel during the Six-Day-War period.

Included among the materials are items that will be of interest to researchers of the Arab-Israel conflict, although not necessarily unique to the University of Manchester. Thus, unlike the other items listed above, the Dame Mabel Tylecote collection is housed at the University of Manchester Main Library on Oxford Road, and can be found also at other libraries in the UK as it is a printed collection.

Aside from the unique items listed, the Guardian Archive includes news cables, public speeches and statements which can be found elsewhere but will be of interest to researchers of the British Mandate period. In addition, there are press cuttings, pamphlets and newspaper articles in the archive.

As well as the letters which are itemized below, the Dorman O’Gowan collection includes several newspaper articles which will be of interest to scholars of the Six-Day-War and its aftermath.

The University of Manchester archive is one of the collections within the UK which include Anglo-Jewish holdings on the Arab-Israel conflict. The other key archives are listed here below:

- The National Archive at Kew holds the most extensive series of documents in this field with cabinet office, foreign office, colonial office and war office papers from the earliest years of the Arab-Israel conflict up until the mid 1980s.

<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/>

- The Archive of the Board of Deputies of British Jews housed at the London Metropolitan Archives contains policy papers and records of correspondence between Jewish communal leaders and the British government relating to the Arab-Israel conflict.

https://search.lma.gov.uk/scripts/mwimain.dll/144/LMA_OPAC/web_detail/REFD+ACC~2F3121?SESSIONSEARCH

- The Parkes Collections at the University of Southampton have developed as a place of deposit for archives containing relevant material on nineteenth and twentieth century

Anglo-Jewry. Among the items of interest here are the records of the Anglo-Jewish Association with relevant material relating to Palestine and the Arab-Israel conflict.

<http://www.southampton.ac.uk/parkes/libraryandarchives/index.page>

- The Middle East Centre at St. Antony's College, Oxford, includes private papers such as the Sir Mark Sykes Collection and the Balfour Declaration File.

<https://www.sant.ox.ac.uk/research-centres/middle-east-centre/mec-archive>

- The Bodleian Library, Oxford, holds material relating to the British Mandate in Palestine, including, for example, the papers of Sir John Chancellor, High Commissioner of Palestine, 1928-31.

<https://www.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/>

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The Papers of Samuel Alexander - Biographical Note

Samuel Alexander, a distinguished philosopher, was born in Sydney, New South Wales, on 6 January 1859. He was educated in Melbourne, spent two years at the University there before leaving Australia for England in 1878. Later in the same year he obtained a scholarship at Balliol College, Oxford, and after graduating in 1882 he moved to Lincoln College as a fellow, becoming the first professing Jew to hold a fellowship at Oxford or Cambridge. He remained at Lincoln College for eleven years, spending much of his time as a lecturer. He developed his own interest in empirical psychology during this period, and he worked towards modernizing the discipline of philosophy by stressing the philosophical significance of contemporary developments in psychology, biology and evolutionary theory. His first book, *Moral Order and Progress* (1889), was a treatise on evolutionary ethics. Although this was his major work of the period he also made regular contributions to journals. In 1893 Alexander moved to Manchester to take up the post of Professor of Philosophy at Owens College, which was then part of the federal Victoria University. He is probably best known for his theory of 'emergent evolution', as expressed in his main philosophical work, *Space, Time and Deity* (1920), a work based on the Gifford Lectures he gave in Glasgow in 1917 and 1918. Alexander became a well-known and popular figure at the University of Manchester.

Alexander was a strong supporter of the Zionist movement and an advocate of women's suffrage and equal educational opportunities for women. Alexander retired from his chair in 1924, although he remained in Manchester where he was a respected figure and had a wide circle of friends and acquaintances. In 1925 his contribution to the University was acknowledged by the presentation of a bust, sculpted by Jacob Epstein, which still stands in the University's Arts Building. In 1930 he was awarded the Order of Merit.

The Papers of Samuel Alexander

There are a large number of papers in this collection but only a handful of items will be of interest. These are highlighted below.

Folder Ref: Alex A/1/1/301-312

18 October 1926

Letter from Chaim Weizmann expressing regret for not having seen Alexander during his trip to Manchester:

“I am sailing to the States on Friday and I have still a great deal to do before going. I'm afraid this visit to America is going to take up practically the whole of the winter and my mission is not an easy one.” Ref: ALEX/A/1/1/303/3

3 February 1922

Letter from Chaim Weizmann calling on Alexander to “write at least one article in support of Zionism” at a time when Zionists “are being attacked from many quarters” and “faced with a determined attempt to defeat the Palestine Mandate at the eleventh hour.”

Ref: ALEX/A/1/1/303/1

3 February 1931

Letter from Chaim Weizmann to Alexander in which he discusses negotiations over Palestine and the difficult economic situation. Weizmann informs Alexander that “the negotiations with the Government are going on well” and hopes “that H.M.G. will soon publish an explanatory statement which will reestablish confidence and cooperation... It has been a terribly hard time, both politically and financially. The terrible impoverishment of the world in general and of the Jews in particular is rendering our construction efforts in Palestine increasingly difficult.”

Ref: ALEX/A/1/1/303/5

Folder Ref: ALEX B/4/61

Letters

Dates: 25 Oct 1938 – 25 Nov 1938

This is a collection of letters from the historian Lewis Namier, enclosing notes on “Professor Alexander as a Jew” and his support for Zionism.

The Papers of Chaim Weizmann - Biographical Note

Chaim Weizmann was born in Russia in 1874. Weizmann had been active in the Zionist movement from its very beginnings. He moved to London in 1904 before taking up a university faculty post in chemistry at the University of Manchester. During the middle of the First World War, he moved back to London to oversee the work of a special British government laboratory designed to improve the production of artillery shells. During his stay in England, Weizmann forged strong relationships with British political and intellectual leaders, a number of whom are referred to in this guide. Weizmann became one of the most prominent leaders in the Zionist movement during this period and was elected president of the World Zionist Organization in 1920. Following the establishment of the State of Israel in 1948, Weizmann served as its first president until his death in 1952.

Guardian Archive: Chaim Weizmann Papers

There are around thirty items of interest here for the researcher, a number of which have been highlighted below, although this collection includes other papers which are not directly relevant to the Arab-Israel conflict. There are also numerous other items of Weizmann's correspondence some of which are listed below separately in the other collections.

Folder Ref: A/W35/1-24

23 October 1922

Letter from Chaim Weizmann to CP Scott

“...I still fear that the fundamental lack of sympathy and understanding which the Die-Hards and some of the Conservatives have exhibited may lead to such administrative measures as to render progress in Palestine very difficult.”

Ref: A/W35/11a

24 October 1922

Letter from CP Scott to Weizmann:

“Palestine, so far as I can judge, will not be an issue at the General Election, except in so far as it is included in the general “economy” issue... I don't think there is serious danger in any

case to the Palestine settlement, though of course with an unsympathetic administration there would be difficulties. That would be the case if the Bonar Law party got a clear majority in the House of Commons. That I think unlikely. But if they have a majority only with the aid of the Chamberlain-Lloyd George group, you are pretty safe. Balfour now holds a position of such authority in the group and could always be relied upon.” Ref: A/W35/12

Folder Ref: B/W157A/1-13

27 April 1939

Letter from Moshe Shertok (*head of the political department of the Jewish Agency and future Israeli foreign minister*) to Winston Churchill:

Shertok encloses with his letter an urgent cable from Weizmann warning Churchill of the “grave consequences” of the establishment of an independent Palestinian State and the restriction of Jewish settlement in Palestine. Ref: B/W157A/2

11 September 1939

Letter from Weizmann to Leslie Hore-Belisha (*British Secretary of State for War*)

Weizmann submits a letter to Hore-Belisha at the War Office which includes a memorandum calling for the establishment of a Jewish military unit that would “rivet throughout the world Jewish sympathy and devotion to the British cause. Every Jew thus enlisted, proud to carry arms under the British flag, automatically becomes a centre of pro-British propaganda.”

Ref: B/W157A/6

20 September 1939

Letter from Malcolm MacDonald (*Colonial Secretary*) to Weizmann expressing opposition to large-scale Jewish immigration to Palestine:

“The admission of large number of Jewish immigrants into Palestine... would create difficulties which would seriously embarrass Great Britain and her allies in their endeavour to bring the war to a victorious issue. I am sure that you will appreciate that we have not adopted this attitude out of any lack of sympathy for young Jewish people in Poland.”

Ref: B/W157A/9

The Papers of Lewis Namier - Biographical Note

Lewis Namier was born in Wola, Poland, in 1888. Namier left home in 1906 and after briefly attending Lausanne University, he moved to England and spent a year studying at the London School of Economics, before settling at Balliol College, Oxford. He graduated in 1911 with a first-class degree in Modern History. In 1915, Namier joined the British Foreign Office, honing his expertise on Central and Eastern Europe for five years in the newly established propaganda and information bureau. He was called upon as an expert to the Versailles Peace Conference to advise on the problems concerning the old Hapsburg Empire, Poland, and Eastern Europe in general. After the publication of *England in the Age of the American Revolution*, he was given the chair of Modern History at the University of Manchester, which he held from 1931 to 1953.

Namier became active in the Zionist movement in the course of the 1920s and developed a strong relationship with Chaim Weizmann (*see Weizmann biographical note above p.5*). Namier became the Political Secretary of the Zionist Organization in 1929. During this period, he developed a close friendship and correspondence with W.P. Crozier, editor of the Manchester Guardian (*see Crozier biographical note, p.13*). The highlights of this correspondence are detailed below.

Guardian Archive: Lewis Namier Papers

The collection below is relatively large and covers many subjects, but there are well over 100 items which will be of considerable interest to researchers on Anglo-Israel relations and the British Mandate in Palestine. As with the Weizmann papers, there are numerous other items of Namier's correspondence which are also found in the Crozier collection, and some of these are listed below separately.

Folder Ref: B/N8A/1-150

13 June 1941

Letter from WP Crozier to Namier in which he outlines his vision of a future Jewish State:

“I should think that what we ought to look forward to now is (1) a Jewish State with the widest frontiers that we can reasonably get (2) transference of Arab minorities (3) a Federation of States (4) a treaty with Britain.”

Ref: B/N8A/18

24 July 1941

Letter from WP Crozier to Namier:

“I think you know that my view has always been in favour of transfer. I have always doubted whether there could be a peaceful settlement unless the Arabs were transferred out of Palestine, and I thought that this measure, which would undoubtedly inflict certain hardship and be to some extent “illiberal” might be justified by the ultimate service that it might do to peace.”

Ref: B/N8A/26

Folder Ref: B/N8A/151-250

2 April 1943

Letter from Weizmann to Churchill

“I refuse to give up this hope. I still believe that the final word of Great Britain in regard to Palestine and the Jews has not yet been spoken. The slaughter of European Jewry can only be redeemed by establishing Palestine as a Jewish country.”

Ref: B/N8A/204

Folder Ref: B/N8A/251-381 NAMIER

4 October 1943

Letter from Namier to Crozier conveying his growing pessimism regarding the state of affairs in Palestine:

“Weizmann is here in London and so far he has not seen either Churchill or Eden. There would be little point in pressing hard to get an interview with either. Such unwilling interviews bear no fruit. Thus the great men are inaccessible, and the small men are all the time at work preparing our destruction... All this foreshadows a most dismal ending.”

Ref: B/N8A/263

17 December 1951

Letter from Namier to Wadsworth :

Namier explains to new Guardian editor Wadsworth why he is unable to contribute to a leader article on Chaim Weizmann:

“Personal relations between us are completely broken off. – I therefore omitted to mention him when you asked me about my friends in Palestine. As criticisms of him would hurt Israeli interests I have abstained, and shall abstain, from dealing with him in public: I have therefore refrained from reviewing anywhere his book which I could have destroyed to the joy of many Jews and still more...” Ref: B/N8A/366

Papers of C.P. Scott

Charles Prestwich Scott (1846-1932) is probably the most significant figure in the history of the Guardian newspaper. It was C.P. Scott, appointed editor in 1872, who transformed the paper from an essentially provincial journal into a newspaper of national and international standing. Scott pioneered a style of journalism that was both accessible and highly principled. Politically, he pursued a consistently left-of-centre editorial stance during his fifty-seven years in the post, even in the face of public hostility. He championed Irish Home Rule, condemned the excesses of imperialism, and criticised British policy in South Africa immediately before and during the Boer War. Scott's journalistic achievement was, in the words of Lord Robert Cecil, "making righteousness readable".

Scott recruited a gifted set of journalists to the paper, mostly directly from Oxbridge, including C. E. Montague, L. T. Hobhouse, W. T. Arnold, and Allan Monkhouse. They made major contributions to the paper's reputation for its coverage of national affairs, particularly politics and the arts. In 1904, Scott bought the Manchester Guardian from the Taylor family

at an inflated price, and thereafter ran it as owner-editor. Following Scott's retirement in 1929, his son, Edward, was appointed as editor. He died suddenly following a boating accident in April 1932, and was succeeded by W. P. Crozier (see below). Scott formed a close relationship with Chaim Weizmann and was a leading advocate for a Jewish homeland in Palestine.

Guardian Archive: C.P. Scott Papers

Unlike the W.P. Crozier collection listed below, only a handful of items will be of interest, although some of these cover the important period of the Balfour Declaration. These are highlighted below.

Folder Ref: 334/67-152

14 February 1916

Letter from the President of the English Zionist Federation to C.P. Scott, in which he expresses the appreciation of members of the Federation for the “great sympathy” which the Manchester Guardian has displayed towards the Zionist Movement. The President adds that “it is a source of comfort and consolation...to find your great journal so sympathetic both towards the woes and the hopes of the people of Israel...We could expect nothing different from an organ which has consistently stood for the most enlightened Liberalism...”

Ref: 334/73

3 September 1916

Letter from W Jabotinsky to C.P. Scott

The Zionist activist Jabotinsky expresses interest in working for the enlistment of Jews that could be sent to the East as part of a fighting unit and asks Scott to arrange a meeting for him with Lloyd George. Ref: 334/106

16 October 1916

Letter from signatories of British Palestine Committee to C.P. Scott

The signatories maintain “that there is a community alike of interest and of sentiment between the British State and Jewish people.” The signatories refer to the establishment of a small Palestine Committee in order to work for the ideal of “an Anglo-Jewish Palestine” and request the support of Scott for the movement. Ref: 334/121

Folder Ref: 335/-1-69

Nov 19, 1918

C.P. Scott writes to Chaim Weizmann in order to reassure him of his strong support (“You know I would do anything in my power to help the Zionist cause”) but adds that he is unable to help him with Lloyd George for political reasons. Ref: 335/56

January 16, 1918

In a letter to Mark Sykes (*the Conservative MP and government’s chief Middle East adviser*), Weizmann records that Lord Balfour favours the early establishment of “a Jewish university in Palestine as “anything which symbolizes the intellectual and spiritual side of the Zionist movement is to be welcomed.” Balfour also believed that “measures should be devised to prevent scandals arising [relating to land speculation] which would be disastrous for the future of the country.”

Ref: 335/4

Folder Ref: 135/233-591

July 31 1929

Letter from Isidor Sandler of the Manchester Zionist Association to C.P. Scott expressing gratitude “for the great part you have taken in the promulgation of the now famous Balfour Declaration...” Ref: 135/570

August 2, 1929

Letter from C.P. Scott to Isidor Sandler:

“From the first day that I discussed the Zionist project with my old friend Dr. Weizmann I was convinced of its value not only for the Jewish people but for other nations as a connecting link between East and West.” Ref: 135/571

Papers of W.P. Crozier

Born in County Durham in 1879, William Percival Crozier joined the Manchester Guardian in September 1903. He impressed long-standing owner and editor of the Manchester Guardian C.P. Scott and rose through the ranks to become news editor in 1912.

Foreign news coverage substantially increased under Crozier as he developed a strong network of correspondents located across Europe. Crozier became editor of the Manchester Guardian in April 1932 following the unexpected death of C.P. Scott’s son Edward in a boating accident on Lake Windermere. His knowledge of foreign affairs made him well placed to take on the editorship of the newspaper as the Second World War began to loom on the horizon. Crozier was a firm supporter of Zionism and was in close correspondence with leading figures in the Zionist Movement (*correspondence detailed below*).

Guardian Archive: W.P. Crozier Papers [Foreign Correspondence]

Folder Ref: 218/1-65

This is by far the largest collection of papers in the Anglo-Jewish holdings on the Arab-Israel conflict. While many of the items in this collection relate to international affairs, in general, including developments in the Second World War, there are many hundreds of items which will be of great interest to researchers on Anglo-Israel relations and the British Mandate in Palestine.

11 July 1937

WP Crozier letter to Alexander Werth (*foreign correspondent for the Manchester Guardian*):

“It is obligatory on us to cover this Palestine business better than anyone else....I hope that the Jews will accept partition...but there does not seem to be much sign of it at the present time.” Ref: 218/25

11 July 1937

W.P. Crozier letter to Robert Dell (*foreign correspondent for the Manchester Guardian*):

“My view is that the British Government and the Palestine Administration have never applied the Mandate consistently and wholeheartedly, but that now the position is such that they either won’t apply it properly or if they do there will be a long and deplorable period of coercion. Therefore, I prefer partition. ..Some of the leading Zionists in this country take the same view, although they have to be very careful how they express it.”

26 July 1937

W.P Crozier letter to Robert Dell:

“I do not believe that immigration is now practical on the old lines and I do not like the reduction of the Jews to a definite minority. Of course, if Jews and Arabs would embrace each other and propound a scheme of their own that would be splendid, but they will not do it. Therefore, I am for partition subject to certain necessary amendments of the Government’s scheme.” Ref: 218/59

Folder Ref: 145/30-44

145/38/44 [Crozier]

6 January 1938

British High Commissioner Arthur Wauchope rules out adoption of Moshe Shertok’s proposals (Ref: 145/38/5) to improve security on the main roads of Palestine (especially the Jerusalem-Jaffa Road) but agrees that measures need to be taken to improve security in Palestine. Ref: 145/38/6a

24 March 1938

Minute of an interview with the High Commissioner, Sir Harold MacMichael

Moshe Shertok discusses with the High Commissioner the role of the Mufti (Haj Amin al-Husseini) in fomenting terrorism and the means to break the Mufti's resolve through the establishment of new settlements such as Hanuta. MacMichael commented that "it was essential to discredit the Mufti...He would wish him away in the Falkland Islands or facing a firing squad." Ref: 145/38/31

9 April, 1938

Letter from Weizmann to the Political Committee in which he outlines the importance of "defence and colonization", purchasing as much land as possible and occupying the land "almost immediately" in order to establish the Jewish State. Weizmann notes that "nothing is more impressive than the creation of solid facts" and when the British see how serious and determined the Jews are in establishing their state, "they will value it."

Ref: 145/38/37a

7 April, 1938

Letter from Weizmann to William Ormsby-Gore (*Conservative politician*):

Weizmann expresses concern about the campaign of Arab terrorism and its impact on British public opinion. He speculates that growing reports on the loss of life in the British press could lead to the British public pressuring the government to stop making sacrifices "for the sake of the Jews" and accept Arab demands. He is also concerned that the terror campaign will strengthen Arab extremists while deterring the moderates from negotiating on the basis of partition. Weizmann warns the British that the situation of the Jews in Palestine is becoming "desperate". Ref: 145/38/35a

Folder Ref: 145/38/45-65

29 April 1938

Letter from Shertok to W.J. Farrell (British Council)

Shertok expresses appreciation for the “furtherance of English studies among Jews in Palestine.”

7 May 1938

In his letter to Crozier, Namier expresses great appreciation for the importance of the Manchester Guardian’s writing on Palestine : “putting these facts before the public is of the very greatest importance.” Ref: 145/38/54

7 May 1938

Letter from Weizmann to Blanche Dugdale (*ardent British Zionist and niece of Arthur Balfour*):

“I am distressed that the Jews don’t understand the apocalyptic nature of the time...Our own friends in London and elsewhere will go on fiddling about in the good old way and realizing that every minute may bring about either annihilation or redemption or both. Part of us will be destroyed and on their bones New Judea may arise...One can only buy land and arms galore, one can even bring in people. But we are paralysed for lack of funds.”

Ref: 145/38/55a

Folder Ref: 145/38/85-109

26 July 1938

In a note of a meeting with David Ben Gurion (*Chairman of the Jewish Agency and future Israeli prime minister*) and Moshe Shertok, the British High Commissioner expresses concern over the “clamour for a wholesale arming of Jews” and about “political capital” being made out of arming of the Jews in Palestine, in the wake of recent terrorist outrages.

Ref: 145/38/85

30 August 1938

Summary of note of Weizmann’s “final appearance before Palestine Partition Commission”:

Weizmann pays tribute to the twenty years of cooperation with Great Britain, and expresses concern that the collapse of this cooperation “would be a first class disaster for us.”

“Anything which reduces the Jews in Palestine to a state of permanent minority was unthinkable from the Jewish point of view; nor would it make things any easier for Great Britain.” Ref: 145/38/106

Folder Ref: 145/38/110-134

28 Oct 1938

Note of Conversation with Lord Lloyd (*leading Conservative politician*) which included British Captain Orde Wingate (a passionate Zionist), David Ben Gurion and Weizmann. Differences emerged between Lloyd Weizmann and Ben Gurion over the nature of the Jewish State. Lloyd remarked that the Arabs would never accept the inclusion of the Galilee and Safed in a Jewish State. Weizmann responded: “Lloyd, you do not know Safed; you do not know what it means to be a Jew.” Ben Gurion: “For the Jewish people, Safed was in some degree what Oxford or Cambridge were to the English.” Lloyd argued that there might be a danger to the British Empire if the Jews were allowed to control the whole shore.

Ref: 145/38/129a

Folder Ref: 145/38/135

10 March 1939

Letter from Weizmann to Malcolm MacDonald

Weizmann maintains that Britain’s suggestions are “incompatible with the pledges given by His Majesty’s Government to the Jewish people in the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate. They would if carried out, place the Jewish National Home under Arab rule, and condemn the Jews to a minority life in Palestine.” He expresses opposition to the suggestions to curtail Jewish immigration and land for settlement and the proposition to establish “an independent Palestinian State.” Ref: 145/39/10a

21 March 1939

Letter from David Ben Gurion to Zionist Federations

“Our final rejection of the British Government’s proposals were unanimously passed by all members of the Jewish Delegation” Ref: 145/39/18a

28 March 1939

Letter from Jewish Agency to Malcolm MacDonald

Expresses surprise and dismay that Jewish Agency was not consulted in White Paper of March 1939 to discuss Hussein-McMahon correspondence of 1916. Ref: 145/39/27a

Folder Ref: 145/40/294-341

27 Nov 1940

Minute of Moshe Shertok Interview with High Commissioner Sir Harold MacMichael The discussion focused on the sinking of the *Patria* and the initial British decision (later changed) not to allow the victims to stay in Palestine:

MacMichael: “The British Government were doing nothing cruel. They were not sending these people to the Black Hole of Calcutta.”

Shertok: “This is the country of their hope and you are closing it in their face. You are subjecting our people to the most terrible provocation.” Ref: 145/40/295a

29 November 1940

Letter from Namier to Crozier

“The Colonial Office and the Palestine Administration, instead of trying to deal with these matters in an understanding with us, have played straight into the hands of the Nazis. The parental feelings of the authors of the White Paper seem to outweigh any considerations of humanity or regard for British interests.” Ref: 145/40/30

22 November 1940

Letter from Weizmann to Lord Lloyd in which he expresses his strongest condemnation of the British White Paper of 1939 and its planned implementation:

“The implementation of a new part of the White Paper under a Government mostly composed of men who have publicly condemned it would tell world Jewry that Great Britain has definitely abandoned them to the Arabs, to be a hopeless minority in a Palestinian Arab state...It would deal a most severe blow to Jewish co-operation with Great Britain”

Ref: 145/40/314a

2 December 1940

Weizmann writes to Colonel Newcombe that “the ultimate settlement, the scheme of a Jewish State (not of some ridiculous “autonomous area”) federated with Arab States seems to us the most sensible solution.”

Ref: 145/40/315a

9 December 1940

Letter from Berl Locker (Jewish Agency) to George Hall (Colonial Office)

“We are anxious not to embarrass the Government and not to allow a state of tension to arise between Britain and the Jews.”

Ref: 145/40/335

Folder Ref: 145/41/1-100

7 January 1941

Note on interview between Lord Lloyd and Prof Namier:

Namier: “Winston intervenes once in a blue moon in our affairs, while we have him (Lloyd) every day.”

Namier: “He said that he was not anti-Jew – he had too many Jewish friends for that – but anti-Zionist. I replied that I would prefer him to be anti-Jew and pro-Zionist.” Lloyd complained about “the efficient way” in which the Zionists lobby other ministers.

Ref: 145/41/20a

23 January 1941

Letter from Weizmann to Lord Lloyd in which he expresses his outrage over the deportation of Jewish refugees to the Atlit detention camp.

“If such outrages [*Athlit deportations*] have in fact been perpetrated, it is essential that the responsibility for them should be fixed. For if they become known, as they must, justice done in the face of the world can alone prevent injury to the good name of Britain, and prevent the recurrence of such events in Palestine.”

28 January 1941

Report of Interview with Ernest Bevin

“Mr. Bevin said that he personally would greatly like to see the Jewish people firmly established in Palestine. But there was another important factor in the situation – the Arab factor. We could not afford to do anything which might make our relations with the Arab countries more difficult.” Ref: 145/41/52

22 January 1941

Letter from George Hall to A. Creech Jones defending policy against illegal immigrants to Palestine: “I cannot believe that any other country in the world (including this country and the United States) would be prepared to treat as eligible for subsequent admission persons who had attempted to cross its borders in defiance of the law.” Ref: 145/41/55a

Folder Ref: 145/41/101-200

22 April 1941

Letter from Namier to Lord Moyne (*Secretary of State for the Colonies*) raising the issue of Jewish military cooperation with the British in Palestine.

“The half million Jews in Palestine, as no other people in the Middle East, are conscious that their survival and future depend on Britain’s victory. It is therefore distressing in the highest degree that there should not be close and confidential cooperation between them and the civilian representatives of His Majesty’s Government in Palestine.” Ref: 145/41/197a

Folder Ref: 145/41/201-300

3 June 1941

Minutes of Interview with Lord Moyne

Berl Locker of the Jewish Agency who was present at the meeting with Moyne: “They [the Jews] had long experience of documents which had not been exactly worded and which were later interpreted in a different manner from that intended by those who had drawn up the documents. This had happened in the case of the Balfour Declaration and the Mandate.”

Lord Moyne proposed that territory would have to be found in Eastern or Central Europe to accommodate Jews who had to leave “their present places of residence” and stated that the white paper was “in abeyance” in response to a question from Namier who said that it had received “the unqualified moral condemnation not only of the Prime Minister but of many members of the present cabinet, and that it should not be rubbed like red pepper into their wounds.”

Ref: 145/41/263a

Folder Ref: 145/41/401-499

10 Sept 1941

Letter from Weizmann to Winston Churchill

“It has been repeatedly acknowledged by British statesmen that it was the Jews who, in the last war, effectively helped to tip the scales in America in favour of Great Britain. They are keen to do it-and may do it-again. ...Let me feel, Mr. Prime Minister, that our friendship is not spurned on the British side, nor our name obliterated at a time when Hitler is endeavouring to obliterate our very existence.”

Ref: 145/41/467a

Folder Ref: 145/41/500-600

23 Oct 1941

Letter from David Ben Gurion to George Hall

Ben Gurion informs Hall that he has been unable to find any reference to the role played by Jews in the British war effort. Any information would help in recruiting Palestinian Jews.

Ref: 145/41/537

23 Oct 1941

In a meeting with Weizmann and Ben Gurion, Lord Moyne informs the two Zionist leaders of the decision not to form a Jewish Division outside Palestine. Moyne tells Weizmann and Ben Gurion that Palestine alone would not be able to “deal with the problem” of Jewish immigration and other territories would have to be found to settle Jews.

Weizmann: “what Lord Moyne was asking was like offering them another religion; they might have the highest regard for the other religion, but they still preferred to remain Jews.”

Ref: 145/41/538

24 October 1941

Letter from Namier to Crozier

“They have let us down completely...Not even to the Palestinian Jews already serving with the Army are they prepared to make the least concessions in the way of name, badges, national character, etc. We have reached one of the most serious crises in our dealings with H.M.G.”

Ref: 145/41/529

4 Nov 1941

Letter from Namier to Crozier

“Your collection of Zionist documents is the most complete collection anywhere outside this office, and I can imagine, if it is preserved, what a find it will be to some future L.B.N., if he comes across it.”

145/41/560

9 November 1941

Weizmann issues a statement in London calling on Jews to enlist as part of a “Jewish Fighting Force”.

Ref: 145/41/568a

Folder Ref: 145/41/601-676

2 Dec 1941

In Shertok meeting with British High Commissioner, the Jewish Agency leader requests the release of Jewish illegal immigrants and outlines the need for skilled labour in Palestine.

Ref: 145/41/612a

5 December 1941

Letter from Lord Moyne to Weizmann: Part of a difficult and acrimonious exchange over the recruitment of a “Jewish contingent for the British Army” (see earlier letter from Weizmann)

Folder Ref: 145/42/1-100

20 January 1942

Note from J. Linton to Namier includes an Order paper which refers to Palestine censorship including allusion to recruiting campaign conducted by Jewish Agency. Earlier correspondence had referred to censorship of Churchill’s statements on the Balfour Declaration. Ref: 145/42/35

Folder Ref: 145/42/101-200

18 February 1942

Letter from Shertok to British Chief Secretary pleading for the cooperation of the Royal Navy in the interception of the *Struma* steamer which has Rumanian refugees on board, amid concerns that the vessel is not seaworthy and could fall into Axis hands.

Ref: 145/42/109

20 February 1942

Letter from Shertok to Chief Secretary

“We cannot conceive that Jews who have fled from such horrors as has been the lot of Rumanian Jewry to endure should be left to perish and denied their only chance of salvation...” Ref: 145/42/115

25 February 1942

Minute of Interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonies Lord Cranborne:

Cranborne expresses concern to Weizmann that Nazis may seek to encourage “procession” of Jews to Palestine, causing embarrassment both to Britain and the Jewish Agency.

Ref: 145/42/122a

6 March 1942

Letter from Weizmann to Cranborne

“The whole-hearted support of Jewry for Great Britain has therefore always been taken for granted, and British policy in the Middle East was based by the Chamberlain Government on the principle of trying to win over the Arabs at the expense of the Jews. But the moral loss involved, has not, so far, been compensated anywhere by the political gains....Even within the framework of the implemented two parts of the White Paper of 1939, the dignity and the feelings of the Jewish people might have received consideration. Instead, these have been trampled under foot.”

Ref: 145/42/149a

Folder Ref: 145/42/201-300

20 March 1942

Letter from Harold Macmillan (*Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies and future Conservative prime minister*) to Arthur Creech Jones (*Labour politician*), in which he attacks the “harmful and mischievous” campaign by the Manchester Guardian which alleges that the Civil Administration has frustrated efforts by the Jewish Authorities in Palestine to recruit Jews for military service.

Ref: 145/42/204a

2 April 1942

Letter from Lord Cecil to Baron Davies Ref: 145/42/216

7 April 1942

Letter from Baron Davies to Lord Cecil Ref: 145/42/217a

In an exchange of letters, Cecil claims that the Balfour Declaration did not grant the Jews “an exclusive right to live in Palestine.” He also claims that the Government’s fear of a Jewish Force in Palestine is that it will be used after the war to “fight the Arabs.”

Baron Davies: “The Colonial Office has consistently whittled down the professions and implications of the Balfour Declaration, and by imposing the immigration restrictions has contrived to ensure that the Jews will always be in a minority whatever happens. This I regard as a breach of faith, a total disregard of our promises which would make Balfour turn in his grave.”

GDN 145/42/301-400

23 June 1942

Letter from Shertok to General Auchinleck

“The feeling that very much still remains to be done if the Jews of Palestine are to be enabled to pull their full weight in the defence of their country.” Ref: 145/42/ 364

25 June 1942

Letter from Weizmann to Winston Churchill

“It is not only the annihilation of our work but the actual physical existence of nearly 800,000 Jews in Palestine which is at stake...If we go down in Palestine, we are entitled to go down fighting. The Mandatory Power is in duty bound to grant us this elementary human right. I know that I speak for the great mass of Jews everywhere when I say that the refusal to grant this right will never be understood. I most earnestly urge that you, who perceived the wisdom and justice of this claim nearly two years ago, should now see that it is implemented without delay. Speed may make all the difference between life and death for us.”

Ref:145/42/368

Folder Ref: 145/42/501-524

20 October 1942

Letter from Namier to Crozier

Namier laments the difficulties involved in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Balfour Declaration:

“Considering what has been made of the Balfour Declaration since 1937, and still more since 1939, it may be difficult and indeed embarrassing for anyone who has to administer the White Paper to speak about it. Still those of us who feel strongly cannot let this anniversary pass without something being said. Why I am writing to you is that although your London Office is always very good to us in taking note of things which concern us and in reporting our meetings, a word from you about the special interest of this one would make assurance doubly sure. In years gone by, the Arabs used to publish their papers on the day of the Balfour Declaration in black borders. We have not yet reached the stage of doing that, and therefore must on this day hold our heads high and believe in a better future.”

Ref: 145/42/504

Folder Ref: 145/43/1-61

. 29 September 1943

Letter from Namier to Crozier:

“The men at the top altogether avoid seeing Weizmann – I mean Winston, Eden, etc. They have uneasy consciences and prefer neither to be forced to face facts nor to give any answers....I wonder what wisdom there is in driving five million Jews in America into the anti-British camps of the Irish, the Isolationists, the pro-Germans, and what not. It is a queer and unsavoury gathering, and I wish they would never touch it. But would you be astonished if they did after blood has flown in Palestine? Mutatis mutandis, the same applies to South Africa and even to Soviet Russia. And I ask once more, what purpose does this policy serve, and why is it allowed to continue?”

Ref: 145/43/25a

19 December 1943

Letter from Namier to Crozier

“The trend is now towards a new partition of Palestine. This is not a good solution: it lacks finality, and it is bound to deprive us of the Jordan Valley (the natural part to be left to the Arabs will be the hill country from Nablus to Hebron). Still, the most essential thing even

now is to obtain the territorial basis for a State of our own. Opposition to the partition scheme in 1937 was folly and has cost us a million human lives.” Ref: 145/43/56a

The Papers of Major-General Eric Edward Dorman O’Gowan

Major-General Eric Edward Dorman O’Gowan, formerly Dorman-Smith (1895–1969), briefly served as Chief-of-Staff to Field Marshal Sir Claude Auchinleck in North Africa in the summer of 1942. He fell out with the military establishment, became disillusioned with Britain and in 1949 adopted the Irish name O’Gowan, later becoming an IRA sympathiser.

The archive contains correspondence relating to the war in the Western Desert, 1940-1942, and to various works published after the war concerning the Desert Campaigns and other aspects of the Second World War; personal memoirs; and correspondence relating to general military thinking, notably on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The papers reviewed here contain correspondence relating to military thinking on the Arab-Israeli conflict, in the wake of the 1967 War. There are some twenty items here among the wider collection of papers that will be of interest to researchers on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Folder Ref: GOW/1/10

8 June 1967

Letter from Major-General O Gowan to the editor of the Sunday Press which includes the enclosure of his newspaper article, “Israel’s Victory” analyzing the factors behind Israel’s military successes in the ‘Six Day War’ of June 1967. Ref: 1/10/1/19

Folder Ref: GOW/2/6

23 June 1967

Letter from the secretary of military historian Sir Basil Liddell Hart to O’Gowan. Liddell Hart’s correspondence on the war is enclosed with the letter, some of which is listed below.
Ref: 2/6/7

5 June 1967

Liddell Hart expresses his view in a letter to Colin Youlden that an Israeli defeat to the Arab armies is “unlikely”. Ref: 2/6/9

12 June 1967

In his letter to Colonel A. Levy, Liddell Hart expresses his hope that Israel will resist pressure to return land captured during the Six Day War (“I trust that there will be no British or American pressure, even well-meaning pressure, to give it up in the supposed hope of conciliating Israel’s enemies.”) Ref: 2/6/8

15 June 1967

In letter to General Sir John Hackett, Liddell Hart writes that “the power of magnetic personality in creating a public image and myth has been shown in the way that most of the commentators and reporters have given the primary credit for victory to Dayan [defence minister] instead of to Rabin [Chief of Staff].” Ref: 2/6/10

6 July 1967

Letter from Andrew Wilson to Basil Liddell Hart which includes a transcript of a conversation with Israeli General Avraham Yoffe on the campaign in Sinai during the 1967 war. Ref: 2/6/4

13 August 1967

Letter from O' Gowan to Liddell Hart: O'Gowan expresses agreement with the military historian over his verdict on the outcome of the Six Day War and its aftermath:

“I simply could not believe in an Egyptian/Arab victory. The quality of the Israeli forces, and Israel’s advantageous situation on interior lines, seemed to confer a distinct advantage provided Israel took, and held, the initiative...I agree with you, too, when you say that Israel must not be talked into giving up her territorial gains.” Ref: 2/6/11

The Dame Mabel Tylecote Printed Collection

The Anglo-Jewish holdings at the University of Manchester also include the personal papers of Dame Mabel Tylecote, née Phythian (1896–1987). Dame Tylecote was active in the Labour party and in local government, and campaigned both locally and nationally on issues such as adult education, housing and civil liberties. She also demonstrated a strong interest in the State of Israel as reflected in the publications which form a part of the Dame Mabel Tylecote Printed Collection.

The 25 or so relevant publications in this collection span the years 1967-1974 and relate not only to the Arab-Israel conflict but also to other topics such as the role of women in Israeli public life, instructional television in Israel and the Israeli health service. As pointed out in the overview, these publications in the Dame Mabel Tylecote collection are not unique to the University of Manchester.

Among the publications of interest:

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| “Has Israel Really Won? ”, 1967, | Ref: R132150 |
| Kenneth Lindsay, “Israel, the Middle East and world powers”, 1967 | Ref: R132181, |
| Katharine Elliot “Arab Refugees”, 1968 | Ref: R132168 |

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| Arthur Goodhart, "Israel, the United Nations and aggression", 1968 | Ref: R132171 |
| Richard Westmacott, "Jerusalem: A New Era for a Capital City", 1968 | Ref: R132191 |
| Leslie, Samuel Clement "Religion and Secularism in Israel", 1970 | Ref: R132178 |
| Dan Bavly [and] David Farhi, "Israel and the Palestinians", 1971 | Ref: R132165 |
| James Parkes, "Israel in the Middle Eastern Complex", 1972 | Ref: R132186 |
| Lynne Reid Banks, "The kibbutz - some personal reflections", 1972 | Ref: R132164 |
| Chaim Raphael, "Chaim Weizmann: The Revelation of the Letters", 1974, | Ref: R132189 |
| Gillian Peele, "The position of women in Israeli public life", 1974 | Ref: R132187 |