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The history of the Jews in
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CHAPTER ~~TWENTY FIVE~~ XXXIX

THE FIRST WORLD WAR (1914-1918)

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In the first World War, King Carol I, a German by birth, was in sympathy with the Central Powers, but the Roumanian people were not. It is said that the growing opposition to the King's stand hastened his death, which occurred on October 16, 1914. Shortly thereafter, Roumania declared ~~the~~ her neutrality in exchange for acquiring Transylvania.

With the prospect of Roumania's entrance into the war, in mid-1915, the Union of Indigenous Jews presented a memorandum to the new King, Ferdinand, citing their grievances. Adolph Stern, president of the Union, declared that the Roumanian Jews reaffirmed their expression of loyalty, and that, in the event of war, they would perform their obligations.

Before Roumania entered the War, the government realized that the Jewish question would inevitably come up at the peace conference. Anticipating such a possibility, Bratiano declared that, in case of mobilization, a special law would declare Jewish soldiers ~~to be~~ naturalized citizens. He advised the Bucharest Jewish leaders to be prepared for the families of the prospective combatants.

In 1915, hundreds of Jewish families living near the Austro-Hungarian border were driven from their homes. In vain did the Jews appeal to the authorities to rescind the order forcing them out.

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On May 15, 1916, when Roumania's participation in the war was assured, a law for the control of aliens was enacted. It was designed especially against the Jews since it stated that anyone who could not produce official proof of his Roumanian origin was liable to expulsion. Most Roumanian Jews could not possibly produce this proof. Such being the case, it afforded the local authorities the opportunity to treat Jews as aliens. They were compelled to register with the local police and obtain identification cards, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Several aged Jews at Stefanesti were fined and jailed because they had failed to register and did not possess police cards.

The outbreak of the war brought no joy into the lives of the Jews in Roumania. In addition to discrimination, the politicians were preoccupied with new anti-Jewish measures.

The belligerent Powers had made overtures to capture Roumania as an ally, but the Roumanian government wavered, unable to make a decision. Finally, on August 27, 1916, she resolved to join the Allies (Great Britain, Russia, France, and Italy), and declared war on Austria Hungary. On the following day Germany declared war against Roumania, and on September 1, Bulgaria issued a similar declaration of war.

The entry of Roumania into the first World War opened another bloody chapter in the history of the Jews. The espionage act proved an excellent instrument in the hands of the Roumanian Jew-baiters. While thousands of Jewish soldiers were preparing to march to the battlefield, their relatives were looked upon and

treated as enemies. The local police handled them with extreme cruelty and inhumanity. To make their sufferings still more unbearable, the Russian police in Bessarabia worked hand in hand with the Roumanians. The two police forces now united in driving the Jews, putting them behind bars and inflicting physical tortures.

All subjects of the enemy Powers residing in Roumania and several native Roumanian Jews were interned.

As soon as Roumania entered the war, the Union of Indigenous Jews issued a manifesto, declaring its loyalty to the country, expressing the hope that "all existing dissatisfaction be forgotten, and every act of political vindictiveness be renounced during the period of the war."

On May 7, 1916, Roumania was compelled to sign a treaty with Germany in which some provision regarding the statue of the Jews was inserted. But the treaty was rendered worthless because of the rapidity with which events moved. In October, 1916, the Roumanian Minister to France was interviewed by a representative of the Renaissance Juive of Paris with regard to the prospects of Jewish naturalization. He was asked whether the call to arms issued by the Roumanian government to its subjects abroad included Jews, and whether they were still looked upon as aliens. The Minister was unable to give a direct and specific answer. His evasive reply implied that the Roumanian government had no intention of naturalizing the Jews. However, the Minister expressed complete confidence in the willingness of the Jewish soldiers of Roumania to fight for the country. He asserted that Roumania would know how to appreciate the military services rendered by the Jews. He admitted that a

similar promise made in 1913 had not been kept, but that it would not serve as a precedent for the future. Jewish soldiers who distinguished themselves in the war would certainly be naturalized; Jews who would be transferred to the Roumanian state after the war, he declared, would retain all rights they already enjoyed. He also stated that the anti-Jewish restrictions were losing their raison d'etre. He maintained that the conquered Jews in Transylvania had more rights than the victorious Jews in Roumania. The Minister again said that while he did not believe that all Jews in Roumania would be emancipated after the war, the Jewish soldiers definitely would be.

On August 27, 1917, a year after Roumania had joined the Allies, a law was enacted with regard to Jewish emancipation. A royal decree of December 12, 1917, had to be replaced in 1919 by a new decree, supposed to facilitate the process of naturalization, but it did not work satisfactorily. During the debates in Parliament, Take Ionescu stated emphatically that both political parties and the King were pledged to have the Jews emancipated, and that no one could prevent it.

In her march of conquest, Germany invaded Roumania. The Roumanian army could not withstand the onslaughts of the mighty Germans, and was forced to retreat. The Germans overran Wallachia and occupied Bucharest on December 6, 1916, forcing the Roumanian government to move to Jassy. On March 5, 1917, an armistice between Roumania and the Central Powers was concluded. A delegation of Roumanian Jews called on King Ferdinand (May 11, 1917), expressed

their sympathy with the government in its hour of trial, and assured him of their devotion to crown and country. At the same time, a petition was filed with Parliament, pleading for equal rights. The King's reply avowed his intention of assuring every inhabitant on Roumanian soil, without distinction of origin, race, or religion that, "all those who will have fought for the realization of our secular aspirations by shedding their blood, by bearing the hardships and making the sacrifices imposed on them by the war and invasion, be they Christians, Jews, or of any other religion, will have as a token of the gratitude of the country and of the King, equal rights."

In the Roumanian-German treaty provision was made for enfranchisement of the Roumanian Jews. But the canny Roumanian statesmen managed to insert a conditional provision that citizenship was to be granted only upon the production of a birth certificate. The Committee of Hungarian Jews in Transylvania made representations to Burian, the Austro-Hungarian foreign minister, against this provision. He assured them that he would find a way to compel Roumania to live up to the Treaty.

As the result of a plebiscite held in December, 1917, Bessarabia was proclaimed a Bessarabian-Moldavian republic. A month later it became a national Moldavian republic; two months later Roumania took full possession of it. This military regime of occupation gave the people an immediate taste of Roumanian feudal rule. Compulsory labor, three days a week, was introduced for the peasants.

In November, 1917, the German troops were forced to

retreat from Roumania. Hardly had the German army vacated

Roumania, early in 1918, than anti-Jewish riots were launched.

They were motivated in a spirit of revenge for the alleged Jewish friendship with the Germans in the time of occupation.

Notwithstanding the bitter experiences and the numerous disappointments of the past, the Roumanian Jews still hoped that this time Roumania would acknowledge the sacrifices they made on behalf of their country. Kindled with a fire of patriotism, they felt that nothing was too precious to offer to their country. Jewish girls and women left their homes to serve as nurses in army hospitals. The poorest Jewish community gave generously to the poor of all creeds, whose providers had left for the battle-field. All Jewish institutions were placed at the state's disposal.

The total number of Roumanian-Jewish soldiers enrolled in the army during the first World War was 22,000, or exactly ten per cent of the total Jewish population of the Old Kingdom. 806 of them were decorated for distinguished service in combat, including sixty-eight Jewish physicians. The number of fallen Jewish soldiers was 882; wounded 740; prisoners 449; missing 3,443.

However, all the enthusiasm and the patriotic activities of the Jews did not change the attitude toward them. The chief of the General Staff, General Presan, was foremost in his anti-Jewish policies. No order of the day was without derogation

against Jewish soldiers, and they were branded as spies. A defeat suffered by the Roumanian Army was attributed to the cowardice of the Jewish soldiers. Many of them were demoted and shot without trials for alleged treason. Since Jews spoke Yiddish, a language originating from the German, the entire Jewish population of Roumania was regarded with suspicion. Prisons, military barracks, and concentration camps, were crowded with thousands of Jews whose sole "crime" was that they spoke Yiddish, taken by the police for German.

The retreat of the Roumanian army from Wallachia to Moldavia and the German occupation of the former principality made the lot of the Jews still worse. This retreat was attributed to the "treachery" of the Jews. They were made to suffer from the scarcity of food and other necessities. Living under strict military regulations, the Jews were forbidden to emigrate or change their places of residence. Speaking in Yiddish was prohibited.

In Wallachia the Roumanians felt that they had still more cause to make the Jews pay for their alleged treachery. For the Germans were able to understand the Jews, but not the Roumanians. Since Germans prohibited the ill-treatment of the Jews, the Roumanian police considered the Jews to be traitors and spies in the service of the Germans. During the German occupation, the Jews in Wallachia obtained a respite, not enjoyed by their coreligionists in Moldavia.

Everything was requisitioned for the army, and under the pretext of "requisition", the stores of the principal Jewish merchants were raided and large quantities of goods removed. A

delegation of merchants appealed to the prefect against the unlawful seizure of their property, but were rebuked and called traitors.

The Commander of Jassy, General Herescu, appeared to be the worst looter. He would visit the Jewish-owned commercial houses daily and remove large quantities of goods. These goods would be returned after an insistent demand and the payment of cash by the Jews.

One of the Roumanian commissars was ~~more~~ modest. He would break into Jewish homes at night, drag the victims to the police station, and then order them released on payment of money. Those who resisted or refused to pay were tortured until they yielded.

The Commandant of the railway station at Pascani placed the entire Jewish population of the town under police vigilance. The moment a Jew appeared at the station he was subjected to a rigid examination and held under suspicion. He was released only after payment of the sum demanded.

As the war progressed and labor became scarce, the government requisitioned workingmen to perform various tasks. Merchants and skilled laborers were exempt, but such exemption did not apply to aliens (Jews).

An epidemic of typhus broke out among the soldiers, and in that condition were billeted in Jewish homes. When the Jews offered to provide barracks for these sick soldiers, they were refused. When they tried to send their children away from home to protect them ~~from~~^{against} infection, they were charged with spreading the

epidemic. Jewish parents and children were thus forced to share their quarters with sick soldiers.

Major Valeanu, chief of the aviation school at Bucharest, rejected thirty Jewish young men as students, because of lack of confidence in their loyalty. Every military commandant looked upon Jews as spies. Captain Dragalina, commandant of a squadron of heavy artillery, issued an order of the day placing the Jewish soldiers under his command under special vigilance.

Lieutenant Tarnowsky, of the 7th Cavalry Regiment at Jassy, devised special drills for Jewish soldiers to practice after the routine hours. He kept them exercising and drilling almost to the point of exhaustion.

Jewish engineers were rejected by the commandant of the railways with the remark that "spies are not admitted". One of these engineers, named Zukerman, who protested, was arrested as a spy but later was discharged.

Several sacks of Austrian mail fell into the hands of the Russians. Some of the letters came from Roumania, and were written in Yiddish. As a result of this evidence, 1,115 Jews were arrested at Falticeni. They were kept in prison six months, and finally sent home, broken in body and spirit. One of them, a Jewish banker named Pineles, head of the Jewish community, committed suicide in prison.

During the Roumanian occupation of Bessarabia, the Jews were subjected to the most degrading treatment. Jewish life and property were at the mercy of the Roumanian soldiery. There were many acts of lawlessness and savagery, and heavy contributions were levied upon the Jews by the military commandant. An appeal ~~was~~ to the British consul by the Zionist leaders, Menahem Mendel Ussishkin

and Schwartz, to intercede with the Roumanian government brought no results.

As the war proceeded, numerous Jews, directors of large commercial and industrial houses, were arrested merely because they had ~~traded~~ ^{dealt} with German firms. Many Jews were thrown into prison as the result of denunciations made against them by their Christian competitors. Any effort in behalf of these "traitors" was looked upon as an unpatriotic act.

The Russian revolution of March, 1917, upset the oppressed Jews in Roumania. They hoped for a change for the better but were soon disillusioned. Roumanian officials refused to emulate Russia, and instead of relenting in their persecution of the Jews, they reacted with ~~more~~ more severity. The little liberty which the Jews had enjoyed was now curtailed. The most innocent expression of sympathy for the Russians became a crime in the eyes of the Roumanian police. The new Russian government took a deep interest in the plight of the Roumanian Jews and the press raised a storm of protest against Roumanian cruelties. Miliukoff, the former Russian Minister of Foreign Affairs, wired the Russian Ambassador, Poklevski-Kossell, at Jassy, demanding a detailed report of anti-Semitic activities in Roumania.

The Ambassador's report contained a shocking description of the gruesome cruelties inflicted on the Jews by the Roumanian authorities, particularly during the Roumanian army's retreat. The Russian provisional government, through its Secretary of State, Teresthenko, informed the Roumanian government that, as one of its allies, it could not tolerate the placing of Jews beyond the law.

It averred that the Russian government regretted to note that Roumania placed so little weight on her democracy, and concluded with the statement that any attempt at anti-Jewish agitation in the Russian Army would be strongly suppressed.

This warning seems to have made a strong impression upon the Roumanian government. Besides giving written assurance that the Jewish question would be acted upon favorably, Bratiano found it necessary to rush to Petrograd to calm the Russian government and press. This was followed by a visit by Dr. Lupu, who, as special emissary, impressed the workmen and military circles in Russia with the idea that his government would emancipate all the Jews in service. When the workmen's council declared that Russian democracy could not conceive of such a system, Lupu gave assurance that the Jewish question would be taken up at the opening of Parliament as Jassy.

Thanks to the tyranny of the Roumanian police and the abuse of the Jews by the military authorities in Roumania, free Russia raised her voice and backed it up with action. The Social Democrats meeting at Odessa on August 14, 1917, under the chairmanship of Professor Yushievitch, discussed the Jewish situation in Roumania. Ten days later another meeting was held in the same city with the object of helping the Roumanian Jews. At that meeting, M.V. Brakevitch, the mayor, said: "We Russians have washed away the black spot of Jewish disabilities. We join you in your protest, and demand of the provisional government that it proceed energetically against Roumania!"

A resolution was adopted to express profound sympathy for the Roumanian Jews; to demand of the Russian provisional government and of the leading revolutionary organization, that steps be taken for the amelioration of the condition of the Jews in Roumania; to address the allied powers and ask that Jewish disabilities in that country be ended.

Copies of these resolutions were sent to the representatives of the Allies, to the Councils of Workingmen, Soldiers and Peasants, to the Central Zionist Committee in Russia, the Zionist Organization in Roumania, and to the rabbis at Jassy.

A number of Roumanian-Jewish soldiers left their regiments and enlisted in the Russian army, thus continuing their services in the World War. They were readily accepted and ^{they} immediately addressed a memorandum to their Russian Commander-in-Chief, Kerensky, as follows:

"We have lived in Roumania for several hundred years. The land in which we spent our childhood, where the graves of our parents are located, was always dear to us, but we were not permitted to love it as we wished. In that land, which belongs to us as it does to others, we are called 'aliens', and we are treated as aliens. Laws are enacted against us, and every insult is hurled at us. Since the present war began, especially since the Russian revolution has manifested itself, Roumanian injustice inflicted upon us has reached its peak. Lawlessness has increased beyond all measure, and the ignoring of legal rights knows no limit. We call your attention to the annexed documents issued by the Roumanian

General Staff, having for their object the placing of the Jewish people and the Jewish soldiers in that country in utter contempt. While the Roumanian government brands its Jews as spies, it must be said that thus far not one Jew has been convicted as a spy by any court martial. At the same time, we find in the list of convicted spies the names of General Socec, Captain Jerscu, Sturza, and Craniceanu.

"In the name of eternal truth and love of humanity, we demand an investigation of all these facts, and pray that our request be granted to confer on us the honor of serving as volunteers in the free Russian army, that we too may shed our blood."

Following this request, a commission was appointed to investigate the inquisitorial ways of the Roumanian government against the Jews; the exclusion of Jews in Roumania; their deprivation of the means of livelihood; the thousands of Jews held in various prisons; and the system of sham desertions in practice against Jews in order to shoot them down. The commission was instructed to proceed forthwith with its investigation and promptly file its report.

On October 26, 1917, the Russian army doctor, S. Temkin, who served on the Roumanian front, published an article in the Odeskaya Novosky, under the heading: "We must not be silent." He exposed the Roumanian cruelties and ill-treatment to which the Jews had been exposed since the outbreak of the world war. As proof he cited an order from the Roumanian Sanitary Council which read as follows:

"Under an order from headquarters, every Jewish person, man or woman, must be sent away from the hospitals. No Jews must be seen there. No feeling or human sentiment exists where Jews are concerned. It has been established that these people, who offer themselves under the mask of human friendliness and of givers of succor to the sick and the wounded, have proved to be spies."

Order No. 4164, issued from headquarters on August 14, 1917, read: "In every attack, Jews must be placed in the first line."

"We can go further," continued Dr. Temkin in his article. "The shamelessness of this order needs no comment. In cold-bloodedness the Roumanian authorities send the Jewish soldiers into the fire, with only one object - - to meet death. Great and free Russia can not, and must not, remain a complacent witness in the face of such gruesome, unlawful and violent military acts perpetrated against 250,000 Roumanian Jews. Death does not scare us; but die in slavery we cannot and will not. Truth is marching on, and no one will be able to hold it back."

On May 7, 1918, a treaty of peace was signed between Roumania and the Central Powers, as a result of which the map of Roumania was changed. A part of the Dobruja was ceded to Bulgaria. Two thousand square miles of territory, containing 170 villages, with a population of over 130,000 Roumanians, was annexed to Hungary. Austria received 920 square miles of territory south of

Cernauti. Thus Roumania lost, temporarily, more than 10,000 square miles of territory, and Germany compelled her to pay \$250,000,000. Also under this arrangement, Bessarabia was returned to Russia.

During the sessions of the Chambers at Jassy, the Central Committee of Indigenous Jews issued a manifesto in which they declared their desire not to add to the difficulties of the Roumanian government by advancing their grievances while the country was at war. Bratiano, for his part, together with the Minister of Foreign Affairs, read a declaration in Parliament which was to be inserted into the new constitution; ^{it} and ~~which~~ consisted of two principles: Universal Suffrage and Expropriation in favor of the Peasants. In May, 1917, the Roumanian King and Parliament considered the question of how to avoid a recurrence of the Treaty of Berlin.

Part SevenFROM VERSAILLES TO THE PRESENTCHAPTER ~~THIRTY SIX~~ XLHow Roumania Carried Out the Treaty of Versailles

The German war spirit collapsed; Kaiser Wilhelm II deserted his country and found refuge in Holland. On November 11, 1918, Germany signed an armistice with the French commander, ~~mandant~~, General Ferdinand Foch.

As the peace conference neared, the Roumanian politicians became nervous about the Jewish question which was bound to come up. They tried to intimidate the Jewish leaders in the country into pledging themselves not to engage in any agitation for Jewish rights at that conference.

Fearing that the Transylvanians would alienate the Jews, the Roumanians living in that region, with the connivance of their compatriots in Roumania proper, issued a formal declaration condemning anti-Semitism as "contrary to the ideas of civilization and democracy," and stating that they "regard the Jews as brothers" for whom they had sympathy because "everywhere they are the soul of democratic movements." The Swedish chief rabbi, Marcus Ehrenpreis, addressed a letter to George Clemenceau, reminding him that in 1913, after the Roman~~o~~-Bulgarian War he worked jointly with the Italian Premier, Luigi Luzzatti,

in the interest of the Jews. Furthermore, Clemenceau urged the then French Minister of Foreign Affairs to apply financial pressure to Roumania to make her fulfill her treaty obligations, Now Ehrenpreis urged Clemenceau to carry on his work and force the righting of a grievous wrong against the Roumanian Jews.

In an interview with Major Abraham Flexner, head of the American Red Cross in Roumania, King Ferdinand recognized the injustice done to the Jews, of his country, and praised the Jewish soldiers for their valor and for the sacrifices which they had made during the war, and the patriotism of the Roumanian Jews in particular. He promised that full citizenship would be granted to them.

M. Mishu, the Roumanian Minister of Foreign Affairs, assured a Jewish delegation in Sweden of the complete emancipation of the Jews in his country. The Bulgarian Minister in Berlin stated that his government intended to press the emancipation of the Jews at the forthcoming peace conference, and in a similar vein, Count Czernin, Austrian Foreign Minister, stated: "We shall solve the Roumanian-Jewish question. Henceforth, the Roumanian Jews will be citizens with equal rights in Roumania."

Lucien Wolfe, noted leader of ^{the} British Jews, addressed a letter to the Peace Conference on behalf of the Joint Committee of the Board of Deputies of British Jews and the Anglo-Jewish Association recapitulating the tragic history of Roumanian duplicity and demanding that the Peace Conference should act directly for the emancipation of the Jews in Roumania.

Under the Treaty of Versailles, the map of Europe was

changed and so was that of Roumania. Her long dream of uniting her alienated kin of the surrounding provinces - Bulgaria, Bessarabia, Transylvania, Banat, and Bucovina -- in her bosom was now realized. These territories were ceded to her and she thus became greater Roumania. Her former area of about 49,000 square miles was ~~not~~ increased to 122,282 square miles; her pre-war population of 7,500,000 increased to 18,053,000, and her Jewish population from 250,000 to 800,000. But there was a minority provision in that treaty which irked the Roumanian politicians. Unlike the Jewish status in other European states, that of the Jews in Roumania was such that European powers had tried to settle ^{it} long before the World War I, but they failed. But now it had to be definitely settled. The then Roumanian Premier, Bratiano, saw what was coming, and adroitly tried to circumvent it by the granting of civil rights to the Jews of old Roumania before the meeting of the High Council at the peace table. And so, on December 28, 1918, a Royal decree was published to that effect. But the provisions in that decree and the conditions of obtaining that kind of citizenship were such that the Jews refused to accept.

Anticipating the action of the Committee for the protection of minorities set up by the Supreme Council at Versailles the Roumanian premier issued a decree which was published on May 28, 1919, admitting to citizenship all Roumania Jews who filed declarations that they had been born in Roumania and had no other allegiance. But this new decree specified that ~~each~~ ^{each} application must be approved by the Courts. While a majority

of the Jews were thus enabled to acquire citizenship, there were many -- about one-fourth of the Jewish population -- who, either on account of their impoverished condition or their ignorance, were unable to file their applications and were, therefore, forced to remain in their former status -- aliens without a country.

At the session of the Committee on new ^SStates, May 21, 1919, the question of inclusion of Jewish minority rights in the treaties was raised, and Bratiano stated that Roumania had already solved that matter. But President Wilson suggested by saying: "Better leave that to us, as we are in a position to handle the matter more satisfactorily," to which Clemenceau added by reminding the Roumanian representatives of Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin, which Roumania had ignored. Bratiano refused to sign that treaty and returned to his post in Bucharest.

On his return home, a new government was formed with Vaica Voivod at ~~the~~ ^{its} head, and on December 9, 1919, Roumania signed the treaty which became effective September 20, 1920. The provisions affecting the Jews in Roumania in that treaty are as follows:

Article 2. Roumania assumes full protection of life and liberty of all inhabitants of Roumania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, or religion.

All inhabitants of Roumania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion, or belief, which practices are not inconsistent with public order or public moral^s.

Article 3. Roumania admits and declares to be Roumanian nationals ipso facto and without the requirements of any formality all persons habitually resident at the date of coming in force of the present treaty, within the whole territory of Roumania.

Article 4. Roumania admits and declares to be Roumanian Nationals, ipso facto, and without the requirement of any formality, persons of Austrian and Hungarian nationality who were born in the territory transferred to Roumania by the treaties of peace with Austria, Hungaria, or subsequently transferred to her, of parents habitually resident there, even if at the date of coming in force of the present treaty they are not themselves habitually residents there.

Article 5. Roumania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the rights which the persons concerned had under the treaties concluded by the Allies and associate powers with Austro-Hungaria to choose whether or not they will want to acquire Roumanian nationality.

Article 6. All persons born in Roumanian territory who are not born nationals of another State, shall ipso facto become Roumanian nationals.

Article 7. Roumania undertakes the recognition as Roumanian nationals ipso facto, without the requirement of any formality, Jews inhabiting any Roumanian territory who do not possess another nationality.

Article 8. All Roumanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without

distinction of race, color, or religion. That difference of religion, creed, or confession shall not prejudice any Roumanian nationals in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance, admission to public employment, functions and honors, or the exercise of professions and industries.

No restrictions shall be enforced on the free use of any language in private intercourse in commerce, in religion, in the printing or the publication of any kind, or at public meetings.

Article 9. Roumanian nationals who belong to racial, religious, or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Roumanian nationals. They shall especially have an equal right to establish, manage, and control at their own cost and expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools, and other educational establishments with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 10. Roumania shall provide in the public education system in towns and in districts in which a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals of other Roumanian speech and residents are found, adequate facilities for insuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Roumanian nationals through the medium of their own language. In towns and districts where there is a considerable proportion of Roumanian nationals belonging to racial, religious, and linguistic minorities, these minorities shall be assured an equitable share in the enjoyment and application of the sums which may be provided

out of public funds under the State, municipal or other budget for educational, religious, or charitable purposes.

Article 12. Roumania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing articles, as far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations.

Article 27. Jews in Roumania shall be accorded the same freedom and protection of the law and of the authorities as are enjoyed by persons of other religions.

This ~~treaty~~ treaty was promptly ratified at home, and in 1923, a new constitution was adopted. But Article 7 of the treaty was not embodied in it. True, Article XXXII of that constitution guarantee full citizenship to the Jews of old Roumania, but those of the newly-annexed territories who were more numerous, were left to attain that status by special legislation.

That treaty brought equality to the Jews in Roumania on paper, but no peace. For immediately after the signing of that document, Roumanian anti-Semites realized the meaning of it and the new situation created by it. For over half a century they had labored to get rid of the Jews and now, not only were they still there but instead of their former alien status, they were now their equals.

Anti-Semitism became active, a new era of oppression and persecution of the Jews began. Disorders broke out at Rimnic

Sarat and threatened to become general.

In Moldavia, a Roumanian priest incited the populace to attack repatriated Jewish war prisoners, accusing them of voluntarily surrendering to the enemy in order to escape fighting on the battlefield. Result: ~~Twenty~~ twenty of those unfortunates were killed and many others wounded. Jews were also attacked in other localities and their homes plundered. These Jews in Bucharest refused to take chances, and organized a self-defense corps which did not have to wait long to prove its usefulness. At Botoshani, University students organized the National Christian League, with Cuza as leader, and made numerus clausus an issue in the universities. The government, on its part, lived up to its tradition. Contrary to and in violation of treaty obligations, three years after the signing of that treaty, a law was enacted which provided that all inhabitants of Bucovina, Transylvania, Banat, Satinar, and Marmoresh who, on November 8, 1918, had a domicile right, shall be Roumanian nationals without the requirement of any formalities. A similar provision was made in regard to the Jews in Bessarabia. By the operation of this law of "domicile right", numerous Roumanian Jews were deprived of their citizenship.

Several municipal councils did not permit their newly elected Jewish comrades to take their seats in the councils. In Bucovina, the government went one step further by dissolving the National Jewish Council. At Jassy, they adopted a resolution to expel Jewish members from the municipal council.

Jews were forbidden to purchase land. But in London,

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Premier Duce complained that the Jews in Roumania were disinclined to identify their interests with those of the State.

The Averescu government went out of office in 1921. In justice to him, it should be recorded that under his regime Roumanian Jews enjoyed minority rights. His successor, Bratiano, tried to give the impression that under his administration religious and educational rights of every race and creed would be respected, but at the same time as he was busily declaiming in public speeches that all minorities in Roumania would be accorded full rights and that all anti-Semitic agitation would be suppressed, an inflammatory pamphlet entitled Juden Über Alles was being freely circulated in Bucharest. A Christian Front Party was organized for the purpose of boycotting Jewish goods and the Jewish press, and the securing of the expulsion of the Jews from Roumania. Two weeks after its creation, the police discovered that several high officials were collaborating with the Cuza gang.

Anti-Semitic demonstrations broke out in Moldavian cities and Jews were attacked in the streets and in their homes; their shops were plundered and ransacked at the instance of one Cesar Urnu, Director of the Lyceum at Berlad.

Upon representation made to the Minister^{of} Justice, that dignitary gave the assurance that the Roumanian government cannot permit any anti-Jewish demonstrations, that local authorities were instructed to proceed against all anti-Jewish agitators. But there is no record to show any proceeding taken against that Mr. Urnu.

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Influenced by Cuza, the university students became very bold and threatened the Jewish students with death if they attempted to attend the lectures of any university in Roumania. This threat they followed with excesses in many localities. The Jews put up a strong defense, but they were outnumbered by the anti-Semites.

The Jewish students were forced to give up their admission cards and were even then warned with death if found in the lecture room. When a number of them decided to go abroad to continue their studies, the Minister of Education refused to issue to them the necessary certification of the records of their work in the University, nor could they obtain passports from the police. The Jews appealed to King Ferdinand and the government was forced to take action. The University students were required to sign a pledge that they would keep order and their union was placed under the control of the University Senate in Bucharest. But at Jassy, 400 Jewish students were expelled from the university under different pretexts.

As a result of these disturbances, Professor Iorga resigned his seat in the University and Professor Simionescu was appointed in his place, but he, too, declined the honor on account of the dissection of which the anti-Semites had made an issue.

Finally, Dr. Angelescu settled the matter by advising the Jewish students not to attend the lectures until they had

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procured a Jewish ~~cadaver~~^{cadavre} for dissection.

However, disturbances continued outside the universities in Bucharest; 75 Jewish students were attacked and dangerously wounded. But there were some Christian students who tried to defend their Jewish comrades and they were also wounded. While that student disturbance was going on, Facism found its way into Roumania unostentatiously. A Facist Union was formed in Bucharest in which a number of those patriotic students were enrolled as members. At Cernauti, the university students moved a little faster and hoisted the Swastika in the university and then barricaded themselves against the police.

At Cluj, those heroes did not spare even the dead. They invaded the Jewish cemetery and demolished the monuments on the graves. Travelling by trains became hazardous for Jews. Sixty Jewish passengers were attacked in a train in Transylvania.

A second Bartolomew was planned by Cuza at Jassy, in 1925. Every arrangement had been made to massacre the Jews at a given signal but the government discovered it in time and declared martial law. The Cuza plan was thus forestalled. The hooligans, headed by Motza, who had attacked Rosenthal, confessed to a conspiracy to assassinate a number of Jews, ^{but all} were acquitted.

A delegation of Transylvanian rabbis called on Archbishop Miron Christa to condole with him on the death of his father at Oradea Mare and they availed themselves of the opportunity to ask his Holiness to intervene in behalf of the Jews in Roumania. But the holy man did not see the reason why the Jews should complain when they were ruled by a Jewish government. His Holiness blamed

~~they~~ had
the Jews for the ruin they brought on Hungaria and for the ruin they were bringing on Roumania. His Holiness told the rabbis that the Jews were traitors, that the economic depression was brought about by Jewish merchants.

When such words come from the head of the Roumanian Church, we must not wonder when a would-be assassin attacked Jacob Rosenthal, a prominent newspaper publisher in Bucharest, and later attached to the Roumanian Legation at Washington. When that assailant was brought to justice, his fellow patriots marched through the streets of the capital in protest against the government. A similar assault was made on Aristide Blank, the Roumanian-Jewish banker, at the Economical Institute at Craiova. That was followed by disorders in the university cities, where patriotic students demanded that their Jewish classmates furnish Jewish ~~corpses~~ ^{cadavers} for dissection.

Living under such conditions, Roumanian Jews clamored to emigrate. An order was secured from the Minister of the Interior, directing the Prefects to issue passports to Jews desiring to emigrate, provided they renounce their Roumanian citizenship and agree never to return.

CHAPTER ~~THIRTY FIVE~~ XL IThe Condition of the Roumanian PeasantsTheir Relations to the Jews

The feudal system continued in Roumania down to the second half of the 19th century. A limited number of boyars -- seventy-five in Wallachia and three hundred in Moldavia -- some of them native Roumanians, others Greek Roumanians, and the ~~no~~ monasteries, owned the land, forests, and fisheries. The boyars were tax exempt, and they alone were eligible for high office, but there was also a lower order of nobility which likewise held public office and lived on the fat of the land, while the ordinary citizen who happened to occupy a minor official position could always be relied upon to make common cause with the boyars and the church. Moreover, one-fifth of the country was owned by the clergy. The rest of the population -- the peasantry, were the lifelong serfs of the landowners. Oppressed alike by tax collectors and petty public officials, they lived on the edge of starvation. As early as 1584 the feeling against the tyranny, graft and greed of the boyars was expressed by at least one writer ~~at~~ "Good for nothing, sly, and bad."

From 1864, onward sporadic efforts were made toward agrarian reform but these did relatively little to improve a chronic situation, for while the peasant might receive a parcel of land (for which the government duly reimbursed the former owner) he was, nevertheless,

obliged to pay for it, albeit by installments, and he still stood in need of wood and pasture; to acquire which he had to hire out his services. True, he did not pay taxes, but he had to put in a number of days' work for the state whenever called upon, when in need of money he had perforce to borrow. Unskilled in matters of finance he naturally fell in debt; and even if he tried to work off his obligations in service, all he could earn was one leu (nineteen cents normal value) a day.

It was against this background that Roumanian politicians were obliged to vie with the Russian revolution of October, 1905. How the uprising might turn out in the land of the Moscovite, they knew that a similar spirit was stirring in Roumania and might any day clamor for expression. In their eyes there was but one means of averting the threat; to bleed the Jews. For the moment to stake large scale measures in this direction was inexpedient; it seemed better to await the results of the uprising across the Pruth. Nevertheless it was decided there could be no harm in giving the peasants an opportunity to "let off steam".

A horde of Jew-baiters was, therefore, unleashed among the peasants. Inflammatory credos poured forth from the presses, while such newspapers as Sentinels, and Moldova De Sus, throwing restraint to the winds, urged the people to shake off the chains of slavery wherewith the Jews had shackled them. These incendiary articles were written not by fanatics or demagogues, but by cool-headed deputies, university professors and high government officials, even cabinet ministers.

It was not long before these efforts bore fruit. In 1906, riots broke out in Wallachia and Moldavia, and in the following year, the peasants of some fifty villages in the latter province launched an outright attack on the Jews, assaulting them physically and looting their houses. But the outbreak was short-lived, for soon the insurgents came to realize that they had been duped and misled. Abruptly, they abandoned the attack on the Jews and releasing the full measure of their pent up fury, hurled themselves against the Christian landowners. A spirit of revolt possessed them; and in neighboring Wallachia (where there were always few if many Jews) they developed their assaults into veritable massacre, slaughtering several of the boyars, putting their mansions to the torch, and destroying considerable other property. At last the government realized the extent of the rebellion, called out its military forces, and bathed the unfortunate peasants in blood.

The Jews were blamed for that upheaval. The fault, it was alleged, was with the Jewish lessees, who enslaved and abused the peasants. Such was the explanation given by Roumanian representatives abroad, such was the tune of editors in the government papers. But when the bitter fury of the peasants in Wallachia swept over that Jew-less part of the country, the truth was obvious, and no such explanation could be - it was in fact, offered. Unblushingly, however, the government now tried to appease the peasantry by a general expulsion of Jews from the villages.

As to how the Roumanian peasants actually felt was shown by the fact that they petitioned the authorities to permit the expelled Jews to return; their pleas were suppressed by the clergy. In the district of Jassy, a number of Jews were found living under cover of the peasants. When ^{the} peasants lost patience and rebelled, it was not against the Jews who were allegedly "sucking the blood out of their veins," but against the boyar landowners who had enslaved them, against the government which served the boyars, and against their clergy who helped to enslave them.

Strangely enough, these wretched peasants had to be instigated to rebel and the instigators, it was established, were school masters and village priests. Troops were then dispatched to restore order, but even these government servants in uniform could not be trusted. The soldiers deserted their commanding officer, who was shot down by the peasants.

Riots occurred in the district of Ilfov, Prahova, Ialomitza, Dimbovitza, Vlashca, Buzeu, Oltenitza, and Argesh, districts in which no Jews were living.

The government tried to create the impression that the peasants' revolt was due to oppression by the Jews. But the fact is that the revolt affected districts where there were either no Jews at all or very few, who were not touched. It was against the government and the boyars that the peasants had their grievances.

The revolt broke out in April, 1887, in the village of Urziceni, in the district of Ialomitz. The peasants first seized the sub-prefect, the mayor, and a few attaches of the mayory; they beat them and


bound them with ropes, and locked them up. A detachment of cavalry restored order that same day. At first it seemed to be a local affair, and there was no indication of disorders in any other localities.

By that time John C. Bratiano had fallen, and the Carp-Marghiloman government came into power on April 4, 1888. But the Urziceni revolt seems to have been only a signal, for soon the villages of Mauasia, Dridu, Filovile, Salciile, and Garlove in that district, not far from Bucharest, were in revolt. The next outbreak accompanied by great violence, took place at Ferbintsi, near Bucharest. From that place the revolt spread like wildfire, and attacks were made on the local authorities and on the landowners in more than thirty five villages.

As if driven by an electric current, the peasants came out armed with clubs, axes, and scythes, searching for the landowners and their lessees. In their fury they devastated everything belonging to either of these two groups. They did not spare even the monastery. They also attacked the barracks, and cut the telegraph wires. The arrival of a detachment of infantry dispersed them, and order was restored. Yet while order was being restored in one place, a military detachment was disarmed by the rebels in another; the captain in command and the mayor were locked up by the insurgents, who then attacked the taverns, emptied the casks of wine and liquors, and destroyed everything in sight.

Wild and ferocious as this attack was, observed the Roumanian press at the time, it was not caused by hunger or poverty.

There was another cause. The revolting peasants yelled:

"Down with Carol!" Why did they not mention Jews? The answer is, that their complaint was against the landowners, against the lessees and still more against the local authorities who abused them and subjected them to every manner of vexation. The influence of the landowners and lessees, the local official had very little or no sympathy for the peasant. The latter, on the other hand, no matter how unjustly he was dealt with, no matter to what extent he was robbed of the fruits of his labors, had no redress. On this point we shall cite Beldiman: 

"Who does not know how many wrongs, how many vexations the peasants suffer at the hands of the local authorities who, far from caring for their interests, often subject, suppress, despoil them to the lowest degree of degradation? Who does not know of the inhuman arrangements by which the peasant is robbed of his labor; of the inhuman exploitation, of his economic helplessness, of which the many landowners and the greedy, unscrupulous lessees take advantage?"

"They have gone through hard times of hunger and extreme poverty, but they did not revolt. There are other regions where they suffer a great deal, but the peasants in those localities did not revolt. The politicians either deny, or try to cover up, the real cause of the revolt. But they cannot hide the real cause, the crimes committed against the peasants, the crimes that drove them to despair and to rebellion. No one dares to tell of the frightful treatment which the peasants received without redress, so that there was nothing left for them to do but to resort to brute force."

"And even in places like Stefanesti, in Moldavia, where Jews were living, they were not molested, and their property was not touched. But the property of Christian landowners, of Christian tavern-keepers, was destroyed in the uncontrollable fury of the peasants."

In every locality first the mayory, then the houses and property of the officials, and then those of the landowner were attacked.

It has been said that this peasant revolt was instigated by enemies of the country. As a matter of fact, as we have seen above, ample evidence showed that they had sufficient cause to revolt even without instigation. But the Roumanian peasant, living as he was accustomed to live, would never have revolted.

The Roumanian peasant lives a frugal life. He spends very little on clothing. His entire dress consists of a rough hemp shirt and drawers (he rarely wears trousers), a heavy woolen girdle, and a heavy coat. As headgear he wears a felt hat or a sheepskin fur cap. On his feet he wears sandals or goes barefoot. The peasant woman wears a shirt of the same material as her husband, a jacket, a skirt, or two aprons, one in front and one in back.

Baths are a thing unknown among the Roumanian peasants. The children go about half-naked and barefoot both in summer and in winter.

The diet consists of mamaliga, a kind of mush prepared from corn flour and water, which is eaten with milk, cheese, salt, fish, garlic, onions, cabbage, and herb borsht. There is very little meat in the Roumanian peasant's diet.

Obviously then, these Roumanian peasants did not have to be instigated. It was their miserable condition and the ill-treatment which they received at the hands of the nobles and the governmental officials that caused them to revolt. The government tried to blame the revolt on the Jews, who, it charged, oppressed them. But the peasants felt differently. For they knew that they had in the

Jew, if not a protector, surely a friend who was in sympathy with them and gave them a helping hand in their need. This explains why the Jews in the principalities, unlike other countries were formerly less persecuted and oppressed. The meek and hospitable Roumanian people had no hatred against the Jews, because they felt that their own status was on a level with that of the Jews, and because the Jews would always satisfy their wants.

In 1907, the peasants revolted for the second time, on this occasion in Moldavia, and burned down the estates of 350 boyars. At first the revolting peasants attacked Jewish lessees, but soon they turned against the boyars. A mass of 1,400 peasants decided to march on the city of Jassy. The Jews in the small towns of that region, becoming alarmed, barricaded themselves in their homes and the stores, and destroyed whatever they could not carry away with them. A military force prevented them from entering Jassy, whereupon the peasants infuriated, turned to Migaileni and Burdujeni; here they caught young Jewish girls, sewed them up in sacks, and threw them into the Sereth river. Many Jewish women and girls were raped, and the shrieks of panicky children filled the air.

Anti-Semites took advantage of this situation to distribute incendiary pamphlets bearing the forged name of Carmen Sylva, and urging the peasants to pillage or destroy Jewish-owned property and to kill the Jews.

King Carol blamed these disorders on the Roumanian politicians, who, he declared, felt that they had to solve the agrarian and the Jewish questions by instigating riots.

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In Wallachia, armed reservists, while en route to Moldavia to restore order, sacked Jewish and Greek shops at Alexandria, demolished synagogues, maltreated many Jews. At Targu Frumos Jewish-owned shops and homes were looted. A number of shops owned by Jews were destroyed. A military detachment was finally called out, and fired a volley at the peasant rioters, killing several of them; the rest took to flight.

The result of the peasant revolt of 1907 was that eight Jewish families from Jassy emigrated to Canada. From the Hilfsverein der Deutschen Juden, of Berlin, in conjunction with the Jewish Colonization Association of London, a relief committee in Bucharest was formed to assist the Jewish victims of the riots. Emissaries were also sent out to the affected localities to investigate and ascertain the extent of the damage done to Jews. In Bucharest, Bratiano assured the representatives of the Jewish Colonization Association that all inhabitants in Roumania, regardless of their nationality, would be fully protected.

The poverty-stricken peasants did not attribute their sufferings to the Jews. While it was true that they had some minor grievances against Jewish lessees, these difficulties were easily and peaceably adjusted. But this was not the case in Wallachia, where no Jewish lessees, in fact no Jews at all, were living in most of the districts. Here the revolt was against the great landowners and the local authorities, and the uprising assumed great proportions; villages were destroyed and the mansions of the

nobility were demolished; even property owned by the ~~King~~ and the ~~Ministers~~ was destroyed. In Moldavia, on the other hand, where the agitation was against the "Jews" as a whole, some disturbances took place at Buhushi, as also in a few villages where an agreement was easily reached between the peasants and the Jewish lessees and order restored. At Piatra, some "patriots" from Botoshani brought out an anti-Semitic paper, but it was soon suppressed by the local police. ~~III~~

To the extent that anti-Semitic instigations were not in play, the peasant revolt of 1907 had its origin in the same old story of oppression, suffering and poverty, a story similar to that which had driven the desperate peasants to revolt in 1887. It was the story of the Roumanian soil being in the hands of a few hundred (according to some authorities, 1,207) boyars, while thousands of landless and disenfranchised peasants were forced to till that land and were cruelly oppressed and exploited by these landowners. The unfortunate and enslaved peasants were treated as revolutionaries by the government to which they looked to remedy their just grievances. ~~III~~

JEWISH COMMUNAL LIFE IN MOLDAVIA AND WALLACHIA

The Jewish communities in Moldavia were organized early in the 18th century. They enjoyed a measure of autonomy by being under the direct supervision of ^{the} Hahambasha. In addition, each community had its ^aStaroste (Provost) and its leader. Later, each Jewish community had an Epitropia, or Kehillah, administering its affairs. The officers were elected by the people and confirmed by the Voda (prince), or by the government; still later by the local authorities. The rabbi was the spiritual leader, with restrictive judicial powers in regard to the recording of births, deaths, marriages, and divorces.

Only indigenous Jews were eligible for the office of Staroste, leader, Epitrope, or in the Kehillah. The Jewish sūdits, and other foreign Jews were ineligible, although they contributed to the Gabela by paying the poultry and meat taxes. On the other hand, they were exempt from other contributions to the community.

The functions were under the jurisdiction of the Hahambasha and the Epitropia. The communal leaders and the Hahambasha regulated the community budget and fixed the taxes on meat, poultry, and other things. The communal officials also had the power to take a census of the Jewish communities in cities and villages, and would pay the district the amount of taxes fixed by the Zapciu (sub-prefect).

In Wallachia, the Jews were equally well established and organized in cities and towns. In order to give them legal status, Prince Etienne Racovitz, in 1764, issued a decree addressed to the provost at Bucharest, to the heads of the Jewish communities, and to all other Jews in Wallachia to "submit to the authority of Isaac Hahambasha,"

whose authority up to that time had been limited to Moldavia.

The tax lists of that period are quite indicative of the number of Jews living in the two principalities. For instance, we find that in Moldavia there were 4,000 Jews who paid taxes, while the total number of taxpayers was 7,000 in Moldavia, and 100,000 in Wallachia.

Jews in Moldavia were not burdened with heavy taxes. Indigenous and naturalized Jews had to pay an annual tax of twelve gulden. There was, however, a kind of tax which the Jewish community paid to the government in lieu of service in the militia.

Jewish foreign subjects were under the jurisdiction of their respective consuls. They paid no taxes, except as indicated above. All they had to do to maintain their status as Sudits was to renew their passports from time to time. A foreign subject could not be arrested or fined. Controversies between Roumanians and foreign subjects were brought before the local courts, but the Dragoman (interpreter) of the consul had to be present. Controversies between two foreign subjects were brought before their consuls (extraterritoriality). Notwithstanding the fact that most of the Moldavian Jews were Austrian subjects, there was one occasion (1857) on which the Caiman (prefect) arbitrarily imposed a tax of 1,750,000 lei on them.

The extent of Jewish communal life, the recognition given them as communities, and the legal status assigned to them, is clarified in a decree of Prince Alexander Ypsilanti, issued in 1775. According to this decree, petty Jewish controversies were to be judged by their Staroste, and those who were not satisfied with his decision could appeal to the princely treasurer.

The Staroste was the secretary to the Hahambasha, and had to collect taxes from every Jew. The first Staroste elected was Mordecai

ben Jehudah, who, for some unclarified reason, was assassinated, probably in 1715. The Staroests acted in conjunction with the local rabbis, and were appointed by the Hahambasha. Together with the latter, they constituted the civil and religious authority of the Jews. The Hahambasha had authority over civil matters subject to appeal to the Grand Camarash and the prince. In Wallachia the authority of the Hahambasha appears to have been more limited.

In 1800 and 1804, alien Jews were also under the jurisdiction of the Hahambasha. In 1801 a Jewish Staroste was appointed by the prince, who exempted him from taxes and subjected him to the jurisdiction of the Ispravnic.

Beginning with the Fanariot regime in the latter part of the 18th century, the Jews in the principality of Moldavia were placed on an equal basis with Christians and constituted, officially, a Breasla Evreiasca (Jewish Kehillah), with their own leaders, called "Staroste." Every community elected its own Staroste. Only indigenous Jews had the right to vote. In Wallachia there was at that time a Grand Staroste in Bucharest, with special privileges equal to those of Hahambasha. In the 17th and 18th centuries, many Jewish communities in Moldavia were organized and supervised by Staroste under a Chief Staroste.

At Jassy, the boyars used to hold the Gabela in the name of a corporation. Radu Rosetti was one of the stockholders, and in 1846 the Gabela was farmed out to him, jointly with P. Mavrogheni, E. Alcaz, and M. Cogalniceanu. The money from the tax was collected by Jews.

By establishing a Gabela in Bucharest, the Jews were able to raise funds for the maintenance of their ~~own~~ schools, hospitals, and other charitable institutions. This system continued until 1868, when they were compelled to close some of the institutions, discontinue some of the eleemosynary branches, and finally discontinue the Gabela itself.

The hospital and the schools were closed for lack of funds. An opposition party was formed which, by establishing a separate Gabela, caused great harm to the Jewish community.

Therefore, on May 5, 1869, the Jews of the capital petitioned the Minister of the Interior to abolish the authority vested in the Community, and place it under his own jurisdiction. In order to prevent the closing of the schools, the petitioners asked for the appointment of a mixed commission of seventeen members to administer communal affairs until the Chambers could enact a new law.

A similar petition was presented by the Jews of Jassy. The two petitions and copies of two circular letters, together with his own letter, were sent by Cogalniceanu to his colleague, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, in response to a note by the consuls at Bucharest on behalf of their foreign subjects. Cogalniceanu, in his letter, sought to justify his action against the Jews and prove that he was not anti-Jewish.

Up to 1866, the Jewish communities were recognized by the Roumanian government. While under the Organic Law some restrictions were imposed, their legal status was not affected. In 1866, however, the government changed their status by withdrawing its support, and making no provision in the annual budget for their maintenance, and by granting them a so-called autonomy, which meant that they were to be free from interference. They could hold no real property or accept legacies. The first and immediate victims of this new status were the Jewish schools, which could not be supported without government aid. The very existence of the Jewish communities was thereby endangered, and as a result the Jews tried to have the law repealed. Finally, after more than thirty years of effort, in 1897 a law was passed by

which the Jewish communities were again recognized by the government.

But until such change in the law was made, the government measure of 1866 was a real calamity to the Jews. From the intellectual and spiritual point of view they stood on a low level, and their system of education was still lower. What contributed to this condition most seriously was, as already stated, the ignorant Melammedim (Hebrew teachers) who were still generally employed. These Melammedim had no system, no method, no supervision, and no responsibility. The result of such schooling was disastrous to the children, who grew up in ignorance. When, some years previously, Jewish schools with competent teachers were established, the leaders of the Jewish communities hoped to raise the intellectual level of the younger generation, and while government aid was granted to them, they succeeded. But when government aid was withdrawn, they found themselves entirely helpless.

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CHAPTER XLIII

THE OFFICE OF HAHAMBASHA AND OTHER JEWISH COMMUNAL
FUNKTIONARIES.

In 1717 the Moldavian Prince, Gregory Alexander Ghica, created the office of Hahambasha, or chief Rabbi.

According to his decree he was authorized to collect a fee commensurate with the financial standing of the parties to a marriage or a divorce, in accordance with the (Jewish) custom, without exacting any other advantage whatsoever. It also provided:

" He will collect, by way of salary, one leu per head annually from every Jew. He shall also have the right to collect from the krpupka fifteen bani per head of Kosher animals slaughtered by the Jewish butchers.

"All the Jews owe him (the Hahambasha) respect and obedience in accordance with their laws; the Hahambasha will have jurisdiction over every matter relating to the Jewish corporation and its inhabitants. He shall also administer justice to them in the same manner as his predecessors protected and guided them. But more important cases must be brought before our Vel Camarash (chamberlain), who will decide as justice demands."

This appointment, which brought many privileges with it, covered both principalities, The residence of the Hahambasha was at Jassy; he had representatives in Bucharest and in other cities of the principalities. Soon thereafter, however, it appears that his

jurisdiction was limited to Moldavia and that the Jews of Wallachia elected a Hahambasha of their own. All the Hahambashas who held office in Moldavia were direct descendants of Rabbi Naphtali Cohen, und were known under the name of Naftalovici. In Moldavia the office was abolished in 1834, and in Wallachia, about the middle of the

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19th century.

The first to hold ~~that~~ office, and whose name appears in a hrisov of 1764, was one Bitel (Betzelel, the son of Isaiah), who served in the beginning of the 18th century. However, the early records are replete with uncertainties about this period, since a man named Rabbi Pethahiah, son of Lida, is recorded as having signed himself "Chief Rabbi of the country."

As has been stated above, the office of Hahambasha appears to have been confined, in Moldavia, to a single family, that of ~~the~~ Naftalovici. Nevertheless, upon the death of the Hahambasha, in 1790, the prince selected for this office one who offered money for the appointment, when instead of the son of a Naftalovici, his brother was appointed Hahambasha.

The Hahambasha enjoyed easier access to the court than did all others, especially since he represented not only the Jews in Moldavia but also those in Muntenia (Wallachia). He had his bureau and his official seal patterned on those of Turkey. A valuable asset to the principality, the office lent considerable prestige to the Jews. The Hahambasha enjoyed many privileges, but it is not known whether these were created ab initio, or were later devised and enlarged with each appointment. However, there is a hrisov of 1753, issued by Constantin Mihail ~~Grigori~~ Racovitzza, granting to Isaac Hahambasha and his successors, certain exemptions in the case of goods which he would bring from Poland every year; he was not to be molested at the customs office, no one was to demand that he be placed under a ban, and other exemptions and privileges were granted to him.

These privileges were reaffirmed in 1759 by John Theodor ~~Vod~~ in accordance with the form then in use, as follows, "Just as my

government has found the hrisov issued by other happy princes, out of mercy, we have preserved and affirmed them unchanged; so shall their highnesses (after me), on finding this testament of my regime, affirm it to their honor and happiness."

Thus, Michael Constantin Sutzu, in his first term of office, in May 1790; Alexander Calimach, on July 6, 1795; and Constantin Alexander Ypsilanti, on November 29, 1799, equally enlarged these privileges and gave them wider scope.

Not only the Hahambasha, but also the members of his family, were exempt from all contributions. In addition, the Hahambasha, by the terms of the several hrisovs, was entitled to certain revenues which he collected from all Jewish communities and from every Jewish family. These revenues, known as "Venitul Hahambashului" (the revenues of the Hahambasha), must have been enormous. They were fixed on a certain scale, and were paid at every bethrothal, wedding, divorce, or separation. The Hahambasha could not collect more than the fixed fee. Another source of revenue, equally important, was the sum of forty-five bani from Jewish butchers for every animal slaughtered in accordance with the Jewish ritual. This source of revenue was reaffirmed in every hrisov, so that it came to be looked upon as an almost sacred institution.

As the head of all the Jewish communities, the Hahambasha could confirm the election of rabbis, but he lacked the power to remove them from office. It was ^{on} the recommendation of the Hahambasha that the Starostes in the province were appointed by the government. But not those in Jassy, whose appointments were made through the Vel Camarash.

Like the Logofat of Justice (a minor civil official), the Hahambasha had civil and criminal jurisdiction over indigenous Jews. While no record is available of the manner in which he exercised such jurisdiction, it is probable that it was done through the local rabbis, and that occasionally he would make a tour of the province to see how justice was being administered. This much is known, however, that in certain matters in dispute the Hahambasha would adjust the points of contention. Only important matters involving considerable sums of money had to be sent by him to the Vel Camarash. Appeals from the decisions of the Hahambasha could be taken to the princely Divan, the Highest Court.

The Jewish representative at court had charge of all Jewish communal taxes due the states, and had to see to it that these taxes were delivered over to the keeper of the accounts. This representative would present to the court and to the high officials, the complaints of his coreligionists which would come up in cases of oppression brought against any person or authority.

For the collection of his revenues, the Hahambasha had a representative and a sub-prefect (deputy representative) in every important Jewish community, both appointed by him. These two supervised the collection of all revenues. But with the decline of the office of Hahambasha, the means of collection were also weakened. Eventually such collection became so inadequate that in 1823 John Sturza issued a hrisov in favor of Shae Hahambasha, directing that the moneys due from the head of every Jewish family be taken out of the tax-chest (Gabela) in every district, and that he should receive from the Epitropia (administration board) in charge of the taxes, moneys due

in accordance with the census. Sturza, fearing that even with this change many persons would evade payment, emphasized in the hrisov that "the census shall be taken without the slightest evasion or detriment to the Hahambasha, and shall be carried out by the local Shochetim or Staroste of the Jews."

In order to safeguard the community and individual members against abuse, the Hahambasha and his agents and representatives were forbidden to exceed their authority to oppress anyone under their jurisdiction. Severe punishment was meted out to those who levied on any property for the benefit of the Hahambasha, except for what was justly due him. In such cases one could even complain against the Hahambasha. Despite this safeguard, the Hahambasha, the Staroste, and the other Jewish officials, often abused their powers, and in some cases drove the Jews under their jurisdiction to the very extreme. Frequently, too, individual Jews were forced to seek relief under foreign protection. Such relief could be obtained by the Sudits only, and not by the indigenous Jews.

This and other factors eventually caused such dissension within the Jewish community that the entire Jewish communal question came up before the Council of Administration for consideration. On September 4, 1834, the office of Hahambasha was abolished by a ministerial decree, which was confirmed one week later by Mihai Sturza. This decree, in our opinion, is of sufficient importance to give it a page in this history, especially since it throws a great deal of light on the status of the Jews in Moldavia up to that time:

"Prior to the enactment of the Organic Law there was some dissension between the foreign Jewish subjects and the indigenous Jews in regard to the office of Hahambasha. Some wanted to retain

Hayim Naftalovici as Hahambasha, while others did not want him, claiming that he was not sufficiently learned in the Jewish law. Finally, in the early part of 1832, the foremost Jewish businessmen petitioned the government, ^{to abolish} ~~asking for the abolition~~ of the office of Hahambasha together with all its revenues and emoluments from which the Naftalovici family had benefited for such a long time, the said Hayim claiming descent from that family. The petition continued to the effect that after the abolition of the office those who are under foreign protection will enroll in the roster of licensed businessmen and will pay the local license dues. Based on the provisions of the Organic Law, and in the public interest and benefit, and considering also the wishes of the outstanding Jews, the government, which collects all private revenues and carries out the will of the nation, has strictly forbidden this kind of assessments, nevertheless has left to these people the power of electing the Hahambasha best suited to them. But the said Hahambasha, sustained by his partisans, addressed a petition to the government praying to be retained in his office; so much so that the greater part of the Jews wanted to bring a rabbi from Austria. But since the Council finds, first, that the abolition of the revenues is provided by the Organic Law; and second, according to its application, the controversies between Jews are referred to the civil courts, the authority of the Hahambasha is limited to religious matters of the Jewish faith, internal and other similar matters -- because it is not in the power of the Council to deal with matters concerning their law, that is to say, the election of the Hahambasha or rabbi -- an election which rests on the consent of the community;

"The complaint of the Jews having been brought to the

attention of the commission, and the above-named having also addressed a request to the provisional government; taking into consideration the reasons mentioned above, the Council is of the opinion that this dispute be submitted to your Highness. Confirming its foregoing opinion, the Council respectfully adds that since the inquiry of the commission, and in order to satisfy his desires, the said Hahambasha was recognized as being the cause of the different troubles caused to the Jewish community, and it is of the opinion that in order to bar the road to such demands as made by him, the continuance of this office be cut short, and that it be left to the will of the (Jewish) people to elect a Hahambasha or a rabbi as they may please, even if they choose to elect him (Naftalwici). This is the opinion of the Council, but the final decision is left to the good will of Your Highness."

The decision of the prince with regard to this matter, read in part as follows: "The revenues of the Hahambasha and his election are abolished. The people (Jews) will elect for themselves as spiritual guide a rabbi whose election will be submitted to the Council for confirmation by the prince."

Thus, Jews lost their right to elect their chief rabbi, not ~~to~~ mention the indignity which they suffered in being compelled to bring their controversy to the court, and to have the power of the Hahambasha so construed as to be limited to internal religious matters. At any rate, the emolument of the rabbinate, which up to that time had been levied on the Jewish community by the Hahambasha with the approval of the prince, was now abolished, and together with it the dignity and office of the Hahambasha.

Besides the office of Hahambasha, there was another high office, that of ^{the} Staroste. This office was a local one, appointed for every city and district. In Jassy there were three Starostes; in other cities there were two; in still others there was only one. The number of starostes always depended on the importance of the locality and the size of the Jewish community.

The Staroste was elected once a year (on Passover) and by the most influential and outstanding members of the Jewish community. Up to the time of the abolition of the office of Hahambasha (1834), the Hahambasha recommended the candidate for the office of Staroste, and his election was confirmed by the prince. In Jassy his election was accomplished through the Vel Camarash. The leaders of the community, representing the Hahambasha, were laymen, and as such had free entry to the mayory and the Ispravnic of the district, or to any other authority, whenever the rights of the Jewish community and of its members were involved. This influence was great, since the act of their confirmation designated them as "Guardians of the Rights of the Jews."

Such act of confirmation or appointment read as follows:

"We, in our dominion, address ourselves to all the Jews in the city of . . ., informing you that pursuant to your former custom I have made one of your members, namely . . ., Staroste, to whom we have shown our mercy and we have granted him the right to be exempt from all payment and contribution from the time he enters upon his office to safeguard your rights. We therefore order you that you first recognize him as Staroste, leader among you, and honor him as is due him. And in every advice which he will give you by order of the Ispravnic of the district, you shall obey in full. For whoever will not submit to such orders shall be punished in accordance with your law, every one according to his guilt. Every rule governing the

Staroste, he as well as you shall obey. It shall not be otherwise. We so order."

By virtue of this official appointment in conjunction with the Hahambasha at Jassy and with his consent in the province, the Staroste would decide the amount of the levies to be made in the collection of taxes according to the Jewish census. This budget would be made up in conjunction with the communal leaders, and later with the Kehillah. The administration of the property of the community and of every institution thereof was under the jurisdiction of the Starostes, who saw to it that the local fiscal tax, and every other obligation of the community to the state, were paid. We thus find, at Targu Frumos, the Jewish Staroste, with the sanction of Prince Gregory Ghica, levying a meat tax on the Jews. By decree of that prince, the Staroste had the right to collect the taxes.

With the abolition of the office of Hahambasha, the office of Staroste also was abolished. The Starostes and all the emoluments of the office were succeeded by the Epitropia or Kehillahs elected and officially recognized by the authorities. It is of interest that while Sudits were not allowed to have a separate rabbi, Hahambasha or butchers, nevertheless, in 1849, in Wallachia, after the office of hahambasha and that of Staroste had been officially abolished in Moldavia, Russian and Austrian Jewish subjects were permitted to form their own administration, elect their own separate Staroste, and have a share in the Gabela. At that time the number of such Sudits had increased considerably in both principalities, not only through immigration but also by the indigenous Jews becoming Sudits.

There were two grades of Starostes: one, ~~was~~ called the Grand Staroste (in Hebrew, rosh medinah), who served as head of all the Jewish communities in the land. The other was the local Staroste, who was the head of a single Jewish community. If a town was divided into more than one branch, or Kehillah, each had its own Staroste. The office of Grand Staroste was not hereditary and was not controlled by one family, like that of the Hahambasha.

Besides the Hahambasha and the Staroste, there was also a rabbi in every city, as soon as the community came to have a sufficient number of Jews to maintain him. The rabbi was elected by the members of the community who met for this purpose, and every case by the Staroste, the leaders and the Gabbaim of the various synagogues, if there was more than one in any community. The rabbis were elected for life, but it often happened that they resigned by reason of a better offer or because of internal strife. The election of each rabbi had to be confirmed by the Hahambasha, and without such confirmation he could not occupy the pulpit. The confirmation of his election which he received from the Hahambasha first had to go through the Parcalab (mayory) and the Ispravnic (prefect).

The rabbi had jurisdiction in his community not only over religious but also over civil questions. Whenever there were disputes among Jews, he would decide them and impose the penalties, which were executed by the Staroste or by the community, which could always count on the local authorities for assistance. In matters of importance, appeals could be taken to the Vel Camarash or to the princely Divan. Smaller matters were, in all probability, appealed to the Hahambasha, but there was no appeal permitted in religious

matters, in which the rabbi's decision was final. In cases of engagements, marriages and divorces, the rabbis had exclusive jurisdiction, and they collected the fees due to the Hahambasha.

The procedure before the rabbis was in accordance with the Talmudic law. Nevertheless, in money matters the rabbi would very rarely sit alone in judgment. In ~~the~~ large communities he would have Dyanim (assistant judges) sitting with him, and in important cases, before rendering judgment, he would consult with them regarding the interpretation and application of the law. In localities where no Dayanim were available, the rabbi would invite the Shochet, or some scholar, to sit with him. In smaller towns they had only a Dayan, who fulfilled the functions of the rabbi.

The Shochetim, or ritual slaughterers of animals and fowl, were under the supervision of the local rabbi. Their number depended on the size of the Jewish community. They were considered part of the clergy, but their sole function was that of slaughtering. No Shochet could function without the rabbi's sanction. For this purpose every Shochet received a sort of diploma, called "Haskamah" or "Hattarah", but even if he possessed such a certificate he still could not exercise his duties if the rabbi forbade him to do so. Through the Shochet the community was able to check on the number of Kosher cattle consumed, and later, when the tax on lambs was established, also on the number of lambs. While the Shochetim were under the supervision of the rabbi, they were dependent also on the Staroste and on the head of the Jewish community. Both rabbis and Shochetim were exempt from every governmental tax.

A very important institution in a community was the Hebrah Kaddisha, (Chevre Kedoshe), or Jewish burial society (literally,

"holy society"), which was always separated from the community. It was a religious organization with its own by-laws. It was administered by a Gabbai (president or treasurer) and a board of assessors. The members paid certain dues to the society, and from these funds the cemeteries under the society's charge were maintained. It would also collect a tax from the family of the deceased.

Every Jewish community also had its synagogue, known by various names, such as Beth Hamidrash (Beth Hamedresh), Klaus, Shul, or Beth Tefillah. The larger communities had more than one, depending on their size and the number of members. Most communities, however, had just plain houses of worship called "Beth Hamidrash" (literally, "house of study"). Every synagogue and Beth Hamidrash were under the direction of one or two Gabbaim elected by the membership of the individual synagogue or Beth Hamidrash. A large part of the maintenance of these synagogues was derived from the Gabela and from the "Aliyahs" (donations by those called up for the reading of the law).

Even in the early days a synagogue could be established anywhere. But in order to build or alter one, a permit had to be obtained from the prince. Before the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century, the synagogue could also be constructed of stone, instead of just the usual wood, but later it was made impossible.

The Christian clergy, and especially the monks, looked askance at the erection of a synagogue or other Jewish house of worship. Whenever such a question came up, they interposed strenuous objections, under the pretext that the proposed Jewish house of worship was not far enough away from a church. When such cases came up at Bacau in 1836, and at Roman in 1837, the authorities made a distinc-

tion between a synagogue and a house of worship or Beth Hamidrash. Only the synagogue had to be situated at a distance of 150 stanjini from the church; those already erected under a previous hrisov were not to be disturbed. The alteration of a synagogue which stood in violation of the prescribed distance was not permitted, and the Jews were usually directed to have it removed to a different site. They could sell the old building, or have it repaired, and it might be used as a dwelling or for any other purpose than worship.

But even that distance was not definitely fixed until 1844, when it was decided that the number of synagogues in a given community was to be in proportion to the Jewish population. All excess synagogues were to be abolished, under the pretext that they antagonized the Christian church.

CHAPTER ~~XLVI~~ XLIVRABBIS, DAYANIM AND SAVANTS

Jewish history in Roumania records a long roster of eminent rabbis, scholars, and worthies.

The Jewish cemeteries of Roumania are dotted with the graves of rabbis and other Jewish celebrities well known in Jewish history to a greater or a lesser degree. Time and the elements have rendered many of the inscriptions upon them totally illegible, but others contain a wealth of interesting names, dates, and facts.

The earliest inscription bears the date of 1743⁴; this is on the monument of Bezalel, the son of Joseph Haham. The name coincides with that of Bezalel, the Hahambasha, son of the renowned scholar, Naphtali Hakohen of Constantinople.

Mention is made in a certain document shortly thereafter of Isaac, the son of Bezalel, who was Hahambasha of the two principalities (1268). The inscription reads: "Here rests a great rabbi, a luminary and distinguished dean of the Beth Din, Bezalel, son of Isaac Haham. Died on the 25th of Heshvan, 504 (1749)."

According to this inscription, there was a rabbi named Pethahiah Lida, before Bezalel, who functioned jointly with the first Hahambasha, Bezalel.

An inscription dated 1800, on the monument of a woman named Frieda, designates her as the wife of the Hahambasha. She

must have been the wife of Rabbi Naphtali Hakohen.

Another inscription, dated 1823, shows that Rabbi Mordecai had a son named Abner, well-versed in Talmud and "the son of a Zaddik." The inscription on another tombstone, which appears to date from the year 1832, but is doubtful, mentions Judah, the son of Aaron, "Moreh Tzedek" in Jassy, originally from Hotin, Basarabia.

One dating from 1848 describes the deceased as "chief rabbi." The name of this chief rabbi appears on the tombstone as Abraham Hakohen. This Abraham was the Zborever Rabbi, who succeeded Shaie Hahambasha. The title "Rab Hamedinah" (rabbi or chief rabbi of the land) seems to have been preserved as a mere title after 1834. Thus we find that Rabbi Aaron Moses Haubes, who was born in Lemberg, and came to Jassy in 1841, is described on his monument as "Rab Hamedinah" a title which would thus appear to have been in common use as a designation for all rabbis.

According to an inscription on a stone in a Cemetery at Jassy, there was a rabbi named Menahem Mendel Halvey in the 18th century. At that time, although the city had quite a large Jewish population, it had only one old synagogue.

Another inscription is that of a rabbi named Nathan Shapiro who held the pulpit at Botoshani in the middle of the 18th century. Botoshani at that time was already known as a great center of Talmudic scholars, and Shapiro was undoubtedly a great figure in that community.

There was a rabbi named Benjamin Bius, son of the Hayim

Shoshan, mentioned on a monument dated 1831 in the Jewish cemetery at Jassy.

An inscription, dated 1845, is that of a nephew of Israel Baruch, son of Moses, designated as rabbi of Botoshani.

Among the rabbis from other localities whose remains rest in the Jassy cemetery, we find one mentioned on an inscription dated 1848 as "Meshullam Zalman, son of the illustrious and great rabbi, Moses Ephraim of Kalisch." He appears to have served as dean of the Talmudic school of Bucharest.

The oldest known scholar in Jassy was Solomon ben Aravi (born in Yemen, Arabia) who came to the city in 1589 and held the pulpit for forty years. A profound Cabalist, he wrote several works on the subject and also practised medicine. He died in Jerusalem at the age of eighty.

Although there may have been many rabbis in Moldavia both before and after Solomon ben Aravi, there is no record as to the extent of their existence and of their labors. In the course of more than two centuries only one rabbi has thus far been recorded. The first rabbi after him whom we find in Moldavia was one who served during the Fanariot regime at the beginning of the 19th century; this was Bezalel Hakohen, son of Naphtali Hakohen of Cores, ^{already mentioned,} he was succeeded by his son, Isaac Hakohen, who is often mentioned in official documents in Moldavia and Wallachia. On March 2, 1809, he was succeeded by Naphtali Hakohen, who functioned as Hahambasha only in Moldavia. The inscription on his tombstone reads as follows:

"Here rests in glory the great luminary, descendant of

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a family of generations of scholars. He guided the community of Israel with piety in his heart, and did good for the people; ~~they~~ enlightened Mar Jeshua, son of Rabbi Isaac Hakohan, rabbi of Jassy and the province. He died Monday, on the 8th of Iyan, in the year 5600 (1840)."

These two Hahambashas were not men of erudition. Although they were descendants of a family of scholars, they did not live up to the reputation of their ancestors, much less to the rabbinical standard. There were already a number of intellectual Polish Jews living in Moldavia at that time; especially at Jassy, who could not bear to have an ignoramus occupy the pulpit. They rebelled, and for this and other reasons they did not rest until the office of Hahambasha was abolished by the government.

The rabbi who served after him was Abraham Joshua Heshel, known as the "Opter Rav" - this was during the early part of the 19th century. Still another was Rabbi Joseph David Cohen, who attained to considerable renown as the "Zvolever Rav." He came to Jassy about the year 1800, was a great Cabalist, conducted a Yeshiva there, and was an eloquent preacher, ^{as well as the} ~~and also~~ author of several religious books. Heshel was born in 1755, and died in 1825. A great scholar and well-versed in Cabala, he was the author of several books. He became extremely popular as a Hasidic Rebbe, and many legends about the miracles which he was reputed to have performed through divine power were circulated by his

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Hasidic followers. As was to be expected, while he gained a large following, he won also many adversaries.

Rabbi Nathan Nata Hannover, formerly of Vienna, also held the pulpit at Jassy for sometime, until he received a call to Focshani. Thereafter he went to Palestine.

Rabbi Gedaliah, son of Rabbi Israel of Leovo, held the pulpit in Hussi for forty-three years. He was succeeded by Rabbi Israel Dayan, then came Rabbi Levi Izhoc (Isaac) of Roman, a pious man, a profound scholar, inclined toward modernism. He was succeeded by his son Ephraim Joseph, who died in Palestine.

A later rabbi in Jassy was Aaron Moses Taubes, son of Rabbi Jacob Taubes of Lemberg, who came thither from Sniatin in 1837 and held the pulpit up to the year 1842. He was known as the "Sniatiner Rav," and was recognized as a Talmudic scholar. Taubes died at Jassy on June 19, 1842. Among his successors in the Jassy pulpit were Rabbi Samuel (Schmelke) Taubes, the son of Aaron Moses Taubes, and Rabbi Isaiah (Shaye) Shor.

Shor, who died in 1879, held the Jassy pulpit for more than twenty-seven years. He was noted as an author and as a Hasid. Both during his lifetime and more so after his death he was held in reverence by thousands of Jews in and outside of Jassy, a reverence which persists to the present day. The anniversary of his death is still religiously observed by the Jews of Jassy; each year a candle is lighted to his memory, and this observance is also partly in commemoration of a riot which broke out at his funeral, and in the course of which many Jews were wounded.

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In 1870 Rabbi Anton Levy of Bucharest conducted the High Holy Day services, and for the first time Roumanian Jews listened to sermons delivered in Roumanian. Levy first served as rabbi in Bucharest, when he was called to Temple Beth Jacob at Jassy. He was the first to raise the question of the Oath More Judaico, which was later fought so successfully by Rabbis Taubes and Niemirower, with the latter finally succeeding in having it abolished. Levy was born in Alsace, and after the loss of Alsace to France in the Franco-Prussian War of 1870 to 1871, he returned to France, as a loyal Frenchman, and was succeeded in his pulpit by ~~Rabbi Taubes~~. Rabbi Feivel (Favel) Taubes, author of the book Forty Years of Service held the pulpit at Jassy for thirty-two years; he died in 1890. There was also Rabbi Mendel ^aBorasch, first Mithnagged (opponent) who fought bitterly against Hasidism.

Mention should be made also of Rabbi Berl Rabinovich, called the "Berlader Rav," and Hayim Rabinovich, son of Rabbi Coppel, the Dayan.

Among the other outstanding rabbis of the land the following deserve brief mention: Rabbi D.S. Taubes of Berlad (died in June, 1936), who was decorated for merit several times, professor at the Berlad Lyceum and chaplain of the garrison. Rabbi Spelman, of Bucharest, a contemporary of Eliezer Casvan; Rabbi Israel Berger, of Buzeu; Rabbi Joseph Bensenior, of the Spanish Jewish congregation in Bucharest, who was decorated in August, 1881; Rabbi Hayim Balaban, of Jassy (1866); and Hillel Kahana, director of the Jewish school at Botoshani, who died in 1901, at the age of eighty.

There is no record available of Dayanim (rabbinical judges) in the principalities, especially of those at Jassy, except what can be gathered from inscriptions on monuments. The oldest such inscription is that of Dayan Samuel Dov, son of Jacob Koppel, a distinguished Talmudist, of the year 1824. Another noted Dayan, a great scholar and a very charitable man, according to an inscription dating from 1833, was Jehiel, the son of Kalonymus Kalman. A third, dated 1839, mentions the son of Dayan Elimelech Horn ben Jehudah Leb Wolf of Jassy.

An inscription dated 1841 mentions Dayan Hayim Joseph, son of Jehudah Leb. A distinguished scholar named Baruch ben Joseph, who died at an advanced age, appears to have functioned as Dayan together with the above mentioned Samuel Dov. An inscription dated 1842 speaks of Hanoch (Enoch) Heinich, son of Isaac.

An inscription of recent date, July 28, 1866 mentions a noted Dayan, Menahem Mendel, son of Rabbi Eliezer Lippe of Galatz.

Besides the rabbis and Dayanim, there were also great and learned Shochetim, possessed of vast religious knowledge. The rabbis, Dayanim, Shochetim and other learned Jews at that time constituted what may be termed a sort of "Jewish nobility." We do not know the exact number of the Shochetim who served at Jassy, but it must have been rather large. The great majority of them left for Palestine as soon as they became advanced in age.

Most of the ecclesiastical group were of foreign origin. The number of indigenous Jewish scholars was very limited, for the simple reason that Roumania does not seem to have been such fertile

soil for the production of great scholars. Not until the end of the 18th century and at the beginning of the 19th, with the influx of a number of Polish Jewish scholars, did Jewish learning take forward strides among the indigenous Roumanian Jews. An era of culture, in the modern sense, began in 1821, and the result was the formation of a stratum of learned indigenous Jews alongside that of the foreign Jews domiciled in the land.

On the monuments of early scholars in Roumania there are inscriptions which give the title of "Rav" to some. One such, dated 1678, on the grave of Aryeh, son of Samuel, bears the title "Harav Hagadol" (conveying the idea that he was well versed in rabbinical law). Many of the monuments bear the title "Hatorani" (which is equivalent to mithassek batorah, i.e. "learned in the law"), or "Harabbenu" ("learned in the Talmud"), or "Harav" ("learned in rabbinics").

The oldest inscription dealing with a learned man is dated 1674, on a tombstone sunk nearly halfway into the ground, which calls the savant buried underneath it Isaac, and designates him by the title of "Hehaber" (colleague).

There are other inscriptions, dating from the 18th century, on the monuments of women who were the daughters of rabbis. One dated October 1, 1718, bears the name of Esther, daughter of the rabbinic scholar Zevi. Another, dated September, 1719, is that of the wife of a rabbi, daughter of a rabbinic scholar. A third, dated September 19, 1844, bears the name of Rosa, daughter of the

rabbinic scholar Jehudah Leb. One inscription, from the year 1759 is that of a prominent man, Eliezer, the son of the rabbinic scholar Mosheh Zevi. It is evident from these several inscriptions that Jassy was not a Sahara as far as Jewish learning was concerned, and that the Jewish community there numbered some learned men in its ranks in former years.

The second half of the 18th century appears to have produced a more encouraging number of Jewish savants in Roumania. From this time on we find more clearly and more directly the names of learned scholars who flourished there, each designated by titles indicating that he was a person of erudition. Two inscriptions dating from this period indicate the resting places of outstanding persons to whom was given the title of "Haaluf Hatorani" (foremost scholar) a title bestowed upon Parnasim, or heads of congregations, and upon communal leaders. One is dated February 8, 1751, and bears the name of Zevi, son of Menahem. The second is dated July 3, 1757, and the name it bears is that of Menahem Mendel, son of the enlightened Rabbi Aryeh, of Sniatin.

Among the worthies in Roumanian Israel, there existed in both Moldavia and Wallachia, Jewish governors, similar to those Rosh Medinah ("head of the land") in Poland. Such a person had jurisdiction and ^{was} ~~were~~ very conspicuous over all Jewish matters in the land. Officially he was known as the Grand Staroste (provost), of whom mention has been made in an earlier charter. The title of Hatorani was inscribed on the monuments only of the later Starostes; the earliest

such officials had no such title on their monuments. Of the learned Starostes there may be mentioned Joseph, son of Issachar Beer, who died on February 14, 1758 (in these instances, as well as in others in the course of this discussion, as already briefly noted, we have given the corresponding dates in general chronology, instead of the dated according to the Hebrew reckoning), and Zevi, son of Simeon, who died on September 28, 1769.

The first of these two inscriptions reads: "Here rests the exalted outstanding leader, Mar Joseph, son of Issachar Beer, may the name of the righteous be blessed, died 6th of Adar, 518 (February 14, 1758)."

The other reads: "Here rests the esteemed, honorable man, the notable, foremost leader, Mar Zevi, son of Mar Simeon, died on the Sabbath, the 26th of Elul, 529 (September 28, 1769)."

Other inscriptions bearing the title of "Hamuflag, Hatorani (the distinguished, the learned) are found on the monuments of the following: "David ben Jonah, just and pious man, died August 3, 1765"; and "Israel Zeev ben Jonah, died September 8, 1769."

Another inscription from that epoch is that of the "distinguished Rab Zevi ben Mosheh, died January 10, 1769."

Inscriptions on monuments dating between 1770 and 1790 bear the title of "Hatorani" (the learned), and only one of these has the title of "Harav Hagaon" ("the excellent rabbi" or "Rabbi and Gaon"). Chronologically they are as follows: "Mordecai ben Samuel, died 13th of Kislev, 1770; an honorable man in his days"; "Jehudah Leb ben Zevi, died 15th of Kislev, 536 (December 6, 1775)"; "Idel ben Joseph, died October 21, 1779, one

of the foremost outstanding Jews in Jassy"; "Zevi Hirsch ben Eliezer, originally from Buciaci (Buczacz), Galicia, died September 20, 1781"; Jehudah Leb ben Gershon, died February 27, 1784."

An inscription of 1775 bears the name of Simon, "Alluf Hatorani" (chief learned), and one from the year 1786 designates the deceased as "the chief learned, Moishe, son of Jehiel"; of the latter, since the inscription uses the word "Hakadosh," we gather that he must have been assassinated. ~~An inscription used the word "Hakadosh," we gather that he must have been assassinated.~~ An inscription of 1784 speaks of the "Nagid" (wealthy) Abraham, son of Eliezer Lieber, Hatorani, Hamuflag (the learned, the distinguished scholar). One dated 1779 gives the deceased, Jehiel Michael, son of Aaron Halevy, the title of "Hatorani."

The only ones with the title of "Hagaon Harav" were a preacher in Jassy, "Aziel ben Naphtali Katz, died July 29, 1784. A great leader, estimable and prominent in Jassy"; "Isaac ben Jehudah Leib, died March 16, 1785"; and "Ben Zion ben Moishe, died March 28, 1789".

From 1790 to 1800 some of the inscriptions have the title of "Harabenu" (the Talmudist), while others have that of "Hatorani" (the learned). These are: "Isaac ben Zevi, died June 1, 1791, a pious and God-fearing man, a distinguished scholar in the Talmud"; "Abraham ben Jacob, died December 5, 1792, one of the outstanding and leading men"; "Abraham ben Jehudah, died December 27, 1795, at an advanced age"; "Asher, son of the leader Aziel, a man of great knowledge in the Talmud, died December 11, 1797"; "Moishe ben Zechariah Hakohen, distinguished scholar in the Talmud, author of the Ohel Mosheh, died January 12, 1799."

Among those versed in Torah, Talmud and Cabala who passed away in the early part of the 19th century we find: "Isaac son of Rabbi Abraham of Wiznitz (Bucovina), a distinguished scholar, learned in the Talmud, died 1800"; "Abraham, son of Issachar, learned, distinguished in the Talmud, died 1826"; "Jehudah Elchanan, son of Simkah, learned, distinguished in the Holy Law, died in 1831, at an advanced age."

An inscription of 1847 bears the name of Israel Mann, son of Jehudah, "young in years, who, from his early youth, bore the yoke of learning, and is mourned by his colleagues." Another tombstone, bearing the date 1849, tells of "Elyachanan, son of Israel, originally from Buciaci (Buczacz), Galicia, who in life was spoken of as Elhanan of Stefanesti, or the Stefanester." The inscription gives him the appellations of "Anif Hahochmah" (branch of wisdom) and "Shorech Hamadda" (root of knowledge).

Beginning with the 19th century, the number of monuments showing inscriptions of learned men increased. Some are called "Talmudists," while others bear the title of "Rab Hagaon," and still others the usual title of "Harorani." Those who, in the first decade of the 19th century, are inscribed as distinguished scholars in Talmud are "Gabriel ben Eliezer, died February 5, 1805, famous for his understanding"; "Issachar Dov ben Aryeh, a just, pious and charitable man, died June 13, 1809"; Menahem Mendel ben Mosheh, distinguished scholar in Talmud and in Torah, originally from Buciaci (Buczacz), Galicia, died February 1, 1809.

In the second decade of the 19th century, a number of inscriptions indicate great savants, distinguished for their knowledge. They are described as : "Hakadoch (the martyr) Jonas ben Ezekiel, died April 20, 1811" (from the word "hakadosh" applied to him it is possible to deduce that he died a martyr, murdered "al Kiddush hashem," for the sanctification of the name (of God); however, this is not necessarily the case, since it was customary to give the title Hakadosh to any person who was killed); "Abraham, son of Menahem Abigdor, sent from Jerulalem on a sacred mission. Died May 22, 1811, at Jassy"; "Israel ben Samuel, a charitable and generous man of fame. Died November 29, 1811"; "Abraham, son of Naphtali Cohen, died January 13, 1813" (in this inscription both the father and the son have the title of "Harav Hamoreh Hagadol"); "Joseph, son of Meir Hakohen, distinguished Talmudic scholar, originally of Bucharest, died January 31, 1815"; "Joseph Baal Maggiah (corrector of ^{the} Scrolls of the Law), distinguished Talmudic scholar, originally from Buciaci, Galicia. Died October 8, 1818"; "Abraham, son of the rabbinic scholar Jehudah Leb. Died February 20, 1812"; "David ben Menahem Mendel, originally from Zvolov. Died August 30, 1812"; "Jehiel Michael, son of the distinguished Talmudic scholar, Isaiah Dov. Died July 19, 1813"; "Asher ben Jehudah Zevi, of Tishminitz (Tysmienice). Died November, 1818."

In the third decade of the 19th century, between 1821 and 1830, we find a great number of learned men, most of them recognized Talmudic scholars. Their names are all the more important

since the inscriptions on their monuments show that they were distinguished foreign savants. An inscription on a monument bearing the date of May 18, 1822, indicates a "distinguished Talmudic scholar, Abraham, son of Meir Halevy, descendant of a noble family, Horowitz of Sysmienice."

Other distinguished Talmudists of that decade in Jassy, according to inscriptions on their monuments, were: "Shemarye ben Jehudah Leb, a pious, God-fearing man, died September 11, 1824"; "Menahem Monush, son of Kalonymus Calman, died November 29, 1824"; "Joseph David, son of the rabbinic scholar Samuel Zeinvil, rabbinic savant, profound scholar, died December, 1824"; "Naphtali Herz ben Israel, originally from Noshkin, died February 16, 1827"; "Samuel Schmelke, son of Isaac Hakohen, distinguished scholar, died March 20, 1828"; "Ichiel (Jehiel) Mechel, son of the rabbinic scholar Zevi Hirsch, died December 21, 1828"; "Mosheh ben Aryeh Leb Hakohen, died October 5, 1828"; "Aaron, son of the rabbinic scholar Isaac Eizik, a great rabbinic scholar, died January 30, 1829"; "Nathan Aryeh, great cantor, son of a distinguished scholar, Simpson (Samson), died November 5, 1829"; "Mosheh Hayim ben Litman, profound scholar, died August 27, 1829"; "Mechel Michel, son of the rabbinic scholar, Joseph Halevy, nephew of the rabbinic scholar Zevi of Zhitomir, author of Or Lamaor, died April 11, 1829"; "David ben Jehudah Leb Hakohen, died April 8, 1829"; "Aryeh Leb, son of the rabbinic scholar, the preacher Joseph, died May 18, 1824"; "Solomon ben Aziel, descendant of the Great Staroste, of Bucharest, Died March 3, 1827"; "Simeon ben

Israel, a scholar of renown, died September, 1827"; "Dov Beer, son of the distinguished Talmudic scholar, Mosheh, originally from Monstrici, died in 1829"; "Aryeh Leb, son of the leader and philanthropic man and Talmudic scholar Issachar Dov. Died December 11, 1829"; "Joseph Leb Israel, the learned, died June 21, 1826"; "Jehudah Leb, son of the martyr Isaac, of Adverne, a meteor in learning. Died in 1820."

Among the inscriptions on the monuments of distinguished Talmudists in the fourth decade of the 19th century (from 1830 to 1840), at Jassy, we find: "Benjamin Zeev Wolf ben Isaac, descendant of a family cultured for generations; the nephew of the Rabbi Gaon, the author of the Maaseh Rokeah. Died October 4, 1830"; "Jehudah Leb, known as Lebish Kalischer. Died in 1830"; "Nathan Natta ben Eliezer, originally of Jaroslav. Died February, 1830"; "Jacob, son of Rabbi Abi Haezri, of Leibovitza, assassinated in Jassy, in 1830"; "Nissim ben Solomon, died March 6, 1831"; "Aryeh Leb ben Samuel Halevi, Died June 6, 1830"; "Meir ben Joseph. Died September 7, 1832"; "Aryeh Leb ben Aaron, Died August 19, 1833"; "Dov Berish, son of Rabbi Zevi Hirsch, of Buciaci. Died September 9, 1835"; "Rabbi Hayim, a great Talmudist, son of the famous rabbinical scholar, Nathan Natta of the holy city of Zfas"; "Isaac ben Jehudah Leb Hakohen, a descendant of generations of scholars. Died June 23, 1831"; "Mosheh, son of Rabbi Menachem Mendel Halevy, of Hassi. Died in 1831"; "Nathan Hecht, son of the rabbinical Gaon, Samuel Selig, of Jaroslav, Galicia. Died July 5, 1838."; "Nathaniel, son of the Rabbinical Gaon, Joseph, of Vaslui, Died May 25, 1838."

HASIDISM IN ROUMANIA

The founder of Hasidism, Israel Baal Shem, was born in the year 1700 at Ukop, a village in Moldavia bordering on the southern part of Bucovina, and died at Midzieboz, Poland, in 1761. But Hasidism did not take root in Galicia until some twenty years after his death, and soon thereafter it spread into Poland, Moldavia, Bessarabia, and other regions contiguous to these lands.

It was only natural that the Moldavian Jews should have eagerly swallowed the Hasidic idea, for at that time they were intellectually weak. Learning was unknown to them, and their Judaism was more formal than spiritual. They practised their religion in accordance with their meager conception of it. It consisted of three cardinal observances: Sabbath, circumcision, and diet (observance of the dietary laws). The synagogue was a house of prayer to which they went to worship, but in which they did not pray.

Such a low intellectual state was fertile soil for sowing the seeds of Hasidism, but it could not be infected with the frenzied and corrupt idolatory of the Frankist movement which started about the middle of the 18th century. Its founder was Joseph Jacob Leibovici (i.e. the son of Leb), later known as Jacob (Leibowitz) Frank. At the age of fourteen he came

to Bucharest, and later settled with his father in Cernauti. His activities, begun in the Wallachian capital, soon spread to other cities. Later he invaded Moldavia, whence his followers' practices were carried over into Poland. Frank resorted to mysticism, attacked the Talmud, and won a large following within a short time.

Another visionary of that stirring period was Rabbi Simon Lubitcher, a mystic with strange ideas. Because of the reputed sins of his generation, he starved himself to the very point of death, tortured his body, inflicted pain upon himself, and often wallowed naked in the snow. Still another, Rabbi Joseph of Klozk, consecrated himself to the task of accelerating the coming of the redeemer by practising similar physical rigors.

It must be borne in mind that the appearance and activities of all visionaries caused the circulation of strange stories among the people and kindled their imagination to a degree. Not only did they literally believe the miracles which they were told, but many of them said that they had actually seen them with their own eyes. Talking devils, demons which invaded homes and carried off new-born babies, and Satan creating havoc in some places, were matters of common daily conversation among the ordinary people.

It was at the height of this exciting period that Besht appeared, and he is credited with being the founder of what later became known as "Hasidism".

At its inception, Hasidism had a lofty purpose. Its

theories were ideal, deserving of emulation. It was acceptable to the most pious Jews, and merited the name of "Hasidim" ("The Pious") which was bestowed upon its devotees. For it did not seek to impugn or abolish anything Mosaic, nor to change the religious beliefs or customs of the Jews. It was the Jewish soul, that starved soul which craved for something spiritual, sublime, ideal, that Hasidism sought to reach. The Jews had only one picture, the gloomy picture of life which the rabbis had painted for them. This picture Hasidism endeavored to brighten, to change, to remove. It sought to implant in the hearts of the Jews a new conception of life, a kind of religious enthusiasm which would raise them above the terrestrial and bring them closer to their Creator.

Hasidism sought to uplift the soul, not the body. Its object was to clarify the mind, dispel the dark clouds under which the saddening life and lot of the Jews had forced them to live for centuries. Instead of mourning for a lost past, the individual Jew was to look joyfully for a promising future. Instead of torturing the body in the service of God, he was to take care of that body, and worship the Lord in joy, in gladness. Hasidism taught man an optimism which inspired him with the desire, the urge, to live. To worship God, it averred, is to live in a godly manner; clean in body, pure in mind, carefree, trusting in God and free of malice, since God is everywhere and in everything. It sought to make men understand that they were the elect, the chosen, of all His creatures, that since God is the Lord of all the world, and the Jews live on His earth, as His servants, due respect should be shown to such servants and he who treats the

Jews with disrespect is beneath them.

Hasidism was born about twenty years after the death of Israel Besht, and the book Shibhe Besht (The Praises of Besht) appeared in 1814, some fifty or more years after his death. The founder of Hasidism was not Besht himself, but two of his disciples, Joseph Hakohen, of Polno, and Dob Beer, better known as the Meseritzer (Mezhritzer) Maggid. Whether we accept the legends told of Besht or reject them, the fact remains that, with the exception of the Hasidic idea and the ideal defined above -- if these were actually his -- he left nothing to posterity. If it is true that he had a different view of life from that which the rabbis, his contemporaries, preached, he expressed this view only orally, and left nothing in writing. Hasidism was a product of human cravings and human credulity, the result of long suffering, of persecution, as well as of superstition, of hopes unfulfilled and of wishes anticipated. Its rapid decay was brought about by its sponsors, the Zaddikum.

Solomon Schechter, the noted scholar who found in Hasidism an ideal of godliness and sublime piety, could not overcome his conviction, but had to "confess" that there were times when he either loved or hated the Hasidim. Despite all his efforts to place the sect upon a pedestal, and his claims that its early purposes were lofty, its doctrines fairly pure, and its aspirations ideal and sublime, he admitted that as an active force for good, Hasidism was short-lived. Hasidism, he says, was in its inception, a revolt of the Jews in Eastern Europe against the excessive casuistry of the contemporary rabbis. It was a

manifestation of the yearning of the human heart, the ceaseless craving for direct communion with God. But after the death of its founder it was rapidly corrupted and perverted to destructiveness, and was destroyed by its idolatry of the Zaddik. "An unfortunate perversion," he calls it, "entirely a record of decay."

Hasidism, in a sense, had its birthplace in Moldavia. And it did not come about as an inspiration, as its followers claim but as we have stated above was a product, the offspring, of long suffering, aggravated by the empty, arid, and dreary life which Jews had led spiritually, and by the oppression to which they were subjected and by which they were surrounded. They lived in a passionate hope, in the hope of a better day, the day of redemption, when all their sufferings would end, when Israel would again be a strong and respected nation among the other nations of the world.

To a certain extent Hasidism soothed the pain of the unhealed wounds and the scars on the Jewish body politic and body social, which the Chmielnicki revolution had left in Moldavia. In both Moldavia and Bessarabia, it found a fertile soil, where it took deep root, in the 18th century. There, where the Jewish masses stood on a lower intellectual level than their coreligionists in Poland, it spread like wildfire. In vain did the Maskilim (intellectual Jewish leaders) in the two principalities endeavor to enlighten their coreligionists of the danger which the new sect, with its Zaddikim, represented. The masses were infected, and no power on earth could dissuade them from embracing the Hasidic credo and cherishing absolute faith in the Zaddik. For the Baal Shem in Moldavia, with his mysticism, had won over the hungry masses, who

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followed him blindly, as those in Turkey had followed Sabbatai Zebi and those in Wallachia had gone after Jacob Frank.

It was not so much the doctrine which these pretended visionaries preached as the strange stories the legends circulated by their followers that won over the masses. Due to the mental state of the people, and to the astonishing credulity prevailing among them, the soil was prepared for the crop of Zaddikim which eventually sprang up, each with his own followers. The people needed some one to whom they could tell their tribulations and sorrows, some one who could help them in distress and in sickness. The Zaddik filled these wants.

At that time the Jews in Roumania were strongly under the influence of Polish rabbis.

Hasidism inspired the Jewish masses in Roumania with great hopes. It spoke a language the people understood and showed them a way out of their drab and dark life. It brought light to them. It widened their horizon. The Zaddik, God's representative on earth, was there to deliver the message from above and give his blessing. The fantastic stories of the miracles he performed supplemented his blessings, and thus the people found happiness. They felt that a change had come into their lives. At the Zaddik's table, and on the way home, they chanted his songs. On meeting a friend, the Hasid was thrilled by the miracles he heard him reciting about the Zaddik. This was generally supplemented by cheerful anecdotes told about him.

There was also the Hasidic teaching about the

omnipotence of God, and that alone in the world, with God's presence being everywhere, he had nothing to fear. Did he have to fear the Roumanian official when God was with him? Did he have to be afraid of persecution or physical injury, when God walked at his right side, holding him up and shielding him with His Divine presence? Did he have to fear poverty, loss of possessions, robbery, pillage, deprivation of worldly goods, when God was the owner and bestower of the highest human goods and when he himself possessed happiness, a possession of far higher value than material goods?

That Hasidism made a strong impression on Jewish life in Roumania cannot be denied. But it must also be admitted that it soon lost ground by reason of the insensate and enervating worship of the Zaddikim which it created and because of the Hasidim corruption.

Whatever the sect was, it certainly did not produce great men. An outstanding personage was Abraham Joshua Heshel, of Poland, known as the "Apter (Opter) Rav". In Moldavia, however, the Hasidim boasted of such great Zaddikim as David Zwolever, the Kalisker Rebbe, Isaac (Yitzhak) Mosheh, of Jassy, the Friedman dynasty, and a few others. But no matter how highly they were regarded by their followers, they hold no place in the world of erudition, nor have they left any lasting monuments.

Hasidism left an offspring which was known as Habad, (founded by Shneur Zalman), based on intelligence and culture, and formed from the initial letters of the three Hebrew words "Hochmah, Bina, Daath" (Wisdom, Understanding, and Knowledge), which

represented the ideals of its members. The Habad Hasidim formed a separate, rational sect, which differed from the rest of the Hasidim both in its liturgy and in its worthwhile emphasis on learning. But even among the Habad devotees, no monuments remained such as were left by the Dubner Maggid, who was a greatly renowned preacher, and by the Ruzhiner Rebbe, who later functioned in Sadagora.

Another Jasidic Rebbe, known as Der Kalever, became famous in Roumania through his followers' dissemination of the alleged miracles he performed. There was also Rebbe Behr Friedman, of Leovo (known often as Ber of Leovo), an intellectual who, after a certain period of time, refused to play the Hasidic Rebbe any longer. There were also the Friedmanns of Bohushi, Stefanesti, and of Sadagora, Behr's brothers, of Adjud, Suceava, Bucecea, Sulitza, Pashcani, Cernauti, and of the Wiznitzer-Teitel Paneth branch. In Transylvania there were the Wertheim and Rabinovici Rebbes, and the Twersker Rebbe in Bessarabia.

The case of Rebbe Behr Friedmann of Leovo was rather tragic. He was an enlightened man, possessed a fine knowledge of French and German, in addition to his Talmudic erudition, and the life of the Zaddik was obnoxious to him; at least it became so later. When he confided his thoughts to his wife, "Rebbetzin Shendele^u she was horrified, and urged him to forget it. But it leaked out, and his Gabbaim rebelled. The Rebbe was confronted by a threefold opposition: his wife, the Gabbaim, who derived a good revenue through him, the Inn keepers who did a rushing

business, and the Hasidim, who worshipped him and would not let him go. But Behr was firm, in spite of the considerable friction developed in his home. Encouraged by his own wife, the Gabbaim became bold and threatened him with violence. It is said that he was even beaten by those who insisted that he must continue the Zaddik business.

In his despair he managed to make his way to Hussi, a distance of fifteen miles, where he had a friend to whom he confided his plight. This friend was a German pharmacist named Bendorf, with whom he used to spend many pleasant hours when the latter came to visit him. Since the Rebbe declared that he feared for his life, Bendorf offered him his home as a refuge. His few intellectual Jewish friends were immediately notified, and the outcome was that the Rebbe was smuggled out in the dead of night and taken to the home of his brother, the Rebbe of Sadagora. Needless to say, when the ^{Gabbaim} ~~Hasidim~~ discovered his flight, they became enraged and spread the rumor that he wanted to embrace Christianity, and that, being afraid of them, he had run away.

Eventually, with the progress which the Jews made in Roumania, the influence of the Zaddikim weakened somewhat. Nevertheless, they managed to retain a following in Bucovina, Galicia, Hungary, Bessarabia, and Moldavia, sufficient to enable them to continue their prestige as Zaddikim.

That Hasidism paid good dividends to its leaders may be judged from the fact that one short visit paid by Baal Shem to Jassy yielded him the tidy sum of 12,000 ducats, not to mention

the harvest garnered by his suite of Gabbaim, whose position enabled them to mulct the gullible masses. Mention should be made also of the palaces and mansions which the Zaddikim occupied, and of the grand style in which they lived.

During the brief stay in Jassy of the Rudjener Zaddik, in 1834, Jews came by the thousand from all over Roumania, Bessarabia, Turkey, Poland, and Hungary to consult him and receive his blessing. The throng of pilgrims was so great, and the streets were so jammed, that the authorities had to place a military detachment around the house of his host, the Jewish banker Michael Daniel, to maintain order and keep the streets free for traffic.

Generally, the Zaddik would select a small town for his residence, and to it his adherents would flock by the thousands bringing life into that dead community. The businessman would benefit; hotels would spring up, and would always be packed with pilgrims. The local authorities protected the Rebbes and his followers against their opponents. For the purpose of enhancing trade, fantastic stories were invented, and these attracted new pilgrims. The number of the Zaddikim thus grew in proportion, and their believers in still greater numbers.

The strangest part of the Hasidic movement is that notwithstanding the Jewish prohibition of idol worship, the Hasidim accepted the Rebbe not only as an idol, but also as the direct representative of God on earth. Those who benefited from the movement fully understood mass psychology, and developed the Hasidic idea to an almost irrefutable point, to such an extent

that even the non-Jewish landowner became interested in the Zaddik of the town located on his land. In controversies between the Zaddik and the Jewish community of the town, he sided with the Zaddik.

The Hasidic Rebbes contributed to the penury of the spiritual rabbi to a great extent. Since the people had faith in their Zaddik, the miracle worker, in superstitious credence, they often neglected their spiritual leader. The former would promise and prophesy great things, while the latter would only admonish. In the Rebbe they found faith and solace, while in the rabbi they found nothing in prospect. And since the paths of the two leaders -- Zaddik and religious teacher -- crossed one another; since the spiritual rabbi saw usurpation of faith in the Hasidic Rebbe, while the latter felt that it was a question of his very existence, he invariably sought to undermine his "antagonist," the congregational rabbi. The following story may give an idea as to how this was often done: -

A Galician Hasidic Rebbe predicted that a great conflagration would break out in Falticeni if that Jewish community did not dismiss its rabbi and in his stead engage the one he recommended. Blindly believing in this prophecy, the Jews of that city went to their rabbi en masse and deposed him.

Moldavia never produced any Zaddikim; it imported them from Galicia, or the Moldavian Hasidim would go on a pilgrimage to them. Such were Rebbe Levi Isaac Berdichever (Levi Isaac of Berdichev), head of the Hasidic sect, and the great Maggid Rebbe Hayim Czernowitzer; these two met at Jassy one day and the

occasion was quite an event for the Hasidim. There were also a Rebbe Yoski, who died in 1807, and the Loscier Rebbe, who went to Palestine; these two were the main figures in the Hasidic movement in Moldavia.

But the outstanding Hasidic Zaddik was Rebbe Abraham Joshua Heshel, known as the "Opter Rav", (previously mentioned), who lived in Jassy at the beginning of the 19th century. A great leader, profoundly erudite in Halachah (religious law), he was held in high esteem both by the Hasidim and by their opponents, the Mithnagdim. The scholar Zalman Margulies, of Brody, once honored him with a visit, and when the "Opter Rav" visited Lemberg, he was received with great honors. Heshel was born in Poland in 1765, and died in Miedzibozh, Podolia, in 1825. He left two works, the Oheb Yisrael (Lover of Israel); he requested that this title should be the only inscription on his tombstone, and the Torath Emeth (Law of Truth), published posthumously in 1863. Also his Sifethe Zaddikim (The Lips of the Righteous), containing his spiritual and mystical words of wisdom, was published after his death.

A believer in metempsychosis (the transmigration of the soul) Abraham Joshua Heshel would often tell his disciples how many times and in what manner he had lived in the course of history. The extent to which he believed in it may be gleaned from the following: He was a Kohen (of priestly descent), and when, in the service of the Day of Atonement, he reached the

passage in the prayer-book which reads: "Thus he used to say" (the High Priest), he would say -- "Thus I used to say". Many legends, some of them fantastic and wild, have been told^{of} him. One of them found its way into print among the Hasidic legends; preposterous as this legend may sound, it runs as follows: One day a quarrel broke out between Rebbe Heshel's wife and the wife of the Grand Staroste while they were doing their marketing for the Sabbath. On reaching home the Rebbetzin Heshel told her venerable husband of the disrespect which the Grand Staroste's wife had shown her and of the insults which she had hurled at her husband, the Opter Rav. Rebbe Heshel, infuriated, forthwith dispatched his Gabbai (secretary) to the Grand Staroste, ordering him to divorce his wife at once. But the Staroste treated the order lightly, whereupon the Rebbe repeated it, giving as his ground that she was unchaste. Now declaring that he was ready to prove it, he called a meeting of the Jewish elders at the synagogue, and ordered the sexton to summon one of the dead from the Jewish cemetery as a witness. The witness came, and testified to the truth of the accusation.

It demonstrates three things: (1) - the great influence of the Rebbe over his people; (2) - the keenness of his moral conception; and (3) - the fact that, according to the belief of the Rebbe, even the dead were interested in his moral standard.

The superstitious and gullible state of the people as superinduced by Hasidism may be illustrated further by the following two incidents:

During a certain year one Feivish der Poilisher, as he

was called, came from Poland to Piatra, where he made a strong impression on the Jewish population by his tricks in palm-reading and by distorting the meaning of certain words in the Holy Scriptures. He was at once taken as a miracle worker, and the people began to fear him. He did so well that he soon found it necessary to engage an assistant. One day he announced that through his prayers and the use of certain holy names he would bring on the Messiah. His house was packed with people, and outside was a great mass of men and women, eager to see the miracle performed. Feivish went into a trance, while his assistant was handing out pieces of parchment on which some hieroglyphics were written. Suddenly a fire broke out in the house. Panic stricken the people ran for their lives, in the belief that this was part of the miracle. The house burned down to its very foundation, and the two mystics were burned to death.

On the eve of the Passover holiday, in April, 1862, the roof of the bath house at Botoshani caved in, and many of the bathers were severely injured. Four of them were buried under the debris, and were later found dead. The bodies were immediately prepared for burial. The Jewish scholar Hillel Kahana protested against such haste, pleading that such bodies which had been alive only an hour previously ought to be kept at least forty-eight hours, as there was some possibility in such cases that they might come to life again. In vain did he adduce proof from the Talmud which obligates one to have the body examined even three days after death in order to discover some possible spark of life.

He even proved his point by citing two cases in which the deceased were brought back to life after they had been pronounced dead. One of these lived twenty-five years and the other became the father of five children. But the people were deaf to Hillel's pleading. However, the great mentality of the Opter Rav and his lofty conception of man stand out prominently against these childish legends.

Another noted Jassy Zaddik was Rebbe Joseph Zwolever, author of the book Dareche Emunah (The Ways of Faith), who was a disciple of the Rebbe of Lublin. The Hasidic synagogue bearing his name is still in existence in Jassy. The tutor of the Zwolever Rav was Samuel Wachniker (died in 1845), who also functioned at Jassy. The more rational branch of the Jasidic movement, the Habad, also gained a considerable following in Jassy under the leadership of Rebbe Isaac Mosheh.

Thus the Hasidic movement succeeded in dispelling spiritual and physical depression. It owed its rapid growth chiefly to the low intellectual level of the people in those regions, especially in Moldavia. Moreover, according to Martin Buber, the legend of Besht is not the story of the individual, but that of a vocation; it does not tell of fate, but of its destiny. It is a story which ends in the beginning, and has a new beginning in the end. The story of Hasidism in Roumania ended with Besht, after he left Roumania and settled in Galicia. And it had a beginning in the strong competition of the Zaddikim, which brought it to a condition of wasting away to internal death. If

Hasidism is not yet dead, it is at least beyond recovery.

Moreover, as Simon Dubnow has pointed out, Hasidism created a schism in Jewish life which was internal, a question of faith, and not of religion. The question of religion was never touched upon in the entire course of the movement.

CHAPTER ~~FIFTY-ONE~~ XLVI

THE JEWISH THEATRE IN ROUMANIA

The Jewish theatre is a product of Roumania. It was born in the city of Jassy in 1876-77; there its cradle stood; in Bucharest it developed; in New York City it matured. Its father was the famous playwright, actor and impressario, Abraham Goldfaden, and its mother was Mrs. Isaac Librescu, a plain Jewish housewife, mother of the eminent New York physician, scholar, and author, Professor Benzien Liber. Mrs. Librescu conceived the idea of the Jewish theatre, and suggested to Goldfaden that he write plays instead of couplets.

Down to the latter part of the 19th century, world Jewry knew of no Jewish theatre, and there was no such thing as a Jewish stage. The only amusement the average Jew had was the social gathering, or the limited hilarity which he allowed himself on Purim or on Simhath Torah (The Festival of the Rejoicing of the Law, on the ninth and last day of Sukkoth, the Feast of Tabernacles). There was also some rejoicing at the birth of a male child, and at his circumcision a week later. Bar Mitzvahs, engagements, and weddings were the only social events, and even these were of a religious character.

During the festival of Esther (Purim), amateur actors would enact a Purim sketch in which Haman was the villain, Mordecai the hero, and Esther, the favorite of King Ahasuerus, played the

heroine. The performance was masked and included both singing and dancing. In order to make the venture profitable, the actors or mummers would visit only the homes of the well-to-do.

The working classes would find diversion in the cabarets, where they were entertained by Jewish singers -- only men. These so-called singers came from the choirs of the synagogues where, in the absence of better talent, their untrained voices filled the bill. They did not read music. One of these singers was A. Grodner, a cigarmaker by trade. He was a talented young man with a strong baritone voice, who sang in the choir of a synagogue on the Sabbath and holidays. On the other evenings of the week, after his daily work, he sang in the cabarets.

Goldfaden had completed the rabbinical course of studies in Russia. Upon his graduation, instead of entering the rabbinate, he took to the commercial field, operating a millinery business in Odessa, but with no success. In 1875 he left for Lemberg (Lwow), Poland, where he met Linetsky, the famous author; together they published a Yiddish paper, Isrolik, which proved a failure. He then tried to publish another paper, Dos Volksblatt, in Czernowitz, but here, too, he could find no readers among the Bucovinan Jews, who read only German. It was then that he was invited to come to Jassy by his friend Isaac Librescu, an intellectual Roumanian Jew, director of the Neuschoz school. On his arrival in the old Moldavian capital, Goldfaden stayed at the Librescu home.

In his student days Goldfaden had written several Jewish verses which became popular and were sung in the cabarets and at

entertainments. When Grodner, who later became a good actor, heard that Goldfaden, whose name as a composer of popular couplets had preceded him, was in Jassy, he called on him. Grodner, at that time had already won a considerable reputation as a cabaret singer; he and Socher Goldstein were giving "concerts" in summer gardens, where most of the pieces they sang were Goldfaden's. When Grodner told his friend of the great success he had attained, Goldfaden suggested that he could write new and more striking verses and divide the profits. But Grodner declined, saying that Goldfaden ought to feel amply compensated by the popularity which he would gain through Grodner's singing of his verses.

Goldfaden's friends then arranged a concert at which he was invited to recite a selection of his poems in a summer garden at Jassy, and for which he was to receive 100 lei; How that concert turned out, Goldfaden tells:

"The garden was packed. I appeared in evening dress, with white gloves, and high silk hat. I bowed deeply and expected the usual greeting. But with the exception of a few of my friends, the audience remained unmoved -- cold as an iceberg."

He opened by reciting one of his best compositions, "Dos Pintele Yid," which had created a sensation in Odessa. But here the audience gave no sign of life. His next piece was "Der Malach," a humorous piece which had the audience in Russia roaring. But this, too, fell flat, and was followed by attempts to whistle him off the stage.

Now his friend, Grodner, embarrassed and irritated,

stepped in front of the footlights, and reproached the audience for their insults to the talented young man. At the sight of their favorite singer, they broke into a storm of handclapping: He then explained to Goldfaden the reason for their indifferent and unexpected response; they had expected the usual southeast~~ern~~ European Jewish type to appear, with a long beard, thick bushy earlocks, long caftan, white stockings drawn up to the knees, breeches, and slippers, dancing a Hasidic jig.

Instantly, Grodner dashed behind the scenery, and came out dressed in that fashion. As soon as he began to sing one of Goldfaden's songs, the house broke out into prolonged applause.

That evening was the turning point in Goldfaden's career, and of the Jewish stage. It provided the bands which tied Goldfaden and Grodner into a union in which each became indispensable to the other. Grodner needed Goldfaden to write new popular songs for him, and Goldfaden saw in Grodner an instrument whereby he could raise the cabaret to a higher level.

Their two friends, Mr. and Mrs. Librescu, were deeply affected by that concert. When they returned home that evening, Mrs. Librescu, succeeded in convincing Goldfaden that his future lay in writing legitimate plays. Husband and wife liked the idea, and promised to work with Goldfaden in the staging of his plays.

It was a gigantic and daring undertaking to present, on virgin soil, new and untested ideas to an unsophisticated public, a stage totally alien to them. To Goldfaden the plan sounded

fantastic. He not only lacked the means for such an undertaking, but where was he going to find performers? They did not exist, and obtaining them was tantamount to creating matter out of mist.

As a beginning, Goldfaden proposed to write a dialogue sketch to be accompanied by singing, in which Grodner and Socher Goldstein would appear. He undertook to train them in acquiring poise and a manner of declamation and acting, unlike that of the cabaret. It is not known how many performances were given at Jassy, but evidently the sketch was a success, because later it ^{was} played in other cities. Encouraged by the success of his first effort, Goldfaden wrote a play which involved a larger cast, and began to recruit his talent from the choirs of the synagogues. He had to train these helpless and uneducated youth in both acting and singing. None of them could read music, and he had to approach them through their Hazanim (cantors), an element not friendly to such an undertaking. Even when he found one who was in sympathy with his work, the congregation and the rabbi, who saw nothing but blasphemy in the stage, were against him. Such was the case in Bucharest in 1876, when it was discovered that Cantor Israel Kupper was rehearsing a choir under Goldfaden's direction.

The Roumanian Jewish elite, the so-called intellectuals, who felt that their patriotism would be endangered by the Jewish stage, were also opposed to it.

The Russo-Turkish War broke out in 1877, in the midst of Goldfaden's initial labors with the Jewish stage. Roumania began to mobilize her army not through a call for enlistments, but

by means of a man-hunt initiated by the police in every locality. Young men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty-five were hunted like wild beasts and, when caught, forced into military service. The people were panicky and many youths went into hiding. The two first actors of the Roumanian Jewish stage were hidden away in a garret.

The war and the life in that garret gave Goldfaden the inspiration to write his Die Rekruten, a play in three acts, in which he gave a comic picture of the recruit in his military uniform. Fortunately, the panic was brief; people soon began to move about freely, and Goldfaden was able to produce his play. After that he produced scores of plays, mostly musical comedies.

Goldfaden and his troupe played in various cities in Moldavia, but the box office did not produce the expected results, until they went to Galatz. There a group of friends gathered at the station to greet the impresario and his troupe. To their great surprise and embarrassment, they found only Goldfaden alighting from the train. He informed the committee that being short of funds, he had to leave the members of his troupe behind. His friends contributed the necessary money for transportation and they were sent for at once. Since Galatz had no playhouse, a restaurant was converted into a theatre with an improvised stage, and here the troupe played.

At that time the theatrical business was not a very flourishing one. It was a pioneering venture on the part of the impresario, the stage and the actors, as well as the Jewish public which patronized them. To increase Goldfaden's tribulations,

Grodner left him in the lurch; fortunately, however, his place was taken by another good singer, Moshe Teich.

The Russo-Turkish war proved to be a godsend to Goldfaden's enterprise. When the Russian army marched through Roumania, a horde of commercial entrepreneurs, laden with gold, followed in its wake. In the era of prosperity which followed the Jewish stage fared very well. When the hall where Goldfaden played became inadequate, he hired a larger one. Moishe Finkel then joined the troupe, and he was followed by Weintraub, a choir singer in a synagogue, who aspired to become a Shochet. Two members of Goldfaden's cast, Israel Rosenberg and Spivakowsky, formed a troupe of their own, and since Goldfaden had not copyrighted any of his plays, they were able to produce his pieces with success. They were soon joined by a talented young man named Jacob Adler, who was to become famous in later years.

Upon his arrival in Roumania, Goldfaden had found his coreligionists intellectually low, immersed in their superstitious belief in the Zaddik. In order to rouse them from their lethargy and bring a little sunshine into their lives, to alienate them from the cabaret and make them see into what state of ignorance and superstition they had sunk, through the medium of the stage, he was able to ~~place~~^{place} a mirror for them in which their tragic lives were reflected.

But here, too, he saw a serious obstacle. His audiences were too young to understand heavy stage presentations. Serious plays, dramas of moment, were beyond their intelligence. In order to make the stage attractive and arouse their interest, he had to speak to them in their own language. He had to show these simple-minded, untutored and unlettered children, something which would

appeal to them -- amuse them. They were accustomed to nothing beyond the Purim Shpiel. It would have been unwise to jump from that childish amusement to the drama. The verses which he had written and which were sung in the cabarets depicted the dark side of their lives to some extent, but the effect was lost, through the manner in which they were conveyed. The singer and his mimic absorbed the attention of the audience, and the verses themselves made no impression.

Goldfaden understood this reaction and chose another way of approach by writing his early plays as comedies. Yet even in those comedies he injected some pathos now and then in order to elicit a tear from his audience. He thus gradually trained his public to become interested in the stage. Only after he felt that they were strong enough to understand them did he begin to produce more serious plays, historic in character but Jewish through and through. That they were received with enthusiasm and produced the desired effect, is evidenced by the fact that even after a lapse of over half a century, those plays are as popular today as they were when they were first produced.

Eventually, the problem of training actors was solved. Talented young men made their appearance, and these Goldfaden succeeded in fashioning into well-trained actors, many of whom became famous. Among them were Mogulescu, Lazar Zukerman, Socher Goldstein, Silberman, Dinman, Finkel, Weinblatt, and Kessler. The cast at that time consisted of men only, as no woman could be recruited for the stage. Whether it was due to the ill repute in which the stage was held, or to the shyness of Jewish girls to appear in public, the Jewish stage at that time was an "Eveless Eden". But

it did not take long for Goldfaden to discover a female cabaret singer at Constantinople, and he brought her to Bucharest. Her name was Rose Friedman, the first Jewish actress in Roumania. Later she became known as Sofie Karp, mother of Rosa Karp. Not long after Goldfaden found a beautiful Jewish girl, with a good voice, at Galatz, who was eager to go on the stage, but her mother was against it. Seeing the girl's obstinacy, the mother said she might do as she pleased after she got married, but not as long as she was under her roof. When Goldfaden learned that this was the sole obstacle, he induced Socher Goldstein to marry her. After the marriage, however, Goldstein took her to Jassy, where he organized a troupe of his own.

In those days the Jewish public consisted chiefly of the lower strata. The elite, as previously stated, continued to remain aloof from the theatre. Furthermore, the shifting, migratory actors of those days had not yet risen to the dignity of stable, professional men, ~~who~~ respected a contract. Goldfaden had to overcome all these adverse conditions.

At that time only four performances were given during the week, on Sunday, Tuesday, Thursday, and Saturday. They did not play on Friday nights so as not to provoke the ire of the pious.

In 1879, Goldfaden, his secretary Librescu, and his troupe, went to Odessa, where they gave a number of performances. Gradually, the scarcity of actors and actresses was overcome. Spivakowsky, Rosenberg, Adler and a host of others had already won reputations, and eventually new playwrights, such as Horowitz, Joseph Lateiner, and Gordon came to the fore.

By 1880 the repertoire of the Jewish stage no longer consisted exclusively of Jewish plays. Translations were made of such German and French plays as Uriel Acosta, La Juiiva, and others, and were produced on the Jewish stage.

In 1883 Russia forbade the Jewish theatre, and the Jewish actors crossed the Pruth river into Roumania, where they made no headway. In 1886 Mogulescu and Frankel came to the United States; another troupe went to Germany, where the German Jews looked askance at them. However, the Eastern European Jewish ("Ostjudische"), as the German Jews called them) actors met with fair success.

The Russian prohibition against the Jewish theatre broke Goldfaden in spirit. As a result of that ukase he not only lost his patrons, but his actors as well -- the children whom he had trained. But he never abandoned the Jewish theatre; he continued training new troupes, developing new talent, and kept on for fully a quarter of a century even though he met with little success.

Lateiner and Horowitz wrote plays which were more sober in character than those of Goldfaden. Such talented actors and actresses as Adler, Kessler, Karp and Lipzin, who became famous on the Jewish stage, appeared in their plays. After Grodner had left Goldfaden and formed his own troupe, consisting of Finkel, Moische Teich, Shoengold, and others, he went to Michailoiev, where he played for sometime. When he learned that his pieces were not censored, he used the name of one of Goldfaden's successful plays. When Goldfaden learned about it, he denounced him to the Russian

authorities, who forced Grodner to leave the country. His stranded troupe was sent back to Odessa at the expense of the Jewish community.

A small troupe headed by Librescu and Berger went to Germany, where they played "Die Rekruten" in the capital. But disturbances interrupted the play. In Konigsberg they had better luck. Here they played Shulamith. A second attempt to play in Berlin was successful, this time continuing for six weeks.

In 1882 a troupe of actors was brought to the United States from London, consisting of M. and L. Golubok, Mrs. Kranzfeld, Mr. and Mrs. Spector, Simon and Boris Tomashefsky, the cigar-maker, who later became a star on the Jewish stage. The first performance was to be given in New York, but a committee consisting of German-American Jews, who felt that the production of Jewish plays in the United States would be injurious to the Americanization of immigrants, appealed to the manager and no performance was given. After this venture failed, another enterprising spirit rented the Old Bowery Theatre, where he met with success. But the proceeds of this enterprise did not enable the actors to live in comfort, as they gave only two performances a week. They could earn more in the cigar factory.

A third company of actors landed in New York in 1883. It consisted of Silberman, Hymowitz, Barodkin, and their wives, Karp, Wachtel, and Lateiner. New plays depicting Jewish life in America were produced. The actors improved gradually. The Jewish public which patronized them, consisting exclusively of

immigrants showed signs of grasping the underlying moral of the plays. But the German-American Jews could not be attracted; they preferred the German plays which were given at Pool's, Terrace Garden, and Atlantic Garden.

Mogulescu and Finkel landed in New York City in 1886, and organized a troupe consisting of Kessler, Feinman, Weinblatt, Blank, the Abramowitzes (husband and wife) the Finkels, and Sophie Weinblatt. At first, they played at Terrace Garden, but later acquired the Roumanian Opera House on the Bowery, where the play Tisza-Eszler was produced successfully.

New York now possessed two Jewish playhouses, neither of which was prosperous. Nor did the Jewish theatre in London do any better. While in New York they had no difficulty in finding a playhouse, in London it was not easy, and they had to play in a clubhouse. But this very clubhouse served as a stepping stone for more than one brilliant career. The great American actress Anna Held made her debut there in vaudeville. Fanny Epstein, Dina Feinman, and Max Rosenthal, likewise began their notable careers in the London Club.

Incidentally, in its pioneer days the Jewish stage was backed by ordinary tradesmen; in Jassy and Bucharest it was a cabaret keeper, in London a butcher, in New York a saloon keeper, and in Chicago, a tailor.

The highest pay that an actor, such as Jacob Adler, received in London at that time was three pounds, ten shillings a week. There, too, the Jewish elite, like their German

coreligionists in New York, remained aloof. Nor did the British chief rabbi, Dr. Herman Adler, favor the Jewish stage in England.

In 1887 Goldfaden returned to New York, where he was given a cold reception. He soon organized a troupe, but met with no success. He then went into the publishing business, issuing a Jewish weekly, Die Illustrierte Zeitung, which failed. He left the United States, but later returned to New York.

By 1890 New York City had three Jewish playhouses, the Oriental, the Roumanian Opera House, and Pool's, later known as the Windsor. A fourth, the Thalia, came into existence later. The Jewish novelist, Shomer, came to the United States, and wrote plays for the Jewish stage. Professor Hurwitz Halevy, John Paley, M. Seifert, David Apotheker, Schenkman, Jacob Ter, Weissman, Sharkensky, M. Rosenfeld, Leon Kobrin, Rudolph Marx, Sholem Aleichem, Osip Dymov, D. Pinsky, and Perez Hirschbein also wrote plays for the Jewish stage. Jewish actors and actresses from every part of the globe, too ~~enormous~~ ^{numerous} to mention, organized various troupes, and played in the centers of denser Jewish population in the United States, such as New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland and St. Louis. As was to be expected, the competition among them was keen. Not only did they vie with one another in the production of plays, but they often kidnapped author and play, and frequently secured the house in which a competitor was playing.

Goldfaden died in New York City, in 1908, after great discouragement. No one can now say whether, had he lived longer,

he would have developed into a Shakespeare, a George Bernard Shaw, or a Friedrich Schiller. But the fact remains that he was the creator of the Jewish stage which brought forth Jewish playwrights and produced excellent actors and actresses who won fame in the United States and abroad. Even if that stage has not yet reached the top of the theatrical world, Goldfaden's creations greatly influenced Jewish life.

While it is true that Goldfaden was the father of the Jewish theatre, and that it had its cradle in Jassy, it must be acknowledged that, with the exception of Shulamith and Bar Kochia, his creations were not of the highest order. It was Jacob Gordin who raised its tone; his plays had the character and scope of the drama. True, Goldfaden began on virgin soil; his actors were untrained, and his public unprepared, whereas Gordin found a corps of trained, disciplined actors, and a public sufficiently acclimatized to be able to absorb heavier, more serious dramas. Yet the fact remains that Gordin came as the reformer of the stage. He produced dramas which raised the dignity of the Jewish stage and of its performers.

CHAPTER ~~THIRTY EIGHT~~ XLVII

DISCORD

INTERNAL COMMUNAL CONFLICTS.

The internal conflicts in Jewish communal life in Roumania were the result of social differences rooted in the historical development of various groups which formed the Jewry of the country. A line of demarcation already existed between the Sephardic (Spanish) and the Ashkenazi (Russian and Polish) Jews. The former claimed priority as settlers of Roumania. But as long as the question of indigenous and immigre Jews was not raised, each of these two groups pursued its traditional Jewish life in its own community, without crossing the other's path. The Spanish Jews followed their ritual and customs, while the Ashkenazim tenaciously adhered to their code, (the Shulhan Aruch), and their own customs (Minhagim).

Although now and then some question would come up in which the two groups took opposing views, they usually managed to adjust such differences without involvement in factional controversies. The separation of the two groups, however, created a schism in the Jewish life of Roumania. The Spanish Jews, now designated as indigenous Jews, had their own Hahambasha, while the Ashkenazim immigres, or subjects of foreign Powers, had a rabbi of their own. The former was recognized by the government, but not the latter, so he lacked authority. This difference

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finally developed so intensely that the entire matter of the Jewish community was submitted to the Roumanian Council of Administration, with the result that a radical change was made in the rabbinate.

The disruption in the ranks of Roumanian Jewry caused by Shaie Hahambasha was of an especially grievous nature. That spiritual head had succeeded in ingratiating himself with Prince Sandu Sturza by rendering him, and probably to the boyars also, valuable services. Ordinarily this would have been a valuable asset to the Jewish community, but it worked out in exactly the opposite way. Some of the Jewish leaders, having had some disagreements with him, caused him to declare war against them. Shaie felt himself a favorite of the Prince and the governmental authorities, and this gave him courage to defy his Jewish coworkers and work against their interests. He thus forced them to pay certain taxes from which they were exempt. He even forced Sudits to pay certain taxes from which the law exempted them. All this he did for his own personal interest, but to the disadvantage of the Jewish community. He thus increased his own revenues, which had been diminished with the loss of Bessarabia to Russia.

The Jewish Sudits, because of the taxes imposed, were bitterly against him. However, out of regard for the dignity of the Jewish community, they tacitly submitted. Yet an open break finally came, and it was all the more violent because their resentment had been suppressed for such a long time. In their

anger they forgot the interests of the Jewish community and made the Hahambasha, the man they found unworthy of being the spiritual leader of the Jews in Moldavia, their target. Their action was swift and violent; they gave the Hahambasha no quarter, and he was finally removed from office. It was a mortal blow to the Jewish community. For the institution of the Hahambasha, which had existed in Moldavia for a long time, and had made its mark in official circles, was not eliminated. The chief responsibility for this debacle fell upon the head of the community who was totally unable to foresee the result of the strife, and consequently brought disaster to the community.

Whatever doubt there may still exist as regards the guilt of that Hahambasha and the extent of his reckless course whereby he betrayed those who relied on him will be sufficiently removed by the following document, published in the official bulletin in early 1835.

"Due to the fact that the Jew, Iancu Nadler, an Austrian subject, who by a judisical decree is indebted to Shaie Hahambasha in a sum of money, has declared himself to be without means, the exalted Prince was good enough to order that the above named be sent out (expelled) as one who is a detriment to the public. Hence, the publication of this decision is for the benefit of the community."

This procedure, brought against a defaulted debtor, was not only an act of vindictiveness but also of treachery. What

brought about this extreme penalty on the part of the Prince compels us to consider briefly the era in which it took place.

Prince Mihai Sturza sought to replenish his empty treasury. In order to attain his aims, he issued a decree on September 10, 1834, with regard to the so-called "vagabonds" which drained the pockets of the Jews. Whereas the Jewish communities and the influential Jews risked all they had to remove this extreme danger it was the former Hahambasha who first caused this barbarous measure to be put into force.

Sturza appointed a commission to take a census of the Jews in Moldavia and expel those who furnished no security. Deeply in debt, he planned to get rid of his creditors in some way. The Jews, sensing danger, appealed to the Jewish banker, Michael Daniel, who obtained an audience with the Prince and delivered to him the certificates of indebtedness which the Jews held.

The Gabela, or meat tax, came into use in Moldavia about the middle of the 18th century, and it was retained until the end of that century. In all probability, such a tax was known there long before that time. The first official act in which this was mentioned was in the time of John Sturza, 1812-18. Due to a petition filed with the Prince by the Jassy Jewish community complaining of the difficulties they experienced in collecting the government taxes, the ruler, basing his decision on former decrees issued by Scarlat Alexander Ypsilanti, Alexander Constantin

(1804), and Scarlat Alexander Calimach (1814), ordered the Sudits to comply with the decision of the indigenous Jewish community and respect the orders given by the Hahambasha, by which they were compelled to buy their meat from indigenous Jewish butchers, being prohibited from having their own Shochetim. A Jewish butcher could not sell meat without collecting the Gabela fixed by the Hahambasha.

The code permitted Jews to buy meat from Christian butchers. But they were also permitted to have their own Jewish butchers sell meat at such prices as their community might decide. Article 3 of that code read: "Due to the difficulties experienced in collecting taxes from the Jews, and finding it impossible to collect them in any way except through the medium of a meat tax established long ago -- a means which the Jews of Jassy themselves recognize as the only legitimate way;

"It is ordered that the tax against the Jews be reestablished not only in the capital but in all other cities. Therefore, the price of meat and poultry, subject to taxes, will be so calculated as to cover all the levied state taxes as well as any tax arrears.

"The tax rate will be fixed in the synagogue, in the presence of a governmental official, and in the presence of the Jews."

The Gabela, thus legally established, served not only for the collection of the funds necessary to meet the needs and

requirements of the Jewish community, but also that of the state tax levied on the Jews of the entire country as one community. It also served to make the Jewish Sudits pay the state taxes from which they were otherwise exempt. Incidentally, Jews were taxed at a higher rate than were the adherents of other religious groups.

The collection of the taxes was farmed out for a period of seven years. In a circular dated December 11, 1842, addressed to the prefects, it was urged: "The contractors shall be bound to supply Kosher meat to the Jews in accordance with their religion, under special provision, and they shall meet their obligations, in connection with such meat, through the function of their Shochet."

In 1852, when the term of this contract expired, and a new award was about to be made for the farming out of the taxes, a provision was inserted that "the contractor shall be limited to slaughtering as many cattle as may satisfy the needs of the Jewish community, but not for the supply of Christian needs; also to separate entirely Kosher meat from the other kind."

The Kosher meat question was always a vexatious ~~one~~ for the Jews in the principalities. Again and again it would be brought up, to their annoyance, and each time they would petition the ruling Prince and obtain satisfaction. We thus find that in 1803 an edict was issued calling for an investigation as to why the law governing ritual observance was not strictly enforced.

Under Prince Caragea, in 1813, it came up again, and after an investigation made by his chamberlain, Nicolai Scanavi, the following report was filed with the prince:

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"According to the order emanating from your Highness to inquire into the subject of the petition by the community of indigenous Jews of Bucharest and to find out the causes, their Staroste, Hayim, appeared before me with a delegation. Having looked into the matter, I am convinced that this custom of slaughtering their cattle and selling the meat to anyone who wants to buy it, even if the purchasers contribute little to the community-chest which serves to help the community in all its needs, has been kept up for a long time, and was rightfully acquired by indigenous Jews only, not by aliens. Hence since there is a large number of aliens in Bucharest, the Jewish community of that city demanded of them that they conform to this custom in accordance with that long-established rule; that is, as we have stated before, the right to prepare Kosher meat belongs only to indigenous Jews, and to no one else outside of their community, because their demand is justified. This is what I have to communicate to Your Highness. April 18, 1813."

A similar question which came up in 1817 brought forth another decree by the same prince, by which it is shown that at that time Roumania classed the Jews without foreign protection as indigens, and those with foreign protection as aliens. This decree read:

"According to an old custom which indigenous Jews have observed to this day, and pursuant to a petition which they have addressed to us, we have granted to the indigenous Jews of the city of Bucharest authorization necessary to slaughter cattle for their consumption. Authorization is given to them alone, and not

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to alien Jews, who must buy their meat from indigenous Jews. Therefore, the indigenous Jews have the right to prepare Kosher meat and sell it to alien Jews.

"The other Jews have no right to slaughter their cattle, because their old custom reserves the right exclusively to the community of the indigenous Jews of Bucharest, and this right was confirmed to them by our predecessors and by us as well."

Kosher meat in Roumania was always high in price. The abattoir was held by the Jewish community on lease from the city. Poultry, sheep and cattle were slaughtered there on the payment of a tax fixed by the Jewish community. A Jew held the abattoir (for Christians and Jews) under lease from the community.

Any attempt to evade the meat tax was punished by the Jewish community. The procedure in inflicting such punishment was as follows: The rabbi would condemn the delinquent person to recite his prayers (during services) at the door of the synagogue, where he would be shunned by his fellow worshippers like a leper. A chuck of non-Kosher meat would be hung over his chest and back, and in that condition he would be led through the streets of the city.

The farmer of the abattoir also had the right to ask the police for the punishment of a delinquent person. In that case the culprit would receive thirty lashes. If he happened to be a foreign subject, he was immune to punishment by the police but his

Consul would have to take him in hand. Under such conditions, there was nothing left for the Jews to do but to eat non-Kosher meat. But the Austrian subjects had their separate Staroste and separate Shochet.

There was also a shady side to the Gabela. Since it was farmed out, the contractor treated it as a purely commercial proposition. He, therefore, assumed a certain degree of authority and sometimes resorted to brutality in enforcing it. Such a case happened at Lespez, where the Jewish community strenuously resented the arbitrary manner employed by the Jewish Gabela-farmers. As a result of the friction which developed between the two parties, the local government appointed a commission to investigate the cause of the controversy.

In 1870 the Gabela was discontinued in Bucharest, but it was kept up in the other Jewish communities. When, in 1893, the Roumanian government shut the doors of the elementary schools to Jewish children, and the Jews felt compelled to establish schools of their own, they had to continue the Gabela as a means of raising revenue for the maintenance of such schools.

In order to harass the Jews, the government ordered that the Shochetim be placed under the jurisdiction of the municipal council. They were thus removed from the jurisdiction of the rabbi, and placed under the supervision of a Christian veterinary surgeon, who had to decide what meat was Kosher. However, this did not mean that the Jews could eat meat tax free; they still had to pay taxes but to the ~~city~~^{city}, with the result that such Jewish institutions as hospitals and schools, and such Jewish communal functionaries

as rabbis and Shochetim could not be paid or maintained.

But there was more to this vexatious problem. The Christian butchers at Jassy formed a union which refused to buy meat from Jews, and as a result the price of meat went up. And as if that were not enough, a cattle epidemic broke out. The church was then forced to take a hand in the matter and permit Christian butchers to buy meat from Jewish butchers and supply it to their Christian customers. The precarious aspect of the situation was that Jewish butchers at that time were supplying ^{the} army with meat at a reasonable price, but when they were not permitted to sell the Treifa meat to non-Jews, the Christian butchers raised their prices. General Leca ordered that the meat belonging to Jewish butchers be removed from the abattoir, and proceeded against the Jewish butchers for failing to supply the army.

When the Christian butchers found themselves with cattle on hand, they asked the Shochetim to slaughter them so that they might sell the Kosher meat to the Jewish butchers. But they discovered that this could not be done on account of the Jewish tax, which was collectible from the Jewish butchers.

The meat tax did not originate in Roumania, but was patterned after that of Poland and Russia. In Roumania, with such a variety of Jewish groups -- indigenous, alien or Sudits, Polish and Sephardic -- the meat tax question became acute. At Jassy, when the Kosher meat tax contract was on one occasion awarded to Christians, who did not know the difference between Kosher and non-Kosher meat and would become indignant when the Shochet

pronounced as Treifa the meat of an animal that he had slaughtered and on which no tax was due. This often resulted in the beating of the Shochet. On another occasion, the Austrian Consul General, Bazdu Testa, asked the Sublime Porte at Constantinople to exempt Austrian subjects in Moldavia from the payment of the meat tax.

In addition to the meat monopoly, the Jewish public bath-houses were farmed out in the several communities, creating another monopoly. As a result, the price of admission was high. Poor Jewish women, who, for religious reasons, had to use these baths at certain periods, felt the weight of that charge very heavily. It was out of the question to attempt to have the rate of admission reduced, since the bath-housekeeper was absolutely deaf to all pleas.

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CHAPTER ~~THIRTY-NINE~~ XLVIII

THE THREE CITIES

1) JASSY

The city of Jassy, founded in the 15th century, became a vital point of destination for Jewish merchants very early. However, it actually dated back to the 13th century, when the principality of Moldavia was formed. In its earliest stage Jassy was a small hamlet, with a custom house as its outstanding institution. The heavy commercial traffic carried on between Poland, Moldavia, and Turkey, made Jassy a center which linked the Orient with the West. When Stefan the Great (1457-1504) ascended the Moldavian throne, he built his palace there, and also erected a church in that city. Prior to 1565 Suceava was the capital of Moldavia; in that year it was removed to Jassy. Almost three hundred years later, in 1859, when the two principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia were united, John Alexander Cuza was elected prince of the "United Principalities", and made Bucharest the capital. But before the formation of this union, Jassy, the artery through which so much commerce flowed, became an attraction to Jews of other countries.

Under Stefan the Great a Jewish community was already flourishing there. This Prince had personal relations with several Jewish physicians such as, Dr. Isaac Beg, Ambassador of

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the Persian Shah and the Tatar Khan, and Dr. Mengle Ghirar, who treated Stefan during his illness. In the rabbinical response mention is often made of the cultural and social life of the Jassy Jews and of the Jewish merchants who maintained commercial traffic between Constantinople and the Slavic countries. Some of these merchants settled there and gradually attracted others.

As regards the settlement of Jews in Jassy in the 13th century, there are many monuments in the Jewish cemetery bearing such dates, and there are still more on which the dates are undecipherable. However, there is a strong probability that the old cemetery at Jassy is not the oldest Jewish burial place in the city, for there are traces of a former cemetery near the Great Synagogue in Targul Cucului where there are a number of gravestones on which the dates are illegible. It is believed that a groom and his bride are buried there, having met death while the wedding ceremony was being performed. A number of human skeletons were found during the excavation when the Great Synagogue was rebuilt.

✓ According to Dr. Jacob Niemirower, the other synagogues in Jassy, which were destroyed in the conflagrations of the 18th and 19th centuries, also had cemeteries in their proximity. No trace can be found of their existence, however. His contention appears to be improbable, because no matter how disrupted and disunited Jewish communities might be in their communal life, they are always united in death, and there was usually only one

cemetery in a community.

In the 16th century a number of Polish Jews settled in Jassy. After the city had become the capital of Moldavia, many Jews from abroad flocked there and to other Moldavian cities. The old synagogue in Targul Cucului, in Jassy, erected on the site of the monastery Aron Voda in 1657 to 1682, bears testimony to the existence of a large community. The oldest Jewish tombstone bears the date 1467. Joseph Solomon Delmedigo, in his book Ejim (Amsterdam, 1629), mentions a flourishing Jewish community in Jassy.

The Jews of Jassy were organized as a Breasla (a guild or trade). They elected their Staroste, their rabbi, and other communal officers, in whose charge the synagogue, the hospital, and the cemetery were placed.

Jassy played an important part in the German and Polish commercial relations with the East. Since it was the capital of the principality, all political and commercial activities were centered there. Thus Jassy came to have a large Jewish population, and when Peter the Lame, deposed, in 1579, the expulsion of the Jews from Moldavia, this decree affected only alien cattle dealers. Since he was dethroned shortly thereafter by the Sultan at Constantinople, the decree failed in its purpose.

In 1591 Aron Voda, a Jew, ascended the throne of Moldavia. He was known as Emanuel, but his real name was Emanuel Aron. It is said that he rebelled against the Sultan and slaughtered the entire Turkish population in Jassy, including nineteen Turkish

Jews. That the killing of Jews in Moldavia at that time was not rare is evident from the many responsa affecting Jewish women whose husbands were killed in Roumania.

In the course of time many Spanish Jews came to Moldavia, and settled in Jassy. In 1615, when Delmedigo was passing through Jassy, on his way from Poland to Turkey, he found a great Jewish scholar, Dr. Solomon Aravi, who had lived there more than forty years.

The many wars which occurred in the 17th century, especially the Chmielnicki rebellion of 1648 to 1650 in the Ukraine, caused many Jews to come to Roumania from surrounding countries. A good many of these settled in Jassy. Among the refugees was Nathan Nata Hanover, the famous chronicler of the Ukraine massacres. He was the first known rabbi in Moldavia (1657-1670) after which he went to Hungary, where he died in 1683. He was succeeded by Rabbi Aryeh Leib ben Samuel, who died in 1678. Pethahiah ben David Lida also settled there.

A Jewish community had been established in Jassy in the 18th century. Jews enjoyed certain privileges which others did not. ~~They~~ Their religious heads, such as the Hahambasha, the rabbis, and the Staroste, had executive powers. The Hahambasha was the head of the Moldavian rabbinate, and his residence was in the capital.

In matters relating to commerce, the Jews of Jassy had attained considerable importance. They owned many distilleries,

and the liquor and wine trade was almost exclusively in their hands. They also developed the export of wine and other products to Poland and other countries.

While there was no compulsory ghetto in Jassy, the Jews lived close to one another. Most of the synagogues belonged to trade groups. We thus find the Tailors' Synagogue, the Shoemakers', the Carpenters', the Cabmen's and the Cobblers' Synagogues. The oldest of these was established in the 17th century.

In order to save the Jews the annoyance and abuse caused by collectors, the Jewish community of Jassy was permitted by the government to pay a fixed sum in taxes annually. A tax of four paras per oca of meat was levied by the community. The poor did not mind the tax, since they consumed very little meat, but the rich opposed it vehemently. The Kehillah was then compelled to have the rabbi ^{pron}ounce a ban (Herem) against those who were unwilling to submit to the decision of the community. This brought the Austrian and Russian Jews to claim exemption from this arrangement, on the ground that, since they were foreign subjects, they were not subject to the payment of the meat tax imposed upon the Jewish community. The rabbi of the city, to whom the matter was submitted, decided that the meat tax had to be paid by all Jewish residents of Jassy.

During the entire 18th and 19th centuries the local authorities fixed the price which the Jews of Jassy had to pay for

their meat, the number of cattles that they might slaughter, the dates for the slaughtering of lambs, the number of boyar homes they might supply with meat, and the price of Kosher meat and tallow. The Jews, on the other hand, were to have 1, 000 sheeps tax-exempt, 100 stacks of hay transport-free and tax-exempt, the exclusive monopoly of the city boundary toll, and free entry to the leader of the butchers with whom the contract was made.

A scotch missionary, who visited Jassy in 1840, gave a vivid description of Jewish life in Jassy. He wrote: " While we strolled through the city, we almost thought that we were in the land of Israel in its flourishing days. In every street we met large numbers of well dressed men, some with their wives and children, and often richly bejeweled Jewesses, bound for the synagogues. We visited two of these temples -- they were packed to suffocation -- many of the people had to remain outside.

" The city has over 40, 000 inhabitants, of which 20,000 are Jews, making up 3, 500 families who have thirty large and 150 small synagogues. In one street alone, we counted twenty of them. On the day of our arrival we visited a dozen of them. Many of the worshippers spent the whole night there; their eyes were red and swollen from much crying. This day, too, all the temples were overcrowded. Many of the people stood outside and prayed, their faces turned toward Jerusalem (east). In front of one synagogues we noticed about 100 women with their children, even babies in the cradle."

In addition to the houses of prayer, he thus described,

Jassy had an extensive school system (see chapter 51 "Jewish Schools in Roumania").

These schools, patterned on the Polish Jewish system, were established by Polish Jewish scholars who later planted the Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment)in the principality. Since these teachers did ^{not} know Roumanian, they necessarily had to rely on the Yiddish "jargon" in their instruction of the children. As a result, these pupils grew up to find Roumanian a foreign language.

Toward the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th, a change occurred. Some of the Jews of Jassy raised their intellectual windowshades to allow a few rays of sunshine to penetrate into their life. They began to give their children secular education by sending them abroad or by importing teachers from other countries. German and French were included in the school curriculum. Some of the Jews sent their children to the public schools. The government at that time cooperated by opening schools for them. It is reasonable to assume that this change was not accomplished overnight, or in a peaceable manner. There were the opposition and unwillingness of the old generation, the ultra orthodox, to overcome, with consequent friction and discord.

However, the new spirit, symptomatic of the thirst for greater knowledge which affected the whole of Roumania, was strong enough to overcome all these obstacles little by little.

In their quest for secular and Western knowledge and enlightenment, the Jewish youth and their parents had to scale the religious wall put up by the fanatical Polish rabbis and teachers, and often were compelled to drink clandestinely from

the fountain of learning. They would smuggle secular French and German books, and read them furtively. In the course of time an intelligent, well-read element sprung up; Jewish and non-Jewish youths were able to meet, discuss common problems and culture, and understand one another, thereby finding that they had much in common. Many of the Jewish children sent abroad for schooling remained there and achieved fame. Those who returned to Roumania imbued with the Western spirit sought to spread it, regarding their parents' outlandish style of dress as repulsive, and urging them and their fellow townspeople to dress in the European style. They even went so far as to take the matter up with the ruling prince, inducing him, in 1845, to issue a decree to this effect. At the same time, the prince promised to have a Jewish school built for Jewish children. The orthodox Jews, fearing that secular education would lead to impairment of the Jewish religion, opposed the new trend, with the result that it was now a battle of the elders against their offspring. The youths refused to act on the strong request by the elders to return to the prince and ask for the repeal of this decree. The revolution of 1848 impeded the implementation of the decree until 1853.

In 1860 Minister Cogalniceanu issued an appeal to the Jews of Moldavia to change their style of dress and send their children to the public school. Two Roumanian Jewish schools were opened in Jassy under the supervision of a committee of

secular Jews consisting of Jonas B. Byck, Morris Waldberg, M.S. Goldbaum, and Dr. Frankel. These two schools developed into very progressive institutions. They started with an enrollment of over 500 children, most of them orphans or from poor homes.

In 1861 the Jews residing in the Pecurara section of the city petitioned the school committee to open a school.

Due to a controversy which developed within the Jewish community of Jassy with regard to the establishment of a meat tax the schools had to close in 1863. They were reopened the following year after agreement on imposing the tax. This time the supervising committee consisted of Benjamin Schwarzfeld and Charles M. Daniel. The director of the school was Dr. Landsberg, who organized his classes on the pattern of the Roumanian public schools. The governmental program was followed with regard to instruction. The enrollment rose to over 700 children, mostly poor. The Roumanian teachers were, as already

stated, appointed by the government after successfully passing an examination. The Hebrew and German teachers were appointed by the school committee from among the most competent scholars available. The school budget, like all the institutional budgets of the Jewish community, had to be approved by the government.

Foremost among the teachers in the Jewish schools was William Schwarzfeld, an eminent scholar. He was inspector of the Jewish schools, and introduced many reforms into the Roumanian and Jewish school systems. He wrote several books in Roumanian and Hebrew which were adopted in the public schools. In 1866, when the government withdrew its subsidy from the Jewish schools, Schwarzfeld had to be relieved of his post.

As to when and to what extent Jewish children began to be enrolled in the Jewish public schools, no record is available. But it is reasonable to assume that since the state schools were exclusively parochial, and generally located in the rear of churches and in charge of priests as teachers, no Jewish children could or would benefit from them except by being converted to Christianity. There is, however, a hrisov dated May 14, 1803, issued by Prince Moruzi, whereby Jewish children were permitted to attend the public school founded by the Metropolitane Costache Veniamin. Even so, however, it is more than probable that the Jews at that time did not take advantage of it, especially in a period when the

influx of Polish Jews had made such a deep impression upon them. Later, with the enactment of the Organic Law, the Jews in Moldavia evinced a desire to send their children to the public schools. For in 1831, during the Russian occupation, a petition was addressed to General Kisseleff by sixty-one Jews in which, among other things, they said:

"We also beg Your Excellency, in all humility, that in case of the formation of any institution for public education, it may not be overlooked by the imperial mercy to have the Jews benefit from the good accruing from such an institution."

The petition was granted, and such provision was inserted into the Organic Law. But it contained this proviso: "Jewish children will also be received in the public schools of the land, but they will have to adopt the style of dress of the other pupils, so that there will be no distinction."

This restriction led the Jews to abstain from sending their children to the public schools. But two Jewish boys, one named Joseph Ornstein, enrolled under Mihai Sturza, when the Organic Law was in force. They passed through four primary classes, and were then converted to Christianity. From that time up to the year 1856 there is no record whatsoever of the enrollment of any Jewish children. Thereafter, however, they began to be enrolled once again, and as a result, by 1860, Jewish boys were already attending the Gymnasiums. Similarly, in the years 1862 and 1863, we find as many as four Jewish pupils in every class of the public school known as Trei Erarchi.

The extent of the aversion of the Jewish children to the public schools may be seen from the fact that those boys who attended were called "Mushumadin" (apostates) by their classmates in Jewish schools. Nonetheless, in course of time other Jewish children came to be enrolled there, and from the year 1866 on the Gymnasiums were attended by more and more Jewish students. Yet their number continued to be small in comparison with that of the Christian students.

In 1886 the Jewish banker Jacob Neuschotz, of Jassy, founded an orphans' home for girls. In 1906 the Jassy Jews established an asylum for the infirm. A home for the aged had been founded in 1892 by the Jewish artisans. Another home of the same character was established by the heirs of the banker, Isrul Hayim Daniel. A maternity society was established in 1873.

Up to ~~the~~ World War^{II}, Jassy Jewry maintained fraternal and mutual aid societies. The first of these was established in 1875, and in 1907 had its home, with a membership of well over 500. A Charitable loan society was organized in 1903, which provided medical aid for the sick and benefits for its members and their families, as well as death endowments for the widows of deceased members.

In 1873 Zion Lodge of the B'nai B'rith was organized at Jassy, where all the lodges of the B'nai B'rith in Roumania, organized by the American Consul General, Benjamin Franklin Peixotto, held their convention. This lodge did considerable work among the needy, and it proved its humane spirit on the occasion of the conflagration at Podul Ilioaei, about 1874, and its patriotism in the War of Independence (1877-78), when it cared for the wounded without distinction of race or religion. For some unknown reason this lodge at one time went out of existence, but it came to life again in 1889, assuming the name of Samuel Goldenthal, formerly president of the Zion Lodge.

In 1901 the Jewish communities of Roumania held a convention at Jassy under its auspices.

There was another B'nai B'rith Lodge functioning in Jassy from 1873 under the name of Steaua, which did a great deal of charitable and philanthropic work. Jassy Jews were intensely interested in Zionism. Over twenty organizations dedicated to the cause of Palestine were active. At the first Zionist Congress of Basel in 1897, Jassy Jews were represented by Dr. Karpel Lippe.

Three Zionist newspapers appeared in Jassy: the Resaritul, founded in 1900 by Henry (Harry) Rosenbaum; the Yiddisher Geist, founded and edited by L. Rokeach; and the Yiddishe Tzukunft, by Kohn. However, mass emigration and economic conditions compelled them to cease publication.

There were three Jewish cemeteries in Jassy, containing many old monuments. Over the graves of the rabbis and other prominent Jews mausoleums were erected. Inside the mausoleum of Rebbe Nachman Friedman of Stefanesti, a tablet was erected on which the names of the most illustrious rabbis buried in this cemetery were inscribed. In 1880 the cemetery was closed. The third cemetery was located outside the city limits.

~~Considering the extensive and intensive life, communal affairs and troubles could not evade the community of Jassy.~~

ff By a princely decree in 1859, the Board of the Jewish community was recognized as a legal and representative body.

The Jewish community was lacking in vitality, and for want of harmony began to show decay. The Jewish schools were the first victims of this discord. The Jewish hospital, as a result, was finally forced to close for lack of funds. Seeing that the strife was increasing, the Jews living in the section known as Podul Rosh broke away and formed a separate community. Other sections of the city followed the same course.

As result of such disunity, Jassy Jewry broke up into thirty local communities. According to Rabbi Jacob Niemirower, they represented three distinct types of Jews: (1) the Old Orthodox, semi-Hasidim who held on to the Heder and followed all the traditions, customs, and superstitions of earlier Judaism; (2) the semi-modern Jews, who strove for advancement and enlightenment, and maintained modern institutions; (3) the mass of the people, Jews of moderate means, artisans possessed of democratic and social instincts. These three elements found it rather hard to work together in unity. Nevertheless, each of these local communities did make some progress, managing to keep up some of their institutions and raising the necessary budget, so that in 1866 the Gabela alone brought in the sum of 200,000 lei. When the discord continued ~~the~~ ~~revenue~~, the revenue fell off drastically and the tax was finally discontinued.

The condition of the rabbis of Jassy was very bad. Underpaid, they never received their meagre salaries on time. The leaders of the community showed little respect for its spiritual worthies, thus lowering the dignity of the rabbinate.

In the 1860's the Jassy Jewish community was not in a felicitous situation. ~~Permanent~~ ^{Constant} internal discord ate deeply into

their communal life. In 1868 an effort to create a consistory on the french pattern had been made. Without the sanction of the government such a radical change could not be introduced, and the Roumanian government refused to interfere in Jewish affairs. The project had to be abandoned. Until 1885 the Jewish community managed to get along as well as it could, succeeding in modest fashion in meeting the wants of its institutions from the meat-tax which is collected. However, Rabbi Taubes, without the authorization of the community, induced the city mayor to reduce the Meat-tax to one-third. It affected the community's income immediately and impaired further activities. The members of the community declared the Rabbi's action illegal and would not be able to meet the expenses of the communal institutions. However, Taubes remained obdurate, and did not even attempt to explain his arbitrary act. The Roumanian press, learning of the affair, capitalized it by filling its columns with Jewish matters not flattering to the Jews. The rabbi and his Shochetim, on their part, poured oil upon the fire by failing to maintain proper silence.

In the year 1807 Jassy had two great and many small synagogues, and over one hundred small places of worship.

In the course of its long history, they had many eminent rabbis; Cabalist Rabbi Jacob ben Aravi in the second half of the 16th century, noted also as a physician died in Palestine at an advanced age.

Nathan Nata Hanover, formerly of Focshani, a well known Cabalist and author of an historical chronicle of 1698, held the pulpit in Jassy, as did other prominent religious leaders in

the 17th and 18th centuries. One of them was Rabbi Pethahiah Lida, who in the time of the Swedish occupation of Lemberg, managed to escape, and came to Jassy, where for several years he held the pulpit.

Rabbi Joseph David Cohen, known as the Zwolever Rebbe, (after his birthplace, Sevolevi), ~~the~~ son of Ephraim Hakohen, came to Jassy about the year 1800. A great scholar and a very charitable man, he was said to have given to the poor from his extremely meagre salary. A profound Cabalist, an eloquent preacher, and ~~the~~ author of several religious books, he conducted a Yeshiva in Jassy.

After his demise the Jewish community of Jassy was torn asunder by discord which had developed through the improper conduct of the Hahambasha, whom they wanted to remove from office. As a result of this strife, the Polish Jews separated from the Kehillah and brought a rabbi who became known as the Zborower Rav (after the hamlet of that name from which he originated). But the opposition, which sided with the Hahambasha, was too strong; the Rav could not remain very long, and at the demand of the opposition left the country. The Polish Jews then brought ~~in~~ a rabbi, named Rosen, and he, too, was forced to quit the pulpit.

A similar situation developed later when each of the two opposing parties in the Jassy Jewish community had a separate rabbi; ~~on~~ one side, Rabbi Joseph Landau, and ^{on} the other Rabbi Aaron Moses Taubes. A profound scholar and ~~practical~~ ^{practical} man, Taubes was called upon to arbitrate disputes ~~between~~ ^{among} the city's businessmen. He differed in some points of legal interpretation from Rabbi Landau, although they were in full accord concerning religious matters. Thus, when they learned of Jewish children attending missionary schools, they jointly issued a ban (Herem) against the parents. The engaging of these two

eminent rabbis by the opposing factions merely had the effect of increasing the strife, so that the controversy became all the stronger and fiercer.

Rabbi Joseph Landau, the son of Rabbi Menachem, was born in Lemberg, (Galicia). Before coming to Jassy in 1837, where he held the pulpit for sixteen years, he had been rabbi in Litin (Austria). He enjoyed close relations with noted scholars, and his opinion was sought on a number of important and intricate theological questions. He died on November 2, 1853. His wife, Hinda, the daughter of Rabbi Zevi Hakohen, died on February 11, 1863.

Rabbi Aaron Moses Taubes, son of Rabbi ^{Jacob} ~~Jamb~~, came to Jassy from Sniatin in 1837. He held the pulpit in Jassy down to his death (June 19, 1842). Known as the Sniatiner Rav, he was recognized as a great savant and a master of Talmudic lore. In his religious views he was extremely conservative, and a strong opponent of progressive Judaism. By reason of his profound erudition he was characterized as "an ornament of learning".

Among the rabbis who succeeded him were his son, Rabbi Samuel Schmelke Taubes, and Rabbi Shae Shor. Samuel Schmelke Taubes, who died in 1865, was known as the Shinover Rav, since before accepting the pulpit at Jassy he had been, for a number of years, rabbi of the Jewish community at Shinov. Like his celebrated father, he was profoundly versed in Talmudic literature, and was likewise an outspoken adversary of any innovation in Jewish life. When, in 1853, the first modern school was established in Jassy, Samuel Schmelke branded the teachers as apostates. In 1859, when Minister Michael Cogalniceanu issued an order to the Jews in Moldavia to discard their outlandish Polish garb, the two rabbis declared in a written

statement that this style of dress was revered by generations of Jews, and therefore, could not be given up, to which the minister replied that he "will tolerate religion but not superstition" and directed ^{that} their salaries to be withheld.

Rabbi Shae Shor (popularly known as Reb Shaikele), author of a commentary on the Pentateuch, died at Jassy in 1879, after having served the community for twenty-seven years. A profound Talmudist, extremely conservative, he was also a strong opponent of progress. In his early years he was held in great esteem and deeply respected by the Jewish community. Later, due to his reactionary tendencies, his influence weakened considerably.

Other noted but less eminent rabbis of Jassy were the following: Elmelech Horn, the Dayan; the Hasidic Rebbe Nachum ben Lipe (died 1854); Israel Joseph Rokeach (died 1855); Jehudah ben Aaron, of Rohatin (died 1852); Rabbi Nahum, father of the Stefanester Rebbe. The latter has a notable monument in the Jassy cemetery. His grave became a shrine for pilgrims who visited it every year and spend time in devotional prayer.

2) BUCHAREST

The oldest record of a Jewish community in Bucharest dates from the year 1550. However, up to the 17th century no record of this community was preserved.

The Jews who settled in Bucharest in the middle of the 16th century held their religious services in some place granted to them by the Prince, probably Constantin Brancoveanu (1688-1714), whose successor, Stefan Cantacuzino, ordered it demolished in 1715. There is, in Bucharest, an old Jewish cemetery with sepulcher inscriptions dated 1682 and 1716, which bear witness to the antiquity of a

Jewish settlement in that city.

Under Matei Basarab, in the 17th century, the Jewish community of Bucharest, after many tribulations, which nearly wiped it out of existence, came to life again. This was ~~all~~ the result of the influx of Polish and Ukrainian Jewish refugees who had escaped from the Chmielnicki massacres in the years 1648-58.

During the war with Turkey, Mihai the Brave caused the destruction of the Jewish community of Bucharest, also of similar communities in Bularia. At that time some Bulgarian Jews were brought to Roumania as captives.

With the influx of the Polish and Ukrainian Jews, and their increase in the subsequent years, it was only natural for them to follow their former communal mode of life, with a Staroste at their head, and with their many guilds. These continued to flourish under Constantin Brancoveanu (1688-1714). The Jewish communal organization was taxed collectively. In recognition of its services in this capacity, it was granted complete autonomy. In a sense, every guild was sovereign in its own domain. It framed its own by-laws, handled its own funds, managed its own house of worship, and exercised its own jurisdiction.

Under Brancoveanu, Jewish commercial enterprise took an immense swing upward.

The volume of trade carried on by the Jews increased tremendously. Seeing commerce flourish, Brancoveanu imposed taxes indiscriminately on Turks, Jews, Armenians and peasants. Not only was the Brancoveanu regime friendly toward the Jews, but the Prince himself maintained close relationships with many of them. His personal physician was Avram Jidovul, whom he took with him on his way to Turkey.

His successor, Stefan Cantacuzino, was not friendly to the Jews and did not encourage their commercial or communal affairs. He ordered ~~the~~ the synagogue in Bucharest be demolished and forbade the Jews to assemble in worship (1715).

For over a century, from 1716 to 1821, the two principalities were held under the control of Greek Princes, known ⁱⁿ to Roumanian history as "Fanariots". It is therefore reasonable to assume that during this period the Jews in the two principalities were treated alike, since it was all Turkish territory,

The Staroste established by Brancoveanu became an institution which his successors generally followed. While the Staroste was supposed to be the representative of the Jews, he was actually the fiscal agent of the government for the collection of taxes. Eventually he came to exercise religious functions as well. So great was his importance, that as late as the second half of the 19th century one Aaron Lobel, at Brashov, exercised the functions of the rabbi.

Up to the middle of the 18th century there is no record of the existence of the Staroste in Bucharest. But thereafter we do find some record, in the form of inscriptions on gravestones in the

Jewish cemetery of Jews with the titles of leaders of the community, in 1715, 1743, 1745 and 1760.

The oldest known princely decree regarding the Jewish community of Bucharest was dated 1764. It confirmed the appointment and the jurisdiction of the Hahambasha of Jassy over the Jews of Muntenia (Wallachia), issued by the then newly appointed Prince Ștefan Mihai Racovitză (1764-65), to Isaac, son of Bezalel Cohen, of Jassy, ~~and~~ also confirmed the appointment of his assistant in Bucharest. It read as follows:

"Be it known that by this declaration of my domain, addressed to you, Jewish Starostes of the city of Bucharest and of other cities and communities of Jewish people, and to all the Jews of the Roumanian land, on behalf of Isaac the Hahambasha, son of Bezalel Hahambasha, who, being an honorable and learned man, my domain had compassion on him, and appointed him Bash-Haham over all the Jewish people of the land. He shall be your spiritual guide, through his duly appointed deputy, to regulate and serve in Bucharest in accordance with the established customs. He may have a deputy to enforce all your religious matters and regulate the emoluments of the Hahambasha governing weddings, engagements and separations.

"In regard to the custom called 'Crupca', which they had once, by which the Hahambasha would collect forty bani per slaughtered large beast (oxen, cows) and thirty bani per small beast slaughtered, this custom has been abolished. And the Hahambasha shall collect no such tax, but he shall receive instead a salary for his services at the rate of one leu annually from every householder in cities, and in every other place in the land; and this money, collected by the duly appointed deputy, shall be paid directly to the Hahambasha.

None of the Jews shall be permitted to elect another Hahambasha anywhere in the land without the knowledge of the above-mentioned Hahambasha and his duly appointed deputy.

"Therefore my dominion directs all Jewish Starostes and all Jews in cities and all over the land to submit to his direction and to obey every order given by the Hahambasha through his deputy; that you honor the Hahambasha as well as his deputy, whether in the synagogue or elsewhere in accordance with the constitution of your law; and whoever interferes with the income of the Hahambasha, or dares to show disobedience to, or resist the Hahambasha or his deputies, shall surely be punished by my domain."

In 1775 a decree was issued by Alexander Ypsilanti (1774-82) of Wallachia, by which he appointed one Pilat, Staroste and deputy to the Hahambasha.

Confirming the decree of 1775, Prince Nicolai Mavrogheni granted permission to the Jews in Bucharest to erect a house of worship in their quarter. This document read as follows:

"To all Jews dwelling in my domain in the city of Bucharest, that they may be permitted by this, our princely hrisov, to build a house, consisting of two rooms, to serve them for their daily worship, here in the Mahala (ward) Popescului, on the site which our Divan of our domain have established that they own the ground which they bought before, for which purpose they have jointly petitioned, saying that they had a house of worship before also for daily services, and in order to convince ourselves further of the truth, we have caused the Vel Camarash to investigate by sending

the faithful of my domain to that ward where they formerly had that house, and my domain being convinced that they really had owned the house, we had compassion and have permitted them by this hrisov of my domain to erect a house of two rooms, as they please, where they shall worship daily, undisturbed; for which purpose my domain orders all the sheriffs to protect them so that they may not be molested by neighbors or by anyone else; that they shall not be annoyed in the least, because this is our order. And I have signed this hrisov with the signature of my own domain, and the faith of my most beloved of my domain's sons Constantin Voda, Petru Voda, witnesses being also the honorable and faithful boyars of my domain."

There is ^{little} ~~not much of a~~ record of Jewish life in Bucharest, except a brief entry in a Pinkas (congregational record book), with the earliest date being 1812.

The Pinkas entry read as follows:

"Jews have been established in the city of Bucharest for a long time. They have suffered all kinds of ills, pains, misfortunes; they aged in agony, with death constantly before their eyes. They have endured many oppressions, many vexations, many calamities, wars and epidemics. Many oppressive edicts sought to ruin their existence. And this continued until the day when a protector of the Jews, Prince Caragea -- may his name live forever! -- came to the throne in 1812. Under his regime the Jewish people were protected, and Israel lived in peace. At that time, the Jews living here had a frame building for a synagogue. In the year 1814, in the month of Marheshvan, the

synagogue burned down one night, nothing was left of it and the ground remained bare. The Jewish community received no ~~income~~ ^{compensation}.

"In 1845, under the regime of Prince George Bibesco, with Barbu Stirbei as Minister of the Interior, and the leaders of the Jewish community being Israel Sin Herz, and Herz Moisha (Starostes), and six others elected by the community, the ground remained useless, and the community sold it to the boyar Stirbei for 200 Austrian ecus."

With this sum, together with additional money which they raised, the members of the Bucharest community bought the ground on which stands the Great Temple of today. It was consecrated in 1847.

Considering the spirit of that ~~period~~ ^{era}, the erection of a synagogue in the capital of Wallachia was not an easy task. There were many restrictions with reference to the construction of the synagogue. Like all other synagogues or Jewish houses of worship of the period it had to be built of wood, and situated at a certain distance from a church.

In 1840 the total population of Bucharest was 120,000 and 5,000 of them were Jews. They had seven synagogues, one of which was Spanish (Sephardic). At that time no Jew could enter Roumania without proof of being self-supporting.

A very important institution in Jewish life was the burial society. Most of these burial societies were organized in Moldavia and Transylvania under the Fanariot regime. The burial society of Jassy was organized in 1731, and ^{that of} ~~in~~ Bucharest shortly after.

Its Pinkas, previously mentioned, describes its tribulations from its inception down to 1847, when Jewish life assumed a new aspect after the great conflagration which devastated the capital. Thereafter the Spanish Jews in Bucharest had no separate burial society, although they had a separate cemetery, which was closed in 1864.

The old Jewish cemetery at Bucharest is located at Strada Sevastopole. Most of the inscriptions on its tombstones are undecipherable. The oldest legible inscription is on the grave of a Staroste, and reads: "Leader of the Jews of the country, Mordecai ben Jehudah, assassinated the 10th of Kislev, 476 (December 6, 1715)".

Besides the record of its functions the Pinkas of the Burial Society give details, such as the tax collections and the distributions made by the Society at every funeral. Its legal status gave it a certain jurisdiction over other Jewish groups.

The Burial Society played an important part in Jewish social life. In order to lend to it the prestige it deserved, the name was Roumanized into "Societatea Sacra de Immormentare și Bine Facere a Evreilor din Bucuresti" (Sacred Burial and Benevolent Society of the Jews of Bucharest). Through the fame it achieved it raised the moral status of the entire Jewish community. The administration of the Society, the decorum with which its functions were conducted and the manner in which the cemeteries were kept, speak eloquently ^{for} ~~of~~ its efficiency.

Due to its splendid administration, the Jewish hospital was also placed under the jurisdiction of the Burial Society.

The Society filled the place of an organized Jewish community, which was then lacking. During the course of thirty-two years there was hardly an occasion or a need to which it failed to respond. Up to the second World War, the Burial Society in Bucharest maintained three cemeteries, lent help to the poor in cases of death, and subsidized the Jewish community.

The cemetery of Strada Sevastopole, where Spanish Jews are interred, is the oldest in Bucharest. There is a second cemetery in Shoseaua Colonel Mihai Ghica which has the appearance of a beautiful park; here ~~with~~ Jewish heroes of 1877 and those of the first World war (1918) are buried.

The Bucharest synagogues also contributed substantially to the development of the community. The Spanish Jews did not have a house of worship. They performed their religious ceremonies in a rented house. Having increased in number they organized a Sephardic Burial Society in 1811. Without separating themselves from the Jewish community, they built a Spanish synagogue, for which permission was given in 1818.

The Jewish community of Bucharest had increased considerably even before the beginning of the 19th century. Thus by 1832, when it was organized, there were ten synagogues in the city, in addition to the one of the Spanish Jews. One of these was the synagogue of the tailors, which played an important part in the life of the Jewish artisans of Bucharest.

In 1857 the Jews in Bucharest undertook to erect what is

today known as the Coral Temple. Owing to the fact that the Temple ^{as} ~~was~~ a religious institution ^{was} under the jurisdiction of the Minister of Cults, it was compulsory for foreign Jewish subjects desiring to become members, to renounce their foreign allegiance.

As soon as the Temple was finished a petition was circulated and signatures were solicited from Christian citizens, requesting the government to sequestrate the building and make it church property, or have it razed. Aside from this unfriendly attitude on the part of the Christians, the Jewish leaders in Bucharest had to struggle against the opposition of the Orthodox Jews, who believed that the Temple was merely another missionary scheme to lead the Jews astray.

In 1867 it was attacked by a mob and demolished. The work of repairing the great damage was speeded and finally, on July 6th of that year, the Temple was dedicated with great solemnity.

The first preacher of the new Coral Temple was Antoine (Anton) Levy, under whose ministrations the Roumanian language was introduced into the services. Jacob Lobel was its first president. After Levy, who left to ^{take} ~~assume~~ the pulpit of the Neuschoetz Temple in Jassy, Leopold Rokonstein, previously rabbi in Grosswardein (Hungary), was elected rabbi. He was succeeded within a year by Dr. Moritz Beck, who introduced confirmation of girls. The first such ceremony being held in that Temple in 1874. In 1901 Dr. Adolph Stern was elected president of the Temple.

It was the unfortunate lot of the Jewish community of Bucharest to be considerably disturbed and have its development hindered by conflicts between rabbis ^{rabbis and} and between rabbis and the

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community. Such dissensions, strife, and violent differences of opinion, so prevalent in Jewish communal life, together with open political persecutions by the Roumanian government, necessarily affected and impeded the administration of communal affairs. Such a major controversy took place in the fourth decade of the 19th century between Rabbi Haim (Hayim) Focshaner, who served as chief rabbi of Bucharest in 1823, and Rabbi David Heilpern (or Halpern, as he is also frequently called). This dispute is so interesting that it is worth citing in detail:

Rabbi David Heilpern, who served as spiritual leader in Bucharest from 1833 to 1839, came originally from Russia, the son of a very learned and reputable rabbi there. Called "Duvidl" by his partisans, and "Dudichel" by his opponents, who included the youth, artisans, and tailors of the capital, he was first engaged as Hazan (cantor) of the synagogue. Gradually he gained a reputation as a scholar and ~~soon~~ won the respect and admiration of the humble classes, who liked his fine sermons. As a result of such popularity, and by means of intrigues carried on among the congregation, Heilpern succeeded in driving out the aged Focshaner, who was rabbi of the congregation. Indeed, he caused Focshaner to be abused, insulted and beaten, and forced him to leave the city in humiliation. Heilpern thus succeeded in gaining the occupancy of his aged coreligionist's pulpit.

But this was not the end of the matter. For Rabbi Focshaner, too, had a strong following, obviously composed of the elite Jews of Bucharest. The substitution of Heilpern for Focshaner did not

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pass without ~~causing~~ considerable unrest within the community. The leaders and wealthier Jews refused to acknowledge Heilpern as their spiritual leader as long as the working class and the "peddlers" adhered to him. The two parties continued this fight for a long time. Both resorted to the use of boyar influence and the matter even reached Prince Alexander Ghica; but so bitterly had it been waged that even this ruler's influence could not stop it. It finally reached the courts in 1836 and was appealed to the Sultan at Constantinople. The outcome of this strife was that Heilpern's followers succeeded in having the government recognize him as the rabbi of the Jewish community. Even before the dispute was brought into the courts in 1836, Heilpern had organized the tailors' guild, framed their constitution and by-laws and placed their synagogue on a legal basis. This was his last act, for he never returned to Bucharest from Turkey.

Now a new obstacle sprang up. None of the wealthy Jews of Bucharest wanted to accept the newly elected Staroste, so that they should not thereby have to acknowledge Heilpern as the rabbi of the synagogue, much less sit and work with him. In order to avoid the ill consequences which such refusal might bring, and in order that the community might not be left without leadership, Heilpern appointed two of his adherents as provisional administrators, with the title of "Epitropi", who were to serve until more representative men were found to fill this office. Incidentally, it would appear that from that time on the title of "Epitropia" (Board of Guardians) was applied to the Jewish Kehillah of Bucharest. ~~Schwarzfeld,~~

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However, believed that the title "Epitrop" was brought from Greece where the administrators of the Agu were thus known after the introduction of the Organic Law.

Rabbi Heilpern had built his rabbinate on a foundation of intrigue and discord. He therefore met with poetic justice in the form of a shameful fate, since his downfall was similarly caused by constant undermining and intrigue. He fell into the pit which he had dug for his predecessor.

A correspondent of the Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums, under date of July 1, 1839, reported from Bucharest the following interesting details of the tribulation through which Rabbi Heilpern went, the details of which constitute a rather dark chapter in the history of the Jewish community of Bucharest.

"The great Jewish community in this city has had no rabbi for some time. The deplorable disputes which will require sometime to be adjusted ^{will} delay the appointment of a rabbi to fill the pulpit, which Rabbi Halpern was forced to vacate in a tragic manner. On account of some claim of money alleged to be due him, he was forced to sue several persons who had farmed the collection of the meat tax, out of which the Jewish institutions were maintained. On June 6, 1834, judgment was rendered in his favor. The greater part of the Jewish community was satisfied to accept that judgment, and the 'Epitrops' executed an instrument in writing to that effect. Prince Alexander Dimitrie Chica affirmed the judgment, and affixed his official seal thereto.

"However, when execution was issued for its collection, the

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opposition succeeded in putting some obstacles in the way. Forty-five petitions addressed by that tireless rabbi to the authorities to enforce the execution of his judgment remained without effect.

"After waiting in vain for a year and a half, the rabbi finally obtained a passport and left for Constantinople. But something worse was in store for him. By order of the Sultan, at that time suzerain of Wallachia, the rabbi's affairs were investigated by Belicia Effendi, and the rabbi found himself under charges, arrested, put in chains, and banished to Brusa, Asia. Here he pined away for months in prison and under home arrest, and was finally set free as a result of the efforts of his wife. He even obtained permission to return to Constantinople, where he hoped in vain to have his case settled. Thus the unfortunate rabbi lost his pulpit, all he possessed, and his health.

"The community is now in litigation with those tax contractors, and in all probability, it will not come out victorious."

The most fertile and productive period in Roumania Jewish life was the brief stay in Bucharest -- from 1859 to 1864 -- of the famous Rabbi Malbim. His actual name was Meir Lob ben Jehiel Michael, but he was known frequently both as Malbim, a name formed from the initial letters of the Hebrew words forming his name, and as Meyer Lebish. ~~Malbim~~ Malbim was born in the city of Volochisk (Russia) in 1809, and died at Kiev in 1879; ^{he} published his valuable commentary on the Pentateuch in Bucharest, ^{Some parts of} ~~some parts of~~ ^{this work} he had already ~~been~~ printed even before his arrival in that city. Likewise, he wrote there, in 1860, his commentary on the Biblical books of Esther and

the Song of Songs. His Sifra, also written in the Roumanian capital, is the most outstanding work on the Halachic Midrash. Extremely remarkable is the fact that, notwithstanding the turbulent brief period through which he went, and the constant battle which he was forced to carry on during those five years against a strong and stubborn opposition, he still was able to find sufficient time and peace of mind to produce a work which will live forever in the realm of Hebrew literature.

The congregation of the Coral Temple in Bucharest leaned toward reform, not quite in the sense of modern American ² Reform, but in the sense that its members wanted to break away from ultra Orthodoxy. The very name "Temple" which they adopted, instead of "synagogue", implied progress, according to their view. Living as they did in the capital of Roumania, they were touched by the spirit of the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) with its full implication of sympathy and a desire for modern knowledge). This spirit had penetrated into ^{that} their part of Europe, a land which itself leaned toward Western European civilization. They, therefore, wanted their spiritual leader, coming from a civilized country, to pave the way toward such cultural and intellectual progress and act as their guide along this road.

The fame of Rabbi Meyer Lebish Malbim had reached them. Since he came from a congregation in Prussia, they felt sure that such an Orthodox rabbi, although not ultra-Reform, might satisfy all factions in the community, particularly that element which was not quite ready for a change. The pulpit of the Coral Temple was then offered to this great scholar in 1858, at a salary of 3,000 florins annually,

in addition to other emoluments usually associated with the office of rabbi. ~~He~~ Malbim accepted, inasmuch as he believed that the pulpit which he then occupied in the little city of Kempen, Prussia, was not sufficiently large for his abilities.

Malbim was greatly beloved in his Prussian congregation and city, and when he departed he left a sad void in that Jewish community. Its members found it very difficult to part with him, since he had lived among them all his life. When he left, they accompanied him beyond the town limits, and went with him to the cemetery, where he wished to bid good-bye to his parents and to his daughter, whose remains were resting there. In this very house of eternal peace the members of his congregation raised a considerable sum of money, sufficient to enable him to pay the fare for his long journey. For they knew how poor he was, since, ^{despite} ~~his small~~ ~~income~~, he was wont to ^{let the needy} share a good part of it, ~~with~~ ~~the needy.~~

Even at this late hour they pleaded with him to remain in his position. But he was unable to yield. He did promise them, however, that if he ever found that the pulpit in Bucharest was not to his liking, he would return to Kempen. They promised to keep his pulpit unoccupied for some time.

It is obvious that Rabbi Malbim did not know what was in store for him in Bucharest. In Kempen he had to deal with a community consisting of only one kind of Jews -- Prussian. In Bucharest he found a congregation whose members formed an agglomeration of Wallachian, Austrian, Prussian, Hungarian, Polish, and Russian Jews, each category differing radically from all the others. It was only natural that there were

many dissenters who were dissatisfied with the election of the new rabbi, and who were unwilling to drop the matter even after the election was over. The meetings held during the year following his election were at times extremely and inevitably turbulent. For it was no easy matter to maintain peace and harmony in such a discordant community.

To make matters worse, the members of the Coral Temple congregation considered themselves far more advanced than their co-religionists in Modavia. They were, to some degree, progressive, having a penchant toward the West in their language and habits of life. They therefore wanted their spiritual leader to lead them in that direction-- Westward. But Rabbi Malbin was far from cherishing such an idea. He was a profound Talmudist, thoroughly Orthodox in his tenets and practices. Although well read in literature, particularly the classics, he was still a preacher of the old Orthodox school, adhering to the Derash (interpretation) and to Pilpul (casuistry, or Sophistry). Still worse, he preached in the language known as "jargon" (Yiddish), whereas the progressives wanted German to be the language of his sermons. In his first three sermons, delivered in Yiddish, he expressed an aversion for the Jewish normal school, and advocated the study of the Mishnah and Talmud as well as the retention of the Heders (elementary Hebrew schools), with their unenlightened and incompetent Melammedim (teachers).

When Rabbi Malbin arrived in the capital, in 1859, he was given a royal reception. Over 200 carriages formed the caravan which welcomed him, and he was escorted in triumph to the house which had been prepared for him. But the first sermon he preached proved disappointing

to the progressives, ~~who stated that it contained too much piety.~~
The lower strata remained indifferent to his preaching, since his themes were foreign to them and his expounding of Jewish lore was beyond their grasp. The result was disastrous both to the community and to its spiritual head. For instead of becoming united, it became more disrupted, and hopelessly split into irreconcilable factions. The more one faction supported the rabbi, the more strongly did another, or several others, oppose him. When he endeavored to maintain his dignity and avoid being dragged into their controversies, he was charged with being conceited, with holding himself aloof, with considering his members beneath him.

The Roumanian Jews, particularly those in Bucharest, had two pictures before them. One was that of the graduation exercises held in the Jewish school, in the presence of government representatives, who expressed their admiration for the work achieved by the Jewish children. The other, a dark one, was that painted by their rabbi, who was irreconcilably opposed to Jewish modern schools. Rabbi Malbim preached sermons in stentorian tones telling of the danger which these schools constituted for Judaism, and of the serious crimes which Jewish parents were committing by sending their children to them. To enroll Jewish children in such schools, he held, was tantamount to turning them over to Satan, and such parents ought to go into mourning and sit Shivah (the seven day period of mourning) over their children enrolled in them.

It was only natural that the fiery words of the rabbi should have found an echo among the members of the community. The great masses heeded his warnings, and on that very day, after the school graduation exercises, Rabbi Malbim founded a Talmud Torah. Children in large

numbers were taken to the Dimbovitza river to "cleanse" them from the "dross" of the modern school, and were placed under the care of Melammedim, to be instructed in "jargon" under the systemless Heder. The resentment of the enlightened Jews was strong and bitter, and they resorted to extreme measures.

This controversy finally reached the press. Each side gave its version, for the enlightenment of the readers, and in so doing did not spare the opposition. ~~As a result~~ ^{of this} they gave their Christian neighbors an opportunity to learn about the utter lack of unity and discipline prevailing in Jewish life, and of the unpleasant inner workings of the Jewish community. Whichever side may have been right, whatever "compliments" the contending parties paid each other, the name "Jew" certainly did not gain any advantage therefrom, but necessarily lost a great deal. After more than four years of constant strife and bickering, both sides became exhausted by the incessant fighting; even enthusiasm for or hatred of the rabbi began to wane. But peace was not yet in sight.

One may gain an idea of the extremes to which Rabbi Malbim's opponents went from the following sad incident:

On a Purim evening a number of outstanding Jews were assembled in the home of Rabbi Malbim, celebrating the historical event of this minor holiday. A messenger delivered a box addressed to the rabbi. When opened, it was found to contain the head of a swine, holding a lobster in its mouth, and a note which read: "We, the leaders and enlightened Jews of this city, have the honor to offer to our torch-bearer a Shalach Monos (Purim gift), taken from the delicacies and sweets spread before us, and remain his servants, appreciators and respecters."

One of the dissenting parties brought ~~into~~ to the city a Shochet of their own, and wished to compel all the people to eat only the meat of the animals that he slaughtered. This merely increased the bitterness and widened the schism still more. The other Shochetim had not been paid for six months, in order to compel them to share the work of slaughtering with the new Shochet. Teachers and Dayanim (rabbinical judges) were then engaged, but they proved personae non gratae.

When the news leaked out that Rabbi Malbim had decided to resign his post, the strife reached its climax. Over 2,000 persons assembled in front of his home, shouting threats against his opponents and yelling that they would not let him go. "We want our rabbi to remain," they cried.

The controversy with Rabbi Malbim finally ended on March 18, 1864, when the rabbi of the Roumanian capital was taken from his home by the police, placed in a cab and escorted beyond the boundary line -- expelled from the city.

When the Jewish community of Kempen heard of this, they issued a bitter attack upon the Jews of Roumania, employing such language that the Hebrew periodical Hamaggid refused to publish it. It then appeared in the Halebanon. But even this newspaper would not have lent its columns to the printing of such an enraged attack had it not been for the accusation made by the Roumanian Jews that the rabbi had caused strife even in Kempen, where he had formerly held the ~~the~~ pulpit, and that they were glad to get rid of him.

Besides Rabbi Malbim there were two other victims of this unfortunate strife. One was the society Cultura Israelita (Jewish Culture), which had been organized by Dr. Julius Barasch, and which

now ceased to function. The other was the society organized for the promotion of the Hebrew language, which was also dissolved.

The strife developed into a public scandal, embarrassing the Jews of Bucharest in the eyes of the non-Jews. Their discomfiture was emphasized later in the following way:

On New Year's Day, 1865, the clergy and the leaders of the nationalities called at the palace to extend their good wishes to Prince Cuza for the new year. The Jewish leaders -- both the Sephardic and the Ashkenazic -- were there also, waiting in an anteroom for their turn to be received in the throne room. After they had waited for some time, they were told that they were not to be received in the large reception hall. They were led into another salon, and after receiving their good wishes the prince explained to them: "I could not receive you in the Grand Hall, because you have no rabbi" (it was the rule to receive the spiritual head first). To this one of the Sephardic representatives replied: "We had one, but he left for Palestine; they, the Ashkenazim, had Rabbi Malbim, and they drove him out."

Then the Prince replied: "I do not know of your schism, who you are, and who they are. I only know that I have Jews in my country. Get yourselves a proper rabbi, and I will grant you the proper recognition you deserve. If you have some educated sons, send them to me and I will see that they are properly placed somewhere."

In spite of the internal friction, communal life was expanding. Various organizations came into being. In 1858 the First Fraternal Sick and Death Benefit Society of Bucharest, with membership of 125, was organized. In those years the government was sympathetic toward the Jewish community. When the Jews of Bucharest undertook to erect a

hospital, the Minister of the Interior promised government support and permitted them to conduct a lottery for raising funds.

In 1874 many Jews from the rural districts of Moldavia and Galicia established themselves in Bucharest. They came to the capital without financial means, and grasped at anything that appeared to offer them an opportunity of procuring an existence. Many of them succeeded in earning a comfortable living, and some even attained wealth. A stream of intellectuals followed them and found the re-adjustment to the new conditions rather difficult.

In 1875 a group of prominent Jews formed an auxiliary committee for the Jewish hospital. A home for the aged was founded. Later, it developed into a great institution called "Elizabethum", in honor of Queen Elizabeth (Carmen Sylva).

Rabbi Isaac Taubes tried to bring some order into Jewish life. He united the Shochetim with the Jewish butchers and thus exercised strict control over the sale of Kosher meat. 80 butchers, of the total of 120, were accepted by him as reliable. Of 24 Shochetim he selected fourteen who possessed diplomas from Galician and Moldavian rabbis, and approved their status. The community was ordered to pay thirty lei weekly to every rejected butcher, and twenty lei to every rejected Shochet. Rabbi Taubes visited the Jewish butcher shops every day to supervise the proper conduct required in the selling of meat.

This arrangement was of short duration. New frictions arose between the Shochetim and the butchers. The rejected butchers continued to sell meat, pronounced as non-Kosher. The rabbi appealed to the people to buy Kosher meat only. With the aid of the local authorities, he succeeded finally in eliminating Treifa meat from the Jewish butcher shops.

In 1874 the Jewish community was dissolved, and remained so for a number of years without legal status. Numerous frustrated attempts were made to bring it back to life. At that time Bucharest numbered 150 Jewish organizations including thirty-six synagogues and forty mutual aid societies.

The Jewish charitable organizations were merged in 1889 into one association called the "Mixed Committee of Charity." Its object was to avoid unnecessary duplication of effort and expense.

By that year the Jews in Bucharest numbered about 100, 000. They were still divided into various groups and factions with separate synagogues and clergymen.

The Jewish community of Bucharest was organized as late as 1919. At that time the city counted thirty-six temples and synagogues, twelve primary schools for boys and girls, two gymnasiums, a commercial school, a professional school for girls, a trade school, two hospitals, two orphan asylums, a society for the support of the poorhouse, and a burial place for the poor. In January, 1920, a conference of the local rabbis was held for the purpose of organizing the central rabbinate. By 1922 with a further increase in the Jewish population, the annual budget of the community was 8, 966,937.20 lei; it maintained a chief rabbi and twelve assistant rabbis at the head of their respective congregations.

In 1923, a convention of the Jewish committee of the Old Kingdom was held at Bucharest. It set up a uniform system of instruction. At that time the following noteworthy schools were maintained at Bucharest; Cultura, Max Asiel, Ciocanel, Rachel and

Philip Focshaner, Goldfarb, Instructiunea, Jacob and Caroline Lobel, Moria, M. Asiel in Strada Sevastopol, Renetti Roman, Scoalele Unite, Zion , Jeshurun, Malbia, and Progresul. Their annual budget exceeded 3, 000 000 lei.

In 1923 the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee contributed the sum of \$2,000 for the social work of the Bucharest Jewish community. Four kitchens for the poor were maintained, two sanitoriums, two hospitals, a dispensary, pasteurized milk stations for babies, a home for the aged, and three orphan asylums.

In 1925 the community organization consisted of five sections: administration, religious, cultural, social service, and Hevre Kedoshe. Every Jewish resident in Bucharest was a member of the community, paying annual dues. The revenue of the community was derived from membership dues (the minimum being twelve lei per annum), the government subsidy, the statistical birth tax, religious ceremonies, the burial tax, donations, the hospital, the Gabela, and from the kitchen and bath house.

Rabbis were elected for three years. Each Temple or synagogue had a rabbi, elected by its congregation, but subject to the communities' approval. The rabbis were divided into two classes: cultural and ritual. The former had to be university graduates and possess a certificate of ordination. The latter had rabbinical authority, and had to have a certificate of authorization from a Beth Din (rabbinic board). Every Beth Din had a Baal Horaah, a modern rabbi, and a Dayan (rabbinical judge).

Bucharest in that year had two Kultusgemeinden, an Ashkenazic and a Sephardic; two B'nai B'rith lodges; a hospital (in addition to Dr. Ghelehrter's, called Iubirea De Gameni (Love of Mankind); thirty-five temples and synagogues; three asylums; two lyceums; one girls' trade school; eight schools for boys; four schools for girls; five Zionist societies; one kindergarten; four school kitchens; two student aid societies.

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The cultural societies and clubs included: Libertatea, Unirea, Cercul Forestier, Cercul Medical, Junimea Studiosa Medicala, Israelita, Asociatia Generala a Studentilor Evrei din Bucuresti, Societatea Culturala Filantropica, Cercul Sionist Idealul, Sectiunea AVOIDAS Sion, Hasmonea, and Hebronia.

There were two libraries, the Daniel Marcus, and the Libertatea.

✓ There were also Baraschium and the Muzeul Templei Coral libraries.

In 1925, the Sephardic community, organized in 1730, had 1,100 members, two temples, two schools for boys and girls respectively, a trade school, one cemetery, and a sick aid society. ^{The late} Dr. Jacob Niemirower was chief rabbi.

The Sephardic community had the following charitable societies; Umanitatea, Hesed Veemeth, Pietatea, Armonia, Cantina Scolara, Progresul (which carried on cultural work among Jews and aided a number of Jewish students through college), Ezra Bezaroth, Cooperativa, and Renasterea.

In 1925 the rabbinate of Bucharest consisted of the following: Chief Rabbi Jacob Niemirower, M. Schonfeld, M. Berger, M. Rabinovici, A. Lordai, N. Schafran, J.H. Katz, H. Guttman, Dr. Alperin, Dr. B. Reicher, and S. Sandleman.

3) PIATRA (NEAMTZ)

Piatra is an old ^{and} historical city, situated in the Neamtz district, in the northern part of Moldavia. It dates back to the Dacian era ^{and} ~~where~~ ^{there} Jews have lived down to this day.

The presence of Jews in that district is evidenced by testimony given in a case before the bishopric of Radauti, in 1685, in which Lupu the Jew is included among the signatures of boyars, officials and priests.

A hrisov dated July 19, 1766, issued by Grigory Alexander Ghica, grants the Jews of Piatra permission to erect a new synagogue on the site of the old one.

The only remnant of that old synagogue, burned down in 1774, was the foundation of stone. Adjacent to the synagogue stood a frame house in which the Jews worshipped. Under Prince Grigory Ghica, the old synagogue was rebuilt in 1776. The Pinkas of this Jewish community contains a record of its inauguration, bearing the date 1777.

In 1821 the rebuilt synagogue again burned down to its very foundation. Two years later, on October 6, 1823, Prince John Sandu Sturza issued a decree granting the congregation permission to erect a brick synagogue on the site of the old one.

The decree issued by Sturza in 1827 to the Jews of Piatra with reference to rental is of historic interest. They had to pay fifty lei annually ~~for~~ ground rent to the church on two buildings -- the synagogue and the bathhouse -- which they had erected on church land.

But this synagogue, too, was short lived. In spite of the

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opposition of the Jews of Neamtz it was demolished together with the bathhouse, in order to enable the monastery to erect a hospital on the site. A fight ensued between Jews and the demolition workers, in which several Jews and as many laborers were killed or wounded. The Kahal appealed to the ^PPrince. Not obtaining redress they appealed to the vizier at Constantinople, who ordered the monastery to pay 1,500 ducats ~~in~~ damages and furnish another site for their institution.

The matter dragged along to the year 1855, when both factions reached an agreement. The princely decree issued on July 3~~rd~~ of that year, approved the settlement, which granted the Jewish community the right to build the synagogue and the school house on the sites given to them by the Synod of the holy Monastery Neamtz and Secu.

Up to the year 1851, when the Jewish community was organized in Piatra, the Burial Society was in charge of Jewish institutions. It sold pews in the synagogue, and had authority to execute deeds of conveyance.

Besides the old synagogue, the Kahal at Piatra also had a Beth Hamidrash erected in 1839, next to the synagogue.

Of special interest is the anathema (Herem) pronounced in 1855 by a rabbi at Neamtz against all persons who dared to bake potato flour mixed with wheat flour, on the ground that the blessing "Hamotzi lehem min haaretz" (Who bringest forth bread from the ground) would be sacrilegious. To make doubly sure that no one should do this, he warned his congregation repeatedly that those who transgressed this ban were running the risk of having their children die in punishment therefor. It need hardly be said that the rabbi's anathema was rarely violated, since the members of the Neamtz community were unwilling to

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take that risk. The same rabbi's energetic foresight was responsible for the existence of the Neamtz synagogue. One day, during the Holo-Hamoed (intermediate days) of Passover, he was shocked when he saw Jewish bricklayers working on the building. He ordered them to stop working at once, predicting that if they did not, the walls of the synagogue would topple over within a year. The workmen heeded his words and the synagogue remained in existence for several years.

In 1868 the Kahal Congregation undertook an alteration of the synagogue, but the contractor defaulted and the project was abandoned. In 1884 new funds and material were provided, but again, due to the internal discord, the work did not begin. In 1888 a suit was brought against the Congregation by a former lessee of the public bath house to recover damages; in this suit the plaintiff demanded that the synagogue be sold at public auction to satisfy the judgment. However, on November 10, 1888, the matter was settled and the sale did not take place.

In 1889 another attempt was made to rebuild the synagogue, but, due to the financial crisis from which the country was then suffering, the project was postponed .

In 1920 a committee was formed to reconstruct the synagogue. In order to raise the necessary funds, its members asked the mayor of the city for permission to conduct a lottery to the extent of 750,000 lei, out of which they figured that they would be able to clear the sum of 500,000 lei. But this plan also fell through.

Piatra was not considered a city with a large Jewish population, yet it had several houses of worship called "Beth Hamedrosh"

Among these were: (1) The Beth Hamedrosh of the Tailors, whose Pinkas dated from 1827; (2) The Beth Hamedrosh Hagodol, established in 1831; (3) The Beth Hamedrosh, called "Klaazel", established in 1842; (4) The Chabad (Hasidim), established in 1844; (5) The Maratei, established in 1859; (6) The Beth Hamedrosh (Garibaldi", established in 1863; (7) The Bricklayers' Beth Hamedrosh, established in 1867; (8) That of the Shoemakers, established in 1873; (9) The Beth Hamedrosh Avrom Melamed, established in 1875; (10) That of the Furriers, established in 1878 (11) That of the Old Railway Station; (12) That of the artisans Sheves Achim, established in 1893; (13) That of Mahalaua Crecista, established in 1897; (14) That of Durmanesti Street, established in 1898. (15) The Beth Hamedrosh of the artisans Wahrer Sheves Achim, established in 1903; (16) The Rabbi's Beth Hamedrosh, held in his house; (17) The Klaazel (Klausel) of Rabbi Avram Brandwein.

The community maintained a parochial school, a Jewish commercial school, a school for boys and one for girls, and a professional school. A canteen was also established for the Jewish schools.

In Jewish education Piatra ranked second to Jassy. The community's Talmud Torah was more than three centuries old. In the synagogues, in addition to worship, several groups were engaged in the study of the Talmud and the Bible. Several Chevre Mishnayoth and Chev^e Tillim were also active.

In their secular activities the Jews of Piatra were inclined toward modernism. They published several Jewish papers: Ecoul Obstei, in Roumanian; Lebanon and Shekel, also in Roumanian; Zeire Zion

in Hebrew and Roumanian; Hamekitz, in Hebrew, by Mibashan, in association with B. Sansony, A. Fechel, and A.L. Zisu.

The old cemetery had been in existence over three centuries, and in 1872 a new cemetery was opened.

There were many charitable associations and organizations: The Menorah Society, of the order B'nai B'rith, organized in 1874; Ahavas Chesed, organized in 1877; Lumea, organized in 1878, Misgav Ladai; in 1868; Lev Echad (1909); Ajutorul (1880); Cultura (1889); Moria (1881); Keduma (1884); Unirea (1885); Tikvah (1889); Fratia (1892); Oise Chesed (1921); Achnusas' Kallah (1906); Amicitia (1906).

The mutual benefit organizations included: Lumina, Jerusalem, Ahavas Israel, Bradul, Societatea Functionarilor Comerciali, Societatea Negustorilor Voiajori, Societatea Benai Iankef, Keneseth Israel, Oeinul, Junimea Studioasa.

The following Jewish women's organizations deserve mention: Caritatea, Speranta, Cultura, Hatikvah, Amicitia, Sarona, Societatea Damelor Meseriashi. Several Jewish trade organizations were active, such as: The Shoemaker's Society, Sheves Achim, Munca, Machzike Hadas, ~~Wahrer~~ Sheves Achim, Fraternitatea, Uniunea Meseriasilor Israeliti, Meseriashi Templar Soerantza, Oise Chesed and Achim Verein.

Beginning with the era of emigration, several organizations were formed by the Jews of Piatra in groups: Group 1: Lev Echad; Group 2: La Viisoara, Montefiore; Group 3: Haim Faibish; Group 4: Don Isaac Abarbanel; Group 5; Max Nordau; Group 6: Achidas Achim. Their purpose was to assist those who desired to emigrate.

When the Palestine movement in Roumania began in the 1880's, the following organizations were formed in Piatra: Sucursale, Committee (1882), Society Oliphant, Junimea, Avidas Adumo, Isheb Eretz Yisrael, Ahavas Zion, Atzile Benos Yisrael, Choveve Zion, B'nai Zion, Dr. K. Lippe, Benoth Zion, Dr. Herzl, Poale Zion, Zeire Zion, Hamachbeim, and Matithyou.

CHAPTER ~~FORTY~~ XLIX

A SUNDRY OF SMALL COMMUNITIES

BOTOSHANI

The Jewish community of Botoshani dates back to the 16th century. Judging from the inscriptions on Jewish grave-stones there, the cemetery existed in 1550, and there is evidence that the actual Jewish community was founded in 1540. Its development was rather slow. Jews were not nearly ^{so} numerous at that time as they were some three centuries later, and while the community, in course of time, came to own the institutions most important to Jewish life, i.e., the synagogue, bath house, hospital, and Talmud Torah school, these were usually in want, for lack of sufficient membership to maintain them.

A decree dated May 1, 1817, issued by Scarlat Calimachi, shows that there was a Jewish cemetery in Botoshani in 1600.

Polish Jews frequently came to Moldavia, doing an extensive business in importing woolens, and exporting cattle. Botoshani was the center of the cattle market at that time.

In 1810 Botoshani opened a new Jewish cemetery.

In 1813 one Abraham Summer bought a house, and seven years later erected a synagogue bearing his name. His son, Hersh, undertook to build a hospital in 1864, but the city took away the land for public purposes.

Strife developed with the Jewish community, generally as a result of lack of harmony between rabbi and community, or

between Shochet and community. This discord was so violent that family life was seriously affected, and the matter was brought to the courts, on several occasions, a development which certainly reflected no credit on the Jews. One such dispute involving the two rabbis, Taubes and Meyerson, almost led to the closing of the Jewish school, and reached Parliament, where the Minister of Cults was interpellated with regard to the quarrel.

Like Bucharest, Botoshani had her "patriots" who conspired against the Jews and tried to stir up trouble. Thanks to the vigilance of the local authorities, under the prefect, Alecu Ventura, a conspiracy hatched in the 1800's was discovered in time, and those responsible were arrested. A raid on one of the homes of the Moldavians led to the finding of a great mass of scurrilous literature denouncing Jews and calling all Christians to exterminate them.

BERLAD

No record of the early history of the Jews of Berlad is available prior to the middle of the 17th century.

The Jewish community in that city did not live in peace, chiefly as a result of the Gabela. As long as it was under government jurisdiction, the members of the community managed to get along. But from 1866 on, when the government withdrew its support, discord began.

While the number of Jews in the city of Berlad was not large, they were, nevertheless, divided into several factions: the

elite, the Hasidim, the artisans, and the progressives. Each of these four groups claimed its own prerogative in the conduct of community affairs. They rarely agreed when the question of the selection of a rabbi or Shochet was involved.

Such conditions prevailed in Berlad a long time, for the strife continued over twenty years. As a result, the Jews of the city remained without a hospital, and had no Jewish school.

The dissenting factions finally agreed to establish a meat tax out of which the Jewish school and the hospital would be maintained, the poor assisted, and the clergy paid. But the artisan faction, dissatisfied, brought a Shochet of their own, and refused to contribute to the needs of the community. As a result, the Jewish institutions again declined.

BUHUSHI

The town of Buhushi, in the district of Neamtz, was founded in 1823 by a group of Jews under the terms of a princely decree which granted them ground for a synagogue, a bath house, and a cemetery.

Although up to the year 1821 Buhushi was a rural hamlet, Jews owned the greater part of it. Gradually they developed it, so that by 1850, among other Jewish institutions, they maintained a Talmud Torah school.

With the settlement of Rebbe Friedman in 1860, and the large following which he acquired, the town grew rapidly. In 1897 the Jewish community maintained a Roumanian Jewish school, and in 1908 a theological seminary called Beth Israel was established.

Among the rabbis of the town of Buhushi we shall mention Mordeche Sadegherer, who served from 1837 to 1850, when he went to Palestine; Shloime (Solomon) Bucener, who was spiritual leader of the community for only a short time; Moishe (Moses) David Shapira, who, after holding the pulpit for four year , was called to Galatz; Shabse (Sattatai Segal, who served for twenty years), and Benzoin Roller, ~~his~~ his successor.

The Hasidic Rebbes of the town included Itzele Friedman, a member of the Friedman family, and brother of Abraham Jacob of Sadagora. He "revealed" himself at Ismail, where he remained for three years, and then moved to Buhushi, in 1860. Here the Almighty had been so good to him that at the end of three years he built a sumptuous mansion for himself, as well as stables for his horses and carriages. The mansion consisted of thirty rooms, and attached to it was a house of worship. In this place the Rebbe was blessed with five sons and eight daughters. He had a large following, many of whom settled in Buhushi, contributing greatly to the increase of the local Jewish population.

PLOESTI

Ploesti is one of the oldest cities in Wallachia. In that city Mihai the Brave, on his march to Adrianople, in 1599, received the oath of allegiance from his army. Here he found Jews who had been living in Ploesti for many years. The exact date of Jewish settlement in Ploesti is uncertain.

A Hebrew source of 1819 tells of a Jewish cemetery ground bought from a widow named Malca. The paper was signed by the local rabbi,

Moise Behr, and by the Shochet, Shloime.

Ashkenazim (German and Polish Jews) came first, but later, in 1806, Sephardim (Spanish Jews) settled in the city. One street was exclusively Jewish; it is known today as the Strada Vlad Zepesh. By 1833 the Ashkenazim had two synagogues and the Sephardim only one. Discord developed between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim and they eventually brought their controversy before the Beth Din (Jewish Court) in Bucharest. One of the points involved was that the Jewish burial society of the Ashkenazim declined to admit Spanish Jews as members.

The cemetery purchased in 1819 was not the oldest Jewish burial place. There was a cemetery as early as the 18th century. The historian, Psanter, discovered sepulchral inscriptions of 1719 and 1740.

It may be assumed that the Jewish community in Ploesti was organized on the pattern of ^{the} one in Bucharest. The community was designated as a "Breasla" (guild), and was managed by a board headed by the president, called "Staroste". Like other Jewish communities, it was under the jurisdiction of the Staroste and the Hahambasha of Bucharest.

The Jewish Epitropia (communal board) operated directly with the government. Every Jewish traveler had to leave his passport at the office of the Epitropia, which had it registered with the police. The Epitropia issued local passports (Ravashes).

The headquarters of the Jewish community was in Bucharest, from which place all the communities in the province were supervised. At certain periods an epitrop (director) from headquarters made a tour

of inspection in the province, always accompanied by an armed soldier.

The salary of the rabbi of Ploesti at that time was eleven lei a week, which sum was later increased to two ducats (more than double), but it was not paid regularly. Thus, in 1840, due to discord in the community, the rabbi was not paid for more than a year, and his wife was compelled to peddle notions in order to support her husband and their children.

In the fifth decad of the 19th century there was a Gabela in Ploesti. The treasurer of this meat-tax was appointed by the Prince, and had power to enforce his authority.

The Jewish community of Ploesti had five synagogues, one of which was Spanish. But community affairs were conducted with the consent of both Ashkenazim and Sephardim. Membership dues in the community were a Zwanziger monthly (the Zwanziger was an Austrian gold coin worth about twenty lei; the leu was worth about nineteen cents and was equivalent to a French franc).

The community granted loans to the needy on pledges for a term of three months, with the privilege of a three months' extension if the borrower was unable to pay on time. At the end of six months the pledge could, technically, be sold and the surplus paid to the borrower.

While, materially, the Jews of Ploesti made considerable progress, like most of the Moldavian Jews, they neglected the cultural side. It was regarded as sufficient if they could read the prayers and write Yiddish. They hardly went much further than that in their education of their youth. Despite their ignorance, however, they were religious, in fact rather pious, in their own way, and superstitious. The rabbi ranked very high in this community by reason of the low cultural status of his congregation.

The only amusement they had was a nut game indulged in by young and old alike, and played in the courtyard of the synagogue every Sabbath afternoon and on holidays.

Hasidism had taken a strong hold of the Ploesti Jews, who adopted some of its customs, such as dancing in the Synagogue, at the observance of holidays and Sabbath. There were also several other peculiarly Hasidic customs objectionable to the average Jewish intellect.

Up to a certain time the Jews in Ploesti formed a separate quarter, where they lived apart from the rest of the population.

They had good reason for doing so, for they went through some dark days in the course of which their very lives were at stake. When, in 1824, Prince Grigory Chica passed through Ploesti on his way to his summer home, he noticed the absence of Jews, who were afraid to show themselves in the crowd. Upon ~~making~~ inquiry, he was told by

Constantin Focsha, a prominent Roumanian, that the vagabond Jews did not merit his attention. But later, when the Jewish banker, Hillel had occasion to visit him, the Prince learned the real reason. He then ordered the prefect of that district henceforth to place the Jews at the head of every procession which took place in the city.

On another occasion the Prince went there on the Jewish New Year. The rabbi shortened the usually lengthy service in the synagogue, and at the head of a procession, with the scrolls of the Law in his arms, was received with his congregation under a tent of verdure, where the Prince's arrival was awaited. When the Prince arrived, he greeted the rabbi first. The rabbi pronounced the customary blessing, to which the Prince said "Amen" and kissed the scrolls. On that occasion the Prince gave considerable attention to the Jewish leaders who called after the reception to pay their respects. He asked them to communicate with him directly whenever an injustice was done to them. "You are my children, like the rest," he told them.

In 1830 the Sephardic Jews demanded a burial society of their own. The demand was brought before the Jewish tribunal, consisting of the chief rabbi, the Staroste, and the chairman of the Burial Society of Bucharest. It was decided that (1) the Spanish Jews might have Rohetzim (washers of the dead) of their own; (2) ~~the Sephardim~~ be allowed to have equal rights with the Ashkenazim in the community, and the Gabela ~~was~~ be farmed out by joint consent; (3) neither side was ever to have the right to break away from the other and form a separate community.

BRAILA

The early history of the Jewish community of Braila is unknown. It is certain that the ground for the Great Synagogue was bought in 1832, after the Peace of Andrianople, by one Leizer Goldfinger, and built in 1836 under Prince Bibescu. Under the law in force at that time, it had to be built of brick and stone, but as a result of influence, permission was later granted to improve it, and it was then rebuilt entirely of brick. This synagogue was said to have been in possession of a rare scroll over 300 years old which, written on parchment and reinforced with calfskin, is believed to have been brought to Roumania, by a Dr. Manase who had settled in Jassy after the Spanish expulsion of 1492. After several centuries, one of his descendants settled in Braila, taking the scroll with him. The members of that Manase family were buried in an old cemetery, which disappeared in 1819 when Braila was destroyed by Russian bombardment.

At the time the Great Synagogue was built the city had a Jewish population of fifty-two families. The official list gave the total Jewish families as seventy-two. Of these, fourteen were officially recognized as indigenous. There were also fifty-eight alien Jewish families without any visible means of support. Under an order dated October 23, 1837, and numbered 7663, the police were directed to expel them "without giving them even one day's extension." Since at that time the police received no salary, but were paid proportionately from the fines collected, or received a certain percentage of the value of stolen objects recovered, they reaped a harvest from the Jews by expelling them from one point by day, and,

for a consideration, readmitting them at another point by night.

The majority of the Jews in Braila were artisans -- tailors, carpenters, cobblers, soapmakers, tinsmiths, glaziers, painters, etc. Some were longshoremen. The rest were engaged in business, and some of these reached a height of renown and wealth in commerce. One was a director in the Banca de Credit Roman. Many of the wealthy families sent their children to school in Vienna.

Among the seventy-two Jewish families living at Braila in the year 1836, the Sephardim were a small minority, but the synagogue was known as the "Frankische (Sephardic) Shul". This was due to the fact that the ground ~~was~~ was bought from a Spanish Jew named Bohoricu Cohen. This early synagogue, which preceded the Great Synagogue, was at first to accommodate all the Jews of the city. But later, when it became too small for such purpose, Leizer Goldfinger, originally from Bessarabia, donated ground for the erection of a new synagogue in 1832, the same year he came to settle in Braila. The deed of conveyance was officially authenticated as follows: "City Magistrate, Braila. Due to the fact that the Jew, Leizer Goldfinger, has paid the price of 220 lei, fixed by the Board of Directors for the Jewish Synagogue (located at Vospea de Galben (name of the section and street) situated at the rear of the tavern of Peter Botanagiu; being ten stanjeni in front and rear, by ten stanjeni one side, and twelve on the other side, total 110 stanjeni square; The magistrate has issued this certificate of perpetual ownership over the ground. Authorized by the proper (official)

signatures, and by affixing the official seal. At Braila, in the year 1832, October 17~~th~~. President P. Rubini; assistant, Ilie Matek Mareshiu."

On the reverse side of this deed there appeared an endorsement showing the discovery by the city surveyor of an error of 22 3/4 more stanjeni of ground, originally miscalculated, but going to the grantee synagogue. This was dated December 18, 1837.

It is of interest that on June 7, 1936 the Jewish community of Braila celebrated the one hundredth anniversary of the founding of its Great Synagogue.

A new temple was dedicated at Braila on Rosh Hashanah of the year 1863. Local officials and foreign consuls participated in the ceremony.

In 1878 the Jewish community donated the sum of 27,500 francs to the army fund. Bernard Mendel of Braila donated 2,000 francs for the same purpose, and an additional sum of 1,700 francs with which to buy uniforms for poor Christian men of the National Guard who lacked the means of doing so.

In 1918, when the Braila Lyceum was occupied by the military authorities, the Jews of the city turned over the building of the Jewish girls' school and the home for the aged to the Lyceum. Yet while the Lyceum's classes were being conducted in these two buildings, the faculty refused to admit Jews as students. When a committee of the city's outstanding Jews made representations to the Minister of Education, he replied that he could do nothing about the matter as long as the Jewish question remained unsolved.

FALTICENI

In 1782, with the founding of the town of Falticeni, the Jewish community established a synagogue, a cemetery, and a bath house. In 1828 a Jewish communal hospital was founded. The only fire apparatus in the town was furnished by the Jewish community, which also provided funds to supply the town with fire-fighting apparatus.

At the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries there was a shortage of physicians. This led, shortly thereafter, to the admission of Jewish physicians to Falticeni. Among those practicing there in 1842 were I. Finkelstein, a surgeon, and later, Drs. Butinger, Emil Toff, Gutman and Schapira. Among the Jewish taxpayers at Falticeni at that time were the Bercu brothers, and Samuel and Israel Focshaner, who were born there. Their father, David Focshaner, had settled in the town in 1772.

After the occupation of Bucovina by Austria in the latter part of the 18th century a number of Jews left Suceava and settled in Falticeni, where, under the terms of a princely decree, they erected buildings and opened shops. A ministerial order, issued on June 22, 1842, allowed ten Jews to be admitted to the local police.

When Prince Ghica visited Falticeni in 1850 the local boyars petitioned him to provide funds for the establishment of a city hospital. But despite his promise to do so, the Synod, for some unknown reason, opposed it.

In 1852 the foundation was laid for a synagogue building. When it was discovered that it was too near a church, construction was stopped, but through the intervention of the rabbi at Constantinople, the order directing the building of the synagogue to be halted was recalled.

CHAPTER ~~XIII~~ L
SCHOOLS
JEWISH EDUCATION IN ROUMANIA

There is no record of Jewish schools having existed in Moldavia up to the beginning of the 19th century. There is, however, some mention made of Talmud Torahs in certain places of that principality. These were modelled on the pattern of the Talmud Torah schools in Poland, but were not quite up to that standard. For, faulty as was the system of Jewish instruction in Poland, great scholars surpassing in erudition all other Jewish scholars in Europe, were produced there. Unfortunately, this cannot be said of the scholars turned out in Roumania at that time.

While Jewish culture was not altogether terra incognita in Roumania, among the Jews in Jassy and in the rest of Moldavia it was at a low level, and even at that, few Jewish communities followed its course. Only those Jews who were possessed of means made some effort to increase their knowledge, but without any thought of leaving something to posterity. Only after Polish Jewish scholars found their way into Moldavia, in the latter part of the 19th century did a breath of culture begin to animate Jewish life in that principality. These erudite Polish Jews who were imported by the wealthy Jews as tutors for their children also reflected their culture on the rest of the country in which they lived. Eventually, some of them went a little further, and even opened private schools in which, for a small remuneration paid every six months, the children of the less wealthy Jews received

instruction.

At the beginning of the 19th century Jewish religious subjects were taught to children in Talmud Torahs, sometimes called "Yeshivas" and in the Beth Hamidrash. The number of Jews in Jassy at that time was 30,000; the number of the Heders (known as Hedarim, also Chedorim, schools conducted by the Melammedim or Hebrew teachers), must have been more than 150 in Jassy alone. According to Vaillant, there were, in 1843, twelve Hedarim with twelve Melammedim who gave instruction to 653 children. But he was greatly mistaken; the Hedarim were very numerous, and their actual number must have been three times as great. Under the influence of the Polish and Russian Jews in the 19th century, and due to the anxiety of every Jewish father to have his sons know the prayers, Jewish children swarmed into the Hedarim in great numbers, so that there was hardly a Jewish street in Jassy without a Heder. The teachers were known as "Melammedim" (in the singular, "Melammed") but to their pupils they were "Rebbe". They received their pay directly from the parents, but had no fixed rate or scale of fees. This was often subject to bargaining. In this manner the poor were also able to send their children to the Hedarim and pay a small sum for their instruction.

The school term was called "zman" (literally "term" or "period") used in the sense of a semester.

There were also free schools called "Talmud Torahs" in Jassy, maintained by the Jewish community or through voluntary contributions. Books and clothing for these children were provided in

the same manner.

The Talmud Torah in Moldavia was an old institution, but it is not known just how old. Its system of instruction did not differ from the Heder. ~~That~~ ^A change must have taken place in 1860, when, at the initiative of the Roumanian government, Jewish schools were established. The Talmud Torah school was recognized by the government and placed under the supervision of the school board. The annual budget of the Talmud Torahs at that time was 18, 850 lei, subject to the government's approval. Up to that time instruction was given in Yiddish, but then the Roumanian language was introduced. First the reading of Hebrew was taught, then the Pentateuch, and finally the Talmud.

The "Yeshiva" with the exception of one school known as the "Zwolever Yeshiva" was unknown in Jassy. Besides this institution there was the Beth Hamidrash where Jewish youths -- also some adults -- would spend the day ~~with the community~~ under the tutelage of one or more of the learned persons of the community familiar with the Talmud. They read daily some of the rabbinical work available. With the advance of the

modern spirit and modern culture, the number of these schools and Chevres decreased considerably.

Up to 1841 the only Jewish schools in Roumania were those maintained by the Melammedim known as the Chedarim. These were usually located in an undesirable environment and had no system. These Melammedim would solicit Jewish parents twice a year -- spring and fall -- to send their children to their Heder. The one who possessed greater persuasive power would get the child.

These Hedarim were of two grades. The first was the Heder which took care of the beginners, boys and girls four years of age. The Belfer (assistant, helper, who was not necessarily a university graduate) would call for the little tots. In dry weather the infants would be driven in droves like sheep from their homes to the Heders and brought back in the same manner. In bad weather the Belfer would carry them on his back five or six at a time to and from school. At noontime he would fetch their lunches which he collected in a basket at their homes. If the pupil in the Heder did not get what his mother had sent for him there was never a complaint.

At the Heder the children were released into a dusty or muddy yard, without supervision. They received no attention except when they were called, one after another, for the "lesson". In the winter they were herded together in a hot room which had no ventilation.

The next higher grade, in which they were taught to read Hebrew, was under the tutorship of the same Melammed. The

instruction was the same - no system, no rules, and no order.

Next in rank was the Heder of the Melammed who taught reading and instruction in the prayers. This advanced instruction consisted of reading and translating the daily prayers and the weekly portion from the Pentateuch. This was done by the Melammed giving the meaning of each Hebrew word in Yiddish, which the pupils -- fifteen or twenty in number -- would repeat aloud in chorus several times. The rod was always handy on the table beside the books used by the teacher. The graduate of a Heder could go to a higher Melammed who gave instruction in the Talmud.

The first Jewish schools in Roumania were opened in 1841, at Jassy, established by English missionaries. The Jewish community of Jassy opened a school for its children in 1852, even then in the face of strong opposition by the Hasidim who believed ~~in~~ such schools and the school system would lead to ~~heresy, the~~ apostasy. A similar school, the first Jewish school at Bucharest was organized about the same time, in August, 1852, where, ~~according to tradition,~~ as late as 1865 there were only about 2,000 Jewish families. The Bucharest school of 1852 was under the direction of Naphtali Popper.

In 1853 the first modern Jewish school in Moldavia was established at Jassy in which instruction was also given in Roumanian. It opened with an enrollment of twenty pupils and one teacher who was soon replaced by one brought from Poland. Roumanian was taught by a Roumanian teacher. Benjamin Schwarzfeld was its director and received no salary for his services. The reactionary Jewish element, especially the Hasidim, looked upon this school as a non-Jewish institution. Rabbi Samuel Taubes was

so incensed that he devoted his Passover sermon that year to a condemnation of the school, and of those who were supporting it. He demanded that the children of those "apostates" be ostracised. However, all this opposition and the threats that were made had no effect on the schools sponsors and it continued until 1857 when it was forced to close for lack of funds.

Several Jewish schools were established in 1858 and 1859. In 1861 when communal Jewish schools were established. Leon Cirkes, a teacher, petitioned the minister of education that his private school for girls be subsidized to enable him to accept children of poor parents. His school functioned for twenty years and was instrumental in opening several more. Most of these schools were of short duration because of the strong campaign waged by the Melammedim and the prejudice of Jewish parents.

Beginning with 1858 the Roumanian government began to pay some attention to the Chedarim with the aim of transforming them into modern schools. The Melammedim opposed the introduction of the Roumanian language.

As early as 1821 some enlightened Jews of Jassy gave their children a modern education. They had to resist an intolerant environment but succeeded in including some of the parents to emulate their example. During the next decades (up to 1840) many Jewish families in Jassy had their children instructed in German and French.

The introduction of secular studies into the life of the Roumanian Jews did not terminate with the acquisition of one or more of the modern languages. The children were eventually

sent abroad to conclude their studies, and when they returned felt rather out of place.

About the year 1858 the Roumanian government appears to have ~~taken~~^{an} interest in Jewish affairs, particularly in the schools. For there is in existence a communication of July 9 of that year which shows that the Gabela was not being used properly in accordance with the provisions of the hrisov which created it. The schools were in such a deplorable state that they were ordered closed. In the same communication the minister asked the Jewish community of Jassy to open two boy schools as well as schools for girls. One school for boys and one for girls was to be opened in every community in the province in which the curriculum of the public schools was to be followed. He directed that these schools as well as the election of rabbis, should be under the supervision of the minister of Cults. In 1862 a third school was opened, They were closed a short time later as the result of a controversy within the Jewish community but were reopened in 1864.

Up to 1866 the government subsidized the Jewish schools;

~~and~~ thereafter they were maintained by the community.

With few exceptions the Jews in Moldavia did not send their children to the public schools.

The establishment and maintenance of a Jewish school in Roumania at that time was quite an undertaking. Opposition was extremely strong. The school established at Bucharest in 1852 managed to exist because of the government's support.

In 1860 the Bucharest school was taken over by the Minister of Cults, and Popper resigned his position. The banker, Solomon Halfan, then brought Antoine Levy from Alsace to take his place. When the controversy developed between Rabbi Malbim and the Jewish leaders, the government refused to interfere further in Jewish affairs and Levy was engaged as director of the school. He brought Jewish teachers from Hungary and Bohemia, but they were not welcomed by the Orthodox whose main objection was that Yiddish was replaced by Roumanian. The teachers were forced to resign.

In 1863 the Jews in Bucharest established a new school, which very soon earned a good reputation.

Between the years 1861 and 1872 three Jewish schools were organized but were forced to close due to lack of interest on the part of the community and also to the strong opposition of the Melammedim.

In 1873 a modern Jewish school known as the Jacob and Carolina Lobel School was opened in Bucharest with funds provided by Jacob and Carolina Lobel. It had an enrollment of 900 children, who were taught Hebrew, Roumanian, French, and German. Instruction was given in Roumanian. Besides this elementary school, the Jews

in Bucharest also established a trade school.

^A~~The~~ Talmud Torah and the Yeshiva of Rabbi Michael were at Jassy. A third school was established in 1862 on the Pacauraru, but due to discord among the communal members, all three schools were closed in 1863. In 1868 the banker Jacob Neuschetz of Jassy, founded a Jewish school for girls.

The Jewish school at Jassy known as the Schola Pedul Rosh, founded in 1866, developed so rapidly that within fifteen years it had an enrollment of 300 pupils, mostly children of the poor. An auxiliary of the school, the society Malbishe Nearim (clothers of boys) provided eighty of these poor children with shoes and clothing and with free books. Those who were able / paid a modest tuition. A circle of supporting members paid dues monthly. Economic crisis diminished the income but the Jewish community continued from 1883 on to contribute the sum of 150 lei monthly from the meat tax. The government cut the tax and the school lost its subsidy.

In the early 1870's Peixotto was instrumental in organizing a society under the name of "Societatea Pentru Cultura Israelita Romana" (Society for Roumanian Jewish Culture), with the object of fostering the existing Jewish school and to open a new ones in the provinces. Similar societies were organized, not only in Bucharest but in Jassy, Galatz, Botoshani and Bacau.

In 1873 the Jewish community in Jassy found it difficult to maintain the Jewish school for girls.

In 1888 a school for adults was organized in Jassy. In 1890 the community of Jassy still had the three Talmud Torah

schools, i.e., in Targu Cucului, in Podul Rosh, and on the Pacauraru. In Podul Rosh in 1876 a Jewish school called Junimea No. 2 was founded by a group of culture-seeking persons. Junimea School No. 1 was founded two years later, subsidized by the B'nai B'rith Lodge Samueli, and conducted by Dr. Adolph Steuerman and Moritz Wachtel.

In 1892 when Jewish children were excluded from the public schools, a Jewish school was opened in Jassy under the name of Cultura.

In 1873 the Jewish school and hospital at Falticeni had to be closed and the Gabela dissolved because of discord. In the same year, a Jewish congress held at Brussels decided to encourage the establishment of Jewish schools throughout Roumania.

In 1877 an association called "Erster Jugendverein für die Grundung von Schulen in Rumanien" (First Youth Association for the Founding of Schools in Roumania) was formed at Jassy; the following year it opened a school in that city with an enrollment of 150 boys.

At Botoshani, in 1867, a Jewish school was established with an enrollment of more than 320 children. In 1874, through the good offices of Peixotto, the Israelitsche Allianz of Vienna contributed some funds to its support. By 1879 this school was able to provide for a total of 578 children; of these, 137 were orphans, who were clothed and shod free of charge. Unfortunately, this school was compelled to close its doors in 1881 since its support had been greatly reduced by emigration.

In 1889 the Botoshani Jewish community established a

school for boys, with the aid of the Alliance Israelite Universelle. In that same year the Masonic Lodge Viitorul established a non-sectarian night asylum in that city.

In 1875, at Braila, the Jewish community maintained a Jewish school with 120 pupils. The two Jewish schools at Craiova had to be closed in 1877 for lack of funds. In Ploesti, the same year, a Jewish school was established with a fund of 23,000 lei left by Luca Moses; to this sum his son added 27,000 lei. By 1890 the school at Ploesti had become renowned because of the excellence of its instruction. The Berlad school closed its doors in 1877, but the one at Bacau was fortunate to receive aid from the Zion Lodge of the B'nai B'rith. At Buzeu the Jews barely managed to keep their school open, but those at Vaslui and Pitesti were maintained without any hardship whatsoever.

In the 1870's the Jewish community at Galatz maintained a school with an enrollment of 360 children. Jewish women of that city established a commercial school for girls with an enrollment of 114 pupils, of which thirty-five were exempt from paying tuition.

In the early 1890's the Galatz community was flourishing. It maintained two schools with an enrollment of over 750 boys and a commercial school with ninety boys. Galatz also had a Jewish hospital with thirty beds. All these institutions were maintained by the income from the meat and poultry tax.

This happy state of affairs continued until 1898 when three Jewish butchers rebelled against the community. They managed to obtain permission from the Mayor to bring in a Shochet without pay, and the old Shochetim were forbidden to enter the city abattoir.

Realizing the immense damage which was being done to the

Jewish community, its president issued an appeal to the Jews of the city not to buy meat without paying the tax. The Minister of the Interior declared his neutrality. The only source of its income, the meat tax, having been reduced considerably, the community was compelled to close the Jewish schools.

Jewish children also attended public schools. In some of them, as in the city of Bucharest, the enrollment of Jewish children amounted to thirty percent and in some localities reached seventy percent. But the anti-Jewish Roumanians opposed the school "invasion" by the Jewish children and began to exclude them. Those allowed to stay were insulted by the teachers. The increasing restrictions compelled the Jewish communal leaders to open their own schools. Some sixty Jewish schools were then opened in many cities, subsidized by the Jewish Colonization Association and the Alliance Israelite Universelle.

In 1890 new rules were enacted by the Minister of Education for the elimination of Jewish pupils from the public schools. Preference was given to Christian children, and only after absorbing the total number of non-Jewish pupils, were the "alien" children admitted. Thus many Jewish children were excluded from the public school system.

In 1894 a new Jewish school for 800 children was opened at Galatz. The same year the Society Junimea Israelita, subsidized by the Anglo-Jewish Association, maintained a Jewish school at Jassy, under the direction of Dr. Karpel Lippe. The Spanish Jewish community under the leadership of Rabbi Matatier, opened a Talmud Torah at Bucharest and dedicated a new asylum for the aged. A non-sectarian school for girls was also founded at Bucharest by

Filip and Rosa Focshaneanu.

According to a report of the B'nai B'rith, the Roumanian restrictions in the public schools deprived 30,000 Jewish children of education. The comparatively few schools maintained by the Jews throughout the land were inadequate to accommodate all Jewish children. For this reason the B'nai B'rith Grand Lodge of Roumania appealed to the Jews abroad for educational funds. The new schools, established ~~with~~ ^{with} funds generously pouring in from abroad, were subjected to the whims of the government agents and petty officials who under various pretexts made their further development difficult.

Bucharest had, in the late 1890's, eight Jewish schools. A Jewish school for 400 children was opened at Bacau. The high standards of these schools attracted many Christian pupils.

A Jewish trade school was established at Bucharest in 1898; during the first year of its existence the Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) gave a subsidy of 42,000 lei. At Galatz, the Jewish community established a commercial school, and at Jassy, a Gymnasium.

The ICA delegated the director of the Jewish school at Rusciuc, Astruck, to reform the Jewish schools in Moldavia. By that time the ICA was subsidizing twelve schools in Roumania. With the aid of the ICA, 19 Jewish young men were sent to the Ecole Normale Orientale, in Paris in the years 1898-1899.

The government, instead of encouraging Jewish education, deemed it advisable to curb it. The schools were alternately closed and opened. The Minister of Education issued drastic orders

designed merely to handicap the progress of the schools. The University students harassed them, inciting the peasants to riots. Anti-Jewish meetings encouraged by local mayors and professors, were held in various towns.

The educational statistics for 1896 and 1897 showed that Roumania had 36,313 Jewish children of school age, of which 22,138 attended no school; 3,089 were admitted to the elementary public schools; 8,290 attended ~~the~~ Jewish schools; 2,796 attended kindergarten schools.

Jewish communities sought to be relieved of the unjust school tax imposed on them and to be allowed to maintain their own schools unmolested but it was in vain.

In 1902 a Jewish school was established at Jassy but due to lack of funds it was closed three years later. That same year the B'nai B'rith Samuel Lodge established a new school for girls, bearing the name of Dr. Adolph Stern. The Society Steaua opened a second school, and provided a canteen where free meals were served. In 1904 a Jewish school was established in the slum of the Ghetto of Jassy, and since it was over-crowded, an additional school for girls was erected. Both schools received considerable aid from the ICA.

In 1904 Old Roumania had thirty-five Jewish schools, eighteen primary schools for boys, thirteen for girls, two co-ed schools, and two commercial. The total number of pupils was 4,953 boys and 2,945 girls. In Bucharest the ICA supported a preparatory school for 96 boys. Up to that year the ICA had enabled more than 200 Jewish communities in Roumania to build school houses. Despite the fact that the Roumanian government

did not contribute a single penny toward the maintenance of these schools, it arbitrarily eliminated Hebrew and Yiddish from the curriculum.

In 1912, United States Commissioner General of Immigration Watchhorn, accompanied by Dr. David Blaustein of New York, went to Roumania to make a thorough study of local conditions. Blaustein, convinced that emigration would continue, suggested the introduction of English in schools. At the same time, due to lack of funds, a number of secondary Jewish schools throughout the country had to be closed.

After the first World War, from 1918 to 1920, since Jewish teachers were unavailable and Roumanian teachers had to be employed in the Jewish schools, the Bucharest Jewish Community established a Jewish teachers' seminary. The Jewish community of Galatz founded a commercial school where Roumanian, German, French and English were taught.

In 1921, the Minister of Public Instruction decreed that either Roumanian or Hebrew could be taught in Jewish schools.

Two years later the Minister of Public Instruction undertook to reorganize the Jewish schools. Jewish teachers were ordered to pass a test on Roumanian language, history and geography. However, many of the teachers declined because of the unfair manner in which such examinations were conducted.

Toward the close of 1923, the Minister of Public Instruction rescinded a previous ruling requiring Jewish children to violate the Sabbath and Jewish holidays by writing on that day.

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CHAPTER ~~FORTY-ONE~~ L I

THE JEWISH COMMUNITIES IN BUCOVINA AND TRANSYLVANIA

Bucovina

Before the Roman conquest, Bucovina was Dacian territory. The Roman occupation was of comparatively short duration, lasting only from 70 to 270 C.E. With the retreat of the Romans, barbarian tribes invaded the territory, which then became a highway for Slavish and Mongolian vandals.

Bucovina remained the goal of migratory tribes down to the very founding of the two principalities, Wallachia (in the 13th century) by Radu the Black, Moldavia ^{in the} (14th century) by Bogdan Dragosh. In each of these lands they found Jews living in their own homes. Eventually the territories lost their independence, and a hereditary boyar class sprang up in whose hands the thrones became solely a medium for barter. But they were sufficiently tolerant to admit Jews and monks.

Up to the year 1774 Bucovina was a part of Moldavian territory; in that year, following the Russo-Turkish war of 1769, the province was ceded to Austria.

After the Chmielnicki rebellion of 1648 and the massacre of Jews in the Ukraine, the Cossacks renewed their rebellion against Poland in 1658, instigated by Russia. Jews suffered fearfully in the course of the military campaigns and the butcheries which followed. The two Chmielnicki-Cossack rebellions and the later Cossack invasion, as well as the Swedish invasion of the

18th century, brought sorrow, death and destruction, to the Jews in Bucovina. In 1739, when the Russians invaded Bucovina, acts of barbarity were committed against Jewish men and women, as well as children. In 1769, when Turkey occupied Bucovina, they were soon dislodged by the Russian Army, which again robbed and assaulted many of the Jewish population during the four-year occupation.

Caught between two fires, the Jews of Bucovina ran in whichever direction they could, and did not return to their homes until after the end of the war, when peace had been declared. In 1769, a total of 457 Jewish families remained in Bucovina. Their number increased to 550, as a result of those who returned, and in 1781, when a census was taken, it reached the total of 1,050. The difference in the number of families is explained by the fact that the figure for 1769 was that of the Moldavian government, which based its totals on the tax list. Obviously the official figures of the Moldavian tax bureau were unreliable. For to prevent the Jewish community tax from being increased, the Staroste and the other leaders -- as was generally the custom at that time in the country, since the taxpayers paid to their community bureau and not directly to the government -- would report a smaller number of members, and the tax records were manipulated accordingly with the aid of a tax collector, who preferred to pocket what he could.

During the Austrian occupation of Bucovina (1769-1774) many Jews settled there. But there were a good many Jews who had settled and had been living there long before this. Some

remnants of Jewish residents were left behind during the barbarian invasions before that, when one tribe after the other had been forced out. There is also evidence that, while many of the Bucovinan Jews originated from the early settlers who came from Germany and Hungary, the bulk of them came thither at an early period, about the time their coreligionists settled in the principalities, before the Romans. But history does not disclose when Jews first settled there. Some are of the opinion that the first Jewish settlers in Bucovina in modern times came thither from Germany and Poland in the latter part of the 14th and in the 15th centuries, when settlers from the same lands settled also in Moldavia.

The intellectual status of the Jews in Bucovina at that time was not above that of the Jews in Roumania. Indeed, it was at a rather low level, and Schwarzfeld had severely criticized the Jewish leaders there. Bucovina Jewry resented this, but instead of retaliating, they sent a committee from their midst to Roumania to plead with Schwarzfeld's father-in-law to prevail upon the son-in-law to discontinue his attacks. However, the elder man to whom they appealed was also modern, and instead of appealing to or prevailing upon his son-in-law to act upon the committee's recommendations, ^{he} took its members to task, gently pointing out their indifference to the future of the Jewish youth upon whom they were foisting a meaningless and useless primitive system of education.

Incidentally, the latter restriction mentioned above brought it about that the Jews in Bucovina did not fall under the influence of the Galician Jews. Dr. Julius Barasch, on his itinerary of 1841, found that the style of dress of the Jews in Cernauti and other places in Bucovina still retained traces of that of the Moldavian and Wallachian Jews. In southern Bucovina the Jews dressed like those in Moldavia. This would have been impossible if the Galician Jews had been permitted to immigrate. This was also the reason which made the Bucovina Jews fall below their Galician coreligionists as regards Hebrew culture. For the Austrian authorities had virtually erected a "Chinese wall" between the two provinces. After the 1840's, however, the Jews of Bucovina made rapid cultural strides, keeping abreast of the culture prevailing in other lands of Europe.

Another phase of the life and status of the Jews of Bucovina is of interest. In Moldavia the Jews had the right to own real property, especially in cities and towns. In order to clarify certain matters which had come up, the Austrian government, after taking possession of Bucovina, addressed eighteen questions to Prince Constantin Moruzi, in February, 1782, one of which asked whether Armenians and Jews had the right to farm in Moldavia.

The reply was: "By right, neither Armenians nor Jews can hold farms in perpetuity. Houses and stores in cities they could and can still buy. But Armenians can no longer buy vineyards." With regard to the extent to which Jews in Bucovina

took advantage of this right at that time, we find that 250 Jewish families owned the houses in which they lived; 706 paid rent. Hence, judging from the number of property owners, 26 percent of the Jewish families there were prosperous. At this time the personnel of the organized Jewish community consisted of a grand Staroste, five Starostes, a chief rabbi, five rabbis, sixteen Shochetim, five cantors, forty-one Melammedim (private teachers), four communal cashiers or treasurers, and a secretary. There were two physicians (one in Cernauti), three assistant surgeons, three barbers, and a midwife.

The ceding of Bucovina to Austria in 1774 did not result in any improvement of Jews. Those who felt uncomfortable under the new regime crossed to Moldavia or to Wallachia. In 1779, the entire population of Bucovina ^{numbered} ~~was~~ 116,925, including 14,114 Ruthenians, 7,000 Hursanes and 8,000 Jews. At that time there was a strong emigration of Christians from Moldavia to Bucovina. This caused a shortage of labor, and consequently a great demand for help. Since boyar- and monastery-owned lands could not be cultivated, the owners were compelled to advertise for settlers to come and till them. A number of Jews in Bucovina responded to that invitation. The houses left by the emigrants were turned over to them and to other new settlers in Moldavia. However, due to loneliness, drought, and discouragement, a heavy emigration took place among the Moldavians who had settled in Bucovina, including many Jews.

An Imperial Decree of 1786, by which the Jews in Bucovina were ordered to show possession of a certain amount of capital,

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brought a number of them into Moldavia. A number of Galician Jews settled in Moldavia and Wallachia. As a result of the Austrian occupation of their land in the war of 1789 to 1791 against Poland. For their own protection these new immigrants enrolled with the Austrian consul as Austrian subjects. Recognizing the value of protection under the Moldavian Prince, native Jews from Bucovina and Galicia left their countries in 1785 and settled in Moldavia. They married Moldavian girls and paid taxes. Soon after the peace of Sistow, in 1791, they produced certificates issued by the Jewish communities of Sniatin, Hordenka and Stanislawow, claiming to be Austrian subjects.

Under the Austrians a military administration was set up which lasted until 1778. The commandant showed no sympathy for the Jews, whose number in Bucovina he thought was too great. Yet he felt that the interests of the land demanded more Jews, for which reason he brought a good many of them thither.

The military administration of General Freiherr von Enzenberg, who succeeded Spleny in 1778, at once recognized the political and economic importance of the Jews in Bucovina, and accorded them many privileges. He enabled the Jews of Suceava to rebuild the synagogue destroyed by fire. Many of the restrictions ordered by Spleny were removed. Many of the large estates were permitted to be leased to Jews, which resulted in their gaining a voice in village elections.

Unfortunately, for the Jews, Enzenberg's friendly attitude was not of long duration. The newcomer Jews increased in number, and the indigenous Jews, differed radically in dress and manners,

~~had~~ could not harmonize with them, so that considerable strife developed in their communities. Displeased thereby, and for other reasons, Enzenberg restricted Jewish immigration.

During the last quarter of the 18th century the Jews of Bucovina consisted of three classes (1) indigens, who had been living there for many centuries; (2) those who came during the Russo-Turkish war of 1769 to 1774; (3) those who, seeking to escape military service and the heavy taxes imposed upon them in Galicia, settled in Bucovina as soon as it became Austrian territory.

There was also a strong line of demarcation between the indigens and the other Jews. The dress of the former was in the Moldavian style, often trimmed with rich furs, while the latter had brought the Polish and Galician style with them.

The Jews in Bucovina dealt in cattle, grain and other products, as well as in dry goods, which they exported to Russia, Moldavia and Transylvania. Due to their higher cultural status, or perhaps to some restriction imposed on them, they did not engage in the liquor business, a vocation ~~so~~ overwhelmingly followed by Polish and Galician Jews.

The Jewish question which developed in Roumania appears to have had its origin in Bucovina. Already in 1780, at the Vienna conference, the question was raised as to how to restrict the immigration of Jews, whose number had doubled. It was decided to exclude those Jews who had come during the Russian occupation. But the high command did not dare recommend any anti-Jewish measure to Emperor Joseph II, who was friendly to the Jews and in favor of the amelioration of their social and political condition.

Hence it decided to reduce their number by increasing their taxes. The high command even went one step further; on May 30, 1786, they decided to expel what they designated as "pauper Jews"; as a result, 572 Jewish families were eliminated. And this, notwithstanding the opposition of several officers who, invited to a conference of military officers called by General Enzenberg on May 7, 1782, pleaded that every vocation be opened to Jews. In their pleas they stated:

"In 1777, the people of Bucovina -- Jews included -- swore allegiance to the (Austrian) monarch and received the assurance of his protection by the highest power in the land in recognition of their fervor in remaining loyal subjects of the district. Therefore, under the law of nations, the regent owed them the security which will enable them to live there unmolested; no distinction must be made between Jews and other inhabitants of the country."

On September 26, 1787, the war council issued a provisional Jewish decree "to further regulate the limitation of the Jews." The patent issued by Emperor Joseph II on May 13, 1787, was made applicable also to Bucovina; its aim was "to make the numerous members of the Jewish nation in the land useful to the state."

Unlike the Galician Jews, who had to contribute a certain number of candles per family in order to be able to vote in communal affairs, those in Bucovina were free from such contribution. Only owners of real estate could exercise the right to vote. Eligibility to hold office in the Jewish community was

limited to property owners. But no meat tax like that which the Jews in Poland and Galicia had to pay was imposed at that time on the Jews in Bucovina.

In 1781 the attempt was made to remake the map of that part of Austria by breaking up Bucovina and attaching one part of it to Galicia and the rest to Transylvania. The Bucovina population evinced a strong opposition to this plan, but the Austrian government nevertheless carried it out, and in 1786 included Bucovina in the Galician circuit.

With the separation of Bucovina from Galicia (in 1848) and as a result of the progress made by the Jews there commercially and politically, a heavy immigration set in to Bucovina from Galicia, which finally had to be restricted. But the government, in 1783, encouraged the Jews of the province to expand their commercial activities, and sought to educate them in agriculture. This encouragement went still further during the entire period from 1783 to 1848, when many of the economic and political restrictions against Jews were removed. Both Jews and Armenians developed an extensive export and import trade in a large variety of commodities. Field and factory produced in abundance the commodities the country needed.

Under the patent of 1789 trade in all kinds of commodities was encouraged, even the sale of gunpowder and of religious articles. But there was one restriction: every dealer had to possess sufficient capital to carry on his business. Since this provision made a certain amount of capital a prerequisite, it proved to be the basis of a thriving Jewish business class which

soon became so strong financially that the Armenians were outpaced.

The period between 1783 and 1848 was one in which the Jews of Bucovina enjoyed liberty and prosperity. The Jews and Armenians exported horses and wool to Poland, cattle and pigs to Breslau, cows to Transylvania, sheep and butter to Constantinople, skins to Galicia, and wax to Venice. They imported furs and leather from Moscow and Galicia, rock salt from Ocna, wine from Focshani, Moldavia, scythes from Styria, scissors and knives from Frankfort, swords, daggers and other arms from Turkey, and glassware from Poland and the Ukraine. The traffic in liquor was prohibited in Bucovina.

The loyalty of the Bucovinan Jews to the Hapsburg dynasty was demonstrated on numerous occasions, and their patriotism devotion and gratitude as well as their being in the forefront of every worthy political movement led to their attaining to considerable influence in political circles. On one occasion, in 1851, when the newly crowned emperor visited Bucovina, he saw a large number of Jews carrying Scrolls of the Law, flags, and torches marching before him and expressing their allegiance to him. When he again visited the province, in 1855, he was greeted with still greater enthusiasm by the Jews. In 1880, when he paid his third visit to Bucovina, he saw the Jews surpass themselves in their homage to their emperor. It was the Day of Atonement, the most solemn day in the Jewish year. They were all assembled in their synagogue for prayer and fasting when word reached them that the emperor was coming. The service was stopped, and the worshippers,

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wrapped in their prayer shawls (Talliths) and with their prayer-books in their hands, ~~solemnly~~ ^{solemnly} marched out to greet their monarch, who was greatly moved at the sight.

The Bucovinan Ackerjuden

Jews played a very important part in the development of agriculture after the Austrian occupation. Many Jews settled in the flatlands of Bucovina and began to cultivate the soil. In 1783, when a considerable number of Bucovinan Jews were forced to leave for want of a vocation, those who had taken to agriculture, as well as the artisans, remained. It was not a novelty to see Jewish farmers in the territory. For even before that many Jews there had adopted agriculture as their permanent occupation, with the result that in 1783, more than half of the Jews in Bucovina were classified as farmers. Many privileges were granted them in order to encourage them in their vocation. Thus they were exempt from some of the taxes, and local communal taxes were made lighter for them. Agricultural Jewish immigrants were exempted from immigrational restrictions, and were readily admitted to settlement there.

The agricultural and artisan Jews were permitted to live in villages, but not other classes. Exceptions were made in the case of the two localities of Wiczniz and Sadagora, which were raised to the dignity of market towns and had large Jewish business elements. Jewish farmers kept increasing in numbers, so that by 1807, there were 150 rural Jewish communities in Bucovina. Jewish peasants thrived gaining the admiration of their neighbors and of the government by reason of their Jewish spirit and natural energy and willingness to perform hard work. It is interesting to note what a certain writer

who was not overly friendly to the Jews wrote:

"Only in Bucovina -- in the districts of Suceava and Sereth -- are Jewish communities to be found which devote themselves to agriculture and till the soil themselves. They are also known as the most honest Jews. Those Jewish farmers serve us as living examples (to prove) that the entire Jewish nation could be turned into a farming nation."

The tilling of the soil was not confined solely to those Jewish farmers. With the development of agriculture, many Jewish entrepreneurs came to hold large estates under lease. The result was that in course of time Jews became important factors in the agricultural and economic development of Bucovina. By 1875 the list of great landowners in the provinces contained the names of fourteen Jewish electors, and in the 1880's twenty-two per cent of the large landed proprietors in Bucovina were Jews. In the new election held in 1910 Jewish voters elected one-sixth of the total chosen by the great landowners, which gave them two representatives in the house of deputies. One-third of the total number of electors were Jews.

The Jewish Communities in Bucovina

The Jewry of Bucovina had been organized long before the Austrian occupation of 1769 to 1774. In religious matters it had autonomy. In some respects their Kehillah (community) was organized on the Polish Jewish pattern. When General Spleny took command of the province, he found a Jewish (prefect) in every district. In Cernauti the "Staroste" was the leader. Every district was divided

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into "Okola" (wards), whose representatives were known as "Nameslics" (manager or leaders). Every village had its "Dwornic" (judge). The Jews had their own judges, who together with other officials, were elected for life.

Lazar Israel served for thirty years, from 1752 to 1782, as high or superior judge of the Jews in Cernauti. Upon his death, a relative, Joseph Schmul, took his place, being recognized as such by the military administration. However, since he had been elected by a minority vote, his election was contested.

Cernauti and Suceava were classed as super-Kahals, with their own superior judges. In addition to jurisdiction over the Kahals, these had legal authority over non-Jewish matters, and quite often were called upon to officiate as Dwornics.

Prior to General von Enzenberg's administration of the province, the Dwornics played an important part. They would meet in Cernauti, where the number of Jewish families in the villages would be determined and their contributions fixed and distributed. Enzenberg tried to have the office of Dwornic abolished because he deemed it improper that "Jews should rule over Christians as their subjects." Finally, on May 1, 1786, the office was abolished, Bucovina having been previously included under a patent issued on May 27, 1785, with respect to Galicia. All the Jewish communities or groups of the rural districts were annexed to the larger Jewish communities.

The code of Joseph II of May 7, 1789, with a reference to the Jews of Austria was applied also to those of Bucovina, and

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served as a pattern for Jewish communal regulations. It was made to conform with that prevailing in Galicia, except as regards the candle tax, which was omitted.

In 1855 a Jewish school was opened in Cernauti, with Dr. Adolph Jellinek of Vienna being elected its director.

After many preliminary changes, the law of December, 1867, finally enabled the Jewish community of Cernauti to secure autonomy. This led to considerable strife. The Orthodox element broke away and formed a community of its own. But the Reform group, aided by the government, succeeded in being recognized as such. In 1871, the government approved the Orthodox Jews' charter, but a month thereafter both cults, the Orthodox and the Reform, were dissolved. In 1876, a new charter was granted to the Jewish community of Cernauti. At about the same time similar charters were given also to other Jewish communities of Bucovina.

Transylvania

In regard to the antiquity of the Jews in Transylvania, and to their early history there, the following statement by De Demidoff is of importance:

"Old historians believe that after the siege of Jerusalem a number of Jews sought refuge in Dacia, under Decebal. This barbarian king is believed to have granted them a refuge. Their number must eventually have increased, and they are believed to have constructed in the passage between Transylvania and Muntenia a city called Talmus, mentioned before, which was later enlarged by an influx of Greeks, Wallachians and Armenians. The Jews became so numerous in Transylvania and in Hungary that the apostolic

kings decided to take measures against them. Beginning with the year 1060, Bela the First, who had established local weekly markets, decided that the market days were to be held on the Jewish Sabbath, so that the other inhabitants, profiting by the inactivity of the Jews on that day, might be able to do business. A decree issued by King St. Ladislaus directed the Jews to take their tools home and not to work on Sundays; another decree, issued by Andrei the Second, restricted the Jews to living in certain localities. Ludwig the Great ordered their expulsion from the kingdom, and only those who would embrace Christianity could remain and thus become Magyars. Finally, a law which remained in force to this day forbade them to live in the proximity of mines.

"Nevertheless, the Jews were never a target of persecution and came here from other parts of Europe. In the last century, the city of Belgrade (then a part of Transylvania) was fixed as a resident for them. But since then they have settled also in other places, without being molested. They have always followed their religion, which was considered tolerated. However, under the Hungarian law, Hungarians and Wallachians were severely punished when they attempted to embrace Judaism. About two centuries ago, a Hungarian nobleman was suspected of being tainted with Judaism, and was decapitated at Blaj. There are two kinds of Jews in Transylvania; those who, in more recent years, came from Turkey; who have their own synagogue and dress half-oriental, and are called 'Turkish Jews'; and the others, called 'Ashkenazi,' who are more numerous.

The Jews in Transylvania increased so greatly in number at an early period that the Hungarian kings who controlled it decided to adopt restrictive measures against them.

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The province of Transylvania was annexed to Hungary in the 14th century by the Anjou dynasty, and remained under Austrian domination until 1919, when, under the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, it was incorporated into Roumania.

The most important community of Transylvania was that of Alba Julia in Transylvania, which was under the bishop's supervision, but enjoyed complete autonomy in the conduct of its affairs and in relation to its members, its jurisdiction over whom was absolute. Its internal affairs were governed by a code of its own adoption, which not only regulated the conduct of the community's affairs, but also contained provisions affecting the private lives of its members. It also had the power to enforce its rules.

The administration of communal affairs was in the hands of an elective board consisting of members and president. The election took place on the first of every year. The rabbi was elected for three years.

There were two temples in Alba Julia, a Sephardic and an Ashkenazic, and those groups also were represented on the board. Tax assessors and tax collectors were also elected annually. An election had to be approved by the bishop. Each officeholder was eligible for reelection; thus one Parnas (member of the board), who held office in 1736, was reelected ten times.

The board fixed the yearly tax rate, subject to the approval of the general meeting of the members. Usually the collection of the taxes was farmed out. Members of the community were allowed to pay their taxes in weekly installments. The contract for the farming out of the taxes provided that the community had to

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furnish two of its members to collect the taxes and all the arrears, in consideration of which the two had to pay only half the taxes which they were assessed. These two undertook to collect the taxes "by force" or otherwise, and they had to make weekly reports and remit the sums received each week.

The board also fixed the amount collectible from members on various occasions. In 1845 these were as follows: for weddings, half a gulden; for circumcision, five groschen; for the justice of the twenty-second precinct, 11-3/4 kronen; for signal service, three kronen; for the slaughtering of a goose, 1-1/2 kronen; for that of a turkey, three kronen; for that of a sheep, three kronen; for that of a rooster or two spring chickens, half a krone; for meat or fats, half a krone per pound; for wine, three kronen per measure. However, thirty measures of wine free of tax were allowed to every family annually. Half a krone had to be paid if any part of this amount of wine was sold.

Refusal to pay any of the above sums would lead to the delinquent's being deprived of rabbinical and Shochet service. In case the delinquent had secreted any meat or wine to avoid paying the tax, he was punishable with anathema (Herem, or excommunication), also with a fine of six spezies / 4 -- a taler -- half of which would be paid to the community and half to the authorities. The rabbinical and board officials were tax exempt. Slaughtering could be done only by the Shochetim engaged by the community.

The community budget was met by funds raised from taxes, dues, synagogue denations, and the like. If the income did not cover the

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expenditures, the board imposed an additional sum of three kronen on every gulden in arrears by delinquents.

The board, through its delegate, was also the community's official representative before the royal government at Hermannstadt (Sibin). It elected from among its members a delegate who was reimbursed for all his expenses incurred and for all sums spent for presents.

While the community had to report annually its receipts and disbursements to the government it would appear that the government did not rigorously enforce its rule. For we find, in 1745, a demand on the community for an accounting from 1736 and extending to that date, under threat of a heavy penalty.

The plea that since the former members of the Board were dead no one could be held responsible seems to have been accepted by the state, especially when it was accompanied by a gold ducat.

Wine dealers in 1767 were taxed by the community the sum of fourteen spezies -- gulden -- annually. Members -- not dealers -- were exempt from such tax on wine which was consumed at home.

The Jewish community of Alba Julia also collected taxes from Jews living in villages, whose representatives would report to it. These people could not organize themselves into a separate community, but they could engage for themselves Shochetim who were under the supervision of the Alba Julia community.

The Jewish community had its own court, ~~called~~ the Beth Din, which consisted of three to five members, with the rabbi presiding.

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It had jurisdiction over all disputes arising between members, and over complaints brought by Christians against Jews. Its code provided its mode of procedure, and its decision was final. But some cases could be appealed to the so-called mixed court, in which one or two Christians, usually church or state dignitaries, would serve.

In religious and social matters the Beth Din was generally very severe. Sometimes it would even impose a sentence of eight days, incarceration in the community prison, on a bread and water diet. There was also, at the entrance to the synagogue, a ring attached to the door jamb, in which the neck of a delinquent would be held for a certain time. Women were not excepted. Not only did the Beth Din have jurisdiction over all religious matters, but it had also the power to punish infractions of religious regulations. While it assuredly had jurisdiction over domestic affairs, it dealt mostly with commercial matters.

The Jews in Alba Julia lived on land beyond the city wall belonging to the Church. They paid a fixed tax for protection. This tax was increased by other emoluments, such as fines and occasional presents. The bishop would delegate a certain official of the Church to function in his behalf, and would also supervise the elections in the Jewish community. He was present in mixed court cases between Jews and Christians.

There were other burdens which the Jewish community had to carry. The government levied a tax on the members and the community was held responsible for its payment.

The second Jewish Community was Temeswar (Timishora). No record as to when Jews settled in Temeswar (later called Timishora) ✓

is available. To judge from the inscription on a tombstone in the Jewish cemetery, bearing the date 1636, they must have been living there long before that time. We find Jews there during the Turkish occupation (1552 to 1716). When Prince Eugene of Savoy defeated the Turks and occupied the city, the act of capitulation provided that Roumanian, Serbian, Armenian, and Jewish inhabitants might remain or leave, as they preferred. If they chose to leave, they might take all their belongings with them. When the town was retaken, there were, besides Russians and Armenians, 144 Jewish persons.

The census taken in 1739 showed a number of Jews living in Temeswar. Some of these were Sephardic Jews born there, who had lived in the community for thirty-four years.

The Jews of Temeswar must have constituted a community since they had a rabbi -- Joseph Moyses -- who held the pulpit of the Sephardic congregation. There was also an Ashkenazic community which was greater in number of members, but the former had a higher standing.

In 1745 Isaac Levy was rabbi there; he volunteered to pay the "toleration tax," although as rabbi he was exempt. It is said that this gesture may have permitted him to remain there when, in 1749, alien Jews were expelled. This rabbi appears to have been Dayan in Temeswar. The date of his death is unknown, but he was no longer alive in 1752. A claimant to the legacies left under his testament appeared. Rabbi Lobel at that time held the pulpit of the Ashkenazic congregation.

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Among the
Other Sephardic rabbis who held the pulpit in Temeswar
~~were:~~ ^{was} Jacob Moses, who came to the city from Belgrade. He was
the first Sephardic rabbi representing the entire Jewry of the
city, in 1739. He was succeeded by Abraham Meyer Halevy, about 1741
(the predecessor of the above mentioned Isaac Halevy).

Halevy was succeeded by the Great Rabbi Eliezer Lippman,
son of Rabbi Benjamin Zeeb (Zef) Wolf (1743-68). He left a book
entitled Etz Hachamim. His grandson was Ignatz Ritter von
Liebenberg, of Vienna; his contemporary was Rabbi Daniel H. Musped,
who died in 1751.

Rabbi Mordecai Leipnik held both the Spanish and German
pulpits.

Rabbi Jehudah ben Baruch served as rabbi in 1731. After
him, Rabbi Solomon H. Alkaly, who died in 1763, served for thirty-
two years.

Rabbi Moses ben Jehudah Berera was then elected Haham
and Hazan ; he seems to have been the last Sephardic rabbi of
Temeswar.

The Ashkenazic rabbis of Temeswar were:

Rabbi Lobel (mentioned above), who died about the year 1742;

Rabbi Levi Isaac of Jerusalem, who was formerly in Belgrade
from 1739 to 1752, and who died in Jerusalem.

Rabbi Wolf, mentioned above, represented both communities.
At that time the Sephardic and the Ashkenazic synagogues were built
close to one another and located in the center of the city. Prior
to that time the Jews worshipped in rented buildings. In 1764
Wolf was elected chief rabbi over all of Transylvania, and he then
moved to Alba Julia.

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Rabbi Johanan ben Isaac held the pulpit in Temeswar in 1779. His son-in-law, Rabbi Benish Deutsch, was Dayan, and the head of a great Yeshiva.

Chief Rabbi Zevi Hirsch Segal, popularly known as Hirshele Harif, a pupil of Rabbi Johanan ben Isaac, came to Temeswar after him.

After his death Dr. Aaron Hurin, of Arad, later head of the Reform movement, was elected to the pulpit of Temeswar. He did not accept the position, however, not being able to agree with its members, and remained in Arad. They then elected Rabbi David Oppenheim whose famous writings reached Oxford. This great Rabbi was a native of Almas, a village in Transylvania. He held the pulpit for thirteen years, down to his death in 1818. A son of his, the Grand Rabbi Joshum Zevi Oppenheim, occupied the Sephardic pulpit in Temeswar and was elected chief rabbi of Banat. He died in 1859. His grave is visited by many non-Jews. Rabbi Gershon ben Rabbi Hayim Kitza served as Dayan under him.

Rabbi Israel Hartman served as rabbi, in the quarter known as Fabrica, from 1844 to 1885.

After the death of Rabbi Joshua Zevi Oppenheim, discord broke out among the Jews in Temeswar. Upon the recommendation of the noted scholar Adolf Jellinck, they elected M. Hirschfeld their rabbi in 1862. A new temple was built. In 1870 the Jews living in the Fabrica quarter separated and formed their own congregation. Those living in the Josephstadt quarter also separated, and formed an Orthodox congregation. Hirschfeld resigned and settled in Vienna, where he died at the age of ninety-four. His daughter

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embraced Christianity.

In 1879 the members of the Ashkénazic community elected as rabbi Dr. M. Lewis, the son-in-law of Rabbi Meier Perls. He died in 1908.

Hartman was succeeded by Rabbi Eliezer Greenhut. He held the pulpit for six years, when, at the age of forty, he settled in Berlin, where he lived in poverty until he obtained his doctorate. He was then elected director of the German Jewish Orphan Asylum in Berlin, and finally director of the Jewish school in Petah Tikvah, Palestine, where he died in 1913. None of the Roumanian Jews contributed so greatly to knowledge as he did. He then emigrated to Palestine where he died in 1913.

CHAPTER ~~FIFTY-ONE~~ LII

THE JEWS OF BESSARABIA

The province of Bessarabia is separated from Roumania on the west by the rivers Pruth and Danube; on the north the Dnieper divides it from Podolia and Kherson. On the east, it borders on the Black Sea from the Sulina mouth of the Danube to the estuary of Ovidopol.

The province was Roman territory at one time, but in the course of the centuries it came under different dominions. In the 14th century it was annexed to Moldavia, and later became Turkish territory. Between 1711 and 1812, Bessarabia was seized by Russia five times and in the latter year annexed ^{by} it. After the Crimean War (1856), one-sixth of Bessarabia was ceded to Moldavia. In 1878, under the terms of the Treaty of Berlin, it was returned to Russia. In 1920, by the provisions of the Treaty of Versailles, that strip of land was allotted to Roumania. In 1939, it became Russian territory, and in 1941, Nazi Germany again returned the province to Roumania.

As a result of the political game, the Jews residing there had to undergo many hardships, especially after the return of the province to Russia in 1878 when their political status became insecure. This condition prevailed until 1892, when the Russian Senate recognized them as citizens of that country.

Jews have lived in Bessarabia from time immemorial, their antiquity in that territory being almost parallel to that of the Jews in Roumania. They lived there under the Dacians before the Christian Era, and have continued there up to the present time. In the upheavals of the 17th century they attracted other Jews from Poland, Germany, Hungary, Russia, Spain, Turkey, and Bulgaria.

In 1818 the Russian government divided its inhabitants into three categories: merchants, peasants, and a lower stratum. The Jews were compelled to join one of these three groups. While they were classed with the inferior group, they were the equals of their fellow Russians in regard to payment of taxes. But they were ineligible to hold office. In 1838 Jewish physicians were excepted from this rule. Although there were no restrictions against Jews as to the localities where they might live, they were forbidden to reside in rural districts. But in 1839, when certain villages were converted into urban towns, they were permitted to settle there.

They were forbidden to live in the proximity of the frontier, and years later (1842) they were restricted from holding estates on lease.

However, in spite of these various restrictions and their expulsion from Sevastopol in 1829, they continued to increase in number, so that from 5,000 in 1812 their number rose to 20,232 in 1847. In 1858 they numbered 78,751, and by 1864 they had increased to 87,700. In 1889 the Jewish population numbered 180,918, and in 1897 it reached the total of 228,528, or 11 percent of the total Bessarabian population. After the first World War their

number was officially given as 267,000. The greatest part of the Jewish population of Bessarabia was in the Kishinev district.

In 1917 the Jewish population of the province was estimated at 270,000. With the coming of the Bolsheviks to power in Russia, many Russians took refuge in Bessarabia, with the result that in the period between 1920 and 1929 over 100,000 of them settled there. Of these, the Jewish refugees alone numbered more than 33,000, most of whom settled in Kishinev, which already had a population of 60,000.

After the Crimean War of 1856 and the annexation of Bessarabia to Roumania, an influx of Jews from Podolia and Volhynia began. When an ukase was issued by the czar to recruit Jews in Russia for the army, Bessarabian inhabitants, then belonging to another state were exempt, the influx became much heavier, and Russian Jews went there en masse. These newcomers brought Jewish learning with them, and the Bessarabian Jews began to study the Pentateuch with its wealth of commentaries and the Talmud. Incidentally, they also brought a shade of Hasidism, which took root there. And with this new phase, life became invigorated spiritually. Moreover, while Jewish erudition in Lithuania and Poland stood as an insurmountable wall through which Hasidism could not penetrate, Hasidism found an open door in Bessarabia. Yet, despite the Hasidic spirit, some of those Jews began to drink from the fountains of Jewish knowledge, and the Haskalah (the Jewish Enlightenment) also found its way there.

But something happened to disrupt this peaceful and thriving

status. Before the Crimean War, when Bessarabia was under the rule of the czar, Russia had taken vast tracts of land away from the Roumanian boyars and had distributed them among the landless peasantry. She even tried to raise the status of the Russian peasant by means of education, and placed them under the tutelage of young students who tried to educate them overnight. But the young student teachers, instead of bringing culture into their lives, planted hatred of the Jews into them. A radical change set in. The peaceful peasant of yesterday, who had until then seen only a friend in the Jew, now looked upon him as an enemy, from whom he could expect only evil.

Before long the seeds thus planted bore fruit. With the connivance of local officials, a massacre of Jews took place in Kishinev on February 22, 1903. An infuriated mob of moujiks from the surrounding villages, armed with axes, knives, scythes, sickles, and pitchforks, invaded the city and hurled themselves upon the peaceable, defenseless Jewish population, killing young and old, men, women, and children. They broke into the homes and shops of Jews, destroyed everything in sight, and carried off everything on which they could lay their hands. The police remained passive, completely ignoring the lawlessness.

The crying despair of those unfortunates resounded in every corner of the earth. Mankind was shocked, and the European powers asked what could be done to make czarism understand that Jews, too, were human beings and ought to be treated as such. But that wholesale murder was an "internal affair," and no outsider could

become involved in it.

American Jewry voiced a strong protest against the Kishin outrage. On June 15, 1903, a committee of the order B'nai B'rith, headed by Simon Wolf, of Washington, D.C, was received by President Theodore Roosevelt to whom they submitted a memorandum embodying the facts, and showing to what extent the Russian government played a hand in this bloodshed. On the other hand, American Jewry decided to send a petition to the Czar, pleading for the protection of the Jews under him. This action became historic. Indeed, it created an interesting episode in American history.

The outside world was now in fear of a heavy exodus of Jews from Russia, which was bound to react against those in the Czar's dominion, as well as against the countries to which they would go. An international Jewish conference was called by the Hilfsverein der Deutsche Juden. It was held in Berlin on June 29, 1903, and decided to discourage Jewish emigration from Russia.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, when the democratic era set in, the Sfatul Tarei (Assembly) of Bessarabia proclaimed the province a "democratic Roumanian Republic". The Moldavians succeeded in electing eighty-four representatives to the legislature, and the other minorities -- Jews included -- had thirty-six. On January 24, 1918, the Sfatul Tarei proclaimed the independence of the Roumanian republic, and on March 27, it was annexed to Roumania.

The Powers at Versailles recognized the annexation provided in the treaty which Roumania signed on December 9, 1919, as well as

all minority rights, and equal liberty for all inhabitants of Roumania. In the constitution which Roumania adopted in 1923 she provided equal suffrage for all her inhabitants.

Despite the obstacles set up by the Roumanian government, the Jews of Bessarabia, with the help of the ORT, were able to maintain several schools. As a result, by 1936 they had nine day schools with an enrollment of 571 pupils in several cities, and six vocational schools for adults at Kishinev, Ackerman and Tigina, with an attendance of over 220 students.

Culturally, the Bessarabian Jews were below the level of those of Lithuania and White Russia.

In many respects the Jews of Bessarabia enjoyed a life of plenty. They lived in peace with their Christian neighbors, the Moldavians, and adopted their philosophy of "eat, drink and be merry". They had very little in common with their coreligionists in Poland, Lithuania, Germany, and Turkey. Their whole being was devoted to business. Outside of their ability to read their prayers, they possessed no education. They could not write or understand figures. The business accounts of what they owed and what was due to them were kept on the beams of the ceilings in their living rooms. Both the ceilings and the walls of their homes would be marked up with chalk signs of all kinds -- circles, semicircles, horizontal and vertical straight lines, crosses and triangles, each representing a figure. In this manner they conducted their businesses without the help of a bookkeeper or stenographer.

The Bessarabian Jews were religious, worshipping God with all their might. They knew little of Hebrew, but recited their daily morning and evening prayers, punctually, and mumbled through them rapidly without understanding the meaning of the words. They knew nothing of Jewish lore. Their activities were centered in commerce, buying and selling cattle, and in holding land, vineyards, and orchards on lease. Of world progress, past and present events, or science they had no idea, nor did they have any interest in any other matters which civilized persons might find interesting. They lived in a simple happy state of mind, and ^{were} carefree. Whenever they had some unpleasantness with government officials, they knew how to meet the situation without seriously affecting or disturbing their normal life.

In the city of Kishinev alone, with a Jewish population of over 25,000, there were sixty-three synagogues. As they lived unmolested for the most part, they practised their religion in the open, and erected their Sukkahs (tabernacles) right in the streets. The beadle would carry the Lulab (a sort of palm branch symbolically waved by the worshippers in the synagogue on that holiday) from house to house during the eight days of the Sukkoth festival, and he was never annoyed by the Christians.

Up to the year 1917, although there was a Jewish population of nearly 300,000, there were no Jewish schools in the province of Bessarabia. Only after the Russian Revolution did they begin to work for their establishment. Now that they had turned their

minds in the direction of schools, they were confronted with the problem as to which language was to be used -- Hebrew or Yiddish. A compromise was finally reached between the Yiddishists and the Hebraists whereby a committee was to be established on which both sides were to be represented equally; this committee was to work out a plan acceptable to both groups.

Under the law of 1918, the Jews in Bessarabia were to have three Gymnasiums (high schools) in Kishinev and Binder, with Hebrew as the language of instruction. There were also to be a number of elementary schools in the province, maintained by the government, with Yiddish as the language of instruction,

However, it must not be assumed that the Roumanian government was so liberal. All it granted to the Jews was 2-1/2 percent of the total number of public schools in Bessarabia, while the actual Jewish population was 10-1/2 per cent of the whole population.

The Jews of Bessarabia had opened a teachers' seminary, but the government had it closed. Things went from bad to worse, with the result that in 1939 all the Jewish schools -- Yiddish and Hebrew -- which had been maintained by the government, went out of existence. A process of Romanization was inaugurated by the government. Under this system Jewish children were compelled to study in the Roumanian language. All Jewish teachers were, accordingly, replaced by Christians. And while 99 per cent of the enrolled children were Jewish, the schools were thoroughly Roumanian. Nor were new Jewish schools permitted. Only the Trade Schools were functioning.

The province of Bessarabia is rich in grain, fruit and wine, the export of which was large, and many Jews were engaged in that

branch of commerce. Up to the middle of the 19th century most of the commerce was in Jewish hands. In the development of the lumber trade the Russian government encouraged Jewish traders, even permitting foreign Jews to engage in that vocation. A petition filed by eight Austrian Jews in 1840, asking permission to deal in timber, was granted; for more than six years they operated under that privilege. Furthermore, local Russian Jews continued the development of that trade.

The census of 1897 showed that 45 per cent of the Jews in the province of Bessarabia were engaged in commercial pursuits. In 1936 over 10,000 Jewish families were employed in various trades; 8,000 families, or 15 per cent of the entire Jewish population were engaged in agriculture, many of them holding large estates on lease. Others were innkeepers. With the enactment of the liquor law containing many restrictions against Jews, thousands of Jewish families were deprived of their livelihood. Many of them turned to agriculture, with the result that between 1836 and 1854 seventeen Jewish colonies were founded there. For some unknown reason, however, they made little progress. In 1910 six of those colonies, with a population of 4,296 persons cultivating 536 farms, were still in existence.

About that time an attempt was made by the Bessarabian Jews to interest the Russian government in an extensive plan to organize a Jewish agricultural colony. The government was to buy a tract of land and establish a modern colony which was to serve as a means of attracting other Jews to the agricultural occupation.

It was planned to breed cattle and horses, raise sheep, develop beehives, silk-worm^s and a silk industry. Wine making, gardening, and truck farming also formed part of it. The supporters of the plan were to begin with the settlement of fifty Jewish families on the soil, each possessing a minimum of 450 rubles as capital. They were to pay off the cost of the land in twenty years. The government did not approve the plan.

Another attempt of a similar nature was made at that time by Baron Joseph Gunzburg, with the purchase of 14,004 desiatyns and 76,000 falshes of land in the districts of Soroki, Ackerman, Binder and Pelz. But this, too, was met with strong opposition. Nevertheless, a few Jewish colonies gradually developed. In 1927 the Jews there numbered 28,877 persons, with an investment of 200,000,000 lei. A considerable part of this achievement was due to the ORT, which accomplished a great deal, both in Bessarabia and in Old Roumania.

Before the first World War there were six Jewish colonies with a population of 1,500 Jewish families in Bessarabia. With the annexation of that province to Roumania, the colonies were increased by 300 additional Jewish families, each of whom received six hectares of land from the Roumanian government close to the existing colonies. In addition to these colonists, there were several hundred Jews living in villages, tilling the soil they owned or held as tenants. Some of the Jewish farmers cultivated vineyards, while others raised cereals and vegetables.

The Jewish Colonization Association (ICA) took considerable

interest in the Jewish farmers, and aided them. With this assistance, the Jewish farmers were able to develop the wine, fruit and tobacco culture before the first World War. Unfortunately, for them, however, that War ^{was} severely felt there. Their tobacco nurseries were destroyed, and fell under control of the Roumanian government monopoly. In 1926, the Roumanian government, recognizing the importance of the tobacco nurseries to the country, encouraged the Jews to take it up again, so that within a year (1927) 150 hectares of tobacco land were again under cultivation, and the vineyards were also developed further.

Even before this, at a conference of the Jewish cooperative societies of Bessarabia, held in July, 1921, it was decided to open branches in all parts of Bessarabia. Horticulture, viticulture and tobacco-planting were made attractive to Jewish capital and labor. What they needed most was agricultural implements, proper instruction, and an experimental farm.

In 1927 the ICA assisted with loans a total of 3,886 Jewish farmers in Bessarabia. Of these, 912 were owners of three-hectare farms; 1,950 owned small farms of from three to five hectares; 670 had farms of from six to fifteen hectares; 354 had fifteen-hectare farms. The total area of those Jewish owned farms amounted to 27,277 hectares; of these, 6,103 had been owned by Jews for a long time, 8,880 had come into their possession as a result of the agrarian reforms, and 12,294 hectares were rented.

While the agrarian reforms brought considerable relief to

the Roumanian farmer, ^{They} ~~it~~ worked adversely for others. Such was the case with the holders of large estates on lease; they were not able to continue their holdings. In Transylvania and Bucovina many Jews held large estates under lease and cultivated the land. Under the Roumanian agrarian reforms, they were thenceforth limited to leasing fifty hectares. As a result, they were driven from that field.

In its report for 1928, the ORT showed service rendered to fifteen Jewish agricultural settlements in Bessarabia, with a population of 674 families cultivating an area of 2,169 desiatyns of land. In 1930 the ORT spent the sum of 1,367,193 lei on agricultural work in Roumania, a part of which was for Bessarabia.

Besides agriculture, handicrafts of every description were highly developed there. In addition to the difficulties which they encountered, such as competition of neighboring countries with their low currency, they had to meet a contingent of 50,000 Ukrainian refugees, for whom the ORT had to provide (1921).

CHAPTER ~~FORTY SEVEN~~ LIIITHE SPANISH AND THE POLISH JEWS IN ROUMANIAThe Spanish-Portuguese Jews

Spanish and Portuguese Jews, generally known as Sephardim, came to Wallachia from European Turkey in the 18th century. Up to the middle of the 19th century the number of such Sephardim was relatively small, and these were settled mainly in Bucharest, Braila, Graiova, and Ploesti. In their early days they adapted themselves to their new environment, discarding their oriental dress in favor of the European style. The Spanish Jewish women, however, while following the European fashion in their maidenhood, after marriage covered their head with a fez.

The boys of these Sepharic families received a Jewish education, but with no intent of having them trained as scholars. The girls were not taught even to read Hebrew. In course of time, well-to-do parents sent their daughters to Christian institutions in which they received a good modern education.

The Spanish Jewish community of Bucharest was organized in 1730. Two centuries later, in 1925, it consisted of 1,100 members, maintained two Temples, one boys' school and one girls' school, a trade school, a school kitchen, a cemetery, a sick aid society, and several charitable institutions. There was a non-sectarian high school in which higher courses were given to persons of both sexes between the age of fifteen and fifty. Lectures were delivered regularly

in this school. A library, established in 1928, known as the Dr. M. Singer Library, had over 5,000 volumes. The annual budget of that Sephardic community was raised from rents, membership dues, temple dues, burial and school dues, wedding charges, donations, and legacies.

All these institutions, including a home for the aged, a polytechnic hospital, and a Hevre Kedoshe, are maintained by the Sephardic community of Bucharest separate and apart from those maintained by the Ashkenazim, or Polish-German Jews.

There was once a time when the two factions formed a single community. This was when the Jewish population was very small, and the two elements were living together. The Ashkenazic rabbi and the Hahambasha were recognized by both groups. The last chief rabbis, Hirsch and Hayim Focshaner, served both also. Focshaner finally left Bucharest as a result of strife with Rabbi Heilbern. The Sephardim then brought a Sephardi named Conarti, as Hahamabasha. When discord arose thereafter between Sephardim and Ashkenazin, Hillel Menoah, who stood on close terms with Prince Cuza, succeeded in sundering the former faction from the latter, and established a separate Sephardic Kehillah of which he became president. He then brought an Ashkenazic Shochet from Moldavia to serve it.

But the Sephardic community established by Hillel Menoah did not live in harmony very long. Strife soon broke out among its members; as a result, many of them left their own synagogue and worshipped with the Ashkenazim on the Sabbath. For the high holy days they went to Ploesti, continuing to do so until they had built a new synagogue, which they called Beth Tefillath Shalom (Peaceful House of Worship).

In the field of charity the Sephardim of Bucharest could not compete with the Ashkenazim. Asylums for the aged and other Jewish institutions were almost unknown to the Sephardim in the Western European countries. The Society Zion, which cooperated with the Ashkenazic community, was an important factor in making the two factions move closer to each other, since both took a great interest in its work. But in 1880 this society was split, and formed two separate ~~clubs~~ ^{brothers}, both working the same field and for the same purpose.

In 1864 the Spanish Jews bought a separate cemetery. So intent were they on maintaining their aloofness that, when the Alliance Israelite Universelle suggested to the Jewish banker, Solomon Halfan, the formation of a committee and the bringing of harmony into the Jewish camp, he replied: "We Spanish Jews have nothing in common with you Polish Jews. We therefore decline to join you in any committee." At this time nothing could make the Spanish Jews unite with their Polish coreligionists except the efforts of Halfan's father-in-law, C. Comoudo, of Constantinople, who induced Halfan to organize with the Polish Jews a joint Alliance committee.

The Sephardim used to bake their Matzoth in their own homes, but eventually this system was changed through farming out the Matzoth-baking for the entire community. The poor were thus provided with free Matzoth. "Halbashah", the clothing of the children of the poor, was introduced at the same time, or shortly thereafter.

The Spanish Jews had a custom whereby, on the first day of Passover, the Feast of Weeks, and Sukkoth, members of the congregation would call on the president of the community, extend their

good wishes to him, and discuss matters usually concerning the community.

In 1863, when Davicion Bally was elected Efor (director) of the Jewish school in Bucharest, he found it in a deplorable condition. There were Melammedim, who taught Hebrew unsystematically. When Joseph Halevy took charge, he introduced the teaching of German and French. The entire system of the school was then changed; Roumanian was introduced, and the curriculum of the public schools was adopted. Scholarships were established, and the Spanish Jewish impresario, Benedetto Franchetti, gave instruction in vocal music and trained a choir for the Temple. Those opposed to all these progressive steps proved too strong, with the result that they had to be abandoned.

Up to that time the Jewish school was for boys only. There was no thought of a school for girls. But under Bally classes were opened for girls, who received two hours of instruction in the evening. When this, too, had to be given up, Bally resigned.

In 1860 Bally had been instrumental in having the Sephardic Jews organize a loan society, under the name of Ahavath Hen Vacheshed, which made loans on pledges. A similar society was organized shortly thereafter under the name of Ezrah Betzarah, in which the Sephardic rabbi Elijah Israel took a great interest. When the latter society was about to be dissolved, on May 5, 1872, the rabbi injected new life into it by bringing in a number of members taken from the younger lower class Jews of the city. In this he was strongly opposed by the leaders of the Sephardic community who feared its disruption thereby. Bally was then elected president, and enlarged its scope. Medical benefits for its members were introduced, thus contributing to the society's

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apprehension.

The first Sephardic synagogue in Bucharest was that known as the "Russian Synagogue," on the site of which a horse-mill stood some ninety years previously. Shortly thereafter, probably as soon as it became prosperous, the Sephardic community erected a great synagogue in Strade Jignitza, which was later rebuilt and is still in existence.

In 1811 we find the by-laws of the Hevre Kedoshe, founded in Bucharest by seventy-one Sephardic Jews. A few years before that they had founded a society called Bikkur Holim to aid members in sickness. This did not remain in existence very long, after which the Hevre Kedoshe was founded. It is of interest that even before the one established in 1811, there was a Hevre Kedoshe organized in the 15th century.

The new Sephardic Temple in Bucharest was dedicated on September 4, 1890. Present at the ceremony were the prefect of the capital, the mayor, the diplomatic corps, and other public figures.

But the Sephardic community's legal status had been changed by virtue of a court decision. When the community sought to assume possession of the estate of the deceased M. Gaily, the court held that its former legal status, which had existed for centuries, had changed, that it no longer enjoyed such status and that therefore it was incapable of taking or holding any property.

Home Life and Communal Customs of the Sephardic Jews

All the activities of the Spanish Jewish housewife were confined to her home. There she ruled like a queen, taking no interest

in her husband's affairs. It was his task to provide for the needs of the home, and to see to it that want was never felt there.

Marriage engagements among the Sepharidis Jews, as among their Ashkenazic coreligionists, are regarded as sacred. Thus cases of breach of promise to marry could never arise, and marriages were durable, divorce being looked upon as a sin.

Three days before the wedding the bride's trousseau is laid out in a room in her home, to which the elders of the community are invited in the forenoon, and the women folk in the afternoon. The men appraise the value of the objects usually at a higher price than their actual value, for the sake of the bride's dignity and peace of mind. The sum total is then added to the dowry which the bride is to receive, and is laid on the table. The marriage contract is then made out. The ladies who call in the afternoon merely admire the bridal outfit.

Three days later the wedding takes place. Instead of having a canopy (Huppah), as is the custom among the Polish and Russian Jews, the wedding couple are covered with a Tallith (prayer-shawl). Guests and relatives stand near them, and in front of them the Haham, who pronounces the wedding benediction, reads the Kethubah (marriage contract), usually in the Aramaic language, and in the presence of the guests, two of whom witness it, he signs it. The ring is then placed on the bride's finger, the glass is broken by the groom, and the Haham then gives the blessing, holding a goblet of wine from which both bride and bridgroom are given a sip. Then follow the seven

days of the wedding feast. During all this period of time the couple sit on a throne made for two, which can be usurped by no one, and then they receive friends who come to honor and congratulate them. For a full year the woman is called "Kallah" (bride), and all their friends feel that it is an honor to entertain them once a week at dinner during this first year.

Whenever a death occurs, the old folks of both sexes call at the house of mourning. The dead person is laid out on a bier in the middle of the room; the women sit around the body, chanting dirges in a monotonous key. During the seven days of mourning, friends and relatives take turns in bringing food to them. A rug is spread on the floor, and on it a low table is placed. Those assembled then partake of the food, together with the mourners. If the latter are prominent, the meal assumes the character of a feast. In the funeral procession, the rabbi preceded the hearse in a carriage. The hearse is always ^{drawn} ~~drawn~~ by black horses, and the drivers hold black burning torches in their hands.

The Ashkenazim (Polish-German Jews)

The Polish-German Jews in Wallachia do not differ from their coreligionists in Moldavia in ritual, habits, customs and education. Despite the modest influence which they have gained in their respective communities, intellectually they leave much to be desired. They are religious from a mechanical and not intelligent motive. They give their children a Jewish education, but it is only superficial. In many localities the untrained teacher, known as the Melammed, still

performs his time-honored function, and all he is expected to teach his pupils is how to read the prayers, the meaning of which they are never taught and will never know.

Among the Ashkenazic Jews of Roumania, the boy is prepared for his Bar Mitzvah six weeks in advance. On the day of the ceremony he is taken to the synagogue, honored with the Haftir (the last weekly reading from the Sefer Torah), which is read by the reader, chants the blessing before and after the reading of the Torah and the Haftarah, and closed with an address which has been written for him by his teacher.

The religious conceptions of the Polish-German Jew in Moldavia are traditional and conservative. He is devoutly Jewish, and no wealth will tempt him nor persecution or threats of death induce him to desert his faith. The Polish-German Jew in either Wallachia or Moldavia is a poor prospect for the Anglo-Protestant missionaries so prevalent in the land. Even those few converts whom they succeeded in ensnaring during the past seventy-five years and who embraced Christianity were motivated by ulterior causes, either political or social aspirations, and were not influenced by those missionaries.

While there were in Roumania many modern Jewish schools which did excellent work and were maintained by the local communities, the average Polish-German Jew preferred the Melammed. For the maintenance of those schools and other communal institutions, the Jewish Kehillah levied a tax on meat (the Gabela); the revenue from

this and from other sources was collected and distributed by the Epitrops elected from among the indigenous Jews. The foreign subjects thus indirectly contributed to the support of the community's institutions without having a voice in their management. This system was eventually changed through the intervention of the Austrian and German consuls; the foreign subjects were separated from the indigenous Jews (in the latter part of the 18th and the early part of the 19th century), and formed a separate community under the title of "United Austrian and Prussian Community".

In Bucharest at that time the Polish-German congregation had 300 families. They paid their pro rata proportion toward the meat tax to the indigenous community, but otherwise maintained their own communal institutions, such as the schools for boys and girls. The Pollaks (as the Sephardim called the Polish-Russian-German Jews) were divided into two camps -- Orthodox and Reform -- for many years. Their differences of opinion often found expression in serious controversies, and ultimately the aid of the government was invoked. Finally, however, the government refused to take any further part in their quarrels, a decision which meant that the hospital and the school both lost their status, and the revenue from the meat-tax was abolished.

To meet this new situation, the Ashkenazic Jews of Bucharest formed a new organization to deal with religious and communal matters, and an application was made for a charter. Balligo de Beyne, private secretary to Prince Cuza, aided them in securing it, and

Dr. Julius Barasch, who had been director of the first modern school established in Bucharest, was elected president of the new communal organization. The first innovation which it instituted in Jewish life was the establishment of a well-attended course of public lectures on Sundays. A subscription list was soon opened to raise funds to conduct religious services in a modern manner, with a choir and a preacher. The response to this appeal was gratifying. The new organization succeeded also in having the Jewish hospital restored to its former status.

Between the years 1848 and 1866 the Ashkenazic Jewish community of Bucharest was recognized by the government, which accorded it a legal status. In addition, on October 21, 1863, Cuza issued a decree recognizing the status of this community, under the name of "Societatea de Cultura Israelita" (Jewish Society of Culture). Maurice Fluegel was its first president, and Dr. Barasch was made honorary president.

But this status does not appear to have been permanent, since we find the government time and again "recognizing" the legal status of the community. In 1901, for example, the government was about to organize the Jewish communities of the country so as to give them a "legal status" and place them under government control, a move greatly desired by the Roumanian Jews. But the anti-Semites raised a hue and a cry against it. Again, in 1922, the Roumanian government recognized the Jewish community of Bucharest as a body entitled to speak on behalf of all the Jews of the Kingdom. At that time a united Jewish Community Council was created, in conformity with the law. Similarly, we find the Jewish communities of Galatz,

Focshani, Botoshani and other places recognized as a persona
juridica, while the Coral Temple at Bucharest was recognized
as persona morala si juridica.

CHAPTER FORTY THREE LIVZIONISM IN ROUMANIA

Before the yearning for Palestine was shaped in the form of a political movement, Roumanian Jews expressed their devotion to the Holy Land by sending money to be distributed among the pious, impoverished Jews there. This money was collected in tin boxes placed in every Jewish home. The Gabbai, or collector, would call twice a year, empty the box, count the pennies, and leave a receipt. No figures as to the total annual receipts for the Halukkah are available. It has been estimated that Moldavia contributed annually more than 60,000 francs (then about \$12,000).

It was an archaic and expensive system of collection. Eliezer Rokeah, a resident of Palestine who came to Roumania, proposed that the money collected be divided into two parts, one-half to go to the people of the Holy Land, and the other half to be invested in the purchase of land to be used for potential colonists who should settle in Palestine.

Rokeah, encouraged by the Alliance Israelite Univer-selle, succeeded in improving the system of collecting and distributing the funds. It was placed under the supervision of the Alliance, which favored the colonization plan. But this plan met with strong opposition on the part of the Hasidim in Roumania

and of the Palestinian Jews. The strongest opposition to the Palestine idea came from those who feared that the colonization movement and the idea of Zionism would jeopardize the prospect of emancipation. As a result of such opposition, the Alliance Israelite declined to assist in collecting the money. But the great masses of Roumanian Jews were imbued with the ideal of Zionism, and inspired by Rokeah, cooperated with him in every possible way. One of these was Rabbi Isaac Taubes. Michael Asiel, publisher of the Hayoetz, in Bucharest, gave the colonization plan strong support.

Peixotto, American Consul General at Bucharest, as early as 1874, advocated the emigration of the Jews from Roumania and their return to the soil. In 1881 the first society of Lovers of Zion (Chovevis Zion) was organized at Jassy; the initiative was taken by the well known scholar and journalist ^{the late} Horia Carp, and by Dr. Karpel Lippe, Samuel Pineles, Elman, and Mibashan (Menahem Mendel Braunstein). Similar societies were soon organized throughout the country. After the congress of Chovevei Zion organizations at Kattowitz, a central office was opened in Galatz to centralize the Zionist activities in Roumania.

On December 30, 1881, a conference of delegates of the Roumanian Chovevei Zion organisations took place at Focshani and elected an executive committee. This committee then communicated with the Turkish government at Constantinople, to ascertain its attitude toward the settlement of Jews in Palestine, and received a favorable reply. Shortly thereafter, the president of the committee, Pineles, was advised by the Turkish consul at Galatz that his government would welcome Jews to cultivate the soil in Palestine provided they established small colonies, placed themselves under the

protection of the Sultan, and pledged themselves not to return to Roumania.

The Focshani conference created a deep impression in Europe and still deeper on Roumanian Jewry, which saw in the movement the real beginning of the rebuilding of Palestine.

Simon Bernfeld, a young Hebrew scholar, published an open letter to the central committee at Galatz, praising it for "the harmony which has ~~to~~ swiftly broken through every handicap to rebuild the dispersed Jewish nation and heal the national wound". He concluded: "Well unto you, my brethern, sons of Roumania, that you were so fortunate in being the first to lay the national foundation for the restoration of Israel's glory of old. Your name will go down in history as a blessing among our great who contributed to the revival of the people."

At that time, Sir Laurence Olⁱphant of London became interested in Palestine, and made a special trip to Roumania. At a meeting held in Jassy in May, 1882, he stated that the object of the Palestinian movement was to ameliorate the condition of the suffering Jews. He demanded that the Jews be prepared, and appealed to wealthy Jews to support the movement generously. He was authorized to negotiate with the Turkish government for permission for Jews to settle in Palestine.

Turkey, in sympathy with the emigration movement, informed the committee that it had to be limited to groups of 50 or 100, ^{and that} each emigrant was to sign a declaration that he would never return to his native country.

A group of 100 Jews in Bucharest formed a society to

establish a Jewish colony in Palestine and each of them deposited 400 francs for the purchase of land. Soon they encountered difficulties in raising such a sum and appealed to the Mazkereth Moshe Society of London for aid, but without success. Societies were then organized at Botoshani, Galatz, Focshani and Jassy.

A second convention of the Roumanian Chovevei organization representing 32 branches, was held at Focshani in 1882 with Dr. Moses Gaster and Dr. Lippe as leaders. This convention adopted several resolutions, such as the creating of a central administrative body at Galatz; delegating a purchasing land committee to Palestine; and negotiating with the Turkish government in regard to making such purchases legal.

The Convention estimated that 600,000 francs were needed to settle 300 families in Palestine, and planned to settle 1,000 families annually.

After the elimination of Oliphant, the Roumanian Jews found that they would have to rely ~~on~~ on their leaders in gaining access to the Sultan. A committee succeeded in obtaining an audience at Constantinople, and presented a petition for permission to settle in Palestine. Before leaving the palace, they were informed of the Sul-ton's approval.

In view of the strong opposition to the Palestine movement still prevailing, the Committee felt impelled not to make public the satisfactory result of their audience with the Turkish ruler. Shortly thereafter the Turkish government made the Jews an offer of free land in Syria, but not in Palestine. Some Jews in Roumania

were willing to accept that offer, but the central committee at Galatz was against it. This caused a split in the ranks of the Roumanian Lovers of Zion.

Prior to the creation of the central bureau at Galatz, the Jews of Moinesti succeeded in buying a tract ^{at} of Gi-Ouni, near Sefad. A group of Moinesti Jews immediately emigrated, assisted by the central committee. On August 18, 1882, 228 pioneers from Moinesti, Berlad, Cerja, Bacau, Focshani, and Galatz embarked at Galatz on the steamer "Thetis", and the second Roumanian Jewish colony in the Holy Land, Rosh Pinah, was established. The committee resolved not to buy more land, but to wait and see what progress the Moinesti colonists made.

The establishment of the first colony inspired further activity. Students in the higher educational institutions became active in the movement and organized a society in Bucharest. Jewish women organized under the name of "Benoth Zion" (Daughters of Zion), with the object of raising funds for the establishment of schools in the Roumanian Jewish colonies.

But the newly formed student movement did not harmonize with the plans of the central committee. For this reason the former organized a new central organization at Galatz, called "Hehalutz". This move served to stimulate the old central committee to action and establish a new colony in Palestine. But the support which the committee gave to the emigrants and the colonies already established exceeded the financial abilities of the committee. And the agitation

carried on by the opposition was not very encouraging. In addition, friction between the various organizations interfered with the work of the central bureau, and the leaders were beginning to show signs of discouragement.

Among the many activities of Peixotto was the founding of the Society Zion, later merged with the Order B'nai B'rith. It was quite natural that the Palestine movement should weaken the Zion body, which at first was not in sympathy with that plan. Gradually, however, the adherents of the Zion Society were won over, so that in 1883 the Zion lodge joined the Palestinian ranks, immediately issued an appeal to its members to join in the movement to colonize the Holy Land, and taxed them accordingly. It also undertook to intercede with the Sultan a second time to grant permission for the colonization of Jews in Palestine. Fifty Jewish families were to be settled there at once, and the sum of 240,000 francs was to be raised by the order for that purpose. All the Chovevei Zion organizations were to join the new body.

The central committee of Galatz, however, rejected this plan, because the colonies already in existence had to cope with many handicaps. The central committee insisted that before any new colony was established, the old one should be strengthened. The schism between the two groups widened more since the so-called Oliphant group at Galatz was on the rampage. Basically, it was a schism between the older, conservative generation and the young one. The former insisted that help had to be given to the colonies which were financially hard pressed, while the latter argued

that the work had to go on through the establishment of new colonies. Finally, at a convention held at Focshani in 1884, the two factions reached an agreement. The name "Oliphant" was changed to "Atzile B'nai Yisrael". With these two groups united and peace established, the people rallied to the cause and raised money to enable the colonists to exist.

Of the many factors which contributed to the development of the Palestine idea and to the strength of the Zionist movement in Roumania, the strongest was the Roumanian government, with the many restrictions enacted against the Jews. This proved to be quite a stimulus to the fast growth of the Zionist organizations in the country. While most of these groups were members of the central committee of Galatz, there were many individuals who followed plans of their own. Such was the case at Jassy, where a group of eighty Jewish families sought to settle in Palestine with the help of Sir Laurence Oliphant; but this plan did not materialize. Another group at Braila applied to Baron Maurice de Hirsch for assistance in emigrating to Palestine. He promised to help them, and even sent a representative to Palestine to examine the land. Upon receiving the latter's report, he declared that he would act accordingly. There were many other such groups in various localities of Roumania who built their hopes on assistance from abroad, and from the Central Committee at Galatz.

The inevitable result was that the central committee was overwhelmed ^{with} ~~by~~ applications at a time when it was unable adequately

to aid the existing colonies. The Samaritan (Samaria) colony was therefore compelled to break away from the central committee, and sought to establish direct contact with the different organizations in Roumania. But the majority of the colonies preferred to remain under the supervision of the committee.

In the midst of this disagreement the representative of Baron de Hirsch, Veneziani, arrived in Palestine. As soon as he learned of their discord, he informed them that they could expect no help unless they worked in harmony with the central committee. Shortly thereafter, the committee appealed to the wealthy Jews in Roumania who had shown an inclination to assist the Samaritan colonies. It also warned them that without aid from abroad the work of colonization could not possibly go on, It sent its representatives to the province, with a personal appeal to the Jews to raise funds. These stressed the needs of the Samaritan colonists, some of whom were so hard pressed that they mortgaged their farms. Some even sold their land in order to obtain food for their families. Ten of these poverty-stricken colonists returned to Roumania. The result of the appeal was gratifying, the Jewish communities showing themselves warm and generous. Encouraged, the committee followed with an appeal to the Jews abroad.

A convention of the Chovevei Zion of Roumania, held at Galatz in 1883, dealt mainly with the critical condition of the Samaritan colony, especially since it was shown that the entire colonization plan hinged on its success or failure. While the

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convention was in session, word came from Vănziani that his principal would assist the colony, conditional, however, on the donor's having charge of it, without interference. Needless to say, the proposition was accepted, and the central committee was empowered to close the matter accordingly. Perhaps it ought to be stated that no one knew at that time whom Vănziani represented, nor did any one have an idea that the donor was Baron Maurice de Hirsch. This was disclosed only later, when Vănziani suggested that the committee send its representative to Paris to conclude the negotiations with the Baron personally.

The interest shown by the Baron in the colony served as a stimulant to the Jews in Roumania. New groups were organized and these worked with increasing enthusiasm for the Palestine idea. But the Baron's help also had a counter effect. A rumor was spread about that he was willing to assist every Jew desiring to settle in Palestine and that he would enable them to engage in any vocation they might choose. Due to this unfounded report, thousands of poor persons, in their eagerness to emigrate, neglected every other activity or effort to earn a livelihood. The central committee was therefore compelled to send out a warning to the Roumanian Jews that the rumor was unfounded.

In addition to Baron de Hirsch, assistance was provided for the Palestinian colonies by the Alliance Israelite and, later, by the Jewish Colonization Association. The Baron fixed a monthly stipend of twelve francs for every pioneer. A physician, a pharmacist, a horticulturist, and a teacher for the children were

provided. Roads were built, and houses erected. Permission had been granted by the Turkish government on condition that the colonists became Turkish subjects. Sixty frame houses imported from Roumania were erected, and thenceforth the colony became successful.

The colony of Zichron Yaakov made rapid progress. A physician, two druggists, a midwife, and a rabbi were engaged, and officers were elected to manage the community's affairs. Later a hospital containing twelve beds was built. Wells and other necessities were provided; with fifty-four families at its inception the colony Zichron Yaakov soon grew to 105.

The Zionist movement, in the years thereafter, served to unite the Roumanian Jews, and indirectly helped them to branch out intellectually as well. In 1889, in Bucharest alone, there were five Zionist organizations; the Roumanian Jews took a great part in Zionism by establishing colonies, contributing money and raising Halutzim, but assisted very little intellectually. A Jewish gynnasium was opened in Bucharest under the direction of Dr. Zeidner. Other localities followed a similar course.

In 1897 the Roumanian Zionists held a convention at Braila, at which 1,200 delegates represented every Zionist organization in the country. A Max Nordau Chevre Zion was organized in Berlاد. Similar societies were organized the same year at Pitra, Ocna, and other cities. At Jassy Dr. Karpel Lippe formed the society Doreshe Zion (Seekers of Zion).

At the first Zionist Congress, held in Basel, Switzerland, in 1897, the Roumanian Zionists were represented by Samuel Pineles and Dr. Lippe. The latter presided and both were elected executive members.

In the years 1898 and 1899 Zionist activities in Roumania reached a high level. Over twenty societies were active.

In August, 1904, Dr. Lippe headed the Roumanian Zionist delegation to the Fourth Zionist Congress at London. The same year a conference of Roumanian Zionist organizations, attended by ninety-nine delegates, was held at Focshani. Pineles was elected president of the new organization.

At the annual convention of the Roumanian Zionists in August, 1919, two hundred and fifty delegates were in attendance. A resolution was adopted to found a Hebrew seminary, a Jewish school for girls, and a newspaper for Zionist propaganda

The Roumanian government, in the 1920's favored the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine, and expressed it in a letter to Nahum Sokolow, when the latter visited the country in 1924.

It must be borne in mind that when the immortal Herzl published his Judenstaat in 1896, Roumanian Jews were already cultivating their own land in Palestine. At a time when world Jewry was thrilled by his plan to settle Jews in the Holy Land, Roumanian Jews were already building houses there, and, still more, had invested their own money in the purchase and development of the land.

Outstanding among these pioneers were David Schub, Klepper, Brill, and Walderman, who bought land at Samarin, later known as Zichron Yaakov. This was the foundation of the Roumanian -- if not of the actual Jewish colonization of Palestine, which opened the way for the many who followed them and took up the tilling of the soil.

Herzl showed the Jews how to develop a Jewish state; the Roumanian Jews showed their coreligionists what the Jews were able to do on the land if they were only given an opportunity. Unfortunately, the Judenstaat had ^{up to 1917} ~~thus far~~ ^{been} turned out to be an idle dream, but what the Roumanian Jews founded had proved a reality.

JEWS IN THE ROUMANIAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

Socialism found its way into Roumania in the fourth quarter of the 19th century. Nathan Katz, a Russian Jew, came to Roumania in 1874, and settled in Jassy. He embraced Christianity and was enfranchized as a Roumanian citizen under the name of "C. Dobrogeanu Gherea." Soon he became known as the foremost socialist writer; the one who planted socialism in Roumania. There he began to expound the socialistic doctrine in a series of articles in the Contemporanul. To the Roumanian intellectuals -- the only class whose members could read and understand him -- it was a revelation. It gave them new food for thought, and since the ignorant masses could not be reached in that way, Gherea concentrated his efforts on the educated.

In a country like Roumania, an industrial proletariat did not exist. As an agricultural country, it had only a peasantry, which differed radically from the western proletariat, where socialism developed naturally in their very life. But not so in Roumania. Here the very word "socialism" was foreign to the population as a whole, and more so to the peasant. His appearance, his style of dress, his speech, his mannerisms, his entire way of life, were not those of the Western proletariat. The aristocracy could not be approached with that new theory. As the dominating class, they would not listen to the newly discovered science of social justice which sought to wipe out class distinction.

Moreover, the Roumanian socialist had no contact with the peasant. The illiteracy and ignorance of the peasant constituted an impenetrable wall behind which lived a deaf and blind class of human beings who could not be made to understand. Due to their inability to absorb socialism, the doctrine could not possibly develop among them. For the same reason a strong labor group did not exist in Roumania.

But there was one element of the population which stood between these two classes and to which socialism appealed -- the persecuted Jews. The prospect of achieving an equality which would break the chains of prejudice and injustice, the prospect that the long and bitter struggle for emancipation was about to succeed, was sufficient to attract them to socialism. The conditions under which they lived; the restrictions enacted against them; and the state of insecurity in which they found themselves; haunted day and night by constant fear, and subjected to anti-^bsemitic ^{attacks} ~~agitation~~; all of these rendered them susceptible to new ideas. The mere outlook of a change for the better was enough for them to accept such ideas as Hasidism, Zionism, or Socialism. The first, which they had tried for many years, had brought them no relief. As regards the other two, Zionism was speculative and rather remote, while Socialism was more logical and within reach, so they accepted it.

It was quite natural that the class-conscious, intelligent Jewish workingman who was living under those conditions, and underpaid, should seek relief in socialism, a movement in which he was heartily welcome. Here he had everything to gain and nothing to lose. What is more, the Jews saw in socialism the only solution to their problem, a possibility of bettering their lot. The intellectual

Jew saw something idealistic in it, and the average Jew saw in socialism the key which would open the doors^S that were closed to him. To be a member of a club together with non-Jews, to sit side by side with them and listen to lectures picturing a brighter future for working-men and Jews, was something about which the Jews had not even dreamed. They had always been excluded from every organization, political, social, and economic, while here they were invited to join socialistic groups and work for a common cause in which they would have an equal voice. Furthermore, in the socialist party, where equality was one of its strongest planks, they would have a sponsor for their cause, to battle for equal rights.

On the other hand, the Jewish element was the very vehicle which the socialist party in Roumania needed. If the Jews could not influence the peasantry as a whole, they would nevertheless make good missionaries to attract their non-Jewish fellow workingmen in the suburbs. Young as the Roumanian industrial element was at that time (in the 1880's), its members were eager to associate with their Jewish fellow workingmen. In this manner the socialist party was founded in Roumania. The founder, C. Dobrogeanu Gherea, installed John Nadejdea as the first leader.

Polish, Russian, Bulgarian, and Serbian socialists were preparing to celebrate the anniversary of the Paris Commune, with their Roumanian comrades at Jassy. But the real purpose was to make final arrangements for the assassination of the Russian czar, Alexander II. However, the Roumanian police must have learned about it and the celebration was forbidden. Three socialist leaders -- John and George Nadejdea, and one Speranza, were indicted and dismissed from the University. Constantin Mille, later the foremost

journalist in Roumania, and one Baghereanu, were also dismissed from the University.

However, that did not discourage them. They organized a party under the name of "Partidul Socialist Democratic Roman" (Roumanian Social Democratic Party). Workingmen's clubs were established in every city and town, where meetings were held. Lectures -- up to that time unknown to them, especially to Jews -- were delivered on political economy and education. Libraries were opened in every club.

After the establishment of the Socialist Democratic Party, trade unions were formed. Once organized, the aggrieved workers would call a strike. But as was to be expected at that early stage, they lost most of the strikes because they were not sufficiently strong.

These organizations, with their liberal programs for the emancipation of the proletariat, indirectly worked for the eradication of racial and religious prejudice. At Jassy, the shoemakers' society "Steau," provided in its by-laws: "The interests of Christian and Jewish workingmen are one, and we will work alongside of one another, having the same by-laws, but forming two separate sections." The typesetters' organization, "Albina," provided for the acceptance of Jews as members. Other societies also decided to enroll Jews.

When the by-laws of a mutual benefit society, organized in Jassy on November 21, 1887, were framed, provision was made that all nationalities were eligible for membership. Several anti-Semites objected to that provision, and they were expelled from the hall. Again, the workingmen's party organized a society in another community, with provision for the admission of Jews as members. When

the ironworkers organized, they too, provided for the acceptance of Jews. This liberal spirit in the workmen's circles prevailed despite the intensive propaganda of such anti-Semitic papers as Poporul (the People), Functionarul (The Functionary), and many others.

Finding themselves in an atmosphere of sincere cordiality, the Jewish workmen who had joined the socialist movement, attracted other Jews. Since the Roumanian peasantry could not be reached so easily, the Jews, especially the intellectuals, readily embraced this movement, and demanded to be heard. The Roumanian socialists had several men of talent, such as Nadejdea, Bacalbasha, Morzun, Beldiman, and Mille; and the Jewish socialists could boast of Ghezea, Liber, Labin, Graur, Fagure, Branisteanu, Stanca, Ghelehrter, and many other men of ideas, erudition, and force; idealists with high principles who consecrated themselves to the high idealogy of socialism.

While they readily joined the socialist ranks, the artisan Jews, it seems, did not weaken in their religious tenets, and strictly observed the holy Sabbath. We thus find that, after a tailor-strike at Galatz, in 1898, Article 3 of a contract entered into between capital and labor provided: "The working week is to begin on Sunday morning and end on Friday at 4 p.m. in winter time, while in the summer it will end at 7 p.m."

Since the socialist platform in Roumania was patterned after the Marxian code of equality, the socialists there struck a snag when they were confronted with the Jewish question. At first they refused to recognize the existence of such a question in Roumania; they demanded universal suffrage, and believed that they had covered the entire ground. However, subsequent events compelled them

to be more explicit and they adopted a platform demanding citizenship rights for all Jews born in Roumania, not subject to another Power, who had fulfilled their military service in the Roumanian army.

After the Jews had been treated as equals in the socialist party for some time, the anti-Semitic movement began to work its way into the Roumanian working class. At first the socialist leaders and the intellectuals of the party combatted everything savoring of anti-Semitism. But eventually they deserted the party, and in 1900 joined the national liberal party. The anti-Semitic socialist workingmen were then able to launch their propaganda against the Jews unhindered.

Up to that time, while Christian and Jewish socialists were working together in a common cause, the Jews were treated equally, in theory, but not in practice. They were welcome in the ranks, but no further. It did not take them long to discover that in the socialist party they were treated the same as in the Roumanian political party. Their talents, their money and their labors in behalf of the movement were used for the benefit of its leaders, who, despite all their socialistic idealism, were rabid anti-Semites.

In 1888 the socialist leaders Nadejdea and Morzun were elected deputies to the Roumanian Parliament on the Liberal Party ticket. In 1900 the Clubul Muncitorilor was organized by them in Bucharest, and in the same year the entire socialistic intellectual Council went over to the Liberal Party. Socialist or not, their heart was with the reigning anti-Semitic class. They squeezed all they could out of the Jews, who willingly contributed heavily for the benefit of the party, and received nothing in return but empty

promises. When the Jewish members questioned the advisability of admitting anti-Semites to the League for Universal Suffrage, they were told that it did not matter, that in a socialist Parliament, the Jewish question would be solved. Then some of the Jewish socialists decided to organize themselves into a minority group under the leadership of Dr. L. Ghelehrter.

As regards those Roumanian socialists who joined the Liberal Party, they did not prove themselves disloyal to the Jews alone. They were equally false to the Roumanian workers, whose cause they had undertaken to sponsor, and to the peasants, whose cause they had betrayed by accepting appointments in the reactionary government which they had pledged to fight. Such were the socialist leaders Stere, John Nadejeau, Radowitz, Diam⁹ndi and Morzun. The last mentioned, when he became Minister of Commerce and Industry, and later Minister of the Interior, took severe measures against the Jews.

Despite that betrayal, the Roumanian workers who had awakened somewhat / organized themselves by the thousands with the intention of keeping up the socialist party. Meanwhile, however, the Roumanian government discovered a few Jews in their ranks, and had them expelled from the country. This action, of course, discouraged them to some extent. At the same time, a demand to expel all the Jews from the country was made by several Roumanian patriots on the ground that "they were enemies of the country." But none of the Christian socialists were molested.

In 1910 an attempt was made by Dr. Rakowsky, a Bulgarian, to reawaken the socialist movement in Roumania. Many of the working and peasant classes readily responded. A club was established, and a paper, "Romania Muncitoare" (Laboring Roumania) was published.

Under the Roumanian election law, the socialists could not

elect a candidate to Parliament. Gradually, however, they began to win sufficient adherents throughout the country to permit them to gain representation in the two houses. They joined the international social democrats, and took a bold stand against the ill treatment of the Jews. In or about the year 1912 a Jewish social democratic club was formed at Jassy, which, three years later (1915), published a paper in Yiddish under the name of Der Waker (The Awakener). At the outbreak of the first World War the Roumanian government suppressed the movement. Socialist publications were forbidden, and the few active leaders of the socialist movement were either sent to the front or imprisoned. Rakowsky was indicted, and in 1917, with the removal of the seat of the government at Jassy, he was transferred to that city. After the outbreak of the Russian revolution, he was set free as a result of the intervention of the Russian commandant. He went to Odessa, where he published a social democratic paper in Roumanian, under the title of Lupta (The Struggle).

An organization named "Dreptatea" (Justice) had gained a large membership in the province, and worked in harmony with the Ghelehrter "Luministi". Politically it made no progress, because the anti-Semites were not idle, and the government looked askance at the socialist movement. While the socialist Jews were careful enough not to give the police cause for suspicion on any pretext, and kept within the law, some of them got into trouble nevertheless.

Of the non-Jews, two socialists, Fischinescu and Banghereanu, ardent campaigners in the socialist paper Lumea Noua (The New World), who had gained a large following, offended the government. The clubs which they had organized were ordered closed, and both of them,

together with thirty-six other Roumanian socialists, were indicted, tried, and convicted, and a number of other Jewish socialists were expelled from the country. The majority of the Roumanian socialists followed the example of their comrades by joining the Liberal Party, and were compensated with seats in Parliament. Now the leaders took off their masks and showed themselves in their true colors -- as plain anti-Semites. Together with these newly elected legislators, they forgot to foster the interests of the peasants, but endeavored to "save" the country from the "Jewish danger." Roumanian socialism, which had been wasting away for some time, was thus killed and buried by its leaders. They had betrayed their Jewish comrades, and the peasants whose interests they were supposed to protect.

CHAPTER ~~FORTY-FIVE~~ LVITHE JEWISH PRESS

The cradle of the Roumanian Jewish press was Jassy. Two contributing factors produced this press: (1) The wave of Haskala which had swept eastern Europe in the second half of the last century and had penetrated into the principalities, Moldavia and Wallachia, (2) The struggle for emancipation which had been started by the Jewish intellectual element which came from Austria-Poland where they had enjoyed equal rights. These intellectuals, headed by Dr. Julius Barasch, were the vanguard of the Roumanian Jewish press.

The first Yiddish newspaper appeared at Jassy, in 1854, but neither the title nor how long it existed is known. All we know about it is that it was published by one Marco Feldman, that it had a page in the Roumanian language, and that the publisher later changed his name to "Campeanu". The following year, 1855, Itzik Singer issued a bi-weekly paper in Jassy, titled "Koroth Hayitim". It had a double text, Roumanian and Yiddish, and advocated Jewish emigration from Moldavia. What format it had, who were its contributors, and how long it continued, is not known, except that it appeared sporadically in 1860 and 1867. The identity of the publisher is controversial. The late Moses Schwarzfeld believed that Koroth Hayitim was published in Bucharest by Naftali C. Popper in 1859. But Podoleanu claims

that Popper had no connection with the paper; that the year of its appearance was not 1859, but 1855, and that it was published in Jassy, not Bucharest.

In April 1857, Dr. Julius Barasch began to publish a bi-lingual weekly in Bucharest, titled Israelitul Roman, in Roumanian and French. In his publication Dr. Barasch pleaded primarily for tolerance by the Roumanian government, and equality for the Jews. He gave the Jews to understand that they too, must make some effort in the direction of progress. Their brethren abroad had kept abreast of their neighbors, but Roumanian had been stagnant. Moreover, Chasidism had thrust them two centuries behind their western brothers.

Dr. Barasch was influenced, to some degree, in publishing his weekly by Armand Levy, a French Jew and philo-Roumanian. Levy had convinced the doctor that the Jews had to be brought closer to their Roumanian neighbors, and must learn to speak the language of the country in order to win the confidence of the Roumanians; that the most direct way was to speak to them in their own Roumanian language. We find in his columns a series of articles of his work "Isis", and other scientific articles not to mention his numerous studies of Jewish interest, which resulted in readers abroad calling him "The Roumanian Mendelsohn".

Among the collaborators on that magazine we find: Cocio Cohen, Samuel Hillel, Mendel Hornstein, L. Leon, N. C. Popper, Jacques Cohen. In the beginning, the financial part of the publication was covered by Aron Ascher and I.L. Weisberg

who, with Dr. Barash, were instrumental in establishing the first modern Jewish school in Bucharest. The strongest supporter of the weekly was the Roumanian Jewish banker, Abraham Halfan. Obviously, the magazine was ahead of its time, as its magnitude and importance was appreciated by very few readers. The last number appeared in October, 1857.

In 1859, Dr. Morris Werthheimer, an opponent of Dr. Barasch, and Arie Silberstein, published a Yiddish weekly in Bucharest, titled Eth Ledaber, which was of short duration. In 1859, Marco Feldman published the Gazeta Romana Evreiasca, in Roumanian and Yiddish. It was printed in Jassy and began as a semi-weekly, but after its tenth issue became a weekly. Feldman was interested in improving the deplorable condition of the Jewish schools. He conducted a vigorous campaign against the chedarim, and thereby incurred the antagonism of the extreme orthodox parents. Not meeting with success, his journal was discontinued after two months.

In Bucharest, two educators, Naftali C. Popper, and C. Cahana, began the publication of a weekly, Timpul-Die Zeit in Roumanian and Yiddish with a sub-title, "Jurhal Roman Evreiesc" (Roumanian Jewish Journal).

In 1865, Sigmund Carmelin began the publication of a weekly journal in Bucharest, titled L'Echo Danubien. It was printed in Roumanian and French and was dedicated to commerce, agriculture, industry, and literature. This journal had a rather

stormy career. Like its publisher, it wandered from place to place, from city to city, and from country to country. Driven continually by fate, by circumstances, and sometimes by the police, Carmelin found no rest. Shortly after its appearance, in March 1866, Carmelin merged L'Echo Danubien with another journal, titled Mosh Ion, published by George Baronzi, and the combined papers appeared at Braila under the name of Presă Romana. The merger was of short duration. Before the end of the year L'Echo Danubien appeared at Galatz. In August, 1867, the office was moved to Bucharest where the journal appeared irregularly down to March 26, 1871, when Carmelin was compelled to leave Roumania.

With the ascension of Carol I, to the throne, anti-Semitism began to spread in Roumania and, in the absence of any other organ to defend the Jews, L'Echo Danubien found an opportunity to make itself heard beyond the Roumanian border. Carmelin published a number of articles in German, and engaged in a polemic with Armany Levy, who, at that time, was publishing his Israelitul Roman. There were many Jews in Roumania who resented Carmelin's stand in their defense. The anti-Semitic press did its part and, in an endeavor to destroy his publication, pounced violently on Carmelin. But he kept on defiantly exposing government abuse of the Jews. Finally, in 1871, he endangered his life by exposing a conspiracy against the Jews at Ploesti. He was indicted, fined heavily, and the L'Echo Danubien had to be discontinued. He left Roumania and settled in ~~Bruxelles~~ Brussels,

Belgium, where he continued the journal under the name of L'Echo de L'Orient. From Bruxelles he moved to Amsterdam, then to Breslau, where he reissued his paper under a different name. This time it was called La Concordia and he soon moved it to Budapest, where it appeared bi-monthly in German and French, devoting considerable space to the defense of the Jews. After an absence of 13 years, Carmelin returned to Bucharest. In 1887, he was in Paris, publishing his journal under the title of L'Echo De Orient with a subtitle of Journal International, Politique, Litteraire, Artistique, Financier, et Commercial, suite de la Concorde de Budapest et de L'echo Danubien de Bucharest fonde en 1865. Carmelin died in Paris in 1887.

Prince Carol I had arrived in Bucharest in May, 1866 and in less than one month the Jews under him were made to feel the change. Persecution began and was followed by their expulsion from rural districts. When the newly erected Coral Temple in Bucharest was to be inaugurated in 1867, a mob invaded the Jewish quarter and demolished it. In this stormy year Levy launched his publication Viitorul in Bucharest, printed in Roumanian and French. Jewish leaders like Jacob Lobel, Solomon Halfan, Jacques Cohen, and Weisberg, promised to furnish the necessary funds for its publication, but for some unknown reason Viitorul was abruptly discontinued. However, Levy lost no time: in December, 1867, he issued another weekly, titled

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L'Esperance. This new organ took up the question of expulsion of Roumanian Jews, and it brought good results. In 1869, Levy was functioning as Rabbi at Jassy where he held the pulpit in Neuschotz's Temple for several years, and when he returned to France, L'Esperance ceased to exist.

With the death of Dr. Barasch, his paper seems to have died too, for in July, 1868, we find Armand Levy in Bucharest publishing a bi-weekly titled Israelitul Roman in Roumanian and French. Levy counted on the friendship of the Roumanian politicians, Bratiano, Rosetti, Sturza, and others, whom he had befriended in Paris where they went as exiles in the revolution of 1848. But he was soon disillusioned. These "friends" were instrumental in his forced return to France.

In 1869, Sigmund Carmelin and Julius Schein issued a German weekly Bukarester Fremden Blatt. It lasted only three months. In 1871, there appeared in Bucharest, a Jewish weekly titled Roumanische Post, sponsored by Benjamin Franklin Peizotto. It was edited by Adolph Stern, secretary of the American ^eConsulate, and Leopold Stern, his brother, formerly contributor to Israelitul Roman.

Peizotto had accepted the appointment of United States Consul General to Roumania with the object of ameliorating the condition of the Jews. As soon as he arrived in the capital he founded the Roumanische Post. The editorials of Peizotto created a sensation. Beginning with the issue of December 12, 1872, the name was changed to Posta Romana and was written in Roumanian

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and German. The Roumanian text elicited considerable comment in official circles and in the Roumanian Press. Besides its political column, the Posta published classical translations, and a series of literary sketches and German articles by Julium Schein. The journal was soon subjected to abuse by the Roumanian press, but the Posta did not deviate from its program.

A Hebrew quarterly "Zimrath Haeretz," by M.S. Rabener; and a weekly in Roumanian and Hebrew, titled "Timpul" by M. Hurwitz, appeared in 1872, but did not last long. In August 1873, a Yiddish weekly "Der Israelit," appeared in Jassy, published by Benjamin Schwarzfeld. There were only 18 issues. In May 1874, the same publisher issued a Jewish weekly in Roumanian, titled "Revista Israelita," which lasted 8 months.

If the efforts of Carmelin, Anton and Armany Levy, Peixotto, and Hurwitz on behalf of the Jews in Roumania brought no immediate results, their respective publications had considerable effect. They had inspired the new generation -- the Roumanian Jewish young men who had finished their studies in the Universities. They saw how fearlessly and with what courage Austrian, French and American Jews in Roumania defended their people and they, too, found courage to take up the battle. Among these were Marco Feldman, Elias Schwarzfeld, S.L. Grossman, L. Rosenbaum, and B. Pauker, at that time still in the springtime of their lives, full of courage and energy. From September 24, 1872, to September 1873, Feldman, with the colleagues mentioned above as collaborators, issued a Jewish weekly at Jassy, titled "Vocea Aparatorului."

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Its subtitle was, "Journal of Politic, Literature, and Economics," with a motto on the first page: "Liberty, Fraternity, Patriotism." Its program was to encourage emigration of Jews from Roumania to Palestine, and to fight for better treatment of the Jews at home. Right from its beginning Vocea Aparatorului had to fight, not only the Roumanian politicians, but also the Roumanian press which spared no invective in attacking their weekly.

Besides the polemic encounters with its Jewish adversaries, Vocea Aparatorului published articles and literary works of eminent Roumanian Jews like Schwarzfeld; S. Goldenthal; A Brociner from Leipsig, who contributed literary articles under the title "Letters from a Lady," and translations from Heine; and Karpel Lippe from Jassy, who supplied Talmudic articles for the erudite. B. Lubin of Botoshani sent a series of articles on the Roumanian Jewish question. In conformity with its program the organ "was a faithful and loyal defender of the Jewish cause". From a journalistic point of view, it was rich in material and well edited, but it met with no success. Jacob Lobel, of Bacau, who had assisted Feldman in the publication of Vocea Aparatorului, now issued a Jewish weekly titled "Presentul," which dealt with conditions then prevailing in Roumania. The first number appeared at Bacau on September 16, 1876, in which it announced: "This organ belongs to no one personally, but to what is lawful and just." In addition to matters of general interest, it stressed the Roumanian Jewish question. Its motto Read: "Truth and Impartiality." While it pleaded the Roumanian cause, it also advocated living in unity,

and working for the commonweal. I. Rosenzweig, later known as I. Sotec Lateanu, was the editor, and published in that paper a study of the Jewish schools in Roumania. Among his collaborators were A. S. Gold (later publisher of the Fraternitate and Aparatorul), who wrote reviews, articles on schools, and on the Jewish community of Bucharest. Elias Schwarzfeld contributed sketches, short stories, and articles on the Jewish situation in Roumania. Other contributors were : Rabbi A. Taubes of Berlad , Moses Schwarzfeld, B. Labin of Botoshoni, and I.H. Fior of Dorohoi. Presentul seems to have had a large following. In the Russo-Turko war of 1877-78, in which Roumania took an important part, the appeals made by that journal for aid to the wounded soldiers met with generous response. The last number of Presentul appeared on April 30, 1878.

When Peixotto decided to contact the Jews in Roumania by a publication, it was with the idea of reaching them through the Roumanische Post, in German. He soon realized his mistakes and, instead of changing the language of the Post to Yiddish which was alien to him, he adopted the Roumanian language which the Jews in Moldavia did not understand. After the Post ceased to exist, Michael Aziel convinced Peixotto of the importance of publishing a Yiddish paper. The result was that in 1875, Aziel began to publish the Yiddish weekly Hajoetz, which was subsidized by Peixotto. Hajoetz was an orthodox organ, devoted

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to the Palestine idea, by advocating emigration of Roumanian Jews to Palestine. Its contributors were: Eliezer Gasvan, Rabener, and Vecsler, who wrote ^{feuilletons} ~~feuilletons~~. Israel Margulies of Braila, who later held the rabbinical pulpit there, wrote on Jewish affairs. Compared with modern Yiddish newspapers, such as the Jewish Morning Journal, the Forwaerts, and The Day, Hajoetz was a Zeeno Ureno paper, good enough for readers in Moldavia of 70 years ago. Nevertheless, the paper continued down to 1918 when, due to a controversy between Aziel's two sons after the death of their father, one of them, Max Aziel, changed the name to "Der Wahre Hajoetz." Whether the other son published another journal, under the original name, is not known. The Wahre Hajoetz did not continue long. Joseph Azilescu (one of the sons) published a daily journal titled "Yiddisher Telegraph" in 1877 in Bucharest. It appeared daily except Fridays and Saturdays. Another Jewish weekly with a Palestine tendency, titled "Eretz Halavanen," appeared at Jassy in 1877. Only a few numbers were published. The name of the publisher is unknown.

In 1879, at Bucharest, Moses Schwarzfild began to publish his Jewish year book, "Anuarul Pentru Israeliti" in Roumanian. It was known as a literary work, well edited, rich in erudite historial articles. Paradoxically, since Roumanian writers had made an issue of the status of the Jews, claiming that they were newcomers who had entered the country illegally, Anuarul refuted that allegation with documented historical data. In 1885, Elias Schwarzfild, who had collaborated with his brother in the publication of Anuarul, was expelled from Roumania and went to Paris,

where he continued to contribute regularly to every issue until it was discontinued in 1897.

The Roumanian treatment of her Jews inspired Isaac Auerbach and A.S. Gold, in 1879, to issue a Jewish weekly at Bucharest, titled, "Fraternitatea," which soon became the most influential Jewish journal in Roumania. The language was Roumanian. From the beginning, this journal showed courage, which at times was sheer boldness, and was aggressive in its defense of the Jewish cause. It also stressed patriotism and loyalty to the throne. Shortly thereafter, Gold withdrew from the paper and Dr. Moritz Bech, spiritual head of the Coral Temple, became editor. As a theologian, he stressed the religious importance in Jewish life, and neglected the political part in which Roumanian Jews were mostly interested. Fraternitatea began to lose ground, and Dr. Elias Schwarzfeld took over the editorship and brought it back to its former high place. Unfortunately, in 1885, when the founder, the editor, and nine other Jewish writers, among them Dr. Moses Gaster, were expelled from Roumania, Fraternitatea ceased to exist. Five years later, in 1890, Auerbach, one of those expelled, returned to Roumania and reissued the journal, but only for a short time.

In 1879, Eliezer Rokeah came to Roumania from Saloniki, and opened a campaign for the settlement of Roumanian Jews in Palestine. In 1881, he issued a Jewish weekly titled, "Izrael" in Jassy. In the same year, at Piatra, Neametz published a Jewish

weekly, "Die Hoffnung." Both papers advocated the settlement of Roumanian Jews in Palestine. Shortly thereafter, in 1882, at Galatea, he published another Jewish weekly titled "Der Emigrant". He soon added a German page to the Yiddish text. The three weeklies had a short life. In 1881, a Jewish weekly titled, "Armonia" appeared at Focshani in the Roumanian language. The name of the publisher, its program, and how long it continued are now known.

After withdrawing from Fraternitatea, Gold began publishing a Jewish weekly, "Aparatorul." This paper succeeded in awakening the spirit of national renaissance in the hearts of the Jews by strongly supporting the emigration movement to Palestine. Gold placed the columns of Aparatorul at the disposal of the Zionist Central Committee at Galatz. The strong impression which Aparatorul made in the Palestine movement irked Fraternitatea, and it opened a campaign against the Palestine movement, and, incidentally, also against the Yiddish theatre which Goldfaden had opened and which was supported by Aparatorul. Adolph Steinberg, on the other hand, became inspired by the Palestine idea, and opened an attack on Fraternitatea. Dr. Beck was the first to weaken by publishing three letters supposed to come from important persons in Paris, London and Vienna, in support of Fraternitatea. Gold branded the letters "fictitious". The quarrel went on for some time until Dr. Lippe took a hand in it by publishing several articles in support of Palestine, and destroyed all the Fraternitatea arguments against the Palestine movement. Those

articles proved to be the death blow to Fraternitatea. Demands to boycott Fraternitatea were made from all sides. By that time Aparatorul had already won an enviable reputation in the journalistic field. While it devoted considerable space to Palestine, it did not overlook the Roumanian Jewish question. Constantly alert, it vigorously protested against every wrong inflicted on the Jews, especially against their expulsion from rural districts, and the government had to relent for a while. The weekly had an excellent staff of editorial writers, such as Dr. Karpel Lippe, Adolph Steinberg, Marco Brociner, J.S. Staureanu, Emil and D. Critzman, Lazar Shaineanu, M. Rosenfeld, I. Rubin, (Rubinstein) later known as "Pietreanu," Isidor Cohen, Joseph Balocan, Oswald Neuschotz, M. Viertel, Naftali C. Popper, Sigmund Carmelin, Lupu Dichter, and S. Rosenfeld.

In its fifth year of existence, Aparatorul appeared twice weekly -- Mondays and Fridays. In 1883, an attempt was made to have it appear daily, but after seven issues the plan had to be abandoned. Of the collaborators in this publication, we must not overlook Alexander Rubin, who later was director *of and editor* of L'Independance Roumaine. Incidentally, the first Roumanian Minister to the United States, Dr. C. Angelescu, took Rubin with him to Washington as Press Attache of the Roumanian Legation.

Aparatorul was a cultural organ, rich in content and quality. It fought the government in behalf of, and pleaded for, the Jews. It endeavored to raise their status as men and as Jews.

It was, as Gold asserted: "The only organ which fought fearlessly endeavored to awaken the Jewish national sentiment, and with devotion and sincerity, propagated for the colonization of Palestine." In May, 1884, it closed its doors.

In 1882, a Jewish weekly titled, "Stindardul," appeared at Botoshani, in the Roumanian language. Its subtitle read: "Organ for encouragement of Emigration from Roumania" At that time, the Central Committee at Galatz was in need of a publicity organ for its propaganda and it welcomed Stindardul with its program of emigration. The committee decided to subsidize the paper. Stindardul held that "the question of emigration is not one of religion, but clearly a social and economic one." Therefore, the emigration of 1881 and 1882 was not only national in scope, but also social. Stindardul was the first of the Jewish press to represent a certain current -- the Jewish national current. But the Herzlian Zionist billows which had engulfed Roumania, after the Basel Congress of 1897, took another turn. Other Jewish journals appeared but they advocated different programs, such as assimilation, emancipation, socialism, and class differences.

Stindardul had been under the management of a committee consisting of able young men, such as Adolph Steinberg, Adolph Neizler, and others. In the summer of 1883 it was forced to suspend publication. Nevertheless, the propaganda it had conducted was not in vain; it brought the desired results.

In 1885, a Jewish weekly titled, "Ecoul Tinerimeii"

appeared in Jassy. It was sponsored by a group of Jewish young men who advocated the assimilation of Roumanian Jews. Judaism was alien to those youths, anything was acceptable to them except Judaism. They had nothing in common with the Jews. The only bond that held them to the rest of the Jews was their birth. It was, therefore, natural that such an unexperienced group should seek assimilation. However, they took no chances, and for their own safety kept their names out of print. They were even in doubt as to whether they would be acceptable to the other side. For in their official organ, Ecoul Tinerimel, they declared. "Even if the Jews in Roumania should be willing to assimilate with their Christian neighbors, the latter may put some obstacles in their way." Under the conditions in which they lived, it is no wonder that such a group conceived the idea of assimilation as an avenue of escape. But the astounding fact is that on the appearance of the first number of the publication, a Jewish journal edited by religious Jews such as Dr. Beck, Elias Schwarzfeld, and others, could have congratulated the new publishers, wishing them a "long and fruitful life." The first thing the assimilators did was to launch a campaign against the Chedarim (Jewish primary schools); next they picked a quarrel with Fraternitatea and developed a polemic in which they included Dr. Lippe, who had denounced their organ. Thus an anomaly was manifested in the fact that, while the pious Fraternitatea had taken a hostile attitude against the Jewish Theatre, the organ of the assimilators,

abhorring everything Jewish, had nothing but praise for the Jewish stage. Eventually, those enlightened youths found the Roumanian Jews obdurate and unwilling to be "convinced". We thus find in the third issue of Ecoul Tineremei, an editorial complaining bitterly of the rejection of assimilation by the Jews. That was the end of Ecoul Tineremei.

Shortly after, in 1885, a Jewish weekly titled, "Vocea Dreptetei" appeared in Bucharest, published by Maurice Schwartz. The program of this publication was not clear, as its subtitles were changed quite often. First, one subtitle read, "Weekly Journal of the Native Jews." Then it was changed to "Independent Organ". In 1909, the subtitle was, "Tribune of Free Thinking". This was later changed to "Political Organ of the Jews in Roumania". Later it read: "Organ for the Defense of the Oppressed," and in the course of the thirty years of its existence, the paper did not serve the Jewish cause. Sometime later when the Jews in Roumania were preoccupied with the Palestine Question, Vocea Dreptetei supported Herzl. Although the paper had some contributors of note, such as, E. San Cerbu, political editor, 1890-91; Carol H. Agetstein, Emil I. and D.I. Critzman; J. Kaufman, J.H. Fior; J.M. Brociner, and David Jurescu, none of the Roumanian Jews regretted its disappearance.

A Yiddish weekly, titled, "Hatokeah," appeared at Botoshani in 1885. It was edited by Joseph Lebowitz, still in his teens, who wrote under the pseudonym of "ZLZL", the Hebrew initials of his name, Zevi Lebowitz ben Zevi Lebowitz. At that time Isaac

Joel Linetzky was publishing a Yiddish weekly titled, Der National, in the same city. Both papers were exceptionally beautiful in style, and rich in content. Before long ZLZL was engaged in a polemic with the famous humorist Linetzky. Young as ZLZL was, in his dissecting of Linetzky's articles he proved himself a genius in erudition and repartee. Linetzky, on the other hand, was a resourceful scholar, with a record as a writer. After the duel went on for sometime, Linetzky became irksome and lost patience with his youthful rival. Finally, he came out with a bitter attack on ZLZL and injected a Talmudic phrase: Man dehozif kilo hai shema mine ... (Mamzer he). The last two words he replaced with dots, leaving it to the reader to supply them. That phrase turned the boy editor into a volcano. The result was that David killed Goliath. Der National went down to oblivion. How long Hatokeah continued is not known.

The Bukarester Freie Presse, and the Tageblatt, two Jewish weeklies, appeared in the Roumanian capital in 1885-6. That same year, I. Fodescu published a Yiddish weekly in Bucharest titled Hagibor and Israel Shapiro published a Jewish weekly in Ploesti, titled, Dreptuile Omului. Only one or two numbers of each appeared. A similar fate awaited the Galatzer Israelit, a Yiddish weekly which changed to Galatzischer Israelit, published in that city by A. Davidson. Another Yiddish weekly, Der Yiddischer Volksfreund which appeared the same year in Jassy met with the same fate. A Jewish weekly titled, Infratirea,

which appeared in Bucharest in 1886 was more successful. This organ attempted to follow the line of Aparatorul and Fraternitatea. Instead of demanding rights for the Jews, it adopted a policy of defense. The publishers fluctuated in their policy between demand of citizenship and emigration. Finally, I. Steinberg, former editor of Standardul, took over the editorship, instilled a warmer Jewish temperature in the journal, assumed a cultural aspect, and devoted more space to Jewish affairs. In 1887, Infratirea merged with Vocea Dreptetiei under the ownership of I. and M. Schwartz.

The expulsion of the Jewish journalists in 1885 had a very depressing effect on other Roumanian Jewish writers, spiritually and mentally; the outstanding journalists were no longer there, and others had to take their places. These others were the younger generation who had recently emerged from the universities abroad and had come home with new ideas. Their ideas, with a new conception of life, differed materially from their predecessors' and they sought a means of putting them into practice. There were some apostols, such as Dobrogeanu C. Gherea, Tony Bacalbasha, John and Sofie Nadejde (husband and wife), and V.C. Morzun, who preached a new gospel which was eagerly absorbed by the Jewish intellectuals. They welcomed it because they saw in it a means by which, not only the proletariat, but also the Jews -- all classes -- would benefit. A solution of the Roumanian Jewish question was in the offing. To undertake that struggle required

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courage which they did not lack. It also required arming, for which they were well equipped intellectually. All they needed was a strong muscular arm to wield it. Stefan Stanca, aged 22, at that time a student in medicine, took that function upon himself and began experimenting. On December 21, 1887, Stance issued a Jewish weekly in Bucharest, titled "Lumina". It had a subtitle which read: "Truth is salvation, the weak deserve sacrifice." While, in the strictest sense, its tendency was socialism, and therefore was the first Jewish newspaper with the courage of discussing class questions from a socialistic point of view, in Roumanian journalism it was a new phase which up to that time was absolutely alien to the Jews. No wonder they looked upon the Journal with a sense of uneasiness. Vocea Dreptetei and the Yiddish paper Hajoetz, came out with a strong attack on Stanca and his publication. Stanca dismissed the former with a remark which was not flattering; the second he ridiculed as being "a humorous paper." The fact is that Hajoetz was an excellent sheet for old women to read and cry over. The third, Infratirea, he ignored entirely. The first editorial in Lumina contained a program, written in a caustic, if not violent style criticizing those who remained passive and indifferent to a situation which required action; also an appeal to the Roumanian intellectual Jewish youth to join the movement in behalf of their Jewish brethren. He considered the press the strongest arm with which to fight the adversary. "We feel," he stated editorially, "a great need of an organ edited by our intellectuals. We must show

the working class which earns its daily bread by the sweat of its brow, that it can stand shoulder to shoulder with other nations of the human family."

That call to arms was met with a welcome response. Among those who rallied to the call of the editor, were two young men, S. Pauker and I. Hussar, who were later at the head of Roumanian journalists. In the second issue of Lumina, Pauker declared: "I assume responsibility for articles signed by me only." Most of the articles which appeared in the five issues of that paper were written by Stanca. Hussar wrote "Sketches from the life of the rich," articles on the social current, and ~~feuilletons~~ ^{feuilletons}. Stanca also published a series of articles on the Roumanian Jewish question in a Journal titled, "Drapelul", which appeared in 1890. "Lumina" ceased publication after five numbers. However, it had succeeded in revolutionizing the Roumanian Jewish and non-Jewish press. Stanca died at the age of 32.

A Yiddish weekly, titled "Der Yiddischer Folks Freund", dedicated to Palestine Settlement appeared in 1887. In 1889 the government revoked the act of expulsion of intellectuals. Isaac Auerbach returned to reissue his Fraternitatea. In the first number he promised, "a scrupulous, unremitting battle for tolerance of all cults." He died in 1889. In February, 1887, Dr. Beck began to publish a Zionist magazine at Bucharest, titled "Revista Israelita." It appeared twice monthly until January 1, 1908. In addition to advocating the Zionist idea, the

magazine was mainly a literary publication.

The Jewish publications which appeared in Roumania between the years 1854 and 1889, covered every phase of Roumanian Jewish life, except matters touching on the history of the Jews in Roumania. A Jewish monthly journal, Propashirea (progress) published in Jassy in August, 1889, by Max Caufman, contained material concerning the history of the Jews in that country. The publication passed out of existence in the early part of 1891. In the course of its publication, it had engaged in a stormy and violent polemic with Revista Israelita and Franternitatea. Propashirea took a lively interest in the movement for the abolition of the discriminatory oath "More Judaica" by Jews. Notwithstanding the splendid record which Propashirea had achieved, and its outstanding Jewish contributors, neither the publisher nor the publication were considered to have been devoted to Jewish interest to a great extent, because Caufman did not fully understand the Roumanian Jewish problems. This was later manifested by his Jewish weekly Opinia, which appeared in Jassy in 1897, and his Hebrew weekly Menorah in 1902. Propashirea had not lived long -- only two years -- but in that brief period it won distinction by the bold stand it had taken against a group of Jewish young men who had advocated assimilation of the Jews. It attacked them with such force and effect that they had to abandon their project.

In April, 1890, Moses and Elias Schwarzfeld began to publish the weekly "Egalitatea" in Bucharest. Its program was a call to battle for Roumanian Jewish rights. "Every question treated or agitated in our new organ will be impersonal and will be discussed as frankly and firmly as possible. We will not indulge in personal matters nor will we spare those who, from the heights of their positions, whatever they may be, have no consideration for the rights of their neighbors, and trod the sacred principles of humanity and progress with their feet, as well as those who make a war-horse of the important Jewish question." From 1885 to 1890 when Egalitatea appeared, the Roumanian Jewish spirit had to struggle against odds which they could not overcome. The writers had been expelled, but neither their voices nor their spirit could be stilled. The expulsion had thrown a scare into the hearts of Jewish intellectuals, but it was only temporary. Moreover, they were restless and were consumed by a desire to express themselves -- to give voice to their feeling, their aspirations. A silence of five years was thus broken; now, from Paris, Elias Schwarzfeld raised his voice. He informed the world of the appalling conditions in Roumania, conditions of which he could not tell while living there. Considering the conditions and the atmosphere in which Egalitatea appeared, one cannot help but wonder at the courage of the younger brother, Moses, who while fully conscious of the possibility of the issuance of an arbitrary decree of expulsion against him, continued his fight against the Roumanian oppressors. Not one Roumanian

publication could compete with Egalitatea in the extent of the broad field it covered.

Egalitatea had begun with an issue of eight pages and before long had become a real force in Roumanian Jewish life. The death of Elias Schwarzfeld in Paris in 1915 was as painful to the readers as it was to his brother. The former were grieved at having lost such an able defender. To Moses, it meant the possible discontinuance of his publication. But, as he was left the sole owner and publisher, he had the courage to continue it. After the restoration of peace in 1919, Egalitatea continued as a weekly until 1931, when it was changed to twice-monthly. With the exception of the interruption of World War I (1916-19), Egalitatea continued its existence over 50 years to 1941, when it was suppressed by the Iron Guard regime.

The writer of these lines had the pleasure of visiting Moses in his home every time he went to Roumania, and in 1939 (alas!) on his visit for the last time, he ran through the collection of 50 years of Egalitatea, which he found a rich encyclopedia of useful informative matter. To paraphrase Podoleanu: Egalitatea formed a patrimony of Roumanian Jewish culture, while the name Egalitatea fluttered like a victorious flag in Jewish journalism. And while the rest of the Roumanian Jewish press was somewhat timidly hugging the old mouthpiece of Roumanian Jewry, half a century of Roumanian Jewish history

mirrored objectively the weekly collection of Egalitatea.

As a journalist Moses stood above his brother: single-handed he maintained the management of his paper, feeding it with every phase of Jewish life, adding historical sketches from time to time. He also included translations and foiletons from Jewish periodicals abroad, and of events in Roumania affecting Jewish life. Whether it was a controversy in some Jewish community, a protest against some cruel act by the government, the abolition of the oath of More Judaica, the Zionist movement, Moses did not remain indifferent; always alert, he filled the columns of his weekly paper with his prolific pen, faithfully reporting all that concerned Jewish life. He wrote to his very last when he was engaged in a folklore work which he left unfinished. With pen in hand he died in October 1943 at the age of 86.

Two organs dedicated to the idea of promoting the gospel of assimilation appeared at Jassy in 1890. One was called Inainte (Forward) and the other, of a similar character and scope titled Asimilarea. They had found a few sympathizers among university students, and discontinued. As soon as Asimilarea ceased to exist, a New Jewish weekly titled Emanciparea, appeared at Bucharest in 1891. It was edited by E. San Cerbu and Herman Hirsch.

The Jewish veterans of the war of Independence, influenced by Lumina, organized themselves at Jassy under the name of

Asociațiunea Reservistelor (Association of Reservists), to campaign for admission to citizenship. In January 1897, a Jewish paper appeared at Focshani titled Drepturile (The Rights), with M. Botoshoneyanu as editor.

The announcement in the first issue stated: "The awakening of the masses to fight for their rights, for the defense of the oppressed and the wronged -- this is the mission of our organ." There were other papers which had taken up the Jewish cause, but they confined their efforts merely to appeals to those in power, to have the goodness to recognize the justice of granting citizenship to the Jews. Drepturile adopted a different course: It addressed itself clearly and pointedly "to the statesmen of Roumania!" It demanded rights categorically, and boldly denounced those in power. This method made the Jews in Roumania feel for the first time that they had an open tribune by which they could be heard. Not satisfied with the propaganda of their official organ; the association also resorted to issuing manifestos which they posted on buildings. With the appearance of the fifth issue, the name of the paper was changed to Pamanteanul, and the office moved to Galatz. At the same time, Botoshoneyanu caused the Jewish veterans to organize in every city and town in the land. He visited every Jewish community, addressed them with an urge to organize and work for their emancipation. He thus attracted many young men

from the socialistic camp. That irked the socialists and they started a campaign against Botoshoneanu. He replied promptly by pointing out how little they had done for the Jewish cause in the course of five years. Botoshoneanu became violent in his demands for Jewish emancipation, and public opinion was stirred up all over the land. It was quite natural that the government should be irked by that agitation. In the midst of his campaign an echo from the first Zionist congress at Basel, in 1897, resounded in Roumania, and Botoshoneanu wrote to Herzl in Vienna, offering to join him. The Roumanian government expelled him from the country, and the most aggressive movement for emancipation of the Jews was suspended. On December 7, 1898, Pincu Schwarz issued a Jewish weekly at Bucharest titled, "Dorinza" (Longing). After the third issue, the office was moved to Jassy, where only four numbers appeared. While this organ had pleaded for citizenship and endeavored to defend Jewish interests as a journal it lacked strength in character, style, and objectiveness.

The struggle for emancipation had assumed a more serious aspect. The government was obdurate and refused to grant the citizenship demanded by the Jews. The Jews, on the other hand, persisted in their demands and, as already stated, organized themselves with that object in view. One of their groups, consisting exclusively of Roumanian native Jews, assumed the name of "Asociațiunea Generala a Israelitilor Romani." (General Association of Roumanian Israelites). In July, 1897, they issued a Jewish weekly at Bucharest, titled "Emanciparea." Being unfamiliar with the

intricacies of the political machinery, they believed that emancipation of the Jews depended on the good will of the Roumanian people, and on how the question would be approached. Therefore, they declared: "to reach our goal we will not resort to manifestations and noisy public meetings: we will deal with prudence and understanding." In the first number of Emanciparea the following statement appeared: "For the present, Emanciparea will appear weekly, and will constitute the more solid bond of the different groups of which the association is made up, for by means of this organ we will carry on our campaign." The publishers were emphatic in their declaration by insisting that they must not be confounded with "personal and cosmopolitan papers which ask citizenship for all aliens, and this for the only reason that they are Jews." "We distinguish ourselves," the editor declared, "in principle and objectively from those papers which take this view. We do not demand citizenship because we are Jews, but believe that it will be granted because we are Roumanians." In view of the Zionist movement which had assumed great proportions in Roumania, they declared that "as Roumanian Jews we can have no connection whatever with Zionism. But even if we have no connection with the movement we do not oppose it." The editor, however, made a slight concession, namely, that the Zionist propaganda was explainable since its goal was the return of the national home to the Jews: the editor believed that, for alien

Jews, the only solution was their establishment in Palestine. This was at a time when Botoshoneyanu had begun to develop his great power as a political journalist in the Pamanteanul. At that time the Zionist movement was at its peak and had frightened the "Roumanians" who were ready to accept assimilation. According to Emanciparea, only the members of the association were real Roumanians. After less than a year, the journal closed its doors.

The Zionist congress at Basel had made an impression on the Jews in Roumania. The Roumanian Jewish delegation headed by Dr. Lippe brought home an inspiring report from the congress. At that time, the Roumanian Jewish question was considerably agitated, and various groups had been organized for the Zionist cause. The want of a Zionist organ was now felt keenly. In November 1897, two active Zionists issued a Zionist weekly at Braila, titled "Zion". The Roumanian Orthodox Rabbis put up a strong opposition to this organ. Dr. Lippe, an ardent Zionist, editor of "Zion", declared that the Jews in Roumania were divided into two camps, each one pursuing a different goal, such an emancipation, Palestine, emigration to the United States, etc. "Zion" undertook to unite these groups to work for one ideal, namely, Zionism. Henceforth, it concentrated on what Basel had decided -- the building of the Jewish home. Due to the efforts of "Zion", several societies were organized by the younger Jews, while the older generation began to move slowly in joining the Zionist ranks under the Choweve Zion organization headed by

Samuel Pineles of Galatz. Zion was thus the first Jewish organ to awaken and inspire the Roumanian Jews with the idea of Palestine. However, that organ was not sufficiently strong to mobilize an army of readers large enough to support it, and it soon went down to oblivion. Immediately after, in 1898, a monthly journal, titled Ahawath Zion, appeared at Galatz, in Yiddish and Roumanian. The greater part of this organ was devoted to the Zionist movement, the acquisition of land, and the development of colonies in Palestine.

Another Zionist organ, Vocea Sionului, (Zion's Voice), in Roumanian, appeared at Ploesti, in 1898. The management was in the hands of a committee. The editors were A. D. Rosen and S.A. Gold. This organ took on a more serious tone regarding the Zionist movement. It advocated "fight the realization of the Zionist ideal." Like its predecessor, Ahawath Zion, Vocea Sionului started a strong Zionist propaganda in behalf of the Central Committee at Galatz. Moreover, nearly every Roumanian Zionist leader collaborated in it. It was subsidized by the Central office of the Zionist organization. With Vocea Sionului in circulation, there was no room for two Zionist organization papers. Whatever the cause may have been, whether it was internal discord, lack of support, or something else. Ahawath Zion was discontinued in August, 1898. However, it was a useful journal, and in its brief existence had disseminated light and knowledge, and had inspired hope in the hearts of Roumanian Jews.

On May 13, 1898, a Yiddish paper titled, "Der Yiddisher Geist", appeared at Jassy three times a week. By November of that year, it appeared only once a week. Its editor was Eliezer Rokeah, and the publisher was Gershom Cohen. A Jewish weekly, titled "Darabana" (Drum), sponsored by a group of inexperienced young men without a definite program appeared at Jassy, that same year, but it did not live long enough to issue a second number. In June, 1899, a Zionist weekly, titled "Rasaritul", and a Yiddish weekly, titled "Die Welt", appeared in Jassy. The former was edited in the Zionist spirit. In addition to the Zionist program of that organ it had a literary section to which the foremost Roumanian Jewish writers contributed.

The year 1899 was not a happy one for the Jews in Roumania. The economic conditions in the country and the oppression by the government had driven the Jews to a point of despair. A general exodus of Jews began, not to Palestine, but to the United States. That new phase proved catastrophic to the Zionist movement in Roumania. Rasaritul felt its effect keenly. After a fruitful period of two years, that influential and dignified Jewish periodical was forced to discontinue publication in 1901.

Shortly after the appearance of Rasaritul, another Zionist weekly titled, "Aurora" appeared at Berlad, published by a printer Sigmund Grossman. He tried to cover a wide field in Roumanian Jewish life -- political, economic, and social Jewish conditions; the Dreyfus affair; and Zionism; he also endeavored to raise the Jewish spirit by exposing the corruption of a

(political) clique whose only means of holding office was to arouse the passion of the Roumanian people against their Jewish neighbors. On October 31, 1899, Aurora ceased to exist. At that time the stream of emigration from Roumania was running strong. Notwithstanding the Zionist propoganda and the oratory at Basel, the number of emigrants to the United States had increased in volume. A new Zionist weekly, "Viitorul", appeared at Bucharest in October 1899 with a double program: (1) Zionism; 2) combating emigration to the United States by diverting the current eastward-to-Palestine. The "Viitorul" did not possess any remarkable journalistic qualities. Its collaborators, with few exceptions, were amateurs, without journalistic training. It was only natural that the weakening of the Zionist movement had affected Viitorul and it was forced to discontinue. While that paper was on the decline, a new Zionist weekly, titled "Dorul Zionului", (The Longing for Zion) appeared at Bucharest on December 23, 1899. Its program covered a wide field. It was supposed to be a liberal tribune, promoter of the progressive ideas, a driving force to improve the material and intellectual status of the Jews in Roumania. Most of its editorials dealt with Zionism and with the problem of the alarming increase of baptism. After two numbers, the publication went out of existence. Another Zionist organ titled "Tribuna Israelita", by S. Grossman, appeared in Bucharest in 1900. A great amount of space was devoted to Zionism in general, and to emigration in

particular. In 1901, Horia Carp published in Roumanian a weekly, Mewasereth Zion, later changed to Revista Zionista. It lasted two years. At about the same time Saniel Labin and Constantin Graur, later famous as publishers of the two outstanding Roumanian democratic dailies Adeverul and Dimineata, issued a Roumanian Jewish weekly, Infratirea, in Bucharest. It advocated the granting of equal rights to the Jewish people in Roumania. It was successful and continued until 1913, when for some unknown reason it ceased publication. In 1902, Max Kaufman issued a Jewish weekly, titled Menora, at Jassy, ^{which} but existed only one year. The same year, a Jewish weekly, titled Tikwath Israel, appeared at Jassy, in Yiddish and Roumanian. In 1910, a Jewish weekly, titled Curierul Israelit, in the Roumanian language, appeared at Bucharest, with M. Schweig as publisher. After his death, (in 1932), it was continued by M. Zelzer Sarateanu and Horia Carp. In 1918 it became the official organ of the Union of Roumanian Jews, of which Sarateanu was Executive Secretary. It appeared regularly down to 1941 when it was suppressed by the Iron Guard. That journal, with Sarateanu as Chief Editor, was militant and aggressive in its resentment against the treatment of the Jews by the government. It was well edited, and carried considerable material touching on the history of the Jews in Roumania. Quite often it published biographical sketches by Sarateanu of world renowned Jews. In 1930, a Jewish literary magazine, titled, Adam, by Ludo appeared at Bucharest.

The Iron Guard put a stop to it. In 1939, Dr. M.H. Halevy began the publication of a quarterly literary magazine titled Sinai, in the Roumanian language with a Hebrew section. It continued until 1941, when it was suppressed. In 1937, Horia Carp began publishing a literary Jewish monthly magazine titled Cultura, which appeared until 1941, when it was suppressed. In 1940 at Bucharest, I. Mandelovici published a Jewish weekly titled Scoul Evreesc, in Roumanian, but this publication was also suppressed.

Between the years 1854 and 1941, many other Jewish publications, (about one hundred and four), appeared in Roumania, of which no trace can now be found.

STATISTICS

Reliable statistical data as to the number of Jews in Roumania are unavailable. Official computations of the Jewish population have often been elastic, made to suit the whim or the convenience of the ruling party. It is, therefore, almost impossible to form an exact estimate of the number of Jews who lived there in the various periods of Roumanian Jewish history.

An official census, taken in 1860, showed a Jewish population of 235,000. In 1870 the number was 265,000. In 1872 Peizotto estimated the number of Jews at 250,000. A statement was made in Parliament in 1878, stating that 300,000 Jews were living in Roumania, an increase of 65,000 in twelve years. In connection with the revision of Article 7 of the Roumanian Constitution, Dimitre Sturza declared in 1891, that in 1877 the number of Roumanian Jews was only 218,304. At the Congress of Berlin, when the Roumanian delegates protested against the application of civic equality to the Jews; they argued that the proportion of Jews there to the general Roumanian population was greater than in the other Balkan States. To sustain their claim, the Roumanian statesmen "showed" that while in Bulgaria and Servia the Jews formed only one percent of the entire population, and Montenegro had very few Jews, the Roumanian Jewish population was twelve percent (400,000 in a total population of 5,000,000).

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Despite the apparently correct figures for 1877 mentioned by Dimitre Sturza in 1891, Premier Sturza "found" 494,620 Jews living in Roumania in 1880 (an increase of more than 100 percent in three years), and in 1897 he found only 482,188. But the official census of 1894 gave the number of Jews in the country as 243,225 (out of a total population of 5,000,000), an increase of 23,225 in the twenty-eight years, and in 1899 the same authority stated that their number was 269,015.

After 1886, official figures varied from 300,000 to 800,000, and even to a million, according to a certain Roumanian deputy. Sincerus gave the number of Jews in the two principalities as 230,000 in 1856, and 250,000 in 1866.

In 1888 a Roumanian "authority" found 619,955 Jews living in Old Roumania (an increase of almost 300 percent in the eleven years since 1877). By 1890, only two years later, that figure had dropped to 421,844, whereas the official figure of 1894 was given as only 243,225. The census of 1890 gave the Jewish population as 266,652.

When the question of expelling the Jewish socialists was taken up in the Chambers, Minister Sturza submitted some interesting figures in regard to the Roumanian Jews. He declared that the country was overwhelmed with them; that 276,289 Jews had sneaked into the land in 1876, and that they now numbered 543,711.

Upon publication of those figures, and by way of refutation, the Journal Egalitatea published figures, taken from government records of 1884, showing that the Jewish population at that time

was not more than 240,000.

The official census of 1899 gave the number of Jews living in the two principalities as 269,015. Yet the Roumanian patriot Verax (Radu Rosetti) held that the Jewish population in that year was only 264,739. According to official figures released by the government in 1895 (census of 1894) Roumania had 243,225 Jews; 108,685 males and 124,550 females. Yet according to one Roumanian patriot, the total Roumanian population was 7,000,000, an increase of 2,000,000 in a single year.

An official census taken in 1900 showed a total population of 5,408,743, and the number of Jews as 296,015. Of these 272,421 were described as natives.

By September, 1911, the official census declared that the Jewish population had decreased to 244,000. In 1913 official statistics showed 256,000 Jews in the country, out of a total population of 7,500,000.

N.T. Ionescu, director general of demographic statistics in the Ministry of the Interior, gave the number of Jews in the Old Kingdom before the first World War as 230,000, or 2,91% of the total population. Another Roumanian scholar, Emanuel D.B. Vasiliu, found the exact number of Jews to be 742,321; he attributed the discrepancy to immigration since 1899, which he estimated at 473,306. His figures are contradicted by the official census taken under the alien control law, which showed that in January, 1916, the population of the Old Kingdom was 7,897,311, of which 210,000 were aliens and 230,000 were Jews; the Jews, therefore, comprised 2.91% of the total population, and 2.96% of the Roumanian population.

Furthermore, the figure as to the Jewish population after the first World War furnished by some Roumanian patriots are totally in contradiction with the actual facts. For example, I.D. Basan found nearly 3,000,000 Jews in Greater Roumania in 1923. One year later, however, the same author revised his figures and gave their number as 2,000,000. An anonymous writer gives the number of Jews in Roumania at that time as 2,000,000. But in that year, Dr. N. Paulescu found only 1,500,000 Jews.

According to Vasiliu, there were only 1,900,000 Jews in the country at that time, or 9.3% of the total population. But according to figures cited by the Roumanian Minister of Industry, the total population of Greater Roumania in 1924 was 17,000,000, and the number of Jews was 850,000.

Dr. Max Winckler, economist and author, found that in 1932 Greater Roumania had 778,094 Jews, including all the newly annexed provinces and territories.

Taken by provinces, the number of Jews in Roumania in 1940 was, Bessarabia, 238,000; Bucovina, 128,056; Transylvania, 200,000; the Old Kingdom -- Moldavia, Wallachia and the Dobruja -- 230,000; total, 796,056, or 5 percent of total population.

According to Jonas Kreppel, the number of Jews in the Old Kingdom before the first World War was:

✓ In Moldavia, 196,752 out of a total population of 1,848,122

✓ In Wallachia, 60,000 out of a total population of 2,659,517

In Oltenia, 4,906 out of a total population of 1,181,243.

In the Dobruja, 4,234 out of a total population of 267,808,

the same as in 1897.

Total, 265,892 Jews out of a total population of 4,956,690.

The Jewish population of Moldavia was 12,000 in 1803; in 1820, 19,000; in 1831, 37,000; in 1838, 80,000; in 1859, 118,922; in 1899, 196,792. The reason for this progressive increase is explained by the immigration of Jews from Austro-Hungary and Russia.

The number of Jews in Jassy was, 1803, 3,000; 1831, 17,032; 1839, 30,000; 1859, 31,000; 1899, 39,488.

The number of Jews in Bucharest was: 1820, 508; 1831, 2,376; 1860, 29,670; 1899, 40,533.

As against these figures we have others by different writers, as follows:

Karl Branias found that in 1920 the total population was 16,050,239, of whom 778,094, or 4.9 percent were Jews. The same year, Dr. J. Tedesca found a total population of 16,255,020, of whom 812,000, or 5 per cent were Jews.

Istrate found a population of 17,267,966 in 1923; with the number of Jews as given above, or 6.3 percent. A year later, in 1924, the Monitor Official announced a population of 16,241,733 in the country, with a Jewish population as given above, or 4.9 per cent.

In 1925, the Gothaer Jahrbuch gave Roumania a population of 16,466,000, of whom the Jewish population was 856,000, or 5.2 per cent.

In 1930, Marinescu found 18,053,000 inhabitants in Roumania, of whom 722,120 were Jews (4 per cent). But a Dr. Sabin

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Mamula, while he found exactly the same number of inhabitants as Marinescu, discovered that since Marinescu completed his count, the Jews had increased by 34,810, and that their number was now 756,930 (4.2 per cent). The official census taken in 1930 gave exactly the same figures.

In computing the distribution of the population in cities and villages, another authority based his calculation on a total of 18,052,896, and gives 3,642,178, or 20.1 per cent, inhabiting cities, and 14,410,718 living in villages. Jews, on the other hand, show 540,846 or 71.5 per cent, living in cities, and the rest in villages (Die Idische Ekonomik, April, 1938, Numbers 3-4 pp. 143-45; Traub, Michael, Judische Wanderung, Berlin, 1922 and 1930).

In Bucovina, 72.8 per cent of the Jews lived in cities; in Transylvania, 57.7 per cent; in Bessarabia, 57.6 per cent.

4.1 per cent of the Jewish population is engaged in agriculture; 32.8 per cent in industry; 48.3 per cent in commerce; 2.4 in transportation and communication; 2.7 per cent in public service and the liberal professions; 1.9 per cent in the army; 7.8 per cent in all other occupations (Contemporary Jewish Record; September, 1939, vol. 2, Number 5, page 78).

As a matter of fact, the Jewish population in Old Roumania practically remained in status quo from 1856 to 1899, when it showed an increase of 19,015 above the figure for the former year. Their number under John Alexander Cuza when, nearly a century ago, he was about to emancipate them, was 230,000. At

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the close of the first World War in 1918, the number remained about the same. Between the years 1881 and 1910 there was a heavy emigration of Jews; over 75,000 migrated to the United States alone. If we add the natural increase of the population between 1856 and 1910 to the census figures of 1856 and deduct the number of those who emigrated in the twenty-five years between 1885 and 1910, we find that the number could not possibly have increased; indeed it is more probable that it decreased.

With regard to naturalized Jews, the Roumanian census of 1899 shows the following figures; 4,272 naturalized; alien Jews, under Roumanian protection, 256,588; foreign subjects, 5,859; total number of Jews, 266,719. Thus the naturalized Jews formed 1.6 per cent of the total Jewish population, the real aliens 2.2 per cent, while the native Jews -- so-called aliens -- were 96 per cent of the total Jewish population.

In December, 1912, official Roumanian statistics gave the total number of Jews in the country as 239,967 -- a decrease of over 25,000. For, beginning in 1881 and extending up to 1908 there developed a strong emigration. In addition to the 75,000 who went to the United States, 20,000 went to England, and 1,000 to Palestine making a total of 96,000. However, figures issued by the Alliance Israelite Universelle and the Jewish Colonization Association show the total number of Jews who emigrated from Roumania between 1881 and 1912 to have been 125,000.

Compared with other European countries, Roumania does

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not suffer from over population. England and Ireland, with an area of 314,915 square kilometers, has a population of 48,475,000 inhabitants, or 151.2 per square kilometer (a square kilometer is about three-eighths of a square mile). Germany, with an area of 468,764 square kilometers (1925) had a population of 62,410,000, or a density of 133.1 per square kilometer. Italy, with an area of 310,137 square kilometers, had a population of 40,799,000, or a density of 130.3 per square kilometer. Poland, at that time, with an area of 388,390 square kilometers, had a population of 30,213,000, or a density of 76.2 per square kilometer. France, in 1926, with an area of 550,986 square kilometers, had a population of 40,744,000, a density of 73.9 per square kilometer. Roumania, with an area of 294,967 square kilometers, had a population of 17,905,144, with a density of 59.2 per square kilometer.

According to government figures in 1903, 18,015 Jews were engaged in trades. In some of the towns of Moldavia they formed the majority of the working class. Such was the case at Botoshani, where there were 1,659 Jewish and 887 Christian workingmen. In Jassy there were 2,563 Jewish workingmen and 896 Christian. Faltinceni had 417 Jewish and 93 Christian, Bacau 509 Jewish and 173 Christian, and Dorohoi 465 Jewish and 280 Christian workingmen.

Official statistics show that in 1912 there were 116,603 master mechanics and workingmen in the Old Kingdom. Of these, 11,653 were Roumanian Jews and 19,690 aliens. Among the artisan Jews in Roumania the following formed the background of

Roumanian industry and a large proportion of the artisans: among 127,841 workmen on April 1, 1908, a total of 25,184, or 19.7 per cent were Jews: out of 41,260 skilled artisans, 10,699 or 16% were Jews; out of 16,369 apprentices, 6,103, or 18.95% were Jews. In some of the districts most of the workmen were Jews. In the district of Botoshani 66.05% were Jews. The Jews represented a majority in some of the trades, such as tinsmiths, millinery, watchmaking, goldsmithing, carpentry, brushmaking, passmenterie-making and luggage manufacturing. Most of the tailors, shoemakers and bakers were Jews.

The following statistics in the field of criminology are interesting and enlightening: A classification of cases tried in all the courts of the land in 1885, showed 111,259 cases, in which only 246 Jews were involved. No Jew was charged with murder. Despite the great Jewish population at Jassy, the number of Jewish penal offenders and delinquents was small, out of all proportion to the total population.

Christians

<u>Year</u>	<u>Penitentiary</u>	<u>Correction</u>	<u>Recluse</u>	<u>Hard Labor</u>	<u>Total</u>
1875	Ocna	277	44	1	322
1875	Pangarati	60	217	16	293
1878	Ocna	306	5	---	311
1878	Pangarati	25	275	9	309
1893	Ocna	--	--	--	1,444
1897	Pangarati	--	--	--	659

Jews

<u>Year</u>	<u>Penitentiary</u>	<u>Correction</u>	<u>Recluse</u>	<u>Hard Labor</u>	<u>Total</u>
1875	Ocna	9	1	--	10
1875	Pangarati	7	10	--	17
1878	Ocna	5	---	--	5
1878	Pangarati	--	4	--	4
1893	Ocna	56	--	--	56
1897	Pangarati	8	--	--	8

With reference to the part played by Roumanian Jews in the First World War, Professor Cuza found that only 15,969 Roumanian Jews served in it. But the Roumanian General Elevra gave the number of mobilized Roumanian Jews at 35,000. According to the same General, 26,000 Jewish soldiers were held as prisoners and deserters in enemy camps. But upon examining the official bulletin in the official government newspaper Monitorul Oficial, we find that only 449 were held in enemy camps, and 3,049 were unaccounted for. Obviously, out of a population of 230,000 Jews, who allegedly furnished 10 per cent of its youth, or 23,000 soldiers, 26,000 could not have deserted and been held as prisoners in enemy camps.

Compared with the total number of 7,437,311 inhabitants in the old Kingdom, of whom 745,731 or 10 per cent served in the Army, the Jewish population furnished 35,000 or 17-1/2%.

The number of Roumanian Jewish soldiers who fell in the war was 882, or 3.83 per cent of their total in the service. That of Roumanian non-Jewish soldiers was 37,853 or 5.7 per cent.

A similar revision must be made with reference to the number of deserters cited by Cuza. Cuza stated that only one per cent of the Roumanian soldiers deserted to the enemy, whereas the

number of Jewish deserters amounted to 4.72 per cent. But the percentage of Jewish deserters given in the Monitorial Official is 3.043 per cent. The number of Roumanian non-Jewish deserters, on the other hand, was 98,609 or 13.22 per cent. Not only that, but the number of Jewish soldiers who deserted must have been much smaller, because many of the Jews who were killed in action were reported as "deserted".

In 1916, the total population of the Old Kingdom was 7,897,311. The Jews numbered 230,000 or about 3 per cent; of this number 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ % actually went to the battlefield. A total of 35,000 Jewish soldiers fought for their country in the Allied cause, and 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ % of them were decorated for bravery and for distinguished service. A total of 882 Jewish soldiers gave up their lives on the battlefield, and 740, or 3.21 per cent of them were wounded. The total Christian war dead was 37,853 Jewish soldiers taken prisoners by the enemy amounted to 449, or 1.95 per cent of their total, as against 11,322 Roumanian Christian soldiers, or 1.65 per cent. Missing Jewish soldiers numbered 3,043. Those decorated were 825 or 3.6 per cent.

CHAPTER ~~FIFTY-THREE~~ LVIII

HEBREW PRINTING IN ROUMANIA

Printing was introduced into Roumania early in the sixteenth century. The earliest texts printed there, as in other lands, were the Holy Scriptures which were in Slavic characters. Hebrew types were introduced into Roumania printing about the beginning of the nineteenth century and apparently were used by Jewish printers only. In fact very little is known of early Hebrew printing in Roumania. It is not known when the first publication in Hebrew characters appeared in that country, what it was and where it was first printed. It is assumed that the earliest known Hebrew printing establishment in Roumania was at Czernowitz, the capital of Bukovina. The first Hebrew book printed there, which appeared in 1819, was the Beer Mayyim ~~Magazine~~, a commentary on the Pentateuch by the celebrated Rabbi Hayyim ben Solomon, called the Czernowitzer, who, at the close of the eighteenth century, functioned as rabbi in Bitosani, Moldavia, where, by the way a Hebrew press functioned in 1902.

Due to the then prevailing restrictions imposed by the Austrian authorities, (under whose jurisdiction Czernowitz was,) upon Jewish publishers and Jewish printers, they were compelled to have their publications issued from non-Jewish presses; the latter having been accorded privileges not granted to Jewish printers. Thus, to meet the needs of a large Jewish clientele, the well-known

printers, Johann Eckhardt & Son, had established in Czernowitz a well-equipped Hebrew printing shop, engaged competent Hebrew type-setters and proof readers, among them the learned Issachar b. Abraham Back, and began to publish Hebrew books. Eckhardt's Hebrew press issued numerous works consisting largely of liturgical texts, and a goodly number of publications in hasidic literature, homiletics, rabbinical and talmudical exegetics. Editions of the Mishnayot in six volumes and of the En Yaakov by Jacob ibn Habib in three volumes, came from that press in 1852. But its greatest undertaking was the printing in 1839, of a folio edition in eighteen volumes, of the Babylonian Talmud with its standard commentaries. Among the works of lesser importance printed by Eckhardt's press were Negid u-Metzaweh by Jacob Hayyim Zemach, 1849; Yesod ha-Emunah by Baruch b. Abraham Kossover, 1854; Tishbi by Elijah Levita, 1855; Psalms with commentary by David Kimhi and supplementary material, 1856; Ner Mitzwah we-Torah Or by Dob Baer b. Shneur Zalman, 1858; Likkute Torah by Mordecai of Czernobil, 1859; Halakot we-Takkanot . . . compiled by Zebi Elimelek Shapira, 1864; Sheref Peri Etz by Moses Schoham, 1866; Tzel ha-Olam by Mathatia Delakrot, 1867; Luah Erez by Isaac b. Lipman Kunstadt, 1887, and others. Virtually all the imprints of the publications which came from that press prior to 1864 indicate that the printing shop was that of Johann Eckhardt & Son, while those published later gave the name of Rudolph Eckhardt. Apparently the son succeeded his father as the owner of the press. Publishers of Hebrew books who were served by the Eckhardt press were: Meshulam Heller b. Simeon Aryeh; Moses Leib Horowitz and his brother-in-law Isaiah Asher Horowitz Meisls; Joseph Zeeb ha-Levi and Gershon Reines; Zebi Hirsch Wohl.

The output of Hebrew books from the press of Johann Eckhardt & Son, or other printers of Czernowitz, was intended to meet the needs not only of the Jewish population of Bukovina, but also of Moldavia and Wallachia. There were no Hebrew presses in those provinces, although there was always a large demand for Hebrew books among the Jewish inhabitants. Apparently the output was not large enough to meet this demand and many books had to be brought from elsewhere. Thus the Censor's Record (Dosarul Cenzurei) of that time, now in the library of the Roumanian Academy, records that on June 14, 1834 a single bookseller in Jassy, one Aron Goldenberg, brought as many as 3,511 bound volumes besides other unbound ones and "all kinds of stories." From this, one concludes that the reading public within the large Jewish population in Moldavia must have been considerable.

In 1833, without waiting for permission from the censorship authorities for which they had applied, three Jews -- Moses Zelig Zimand, Zalman Feigelis and Judah Leib Wechslet -- brought Hebrew types to Jassy and undertook the publication of many small Hebrew books, among them a calendar for the year 5594 (1833-1834). The permit not having arrived, Procopie Florescu, the censor, confiscated the presses and the type, as well as their output. The censor had acted in spite of the government's previous declaration that "the privileges accorded the Christian printers, cannot prevent the Jews from having their own printing shops." It is perhaps due to that act that no Hebrew book printed in Jassy before 1842 can be found. However, some of the books printed during the years

1842-1846 are known. Among them are: The Hebrew text of the Book of Psalms with Yiddish translation and Maamadot; the Song of Songs with Yiddish translation; Siah Sefunim, a commentary by Rabbi Eliezer b. Reuben Kahana; Selihat with Yiddish translation; and two editions, one with Yiddish translation, of Shaare Zion, a compilation of interesting cabbalistic prayers, by Nathan Nata Hanover, who had served as Rabbi of Jassy during the years 1657-1670. Seyag La-Torah, a legal decision by Rabbi Joseph b. Menahem Mendel Landau appeared there in 1846.

Nearly all books were issued "with the permission of the censor" at the Albina Institute of Gheorghe Asachi, a famous teacher, literateur, historian and well-known printer. The publishers of these works were: Moses Zelig Zimand, Judah Leib Wechsler, Zalman Teigelis, Nathan Wassermann, and Israel Abraham Segal. With some interruptions due to political or economic conditions, Hebrew printing continued in Jassy in later years. For in 1855 there appeared the periodical Korot ha-Itim, and in 1857 Zebi Hirsch Goldner printed a work entitled Darke ha-Emunah by Joseph David ha-Kohen, and later, in 1859, the Derek Hayyim by Dob Baer b. Shneur Zalman. In the same year Mordecai Zilberman published his Gazeta Romana-Evreiaska, a newspaper issued twice weekly on Mondays and Thursdays, and devoted to literary, commercial and industrial subjects. In 1872 M.S. Rahener published his Hebrew quarterly Zimrat ha-Aretz, of which only two numbers appeared. Another Hebrew periodical, Yizra'el, originally launched in Jassy in 1881, was later transferred to Galatz and some numbers were printed at Piatra, but finally issued in Czernowitz. Apparently Hebrew

presses functioned in all these communities while the publication was moving from one place to another.

In Wallachia there was no Hebrew printing before the end of the 1850's. It was in 1859, at the beginning of the reign of Prince Alexander Joan Cusa, that a Hebrew press was established at Bucharest. The Jewish community of that city was then made up of many who were registered as subjects of other states, in addition to a goodly number of their native Roumanian coreligionists. The two groups maintained sharp differences in their communal affairs. The native Jews enjoyed full governmental recognition of their religious and communal organizations and institutions. They had a legal status not shared by their "foreign" coreligionists. In the circumstances, strife and struggle prevailed, and one is therefore not surprised at the failure of the two factions to cooperate in enterprises of common interest. Leading members of the community concluded that under the leadership of a great rabbi the prevailing difficulties would gradually disappear. In 1860 they called to the chief rabbinate of Bucharest, the eminent Rabbi Meir Loeb Malbim. Unable to agree with those in the community who desired to introduce reforms into their religious rites, and who even employed violence in pursuit of their aims, the Rabbi wanted to resign but friends and followers prevailed upon him to remain.

While in Kempen, Prussia, prior to his coming to Bucharest, Rabbi Malbim had completed the manuscript of his famous work, Ha-Torah ~~ve~~ ha-Mitzvah, a commentary on the Sifra, and was

anxious to have the work published. Among the inducements to have him remain in Bucharest, the followers of the Malbim undertook to publish the book at the expense of the Jewish community in Bucharest. But there was no Hebrew press then in Wallachia and the author was not willing to let the manuscript go out of his hands. The owner of the press in which the Journal Nationalul, a Roumanian newspaper, was published agreed to acquire Hebrew type setters in order to make possible the printing of Malbim's Ha-Torah weha-Mitzwah. Before long the book made its appearance (1860) and, through the cooperation of the Jewish community in Bucharest and Boeresco, owner of the above-named newspaper and, at one time Minister of Foreign Affairs in Roumania, Hebrew printing was introduced into Wallachia. Two other works by Malbim-Shire ha-Nefesh and his commentary on the Book of Esther -- were printed by that press during the same year. Other Hebrew books were issued from the same press, among them, the second edition of the Peleh Yoetz, by Rabbi Eliezer Pappo of Silistria, and two pamphlets by Moses Israel Almoly, religious leader of the Sefardic Jews in Bucharest.

It seems that two editions of the Sifra edited by Malbim, were issued; one bearing no imprint and the other giving on the title-page information as to place, date of publication, and name of the press. Apparently the edition lacking the latter information must have been intended for distribution among clients outside of Roumania. It must be borne in mind that in some of Roumania's neighboring lands, certain restrictions were imposed

upon imported books. A title page which gave no clue as to place and date of publication was often sufficient to make the "censorship authorities" assume that the work represented a native product and therefore was not subject to the restrictions imposed upon "foreign" books.

The rivalries in the Bucharest Jewish community, which incidentally brought about Malbim's parting with his flock in that city, and the increasing restrictions imposed upon Jewish life by governmental regulations, did not tend to make Hebrew printing a successful venture in the capital of Wallachia. The effort to extend the use of Hebrew types in other presses in that city proved futile. Naftali Popper was instrumental in bringing about the acquisition of Hebrew types by the Cathedral press in Bucharest. But since there was no great demand for the use of those types, they were removed; some say they were destroyed. In fact, for a number of years no Hebrew types were to be found in any of the Bucharest presses.

When in 1874 Michael Azriel was about to undertake the issuance of his Yiddish periodical Hayoetz, he met with difficulties in launching its publication due to the absence of Hebrew types in the presses then functioning at the capital. It was soon discovered that Naftali Popper, whose attempt to carry on Hebrew printing in the Cathedral press at Bucharest had been abortive, had in his possession a case of Hebrew types containing five different fonts. It is not unlikely that these were the same types which had been

eliminated from the Cathedral press. The availability of these types finally made possible the launching of Aziel's Hayoetz, which was published from 1876 to 1881. Among the other periodicals printed in Hebrew characters and published in Roumania during the period of pioneering in Hebrew printing, were the Korot Ha-Itim (Jassy, 1855), Gazeta romana-evreiasca (Jassy, 1859) and Et ledaber (Bucharest, 1859).

When Benjamin Franklin Peizotto served as ^{the} United States Consul in Roumania he took a keen interest in the welfare of his coreligionists there. He was concerned with improving not only their economic, political, and social conditions, but also their cultural life. In his desire to provide Roumanian Jewry with a Hebrew periodical he acquired the types belonging to Popper and turned them over to Mibasham, the well-known Roumanian Hebrew writer. To these, other types, imported from abroad were added, and before long Hebrew books were again printed in Bucharest. These books were of a character not formerly printed in Roumania. Whereas most of the Hebrew publications which had been issued in previous years from Roumanian Hebrew presses were religious texts, largely liturgical, Hasidic, and rabbinic works, the books printed now were secular in character and tended to spread Haskalah tendencies among the Roumanian Jews. Thus among the publications which came from the Hebrew press financed by Peizotto, and directed by Migashan, were such works as, Ruah Eliyahu ha-Tishbi by Leib Silberman (1879); Gellilat ha-Aretz by Hillel Kahane (1880), and others. In 1883 L. Steinberg issued the text of the Hebrew prayer book with a translation in Roumanian by Moses Gaster.

Some of the Hebrew presses in Roumania, like the early ones in Russia, must have made frequent changes in their locations. This very likely was due to governmental regulations, or economic and social factors, not always within the control of the owners and operators of the presses. In 1891 Wolf Haber carried on Hebrew printing in Roman and it was from his press that the Dibre Hayyim by Hayyim Judah, the son of Aaron Simhah Lebel, rabbi of Bacau, was published. Five years later a Hebrew press functioned in Bacau which was responsible for the printing of several Hebrew publications.

In connection with the publication of A.S. Gold's Roumanian translation of the Pentateuch, ~~made~~ at the beginning of the twentieth century, it was planned that the Hebrew text be printed together with the new version in the vernacular. When the actual printing of the work was undertaken, a press equipped with Hebrew types was set up in Craiova where the first two volumes appeared in 1902.

The various improvements in the political and social conditions of the Jews in Roumania during the early years of the present century were in a large measure also responsible for the corresponding rise in their intellectual interests and cultural attainment. Obviously circumstances were not more favorable for the spread of Hebrew printing in all the large centers of Jewish life in that country. The number of Roumanian Hebrew presses increased from year to year and their output increased in volume.

When the World War was over and the boundaries of Roumania were increased, a number of Hebrew presses formerly operated in Austria, Hungary, and Russia, fell under the domain of Roumania. Their activities enhanced the share of Roumanian Hebrew printing contributing to the advancement of the printed word in Hebrew characters. The time is not yet ripe to properly evaluate the role it played in Jewish life.

CHAPTER LIX

AFTER CAROL'S ABDICATION

The assassination of Armand Calinescu in 1939, moved King Carol to take action against the Iron Guard, vigorous efforts were then made to suppress their power. In regard to the Jews, the government used a soft pedal. Some of the restrictions against them were rescinded. A friendly gesture was also made to the Jews by having a military escort at the funeral of the Chief Rabbi Niemrower in which the entire cabinet and Senators took part. However, the antigemites were not discouraged by those friendly gestures. On the contrary, the Union of National Conscience joined the "Front of National Renaissance," which included former members of the Goga cabinet, with the notorious Cuza at the head.

By January 15, 1940, the Nazis had virtually assumed control over Roumania. Bessarabia and North Bucovina were ceded to Russia; Roumanian military forces evacuated the ceded territories and the Jews were the scapegoat of that evacuation. On June 6, 1940, Soviet troops marched into Bessarabia. That operation affected all the Jews there. After that annexation to Russia the Jewish population in those territories were reduced to a minimum. In order to escape Roumanian totalitarianism, a number of Jews of the old Kingdom went over

to the territory occupied by Russia. Up to that time the Jewish population in Bessarabia numbered over 300,000 souls, that of North Bucovina over 100,000. The cessation of territory to Hungary affected 148,649 Jewish souls. Before long a number of Jewish families left Kishineff to settle in Bir-Birdjan. Jews who remained under Russian dominion were recognized by that government as a national minority. The Yiddish Journals which had been suppressed by the Roumanian government were now permitted to reappear. While the Roumanian government had harassed the Jews, the Soviet government now made every effort to bring them closer to it. In Bessarabia, Roumanian agitators were not permitted by Russia to carry on their propaganda against the Jews - they were rounded up and sent across the borderline.

After the collapse of France, Roumania threw herself into Hitler's lap; the fate of the Jews in Roumania was then sealed. On June 1, 1940, a former member of the Goga government was appointed Minister of Foreign Affairs to succeed Gafencu. On ^{June} ~~the~~ 21st of that month, Carol turned Roumania into a totalitarian state. Horia Sima ordered his henchmen to join the "National Party." John Codreanu, brother of the late leader, Zelea Codreanu, and some of their comrades joined the party. Jews were excluded.

On September 5, 1940, King Carol raised Antonescu to the rank of Premier. The country, at that time was in a state of excitement. Poland had been invaded by Nazi hordes who were moving towards Roumania. The people were panic-stricken. The

ascension of Antonescu to ^{the} premiership had stunned them. They had hardly recovered from that shock when on the following day, September 6, it was announced that Antonescu was made dictator of Roumania. As already stated, Carol's abdication and his flight from Roumania followed immediately.

The Legionnaires (Iron Guard) were now the masters; their hands were free to do as they pleased. They celebrated their victory by marching through the streets, shouting, yelling, screaming "blood to the Jews". Defying law and order, they invaded Jewish owned shops and carried off everything they could lay their hands on. All Jewish economy was boycotted. Jewish shops were placaded, and the Kahila was dissolved. Ninety percent of the Synagogues, Jewish schools, and Jewish hospitals in the province were closed. Jewish lawyers were forbidden to represent Christian clients. On September 27, 1940, all Jewish owned farms were expropriated. Larger Jewish landholders were ordered to sell their holdings to the government.

Drunk with their success, things did not move fast enough to suit the Legionnaires. True, they had met with little or no resistance, they were dissatisfied nevertheless. To make things livelier, the Council of Ministers unleashed a movement of terror in November, 1940. A caravan of police vehicles and Legionnaire wagons were let loose; like a pack of hungry wolves the Legionnaires threw themselves on the Jews. Long convoys loaded with Jews were dumped at police stations and at Legionnaire cells where the victims were subjected to the most frightful torture. Without any charge against them, they were held behind

bars, beaten and tortured to the point of death. The very earth broke out in a tremor of convulsion, rebelling against those inhuman beasts, thereby adding to the suffering of the Jews whose homes tumbled under that tremor. From the ruins of those destroyed homes the Jews were driven and only after a lapse of four years they were permitted to re-enter in what was left of them. Even so, Jewish physicians who were called to treat those victims of that earthquake were beaten and chased away by the Legionnaires.

At Ploesti, the Jews of both sexes, rich and poor, were forced to perform hard labor. By order of the prefect of the district, the police broke up the divine service in the Synagogues, arrested a number of the worshippers and kept them behind bars for over two weeks. A group of the Kehila, headed by their aged Rabbi, were shot dead, and their bodies thrown into a trench. Incidentally, in their fury, they did not spare even their own teacher, Professor Nicolae Iorga, who had been preaching anti-Semitism to them for a number of years. They killed him too.

At Turnu Severin, the Legionnaires took possession of the Jewish institutions, and drew out the Jews from their shops.

Now Antonescu played a double game - To the Legionnaires he gave a free hand to romanize Roumanian economy; to the Jews he promised protection. Moreover, he assured them that they need not be alarmed, and not to liquidate their affairs; that as long as they will not sabotage his regime he will protect them. Following this assurance, chaos broke out in the capital right

under his nose. Jewish homes were raided, and everything of value was removed by the Legionnaires. In face of that anarchy, the Minister of the Interior blamed it all on the alien elements who were not connected with the Legionnaires but sought to embarrass the government.

The outlawry went on in the capital where they still felt some degree of restraint. In the province the Legionnaires showed more courage. At Buzeu, they arrested a number of Zionists, maltreated and tortured them and had them deported to Transnistria where they were killed. They invaded the Synagogues during divine service and arrested the worshippers. At Jassy, the Cuzist gangs broke all records of vandalism. At the point of revolvers hundreds of Jews were dragged from their homes and shops to police headquarters where they were beaten and tortured. On payment of 6 million lei they were set at liberty.

Fully aware of the rushing business done by the Legionnaires, the government heads-high and low-also made hay while the sun was shining by following the same tactics in extorting money from the Jews.

Jewish lawyers were deprived of their right to practice in military courts; Jewish land owners were forbidden to dispose of their rural properties.

Antonescu, it seems, was not fully satisfied with the work of the Legionnaires, and he made a bitter attack on the Jews, charging them that they had everything in the land under their control. He promised that he will reorganize the State by expropriating all Jewish property and by substituting Legionnaires

in place of Jews. Everything of value, he said, Roumanians must possess.

The opening of Parliament, October 2, 1940, brought disaster to thousands of Jews. Professional men were deprived of their means of a livelihood, and was followed by expulsion of Jews from rural districts; robbery and destruction of Jewish property was legalized and Jewish life became worthless.

The Jews had complained to Antonescu of the atrocities committed by the Legionnaires and submitted a record of over 400 crimes perpetrated against the Jews in various localities of the land. He directed the Minister of the Interior and Horia Sima to investigate the charges and report the result to him. But that investigation was made by the very criminals who should have been investigated. Moreover, among the investigators they had included several Jews on whose backs the scars of the wounds inflicted by the Legionnaires had not been healed as yet and these had to join in signing the report.

That report showed that the charges were false; that the Jews were living unmolested and in peace.

After dismissing some of the leaders, Antonescu allowed the boys to have a little fun. They had it: By overturning trolley cars, destroying Jewish owned factories and by attacking some government officials. At Braila, they forced Jewish intellectuals-lawyers, physicians and rabbis, without regard to age, rank or sex, to sweep the streets.

Antonescu himself had objected to the Legionnaire orgies, but they paid no attention. Now, after he had given them

a free hand, he discovered that they had become a power which he will eventually be unable to control; that by their methods of romanization at the point of revolver and the butt of ^{the} guns, they had taken possession of every commercial and industrial enterprise; that by their terrorizing they had already become a danger to the country and to its economy; that by despoiling the Jews of all their possession, the Legionnaires had enriched themselves and become a force with which he would have to reckon some day.

The capital was in a turmoil. From the province, local authorities reported a state of anarchy and brigandage carried on by the Legionnaires. Worse yet: ~~He~~, Antonescu, felt that the ground was sinking under him. Alarmed, he concluded that in order to save his regime and the country from utter ruin, he must show his power. He dashed to Băeçhtesgadden for advice. On his return he did some house-cleaning, and it did not require much effort to check them. He placed some prefects under arrest, also some of the Legionnaire leaders.

It did not take long for his faithful to prove that they were as loyal to their leader, Antonescu, as they were to their King and country. On January 21, 1941, an open rebellion headed by Horia Sima broke out at Bucharest. Antonescu was forced to call out the army to suppress that rebellion. A battle ensued and for three days the rebels fought the army in the streets of the capital. As was to be expected, the victims of that revolt were the Jews whose homes and shops were destroyed. Aided by German troops, Antonescu succeeded to suppress that

revolt. Sima took to his heels and Antonescu proclaimed himself chief of the Iron Guard. A plebiscite election took place and Antonescu won a 100% vote. Hundreds of Jews were arrested and sent to concentration camps. Shortly thereafter, Antonescu seems to have concluded that without a ruthless Nazi policy his people would not submit to Nazism. He, therefore, tried to appease the Iron Guard so that in October, 1941, he opened the prison gates for 1725 Iron Guard convicts and sent them home. Thus he converted them into valuable missionaries who moved among the people and told them of the immense benefits in store for them under his rule. Thus, the ^{freer} ~~more a free~~ hand he gave the Iron Guard, the more vigorously they carried out his program. So much so, as we have already shown, thousands of Jews were slaughtered, the exact number will never be known. What we do know is that up to September, 1941, the total number of Jews slain in the old Kingdom was 8300. In addition to this loss of life, in the four months between July and November, 1941, Roumanian soldiers killed over 100,000 Jews in the Ukraine and 25,000 in the city of Odessa.

That wholesale murder of Jews, their elimination from every sphere of human endeavor, the confiscation of their property had crippled the entire Kingdom. While that evil process of despoiling the Jews of all their possessions was going on, the Jews were ~~also~~ forced to contribute to the war loan.

The German and Roumanian invasion of Russia in 1941, was followed by a massacre and expulsion of Jews from many cities and towns. Roumania, as we know, recovered her lost territories in Bessarabia and in North Bucovina, also gained a strip of land in the Ukraine, including the Black Sea port of Odessa, which

they named Transnistria. Jews who had the means escaped to Russia, those without means were forced to remain.

On October 4, 1942, all Jewish owned property was confiscated and distributed to Roumanian Christian refugees. Ten days later, a Nazi military force occupied Roumania. A Gestapo net was then spread out over the land.

On November 23, 1942, Antonescu formally pledged his allegiance to the Axis. Hitler was now ruler of Roumania, and Antonescu, a German subject. Four days later, November 27, eighty-six former Roumanian high government officials who had served under Carol were executed by the Iron Guard. Six hundred Jews were assassinated at Bucharest and 200 at Ploesti. How many Jewish lives were wiped out in other localities, no record is available. An unprecedented wave of anarchy broke out all over Roumania. The Iron Guard enlisted all the underworld which broke all bounds in their brigandage. In that state of anarchy over 6,000 persons were assassinated in Bucharest alone, one-sixth of these were Jews. With an uncontrollable fury, like blood-thirsty beasts, those savages wielded their axes, sabres, and knives, killing right and left. A group of 200 Jews fell into their hands and were taken to the Jewish slaughter house where they were butchered. So revolting was their savagery that the decent Christian population, at the risk of their own lives, tried to rescue those Jewish victims.

The loss of the territories to Russia and to Hungary had a frightful effect on Roumania. The people realized that they were engaged in a losing game - that they had been misled and deceived by their nationalistic leaders who had been feeding

them with antigemitic taffy.

Antonescu began to see things in a different light and he sought a way of withdrawing his troops from the Russian front. Unfortunately for him, he had now to choose between appeasement of the people by which he would incur the anger of Hitler, or allow their subjugation to the Nazi and thereby win favor with the Fuhrer. He concluded that to continue fighting Russia alongside the Nazi was unhealthy for him. He also recognized the fact that in case the impossible should happen and Germany should come out the victor, Roumania will lose her independence and become a German province. On the other hand, by joining the allies and fight the Nazi on the Russian side, when the allies will come out victorious, Roumania will share in that glory, regain some of her territory and retain her independence.

On August 23, 1944, Roumania surrendered to the Allies unconditionally. The young King, Mihai, ordered the Roumanian forces to cease firing on the Russians and join their forces. Thus, after three years fighting, Russia, which had begun in June 23, 1941, Roumanian forces joined those of Russia on Roumanian soil and turned their weapons on their common enemy - the Nazis. King Mihai removed the dictator Antonescu, had him arrested, indicted, tried, convicted and shot by a firing squad. That was the end of Antonescu's regime. A new cabinet was formed with the head of the National Peasant Party, Maniu, Minister of State without portfolio.

The first official act of the newly-formed government

was the issuing of a proclamation to the country that all restrictions against the Jews were annulled; all the victims held in concentration camps were released; all anti-Semitic papers in the land were suppressed. Over 800 resident Germans, including German diplomats were taken in custody by the Roumanian police. On September 4, 1944, the Roumanian constitution, suspended by Carol in 1938, was restored.

Anti-Semitism was made a crime, subject to severe punishment. King Mihai, in a decree issued by him, specified several acts constituting a crime, among which were: cruelties inflicted on deported Jews; establishing of concentration camps, forced hard labor, and extermination of Jews. Many Roumanian Nazis, Iron Guards, commissioned and non-commissioned army officers were arrested and prosecuted for crimes committed against Jews. This was the first benefit Roumanian Jews derived from World War II.

Of the Jewish population in Greater Roumania, out of 850,000 only 280,000 were accounted for among the living. What was left of Roumanian Jewish voluntary refugees who had left the country during the Nazi activities, were 100,000 most of whom found a haven in Russia. About 10,000 escaped to Poland, about 200,000 had been deported to Transnistria. Between May and December, 1944, 130,000 were deported to Poland. Among the Jews who had survived that catastrophe in Roumania, 260,000 were left destitute and required immediate relief. Jews who had remained in their localities as well as those who were repatriated, and under the law were entitled to recover possession of their

dwellings, found a rather rugged road. True, the law gave them that right, but the machinery of the Roumanian law grinds very slow. The same process affected Jews who sought reinstatement of their former occupations. But even those who succeeded in obtaining possession of their property, it availed them very little. For under the Soviet code now in force, all property belongs to the State.

There was another phase in that situation: The Groza regime was about to face an election in which it needed votes. They would therefore not want to antagonize so many voters in possession of former Jewish owned property.

CHAPTER ~~THIRTY NINE~~ LX

The Iron Guard; Roumania in World War II

In the election of December 27, 1937, the Iron Guard was victorious over the Tatarescu government which had the support of the King. The victors had polled 450,000 votes, which gave them 70 seats in parliament. That certainly was a bad omen for Carol. Realizing that he was losing ground, he made a daring move by entrusting, as we know, the formation of a new government to Goga. But it did not take him long to realize what a serious blunder he made. Subsequent events followed one another and reacted against the King.

In 1938, a new constitution was adopted by virtue of which Carol created a ~~political~~ party under the name of "Front of National Renaissance," as the sole political ~~party~~ ^{organization} in Roumania. All other political parties were dissolved and he thus became a totalitarian king. Some of the Goga decrees were repealed and the Iron Guard was vigorously suppressed. The Jews breathed somewhat more freely and were in hopes that under the totalitarian King they would have to fear anti-Semitic action less. But they soon discovered their mistake. Premier Christea showed his true colors by continuing the odious policy of forcing out the Jews from political, economic, and professional fields.

On August 5, 1938, a new statute was decreed, whereby some 20,000 Jews were to lose their citizenship and the entire Jewish population was thereby affected. Moreover, the semi-official "Roumania"

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announced that the Goga ordinances would remain in force. To the Jews, who as a result of the "revision" had lost their citizenship, ^{and to} ~~also~~ those affected by the new law, it meant absolute ruin. In any other country, even if they were now aliens, they would still live and engage in any legitimate enterprise, but not in Roumania, where loss of citizenship means loss of the right to work -- to live.

But that enlightened government did not stop there. A number of anti-Jewish bills affecting ~~them~~ denaturalized Jews were introduced in Parliament and a new anti-Jewish campaign was inaugurated. Harassing of Jewish schools was now intensified and new restrictions were imposed. The Jewish language was forbidden and Jewish merchants were forced to violate their Sabbath day by keeping their shops open.

Now that a new political party had come into existence, Minister Gafencu invited all nationalities, except Jews, to join that organization, the National front (mentioned above). The anti-Semitic forces swarmed to the Front, where they were received with open arms. In the election list of 1940, as a result, no Jewish names appeared. Thus, Carol's efforts to weaken anti-Semitic influence by creating a party of his own proved to be a double-edged sword -- wholly anti-Semitic, and Cuza an active member of it.

The upheaval in Germany and the war clouds hanging over Europe made Roumania mobilize for war. Jewish youth rushed to the colors and offered to enlist. But that did not deter the anti-Jewish press from continuing its agitation against the Jews. And when 269 Jewish

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refugees who had left Roumania to go to Palestine were refused admission to Turkey.

The Braila Bar Association struck the Jewish lawyers from its roster. Similar action was taken at Galatz, Jassy, and other cities. At Piatra, the Jewish lawyers addressed themselves to the King and to the Minister of Justice, protesting the action of the Bar Association. But there is no record as to what steps his Majesty or his ^{ml} Ministers ^{4/20} have taken in the matter.

In May, 1940, a general election took place but no Jewish name appeared on the ballot because the newly-formed National Renaissance party, the only party functioning, refused to accept Jewish candidates.

The Roumanian delegates at the League of Nations seem to have felt embarrassed at a declaration made by Senator Baraescu with reference to the Jews in Roumania and were quick in their declaration that there was no ground for alarm and gave the assurance that the government in Roumania did not intend to proceed harshly against the Jews. While that assurance was given abroad to the outside world, the process of elimination and displacement of Jews from every sphere of human endeavor was carried on at home, in addition, a heavier tax was imposed on them.

Ostensibly, that was directed against the disfranchized Jews but in practice it was applied indiscriminately against all other Jews whose citizenship had not been questioned -- not one of them was spared. But the government was not yet satisfied.

The Patriarch, Miron Christea, held that all alien Jews whose employment was superfluous would have to leave the country. Those

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Jews who had failed to sustain their claims in the recent revision of citizenship would be regarded as aliens.

They resolved to force the Jews to emigrate, and declared themselves in favor of Palestine. They opened negotiations with a certain Roumanian-Jewish leader with whose assistance an ingenious plan was devised whereby the Jews in Roumania were to be helped to emigrate to Palestine.

The writer has in his possession a copy of the document, dated at Bucharest, March 2, 1939, in the Roumanian language, purporting to be a report of this transaction which, on the face of it, from beginning to end, is a plan in all goodness for the benefit of the Jews. But in order to fully appreciate the enormity of the scheme and the magnitude of the act of charity on the part of the Roumanian government with the connivance of that Jewish leader, one must take into consideration the main purpose of the scheme, and what was back of it.

Unlimited power was given to the "Council", created under this scheme, to take possession and dispose of all the Jewish wealth and goods at will and convert it all into cash; import and export; sell and purchase at will (all for the benefit of the Jews). And this Council was to be under the control of a government-appointed Commission, ^{which} who had concocted this ~~scheme~~ ^{plan}.

The government was not strong enough to prevent the Iron Guard from dynamiting a synagogue. Their activity culminated in September, 1939, in the murder of Armand Galinescu, Minister, in open daylight, in the heart of Bucharest, and in the assassination of Flores Stefanescu Cujă, Rector of the University of Cluj.

The government retaliated by shooting Godreanu, and thirteen of his henchmen, and by imprisoning hundreds of Iron Guard members.

On August 6, 1940, a ~~Royal~~ decree was published by which the Jewish status was to be regulated by the creation of three categories of Jews: (1) Those of the old kingdom who had been naturalized prior to 1918 and had fought on the battlefield, or whose fathers had fallen in action. (2) Jews who had entered the country prior to December 31, 1918, and were under restrictions -- almost without any civil rights. (3) All those Jews who had come under Roumanian sovereignty after 1918 and were declared Roumanian nationals under the peace treaty. These were denaturalized citizens.

The first and immediate step taken under that decree was the dismissal of all Jews in the ~~Consular~~ service and the ousting of over 600 Jewish lawyers from the profession.

Three years later, under the law of 1943, four categories of Jews were erected: (1) Jewish war veterans and those who were disabled in previous wars; (2) Baptized Jews and children of mixed marriages; (3) Jews born in old Roumania; (4) Those born in Bessarabia, Bucovina, Transylvania, also stateless Jews.

Every day new discriminations sprang up. The Romanization policy of the government was so far-reaching in its scope that it covered every vocation in the field of human endeavor and this poison - this concentrate deep into Jewish life, destroyed every fibre, every vital tissue, against which there was no remedy. On top of this

mortal disease came the thundering German invasion from Poland and the Russian invasion ^{of} Bessarabia, which had a disastrous effect ^{on} Roumanian economic life, and the first victims ~~of~~ ^{which} were the Jews. This was aggravated by the Nazi Fifth Column, whose main goal was the destruction of Jewish economic life.

Under such conditions, the government itself was far from happy as it was pressed from every side without any prospect for relief.

Beginning with the Treaty of Berlin, as we know, Roumania owed her independence to Germany, Britain, and France. Therefore, in flirting with Germany, Carol could not be accused of being an ingrate to the detriment of the other two benefactors. Recalling the experience, Roumania had with Germany in World War 1, he did not want to antagonize her; she was already pressing Roumania for economic aid. To even matters, Carol affected a compromise in his internal policy by forming a cabinet half pro-Allies and half pro-German. At heart, Carol leaned to the Allies but ostensibly he showed ^{his} disapproval of the Nazi policy by retaining some of the Goga statesmen in the new cabinet. The Iron Guard was restored to its "legal" status and the 800 Iron Guards who had been imprisoned were ordered released. A ^{Royal} decree, signed by Carol, released 1,000 more ^{Iron Guard} political prisoners. Every fugitive, ^{from} free justice was permitted to return to his home.

The fall of France justified that fear. On June 6, 1940, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gafencu, released Gugurto, a former Gogo cabinet member. Two weeks later, Carol repudiated his alliance

with Britain and France and transformed Roumania into a totalitarian state. The National Renaissance Front ceased to exist. A Royal decree, called to justice those who were responsible for the liquidation of the Iron Guards.

With the loss of Bucovina and Bessarabia, the collapse of France, and the precarious position in which Great Britain was, Roumania felt herself isolated. Her southern neighbor, Bulgaria and her northwestern neighbor, Hungaria, were now demanding the return of territories; ~~but~~ with Russia also threatening from the north and east, Roumania was not in an enviable position. Carol now sought to win favor with Hitler. He reorganized his cabinet to please the Nazis. Moreover, the personnel of the cabinet had to be not only pro-Nazi but thoroughly anti-British; therefore, it had to be anti-Semitic. The only element possessing all these qualities was the Cuzist Iron Guard. By placing that kind of a man at the head of his government, Carol thought he would win favor with Hitler and thus save himself and his crown. Subsequent events, however, have proved how mistaken he was.

As soon as the new cabinet was formed, an anti-Jewish campaign was inaugurated. The Roumanian Jews were blamed for the loss of the two provinces and charged them with high treason in having secretly conspired with Russia and other Roumanian enemies. That was enough to infuriate the Roumanian masses in the urban cities against the Jews. Finding life so bitter, hunted from every side, their lives in constant danger, many Jews thought that by embracing Christianity they could escape that hazard. But even this avenue of escape was

closed to them by the Greek Orthodox church. Some of them were accepted by the Catholic Church and were converted to that creed. Soon these unfortunates discovered that according to the Hitler code they were still Jews.

What those good Roumanians had failed to do, the Nazi invasion of Roumania accomplished, so that the former Jewish population has been reduced to less than half -- less than 300,000. Over 126,000 were killed ^{after} ~~since~~ Roumania joined the Axis. Over 100,000 Jews have been living in the former Hungarian territory, which had been annexed to Roumania. How many of them are still among the living, no one knows.

Prior to World War 11, old Roumania had a Jewish population of 340,000. Thereafter, it had been reduced to less than 200,000. Of the Jewish population in Bocovina, which numbered over 100,000, less than 34,000 escaped death and today, that province is Jewless.

In Bessarabia, 90,000 Jews were shot dead by the Roumanian Army of Occupation, while over 100,000 Jews were massacred by the Ukranian mobs. The thousands of Jews who had been shipped to Transnistria found themselves in the most unfortunate state. If they attempted to escape, they faced starvation and disease. If they did not succumb to either, they suffered at the hands of the Roumanian brigands in uniform. The Roumanian government, on the other hand, ^{encouraged} ~~instigated~~ the populace by telling them that they were free to take possession of Jewish homes and occupy them.

The local authorities (notoriously ~~corrupt~~) showed themselves ^{even} more zealous in enforcing their aryanization in conformity with the Hitler code.

The Roumanian Patriarch, Nicodin, protested against the cruelties. This time again, in the midst of that flaming fire of hatred, murder and pillage, the common people, the true Roumanians, were not in the least infected, and showed their sympathy to the suffering Jews. The Roumanian anti-Semitic paper, Porunce Vremei, and the Nazi Bukarester Tageblatt complained that there were many Christians who were too friendly to the Jews.

Cuza and his Iron Guards were jubilant. They had won their war. A ~~Royal~~ decree published in the Monitor^{ul} Official of June 24, 1938, had put the finishing touch on that victory. Following the Nazi pattern, Jews were made ineligible for membership in the totalitarian party.

Through the goodness of Mr. Hitler, on August 31, 1940, Hungarian claims, and on August 21, 1943, Bulgarian claims were adjusted. The claimants were given what they asked and Roumania had to be content with what she was permitted to keep - plus Hitler's guarantee that there would be no more claims against Roumania. By that little operation, all three countries fell into Hitler's lap and came under German military control. It also enabled Germany to safeguard the Roumanian oil wells. Roumania thus became a German province with Hitler its sovereign and the Iron Guard (his loyal force) subject to his orders.

Now that the Iron Guard had come under the command of a new chief, its members defied the Roumanian government more brazenly. They announced a series of demonstrations in several localities and supplemented them with handbills demanding Carol's abdication.

Similar demonstrations were held in Bucharest, where the streets were flooded with revolutionary handbills; the crowds jammed the streets, pressing closer to the Royal palace and demanding Carol's abdication. The situation became critical and the police, no more able to control the rebellious crowds, had to invoke military aid to check the mob which was headed by Horis Sims.

Carol now realized that his throne stood on rapidly melting ice. The influences of the Nazis, as manifested by the Iron Guards, ~~was~~ were felt everywhere. That of the King, on the other hand, was dwindling with every passing hour. He had no friends on whom he could rely, not even his army, which had been seriously infected. Until then he was still king and felt that he could meet the situation. But now, with the swastika boldly displayed right under his windows, he became alarmed. He now realized that not only the throne but his own person was no ~~more~~ ^{longer} safe. To this very day, the gross error which Carol made in appointing his bitterest enemy and strongest pro-Hitler henchman, General Antonescu, as Premier with full dictatorial powers, remained unexplained. The appointment was not made by popular choice; it was not by the will of the Roumanian representatives. Carol was still ~~king~~ and the army was still under his command. No matter how much or how little it was infected, the commanding generals were still obeying his orders and the masses were still shouting Traissca regele (Long live the King). But he was shaken up, nervous, alarmed. He had already sent Magda away because her life was in danger. Now his own life was threatened. He was choking, gasping for air, and he, too, began to think of getting away. The throne was shaking under him, the country was in

danger of being dismembered and he had none of the European powers to lean on, none from whom he could expect help. To appease Hitler, he had repudiated his alliance with Britain and France, and for the same reason he had released from prison all the Iron Guard convicts. Now all that was of little value to him. He was alone and helpless. There was nothing left for him to do but to abdicate.

On September 5, 1940, his arch-enemy, Antonescu, whom he had just released from prison, became dictator, and the following day, September 6, Carol abdicated, and his son, Mihai, succeeded him to the throne. All that Carol could get from his former subject, Antonescu, was a safe exit. On the very same day, Antonescu requested the Nazis to send a military mission to Roumania.

Now the Iron Guard had won its freedom of action and could rob, kill, demolish homes, pillage right and left without fear of punishment. Jewish life and property ^{were} ~~was~~ now beyond the law. While Antonescu was the head of the new regime, his Vice Premier, Sims, was the power, also the executioner.

With the Iron Guard in power and Antonescu the sole ruler of the country, it did not take long for his faithful allies to prove themselves as loyal to him as they were to their ~~king~~ and country. In January 21, 1941, an open rebellion headed by Sima broke out and Antonescu was forced to call out the army to suppress it. A battle ensued which lasted three days, the rebels fighting the army in the streets of Bucharest. Needless to say, in that revolution, the Jews suffered most. In that turbulent state, those outlaws destroyed Jewish homes and Jewish-owned shops, beating and

torturing every Jew in sight.

Aided by German troops, Antonescu's army succeeded in suppressing the rebellion. Sims took to his heels and Antonescu proclaimed himself chief of the Iron Guard. Hundreds of Jews were then arrested and sent to concentration camps.

Shortly thereafter, Antonescu seemed to have recognized the fact that without a ruthless Nazi policy, he could not make his people submit to Nazism. He, therefore, tried to placate the Guard; on October 8, 1941, he opened the prison gates for 1,735 Iron Guard convicts and set them free, and thereby converted them into valuable missionaries who mixed with the people and convinced them of the immense benefits in store for them under his rule. He thus continued his program of persecution of the Jews by granting still more freedom to the Iron Guard. And these good patriots needed no coaxing. Murder and pillage were the first items on their program. So much so that, as we have already shown, hundreds of Jews were slaughtered; the exact number of ~~which~~ will never be known. However, what we do know is: At Jassy, 500 Jews were executed; at Kishineff, 800 Jewish lives were wiped out; 300 at Tighina, at Ackerman, the number of killed is unknown.

The total number slaughtered by the Iron Guard up to September, 1941, amounted to 8,300. In addition to this loss of Jewish life, in the four months between July and November, 1941, Roumanian soldiers killed over 100,000 Jews in Ukraine and 25,000 in the city of Odessa. Those who escaped death in Bessarabia were deported to war-torn Ukraine.

In fairness to the Iron Guard brigands, it must be said that this wholesale slaughter of Jews must not be charged to them alone, but more to that Roumanian patriot, General Antonescu, under whose regime those Nazi-inspired assassins could perpetrate such crimes without fear of having to account for them. That wholesale murder of the Jews, their elimination from every sphere of human endeavor, the confiscation of their property, had crippled the kingdom, And while that evil process of divesting the Jews of all their possessions and the taking away of all their means of livelihood was going on, they were nevertheless forced to contribute heavily to the Roumanian war loan.

The invasion of Russia by the German and Roumanian troops, in June, 1941, brought about a massacre and expulsion of Jews from many cities and towns. Roumania thus recovered her lost Bessarabian and North Bucovinan territories and also gained a strip of land in the Ukraine, including the Black Sea port of Odessa, which they named Transnistria. While many Jews who had the means escaped ~~to~~ Russia, the poor and middle class who lacked the means of escape suffered immensely. Some of them were forced to live in the small boats in which they tried to flee and were not allowed to land for some time. Some refugees had managed to get aboard the steamer, "Struma", which sank in the Black Sea with a loss of 768 ~~of the~~ unfortunate Roumanian-Jewish refugees among whom were 281 women and 78 children.

While that tragedy took place on the sea, the Roumanian parliament enacted a law which required Jews to deliver to the government

clothes, shirts, underwear, blankets, etc., in good condition and in quantities commensurate with the taxes they had paid the year previous -- the year when most of them were still engaged in some occupation, had homes and income.

In October 5, 1942, all Jewish-owned property was confiscated and was distributed among Roumanian refugees from the lost provinces. Ten days later, a Nazi military force occupied Roumania. An Iron Guard sentry was then placed in front of every Jewish shop to prevent people from entering. A Gestapo net was spread out all over the land. All Jewish employees in private enterprises were dismissed.

On November 23, 1942, Antonescu formally pledged allegiance to the Axis. Four days later, on November 27~~th~~, 86 former high officials, ministers, and generals, who had served under Carol, were executed by the Iron Guard without any form of a trial. Of Jewish victims assassinated by them on that day were, as far as can be known, 600 in Bucharest and 200 in Ploesti. Now many Jewish lives were blown out in other localities, no record is available. An unprecedented wave of anarchy broke out all over the land. The Iron Guard had enlisted the entire underworld, and in their brigandage, they broke all ^ubonds. In that state of anarchy, over 6,000 persons were killed in Bucharest alone, one-sixth of ~~those~~ ^{being} victims ~~were~~ Jews. How many were killed in the province will never be known. ~~These~~ savages became so wild in their ferocious onslaught on that peaceable population that, like blood-thirsty beasts recognizing neither station, nor age, nor sex, with an uncontrollable fury, they wielded their axes, knives, and sabres, plunging them into the belly or chest

of the victim they met, many of whom they decapitated first. They caught a group of over 200 Jews and packed them into the Jewish slaughter house, where they butchered them with axes. So revolting were the cruel acts of those assassins that the decent Christian population, at the risk of their own lives, tried to rescue those Jewish victims.

The question may be asked: Where were the police? What was the attitude of the authorities? Who was the instigator of these outrages?

The answer is: Horia Sima, the Vice Chancellor, the leader of the Iron Guard. The rest we must leave to the reader's imagination. We might add that this is what anti-Semitism spells: murder, assassination, pillage, destruction of property, anarchy, despoiling and desecrating everything sacred, all that is dear to the human heart, all that is universally revered. This is what anti-Semitism means and the result of the anti-Semitic credo is chaos.

It is impossible to state how long that murderous state of anarchy would have continued if it had not been for the sudden disappearance of Sims. As soon as he was gone, the anarchy ceased. Order was restored and a plebiscite election was shortly held, in which Antonescu received ~~fully~~ a 100% vote.

Roumanization of every human activity was now begun with more vigor. All Jewish-owned property was expropriated, every Jewish income was confiscated, a heavy military service tax was imposed on every Jewish male from 18 to 50 years of age, and numerous anti-Jewish restrictions were inaugurated. A population of about half a million Jews in Roumania was left penniless and in utter despair, as a result.

Hitler was now ruler in Roumania and Antonescu, a German subject.

The loss of Bessarabia and Bucovina to Russia, June 29, 1941, and of part of Transylvania to Hungary had a frightful effect on Roumania. The people now realized that they were playing a losing game, that they had been misled and deceived by their Roumanian nationalists, who had been feeding them with anti-Semitic taffy. The outstanding democratic leader of the national peasant party, Julius Maniu, made an open appeal to the people and to the government to put an end to the massacre of Roumanians in the Russian campaign. That sentiment was voiced by thousands of honest Roumanian patriots, who declared themselves unwilling to fight Hitler's war; they were put behind bars. The Roumanian troops on Russian soil felt the same way and they rebelled. Antonescu also began to see things in the same light, and he sought a way of withdrawing his troops from the Russian front. Unfortunately for him, he was now in a position in which he had to choose between appeasement of the people, where by he would incur the anger of Hitler, or allowing their subjugation to the Nazis and winning more favor with the Fuehrer.

The war between Roumania and Russia lasted three years and was ended when Roumania realized that fighting Russia alongside the Nazis was unhealthy for her. She also realized that if the impossible should happen and Germany should be victorious, Roumania would lose her independence and become a German province. But by joining the Allies and fighting the Nazis on the Russian side, when victory came to the Allies, Roumania would share in that glory and

might regain some of her lost territory, ^{and} also retain her independence.

On the ~~23rd~~²³ of August, 1944, Roumania accepted unconditional surrender to the Allies. The Roumanian young King, Mihai, then issued a decree ordering the Roumanian forces to cease firing on the Russians, and to join the Russian forces. Thus, after a war of over three years against Russia, which Roumania had begun at the instance of the Nazis in June 23, 1941, after a long day's fighting alongside the Nazis, Roumanian forces joined those of Russia on Roumanian soil and at 9:24 in the evening of that day turned their weapons on the Nazis.

The ~~dictator~~^d, Antonescu, was removed by the young King and placed under arrest and thus ended the Antonescu regime.

A new cabinet was formed with Constantin Sanatescu as Premier and the head of the peasant party, Julius Maniu, Minister of State without portfolio.

The first official act of the newly-formed cabinet was a proclamation to the country, annulling all restrictions against the Jews. All the victims held in concentration camps were released. The anti-Semitic paper Porunca Vremei was suspended; three other papers in the capital and twelve in the province were also suspended. Over 800 resident Germans, including German diplomats were taken into custody by the Roumanian police. On September 4, 1944, the Roumanian constitution, which has been abolished by Carol in 1938 was restored.

APPENDIX A

DOCUMENTS OF THE ISMAIL CASE

1. Consul W. Ward's Report from Galatz, January 30, 1872:

At about the beginning of the month (January) the cathedral church at Ismail was reported to have been entered and robbed by a Jew. Thereupon, in order to avoid exciting the people, the priests gave out that the robbery consisted of money only, about sixty lei. But they reported to the authorities that besides the money, a gold and silver cross, a silver casket containing the consecration bread, and two spoons used in the holy communion had been stolen. The thief was discovered and arrested at Kilia and brought to Ismail. Having been subjected to a rigorous examination, he confessed that he had hidden himself in the church in the evening during vespers; that when everybody had left the church and the doors were locked, he collected the valuables which he afterwards carried away, and then, having the whole night before him, he made a bed of the episcopal vestments, eased himself on the bishop's throne, and went to sleep. The servant opened the doors very early the next morning, and as it was still very dark, he escaped unseen.

Previous to this man's arrest, the police had traced the valuables to two Jews, who were at once taken in. They admitted that the things had been in their possession, but, being afraid of keeping them, they had thrown them into two cesspools. These were forthwith examined, and the casket and the spoons were found there.

As soon as these facts became known, the people were roused to indignation. The Jews were set upon, beaten and otherwise ill-treated in every direction, but without loss of life. The authorities did their best to appease the tumult, and the Greek vice-consul was quite active in calming down the Greeks. The Jews, however, abandoned their homes and fled in all directions, many taking refuge with their families in the different consulates, which became very crowded, and others taking refuge on an Austrian steamer anchored in the harbor at that time. It is supposed that several other Jews will be found to be implicated in the matter, which is looked upon as a deliberate insult to Christianity and as an act of contempt and derision against the Christian religion.

It is argued that if cupidity alone had been the motive, the thief need not have left behind and untouched many other objects of great value, and need not have defiled the church as he did.

There is consequently a very bitter and hostile feeling against the Jews at Ismail at present, but the first burst of indignation having expended itself as it did, it is to be hoped that this ill-feeling may pass away without being roused again to action. (Signed) W. Ward.

2. Consul Peixotto's Request for a Meeting of the Consuls:

(Addressed to the British consul general)

Dear and Honourable Colleague: The news received today from Moldavia is so fearful that I think it warrants a meeting

of the members of the diplomatic and consular corps, while their general instructions have, as it appears, the right to appeal directly to Prince Charles in behalf of hundreds of robbed, beaten and murdered persons and who, it seems, have no protection from his subordinates. I pray you to call such a meeting to consider the matter without delay. (Signed)

Peixotto

3. Memorandum of Goldenberg and Samuel to Minister Catargiu:

The undersigned two Israelites, sent as a deputation on the part of the Jewish community of Ismail, come to submit to Your Excellency the following facts relative to the deplorable events of Ismail.

On the 24th of December it was rumored in the town that a theft of some 100 ducats and two spoons had been committed in the church, and that it had been defiled by the wretch who had committed the sacrilege. Suspicion immediately fell upon an individual named Jacob Silberman, a renegade Israelite of Lithuania who, having deserted from the Russian army, arrived at Ismail some three months ago and was working for a tailor. He was arrested, and at a further examination declared that he had committed the theft in complicity with the tailor with whom he was working, and that the stolen property was hidden in a stove in the home of the latter. In the prosecution of the search the stove was pulled down, but nothing was found and the tailor was arrested.

Finally, the villainous thief, we do not know for what reason, declared that he had committed the crime at the

instigation of Mr. D. Goldschlager, who, on the day of the theft, had said to him: "Go and rob the holy articles from the church, bring them to me and I will make you the richest man in town, and you will be a saint to the Hebrews."

In consequence of this declaration, the above-named Goldschlager, one of the principal merchants of the place, an honourable man, known for his honesty and humanity for fifteen years, was arrested, kept four days in the police station, and then thrown into prison, where he had been ever since; and being weak and sickly, he is in danger of losing his life from grief.

On the day on which the criminal said he had met Mr. D. Goldschlager while walking and had been told by him to commit the robbery, the latter had just returned home from the house of the undersigned Goldenberg, where, in profound sorrow, he had sat, according to our religious rites, upon the floor, bewailing the loss of a beloved who had died of diphtheria. This fact is attested to by four witnesses. Besides this, the rabbi was arrested and is still held in custody because, as it was said, "The holy objects stolen were found in the privies of the Pascalowitz inn, inhabited by about forty families, where the rabbi happened to live, too; and this was the cause of his arrest." We therefore implore you, Mr. Minister, that you will please order the release of these two unfortunate persons for whom the whole town is ready to deposit any amount of guarantee.

A certain Dopulo, interpreter attached to the police, who endeavored to obtain money from the Jews, threatening that otherwise he would denounce them as accomplices and who in consequence of the alarm of the Jews received sums in the amount of one, two and three napoleons on different occasions, is the person whom we suspect of having, as a means of his extortions, induced the vagabond to denounce Mr. Goldschlager, knowing that he would be able to obtain money for his liberty.

It is evident that the story has been expressly trumped up to be used against the Israelites and to provoke the barbaric scenes which have lasted seven days. Many of the houses were not only plundered of all they contained, but were also demolished. Many persons were beaten, many families have taken refuge at Tulcea, their property which they have left behind exposed to destruction. Those of the prosecutors who were arrested by the authorities were liberated the next day. Notwithstanding the praiseworthy energy of the police agent, Theodor Alivrea, and of Lieutenant Sharlea, the militia could protect only one street, while in the others the mob, composed principally of Bulgars and Russians, acted with all the fury of fanaticism against the Jews, who had no knowledge whatever of all that had happened.

The arrest of the most respectable members of the Jewish community added oil to the flames of popular fury.

Mr. Minister, be pleased to release these two innocent persons for whom the whole town will be responsible, and send a commission to inquire in a serious and energetic manner into

what has taken place. Only an impartial investigation can reach the guilty and clear the innocent. Hundreds of families are dying of hunger, and are without shelter, wandering in the fields. Mothers and their children are exposed to wind and frost, and hundreds of men are destitute of the means of subsistence. (Signed)

O. Samuel
Calman Goldenberg

4. Goldenberg's Note to British Consul General Green:

Bucharest, February 9, 1872

The undersigned, a loyal subject of Her British Majesty, resident with his family and transacting business during the past six years in the town of Ismail, in the United Principalities of Roumania, in consequence of the serious riots recently made against the people of whose religious confession he is a member, has been compelled to abandon his home, to send his family for safety to Tulcea, to close his business and to repair to Bucharest in order to be safe from personal molestation.

That owing to the incapability of the local authorities to preserve order, he has suffered severe losses, besides having his property exposed and liable to destruction, if not already destroyed.

I therefore, Mr. Consul General, most respectfully petition and give notice that I shall prepare my claim for such losses as I may have sustained; and in the meantime, I most respectfully request that you demand for me that protection

to which, as a British subject, I am entitled under the laws of nations. (Signed)

C. Goldenberg

5. Green's Note to Roumanian Minister Costaforo:

Bucharest, February 10, 1872

Mr. Minister:

I have learned with regret the deplorable scenes which have recently taken place in the towns of Ismail and Cahul. The population appears to have rushed upon the Israelites, devastated their dwellings, and caused considerable bloodshed. I allow myself, without delay, to call the attention of the princely government to the danger which will result if these disturbances will be renewed or spread out, to the necessity of punishing the authors, to suppress all internal disorder, particularly the arbitrary violence to which the Israelitish race has always been subjected and which has justified the many repeated remonstrations by the European governments.

I am convinced that the present princely cabinet will know, by its energy, to prevent the return of all vexations against the Israelites, and thus safeguard the principle of humanity and civilization.

6. Costaforo's Reply:

Bucharest, February 19, 1872

Mr. Agent:

Before the receipt of the note which you had the goodness to address to me, on February 10th, the princely government had

known of the regrettable disorders which had taken place at Ismail and at Cahul, and it was made a duty to repress them with all the energy which the principles of order, of humanity and of civilization command.

I am the first, Mr. Agent, to condemn acts of violence with which the population of said towns are charged against the Israelites. At the same time, it appears fair to me, as long as one wants to be impartial about the events in question, to look for the cause which has produced the ire of the population. It is now also established by the investigation made that the disorders were produced as a result of an impious, audacious theft committed in the cathedral of Ismail by the Jews.

The gravity of these two facts imposes the duty on us to search with all impartiality for those guilty of the theft and of the disorders. In order to deal with them severely, we have sent thither the procuror general (attorney general) of the court of appeal of this city.

Not being able at the moment to know in a measure all the details of the affair with which we have to deal, I shall await, Mr. Agent, the ultimate results of the investigation which is being followed. But what I do not hesitate to add after this is, that steps have been taken to assure the respect due to law, and that the government is firmly decided to combat every element of disorder from whichever side it may come. (Signed)

G. Costaforo

7. Petition of the Deputation of the Jewish Community of Cahul
to the Roumanian Government:

Bucharest, February 26, 1872

Mr. Minister:

The undersigned delegates, on the part of the unfortunate Israelites of Cahul, come to unfold before you the sinister picture of the bloody facts which took place in this town.

After the pillage committed at Ismail, numerous persons were coming from there and began to say openly that they would imitate those of Ismail, and kill all the Israelites here. I, the undersigned, Ascher Gold, went at once to the prefect Cariunesco, and told him what I heard mentioned by Jeni Vacaulapoulo, who distinguished himself as the foremost of those who were doing the menacing. Calming my fear, the prefect promised to take all the necessary measures, and sent out fifteen soldiers to the streets. The following day, Wednesday, January 19th, the threats and the tumult increased. I went at once to the prefect and I was informed that he had left for a tour in the district.

I then went to find the director of the police, imploring him to take measures. On Thursday, a Russian stopped a Jewish woman in the street, saying he had an order from the government to beat her.

When the director tried to arrest the Russian, a Greek, named Spiro, jumped on him, yelling: "What right have you to arrest a citizen?," and forced him to let go his hold.

In order to avoid any conflict, the Jews abstained from going to the synagogues on Friday evening and on Saturday.

On Sunday the commissar called at my store and demanded money. I sent out my son to collect among the Israelites, and he came back excited, telling us that Jews were being beaten in the streets. Bands of fifty and one hundred assembled at once in front of my house, and many of them were armed with revolvers. Seeing that I and my son were armed and resolved to defend ourselves, they retired. In the evening the commissar came to tell me to leave the house because the populace had the intention of setting it on fire.

In a neighboring house there were also some Jews armed. One of them fired on the multitude who threatened to destroy those who were in the house. Two boys were wounded, one dangerously, the other only in the foot. The Israelite who tried to defend himself is still in prison. Meanwhile, the soldiers of the garrison took the Jews from their houses and conducted them to the barracks. But the way thither was full of the most barbarous cruelties inflicted upon them. Breaking through the ranks of the soldiers who surrounded the Israelites, the fanatics, armed with sticks, split the heads of some, broke the arms of others, wounded many and committed unheard of crimes, without any of the soldiers making the slightest effort to stop them. The route to the barracks was covered with the blood of the unfortunate victims.

Over 1,000 Israelites were crowded into the barracks, and were kept there for three days without food. The husbands did

not know where their wives were, parents did not know where their children were. The sight drove one to the point of insanity. One evening, while we were sitting there in our depressed state, the captain came in and announced that the populace wanted to break through the windows, and advised the unfortunates to stretch themselves on the floor. And during all that time the soldiers did absolutely nothing.

While the Israelites were kept in the barracks, their homes, exposed without protection, were devastated in the most frightful manner. The doors were broken, the windows smashed, ceilings destroyed, the floors torn up; the furniture was gathered up, the walls pierced, and everything in the house they stole; our goods and our money are in the possession of the brigands. Many articles were found buried in the kitchen of a certain man, Holban by name; our synagogues were sacked and converted into latrines; holy books were torn and thrown into the mud.

The misery is extreme. Those who, only a few days ago, were well-to-do, are now reduced to extreme poverty. Their houses are in ruins; they are in want of daily bread, of shelter and clothes to protect them against the frost. Two rooms are filled with hundreds of persons lying, with their wounds bleeding, on straw. Two girls, the daughters of a poor widow, were violated in the most brutal manner.

The authorities have done nothing. The procuror (district attorney) from Fochshani refused even to go to see the havoc. Karavasile, the proprietor, who offered us 150 ducats to sign

a declaration that the Greeks had abstained from taking part in the havoc, gave a ball in honor of the district attorney, who seems to have changed his good sentiments.

The Russians continued to say that they had received orders to kill all the Jews. Others said they had orders from the Russian consul. The frontier guard who have been left in charge of Sergeant Major Floresco have ill-treated the Jews in every village they passed, saying that the government gave them such orders.

There is no doubt that the local administration is an accomplice because at Kilia, the chief of police was able to suppress the excesses in their ^{inception} ~~inception~~ with his whip alone.

Our losses amount approximately to 40,000 ducats. We wish that a commission of Bucharest citizens, who enjoy the confidence of the government, be appointed at once to go and examine the facts and fix the loss of each, and that the government procure a just indemnity by a law adopted through the Chambers.

We ask this, Mr. Minister, in the name of God, in the name of our unfortunates and of our coreligionists who are dying of hunger; in the name of justice and humanity.

We come to you, charged by our community to invoke justice and to confide in our sovereign and in you, the prime minister of state. We feel that our appeal will not be in vain. (Signed)

The Deputation of the Israelite Community of
Cahul

8. Earl Granville's Telegram to John Green, March 18, 1872:

If on inquiry you should find the statements in the petition enclosed in your despatch of February 27th well founded, you should make the strongest representations on the part of Her Majesty's government against the remissness of the Roumanian authorities which admits of such barbarities being practiced.

9. John Green's Telegram to Earl Granville, March 10, 1872:

In a private conversation I had yesterday with Mr. Borshe, the procuror general who was sent to Ismail by the government to inquire into the circumstances connected with the molestation of the Jews, he informed me that had he arrived one day later, it is more than probable that there would have been a general massacre of the Jews, as he discovered that a number of persons had taken their oath to carry out this atrocity, which was prevented only by his presence and his declaration that a large military force was on its way to Ismail.

10. John Green's Report of His Interview with Prime Minister Catargiu:

I have pointed out to Catargiu, the prime minister, that not only the immunity enjoyed by the perpetrators of the outrage upon the Jews, but also the apparent determination of the authorities in the Basarabian districts to avail themselves of false charges against the most respected Jewish inhabitants of Ismail, in order to throw them into prison,

where they are subjected to personal ill usage, are likely to create a very unfavorable impression abroad.

I added that although I was convinced the central government had endeavored to protect the Jews from outrages and persecution, I feared that the orders emanating from Bucharest were not always respected in the provinces.

Mr. Catargiu observed that the severe measures he had taken in dismissing the prefects of Ismail and Cahul and other functionaries showed that the government was determined to maintain order, but that a great crime and sacrilege having been committed, it was absolutely necessary that the judicial proceeding should not be interfered with, and that justice should take its course.

It is to be feared that justice will take its course in this country -- and a very crooked one it is. I am informed that the court of appeal of Foschani has ordered the rearrest of the rabbi and Mr. Goldschlager, who were set at liberty at their first examination. These gentlemen, I understand, are well off and Roumanian justice likes to be severe with such culprits.

11. Granville's Telegram of Approval of Green's Report, March 25, 1872:

I have received your despatch of the 11th inst. relating to the molestation of the Jews, and I have to state to you in reply that I approve of the language you used to Mr. Catargiu as reported in that despatch.

12. Protest of the Consuls:

Bucharest, April 18, 1872

The undersigned, believing it their duty, collectively and in the most formal manner, to renew to the princely government the verbal observations which the greater part of them have received from their governments to present in relation to the Jewish question, in the first place, can not refrain from expressing their astonishment that although more than two months have passed since an investigation was ordered in Roumanian Basarabia, in spite of the assurance contained in the note of the minister of foreign affairs to inform us of the result, no such communication was received. On the other hand, we have learned with profound regret that after having condemned several Israelites to hard labor in regard to which the minister himself had abandoned the accusation, the court of assizes, at Buzeu, has set free all the individuals who committed the excesses and the most serious crimes against the Jewish population at Wilcow. The undersigned see in this double verdict the indication of the danger to which the Israelites in Roumania are exposed, and the imminence of the approach of the Passover has recently justified the steps simultaneously taken in following the former government. The governments of the undersigned will have to consider whether the impunity accorded to the aggressors of Jews is not of a character to favor the return of scenes of violence unworthy of a civilized country, which

under such a name ought to assure the liberty and security of all religious cults. (Signed)

Sigmund Thielau,	Germany
Schlechts,	Austria
Peixotto,	United States of America
G. Ae Sourd,	France
J. Green,	Great Britain
Manos,	Greece
Gloria,	Italy

13. Earl Granville's Telegram Approving of the Collective Note, Addressed to John Green, May 3, 1872:

I have to convey to you my approval of your having signed, in conjunction with your colleagues, the collective note to the Roumanian government of the 18th ultimo, a copy of which is enclosed in your despatch of the 18th ultimo, with a view of preventing a renewal of the late outrages on the Jews in Roumania.

14. Excerpt from Letter of William I, Emperor of Prussia, to Carol I, of Roumania:

...It is a hard task to have to side with a race of men whose character I know only too well from the Russian Poles. Although in most examples of guilt of the Jews, according to your own government's showing, the crime was not at all as heinous as it appeared at first, still the punishment was severe, and some show of mercy would certainly be advisable. On the other hand, it must be regretted that the repression of riots and Jew-baiting was not employed quickly or effectively enough. This, of course, creates the impression abroad that the internal politics of Roumania are

not yet stable, and you will never eradicate this impression until you have created a well-organized, disciplined army able to enforce obedience to the orders of the government.

15. Text of the Pardon:

Carol First, By the grace of God and the will of the people, Prince of Roumania,

To all present and future, Greeting:

Pursuant to report #5300 of our Minister Secretary of State, at the department of justice,

Considering the recommendation made to us, by virtue of our prerogative, under Article 93 of the Constitution,

We have ordained and do ordain:

Article 1. We pardon David Goldschlager and Rabbi Alter Brandeis, of the sentence to which they were condemned by the jury at Buzeu, under sentence #9, 1872.

Article 2. We commute the prison sentence to which Israel Waizman, Abraham Praisman and Haim David were convicted by the said verdict, to two years' prison.

Article 3. Our Minister Secretary of State in the department of justice is hereby charged with the execution of the foregoing order.

Given at Bucharest, April 10, 1872.

Carol.

Minister of Justice,
G. Costaforo.

16. Buchanan's Note to Count Andrassy:

Before seeing Count Andrassy, Buchanan had addressed the following note to him:

In accordance with instructions from Earl Granville, I have the honour to inform Your Excellency that the government of the Queen, my sovereign, have instructed Her Majesty's agent and consul general at Bucharest to warn the government of the principalities of the danger to which the Jews may be exposed if advantage is taken of the approaching Passover to renew the charges of a mixture of Christian blood to be used in their religious ceremonies, and a renewal be thus caused of the outrages to which Jews in the principalities are so continually exposed.

In communicating this information to Your Excellency, I am also to submit to the consideration of the imperial-royal government whether they will not judge it expedient, in the interest of humanity, to address similar warning to the government of the principalities.

17. Mr. Hammond's Note to Sir Francis Goldsmid:

I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge receipt of your letter of the 26th ultimo, suggesting a course of action which you consider Her Majesty's government might take with effect to enforce due observance by Roumania of her treaty engagement with the signatory powers in reference to the treatment of the Jews in the principalities.

His Lordship considers that it would not be prudent or politic at the present time to invoke the suzerain power to enforce upon Roumania the provision of the constitution in regard to the Jews. It is moreover doubtful whether Russia would consent to join in a combined representation of this nature. Should she refuse to do so, matters would be placed in a worse position than they now are.

There are likewise grave objections to your suggestion that the powers should appoint and require Roumania to receive a joint high commission charged with the settlement of the question of the Jews. Such a commission would be powerless, unless, indeed, there stood on the frontier an armed force prepared to enter the country and support its awards and remain in occupation until the people become more civilized and the government more determined to enforce that which humanity requires.

I am, however, to add that Lord Granville would be willing again to invite the signatory powers to address a joint representation to Roumania with reference to the position of the Jews in the principalities, should it be ascertained that they would be inclined to agree to such a step. With this in view, instructions will be sent to Her Majesty's representatives to ascertain the feeling of the different governments.

18. Earl Granville's Instructions to British Consul General at Paris, May 14, 1872:

The persecutions to which the Jews in the principalities are continually exposed have recently been carried to such an extent that it appears to Her Majesty's government that the powers, parties to the treaty of 1856 and 1858, are called upon to interpose in a more solemn manner than they have hitherto done in order to bring before the government of Roumania the obligation imposed upon it by the fourth article of the convention of 1858, which, if duly observed, should assure to the Jews the same treatment and the same security for their lives and properties as are enjoyed by the other inhabitants of the principalities.

I have accordingly to request Your Excellency to bring this matter to the notice of the Austrian government and to ascertain whether they would be inclined to take part in a joint representation to the Roumanian government to that effect.

19. Reply of German Government to Granville's Circular:

In acknowledging the receipt of Your Lordship's despatch of the 14th instant, respecting the persecution of the Jews in Roumania, I can at once and before communicating with Prince Bismarck, who has left Berlin for Varrzin, inform Your Lordship that the German government will willingly take part in a joint representation to the Roumanian government in behalf of the Jews.

20. From Mr. Hammond's Second Note to Sir Francis Goldsmid:

In my letter to you of the 29th instand, I reported to your suggestions as to the course Her Majesty's government might take with reference to the treatment of the Jews in the principalities. I stated to you that it was doubtful whether Russia would consent to join in a common representation of such a nature, and I am now directed by Earl Granville to inform you that he has heard from Her Majesty's Ambassador at St. Petersburg that Russia has refused her consent.

21. O. Russell's Despatch Regarding Germany's Stand, May 24, 1872:

With reference to Your Lordship's despatch of the 15th instant, and to my despatch of the 18th instand, respecting the persecution of the Jews in Roumania, I now have the honour to inclose a copy of my note to M. de Thile, and of His Excellency's answer agreeing to Your Lordship's proposal.

M. de Thile tells me that he has also instructed Count Bernstorff to consult Your Lordship as to the best mode of proceeding in the matter.

The Russian and the Austrian governments, it appears, feel that a joint remonstrations might embarrass Prince Carol and his ministers, but the German government does not share this impression.

I have often had occasion to notice the deep indignation felt by members of Parliament and other Germans at the cruel treatment to which the Jews are exposed in Roumania, and which

was the subject of an animated debate on the 22nd instant in the German Parliament.

Mr. Bamberger presented a petition to Germany in favor of the Roumanian Jews, asking the house, in an able and eloquent speech, to invite the German government to advocate, if possible, at Bucharest, singly or jointly with other powers, the more efficient protection of the lives and properties of those unfortunate people.

The Deputies Miguel Windhorst, Lasker and Kuserau spoke in favor of that proposition, and Mr. Bamberger's motion was adopted by a large majority.

The course now proposed by Your Lordship to the German government will meet with universal sympathy.

22. Petition of London Society for the Promotion of Christianity

Among the Jews:

To the Right Honourable, the Earl Granville, K.G.P.C., Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State, for the Foreign Department.

We, the members of the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among the Jews, assembled at the annual meeting of the society in Exeter Hall, London, the President, the Right Honourable, the Earl of Shaftsbury, K.G., in the chair, appeal to Your Lordship, with an earnest request that Your Lordship would, in a spirit of Christian sympathy, exert your friendly office with the government of Roumania in order to impress upon them the duty and necessity of maintaining the civil rights of the Jewish people within their territory, and

of repressing the cruel and undeserved treatment of which they have been the victims. Your petitioners regard such interposition as the unquestionable duty of a Christian country.

23. Mr. Hammond's Reply to this Petition:

I am directed by Earl Granville to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, and I am to state to you in reply, for the information of the London Society for the Promotion of Christianity among Jews, that Her Majesty's government have continued and earnestly pressed the government of Roumania in favor of the Jews and will continue to do so whenever their interference can be properly called for and exercised in their behalf.

24. Lord A. Loftus, Consul General at St. Petersburg, to Earl Granville, May 22, 1872:

I waited yesterday on Prince Gortchakoff, and in conformity with your instructions I stated to His Highness that, in view of the continued persecutions to which the Jews were exposed in the principalities, Her Majesty's government were of the opinion that the powers, parties to the treaties of 1856 and 1858, were called upon to interpose in a more solemn manner than hereto in order to bring before the government of Roumania the obligation imposed upon it by the 46th article of the convention of 1858 which, if ~~it~~ observed, should assure to the Jews the same treatment and the same security for their lives and properties as enjoyed by the other

inhabitants of the principalities, and to inquire of His Highness whether the imperial government would be inclined to participate in a joint representation to the Roumanian government to the above effect.

Prince Gortchakoff first observed that there existed a great difference in the character and standing of the Jews in London and other European capitals and of those in the principalities. He has always favored religious toleration, and has been the prominent member of the Council of the Empire who has pleaded in behalf of the Jews. As a proof that there exists no prejudice against the Jewish community on the part of the imperial government, he might state that two Grand Crosses had just been conferred by the emperor on two members of the Rothschild family.

But there were two classes of Jews, and the favours and concessions which might be undeniably given to the distinguished Englishmen of that community could not with equal safety and prudence be conceded to the Jewish population in Eastern Europe.

His Highness observed that these classes were merely intended as a preface.

He then continued to state that when, by Your Lordship's instruction, I had invited the cooperation of the imperial government to urge upon the Roumanian government such precautions as might prevent any disorder between the Christians and the Jews at the Easter fêtes, he had at once accepted Your Lordship's invitation and had sent instructions to the Russian

consul at Bucharest in the sense referred to. Where the cause of humanity was concerned, the imperial government were ever ready to raise their voice.

But the imperial government had not been able to take part in the collective note lately addressed to the Roumanian government by the European consuls at Bucharest.

The outrage which had occurred at Ismail and which had given rise to the disorders there bore a much graver character than that of a mere robbery.

The altar of the church had been willfully profaned, and the sacred chalices had been treated with ignominy and contempt, thus evincing a willful outrage on religion, which amounted to an act of sacrilege. These were not exaggerated accusations, but were facts which had been proved on evidence.

The imperial government could not, therefore, participate in an official representation bearing on the circumstances referred to which might appear in the eyes of their coreligionists as if they viewed with indifference and apathy such a willful desecration; nor, observed His Highness, could they associate with a representation which passed over in silence these insults offered to their religion without an expression of disapproval or condemnation of such acts. It was on these grounds that the Russian consul has abstained from participating in the collective note.

With regard to Your Lordship's present invitation, Prince Gortchakoff said that the imperial government were not disposed to take part in a joint representation to the Roumanian government in the sense indicated by Your Lordship.

In the first place, His Highness observed that Article 46 of the convention of 1858 contained facultative as well as positive obligations; among the former were equal political rights, which could be granted only by local legislative measures.

His Highness further observed that in all justice and equity both parties ought to be heard and that before proceeding to any condemnation of the Roumanian government, an appeal should be addressed to them for information on the various incidents which had given rise to the disorders complained of.

His Highness, therefore, charged me to suggest to Your Lordship that Her Majesty's government might separately, in the first instance, address a direct appeal to the Roumanian government requesting that a strict inquiry should be made into all the circumstances which had caused the late disorders between the Christians and the Jews, reminding the Roumanian government of the provisions contained in the 46th article of the convention of 1858, and calling on them to provide for their strict fulfillment. This, in the opinion of His Highness, would be a more just and equitable course to pursue, than to address at once a joint representation of an accusatory nature, without having previously elicited an explanation from the Roumanian government or affording them an opportunity of repelling the accusation laid to their charge.

His Highness is further under the impression that any fresh collective step now being taken by the European powers without a previous appeal to the Roumanian government in the mode suggested by His Highness, which collective step must necessarily bear an accusatory character, might be attended with serious consequences to the position and authority of the prince which have already been reduced to a low ebb.

The result will be an encouragement afforded to the revolutionary party, which could neither be advantageous to the interests of the principalities, to the repose of Turkey, nor to the peace of Europe. (Signed)

Augustus Loftus

25. Lord Loftus to Earl Granville, May 23, 1872:

In my interview with Prince Gortchakoff on the Israelite question in Roumania, reported to Your Lordship in my previous despatch of yesterday, His Highness observed to me that the collective consular note addressed to the Roumanian government on April 18th had been likewise signed by the consul general of the United States and of Greece, neither of which states had been parties to the conventions of 1856 and 1858.

His Highness also read to me a despatch from the Russian consul general of Bucharest which reported that the Roumanian government felt themselves deeply aggrieved by the tone of accusation and censure addressed to them by the consular body, while they duly appreciated the abstention of the Russian government. From this report it would appear that the Roumanian

government did not intend to make any reply to the consular collective note directly to the consular body, but to address a circular to their agents abroad to be communicated by them to their several governments.

I observed to Prince Gortchakoff that Prince Charles had no accredited agents at foreign courts; no representation of such a nature could therefore be made or received. The chancellor fully assented to this, stating that he had himself declined to receive an official agent from the principalities.

I may observe to Your Lordship that there are several causes which induce Prince Gortchakoff to decline a joint representation to the Roumanian government as proposed by Your Lordship.

First, the Jewish community in Russia is subjected to very severe laws. Jews are allowed to reside only in towns, and can not become possessors of landed property. They are not allowed to settle in the country or become cultivators of the soil. They have not equal rights with the Russian citizens.

The Russian government are therefore restrained from urging on the principalities greater freedom for the Jews, being afraid that the same argument might recoil on themselves.

Then again, the Russian government are obliged to take into consideration the strong religious feeling which exists throughout the Empire in regard to the Orthodox church, and

more especially where the Jewish community may be suspected of offering an insult to it.

Lastly, I would observe to Your Lordship that Prince Gortchakoff is somewhat afraid of the consequences which might result from any collective action of a nature to humiliate or wound the susceptibilities of the Roumanian government and people.

26. Letter from Server Pasha to Musurus Pasha, Turkish Ambassador in London, in Reply to Inquiry of British Foreign Office:

Mr. Ambassador:

I received the telegram which Your Excellency was good enough to address to me on April 25th, transmitting to me the report of an interpellation made in the House of Commons on the subject of the persecution carried on against the Israelites in Moldo-Wallachia and in Serbia.

The incessant suffering of the Jews in the principalities did not fail to attract the most serious attention of the imperial government.

As soon as it had cognizance of the last act committed in Moldo-Wallachia, the Sublime Porte was eager to bring the matter before the prince through his agent at Constantinople. His Highness has transmitted that satisfactory assurance; but we expect that this will be given expression in fact.

Your Excellency knows equally well the acts of violence committed against the Jews by the Greeks in Smyrna and in the Island of Marmora. But thanks to the energetic measures immediately taken by the Sublime Porte, a perfect tranquillity reigns now in the two localities mentioned.

The inquiry of the affair goes on; a certain number of persons, more or less involved in the disorders, have already been arrested, and the courts of justice are not wanting in rigor in their proceeding against the guilty.

27. Costaforo's Circular to Roumanian Agents Abroad:

Bucharest, April 27, 1872

Mr. Agent:

The outrageous and impious crime committed in the latter part of the month of December, in the Cathedral of Ismail, and which has again excited popular passion against the Israelites as much at Ismail as at Wilcow and Cahul, came up for trial in the court of assizes of Buzeu, which has pronounced the sentence of five years' imprisonment on the principal author, Moise Samson, alias J. Silberman, and the Israelites Struhl Waisman, A. Praisman, Haim David, Goldschlager and Rabbi Alter Brandes, as accomplices, three years' prison each.

The government, who, after the beginning of the unfortunate affair, did not fail to take the most energetic measures to reestablish and maintain order and to prevent the recurrence of new aggressions in this circumstance after the court has done its part, came to give new proof of its sentiments of equity and conciliation to mitigate by the intervention of right of grace the rigorous effects of a desperate arrest.

Based on a report by the Minister of Justice, a copy of which is attached herewith, His Highness, the Prince, our

August Sovereign, has granted a pardon to two of the condemned, and has commuted the sentence of three others who could not be made to go through other than by reducing it to a plain correctional sentence. Only the principal author will have to serve the full sentence.

I now come to attract your attention, Mr. Agent, to serious matters of various natures which, based mostly on misleading information, have had the natural consequence of bringing into the foreground again the Jewish question destined, it seems, to assume each time, whenever it comes up, disquieting proportions for the safety of the country.

In fact, after some incident of whatever little importance gives the Jews residing in Roumania cause to complain, the newspapers become masters at once, exploiting, exaggerating, and brooding, and with the most false reports stir up the most fair-minded against the country and the government, winding up by having access even to the cabinets of the Great Powers.

This system has been going on for many years, and, notwithstanding the assurance given by the government, the unceasing efforts which have, since 1867, succeeded in establishing tranquillity among the Christian population with the Jews, some people do not hesitate to take advantage of every unfortunate circumstance to create a doubt as to the good faith of the government, and to demand foreign intervention to regulate the fate of the Israelites.

It is therefore necessary, Mr. Agent, first to establish the truth regarding what has happened lately at Ismail, as well as the general situation of the Israelites in Roumania. In this manner you will succeed in attracting the good will of the civilized Powers who, being better enlightened about our situation, will not fail, I firmly hope, to help us smooth out the difficulties which we want to avoid and which some do not stop creating, themselves.

Thus, without taking into consideration the just indignation which must have been produced, in all lands, above all among the lower classes of society, by the sacrilege committed in the Cathedral, and by the sacrilegious theft of the sacred objects, they have sought by all means, and in spite of the reiterated assurance of the government, to magnify in great proportions some devastations which have taken place as a result of the first outbreak of emotion and before the authorities were able to reestablish order. They saw in their regrettable acts -- but they could easily have explained them if they would have cared to study the circumstances in which the disorders were produced -- they saw a system of persecution against the Jews and they sought to hold the whole country responsible for a few disorderly local scenes provoked by an odious deed. It is therefore necessary not to permit to drag for a long time a question which in more than one repetition was able successfully to be invoked to the detriment of the country and of the Jewish population itself.

Even today, when everything has already returned to quiet, and when, by reason of the energetic measures taken by the government, the fear that new trouble will be reproduced on the occasion of the Easter holidays is completely removed; today, when we have the right to believe that the truth has finally been recognized by the evidence of established facts at the places, by the agents of the Powers themselves, that not one Jew was killed or wounded, that not one woman was violated, and that they had exaggerated the import of the damages caused; we see with pain that they have not yet decided to renounce the false measures they employ all the time to deceive public opinion, and that eminent people misled go so far as to believe that it will help the cause to expose in the very bosom of the foreign parliaments frightful pictures of persecution, of torture, of shameful attempts and other atrocities which have existed neither at Ismail, nor at Cahul, nor at Wilcow, where the trouble was.

We do not try to mitigate the gravity of the ill done, and we do not make the least illusion for ourselves as to the importance which the great powers attach to this Jewish question; but we also truly ask how a government inspired by the best intentions and which never ceases to give proof of the sincerity of its intentions could succeed in overcoming the difficulties by which it is surrounded when it has to battle against a system tending to exaggerate complaints without taking account of the causes that called them forth, and

seeking to forget the enormous difference there is between the Israelites of Occidental Europe and the Jewish popular agglomeration by hundreds of thousands which pretty nearly occupy exclusively many cities in Roumania.

We do not want to hide any more from you, Mr. Agent, the bad impression which the verdict of the acquittal of the accused at Buzeu produced on the princely government. But it is permitted to study the nature of this institution in the very midst of society in the most civilized countries from where we derived it; it is not hard to recognize that there always was cause to deplore the baneful influence of prejudice or passion in the verdicts of juries. The Roumanian government had more than once to regret this, and did not fail to present in the Chambers modifications in the jury law. We are convinced that the legislature will interest itself in the study and amelioration of this law in its next session.

There must also be taken into consideration the general excitement of the people after the profanation of the church and, above all, the fact as to where, after five days' search, they found the cross and the sacred articles, in the latrine of a house occupied by Jews, where they were thrown by the Israelites, A. Praisman and Haim David. This has been established and needs no more questioning.

If, after the great difficulties of a laborious inquiry which lasted for several months, judicial error could bring the accusation upon the rabbi and Goldschlager, whom the

principal culprit had denounced as accomplices and instigators of the crime; if the judgment of the jury, strangers to the shades of character which science has established between different persons cooperating in a crime, has viewed as accomplices those who have only received the stolen articles, the conclusion must not be drawn that there was only one culprit. The officially established facts, the confession of the culprits themselves, as detailed in the report of the minister of justice, the money stolen which was found in one of the sacred articles which was thrown into the latrine by two other Jews and found by the government agents, leave no doubt on the subject.

I recall the details, Mr. Agent, certainly not to excuse the action of the jury, but because it seems right to me to suppress the correlation between the acts committed and the disorders which followed. The public will be only half-enlightened if, by exaggerating the action of one, the moral importance of the main fact will be reduced to the simple question of figures.

I shall say no more, Mr. Agent, because I believe I have said enough on the principal points which you must develop and defend. There is no religious persecution in Roumania, and there never was. But there is comparatively a very great number of Jews which no other country has. The native commerce is entirely in Jewish hands.

The state of civilization of the Jews leaves a lot to be desired. It is to be hoped that the progress of time and

the efforts which the enlightened Israelites are making for the amelioration of the morals of their coreligionists will produce results.

As it is to be expected, they form a separate class, a veritable caste in the country in which they continue to seek a refuge in spite of the intolerance of which our nation was accused lately and which should be continued if it existed at all.

Pretending that their conduct is always correct, that they are only unfortunate and innocent victims of what some call persecution of Jews in Roumania, is not correct. Also the propaganda made by the Israelite press against the country and its government, and the incessant appeals to foreign intervention, do not seem to me a means of calming the ill; on the contrary, it irritates.

The present government has given proof of firmness in the grave circumstances through which it has gone since it came to power; it has not for a moment failed to observe its duty to be above all passion and all consideration of an empty and false popularity.

The Israelites, themselves, recognize this truth, and the more enlightened among them understand this truth perfectly, the difficulty of the situation and of how many obstacles we had to overcome in order to maintain the social equilibrium and to assure general tranquillity. It is therefore unnecessary to create a new obstacle for us, nor to

aggravate the question of intervention which can have the effect of weakening the action (of the government) and paralyzing its best intentions.

The gentlemen agents accredited to Bucharest, more than anybody else, are the ones who can enlighten their governments on the state of things in Roumania, and the line pursued by the present cabinet. We are therefore right in counting on their good will to come to our aid and surround us with their sympathies in the task which we have undertaken.

But contrary to this hope, the princely government is doubly surprised on seeing the collective act which the unaccustomed form and the comminatory text are not the key to encourage their efforts.

The act has appeared in all the papers, and we abstain from appreciating it. But we can not let pass in silence the attack which it carries to the dignity of power. What is more, this act is unfounded and less useful. As a matter of fact, the agents already know the energetic measures which the government, of its own initiative, has taken against the recurrence of disorders; and if they found it necessary to intervene in accordance with instructions received, they could at least spare us undeserved reproaches.

Even the delay in communication of which the signers of the act complain is justified, seeing that by my note of February 19th, last, I refrained from communicating to them the result of the inquiry, and not the investigation, as they say, which had as its scope informing the government of the

conduct of its employees. The inquiry of the trial having taken the time necessary for the hearing of several hundred witnesses, and not having been finished until lately, the government, necessarily, had to wait for the verdict in order to communicate to the agents the result of the entire inquiry and of the trial which is still before the court of assizes in Braila.

The present government has never failed in its duty to the representatives of the Powers; it had the right to expect at least the same respect from them.

In the face of journalistic facts which do not escape the eye of the agents, the ministry ought to be better sustained at the foreign cabinets; above all, in matters in which they struck against the hostile tendencies of those who, not having the choice of arms, never fear to borrow from the unpopularity of a situation the means of combat which they lack in the field of loyalty and truth.

The Messrs. agents of the great guarantor Powers who certainly have the right to attract the attention of the Roumanian government on questions of general interest with which the civilized world is preoccupied need not forget that, following certain acts precipitated and of which the rectitude, as much from the viewpoint of form as of merit, could escape their perspicacity, they have but to weigh their affairs and give courage to their instruction,...and thus thank us for having employed all new forces of wrestling which in the long run will only serve to weaken our energy.

28. Peixotto's Note on Emigration of Roumanian Jews to the United States:

A number of philanthropic citizens of the United States, deeply sympathizing with the sad condition of the Jews in the Orient, as much with their numerical situation as with their political, mental and social condition, have addressed a letter to me by which they propose to facilitate their emigration into the free and happy land where in a small degree of culture and education is nothing but a little of security and amelioration.

It is proposed to organize for that purpose a society of emigration and propagate it with the help of emigration philanthropies and government aid.

I was requested to inquire whether the government of His Highness would be willing to favor this proposition in what concerns the Jews of Roumania and whether some aid can be expected on the part of the legislative assemblies for its action.

In expectation of an answer shortly, etc.

29. Peixotto's Letter of Support and Appreciation of Green:

Bucharest, September 12, 1872

My dear Sir:

In reply to your note of this morning wherein you say, "As the Roumanian government maintains that no women were violated during the attack on the Jews at Cahul and Ismail, and as my recollections are that it was distinctly stated to me at the time that Jews were being badly subjected to the

most villainous outrages, I wish you could let me know whether you have any reliable evidence on this subject, because if you have, I shall not allow Her Majesty's Government to be misled by the bare assertions of Mr. Oslaf or anybody else," I beg to say that the statements you refer to were made to you at the time by Mr. Louis Goldenberg, one of Her Majesty's subjects, residing in Ismail, a gentleman of education and character, by his father, M. C. Goldenberg, and by M. Samily, one of the trustees of the Jewish community of Ismail. The same statements were made to me at the same time by the same gentlemen, and subsequently repeated by Mr. Friedman and many others from Ismail, and by the Messrs. Gold of Cahul.

I have since been confirmed in this statement by the mother, a widow, of two daughters, violated in Cahul, who called upon me in person, but refused to allow publicity of her name, as such would injure the future of her children; and by two other women from Ismail, one of whom is in the hospital in this city. In spite of the denials of the Roumanian government, I repeat in the most emphatic manner that not only these but at least ten other Jewish women were brutally violated.

Having dispensed nearly 40,000 francs for the relief of the sufferers (a part of this amount in connection with our esteemed colleague M. Baron Schlecter) of Ismail, Cahul, Wilcow and the small villages in Bessarabia in some of which even the soldiery enacted violence against women, as was the case in a small village near Cahul, I have had the very best

and most reliable means to ascertain all the facts connected with the outrage.

I need hardly tell you that Jewish women, praising above all preciousness their virtue, have been extremely reluctant to make confession; nor has this been elicited except upon the promise of inviolate secrecy respecting their names.

Up to this hour no restitution has been made to the sufferers; the rioters have not been punished, nor the least indemnity given; nor have the government sought to enlighten the public mind by the publication of the report of their own commission sent to Ismail, which report, wholly exculpating the Israelites and fixing the responsibility where it rightly belongs, would have relieved the government in foreign eyes and prevented the excitement which followed throughout Europe and the civilized world. I had the honour to tell the Prince and M. Costaforo at an early day (as you will remember my coming to you after these interviews) what would be the consequences of any trifling. They promised but did not perform and the result has befallen them today, and they have no one to reproach but themselves.

For your manly and independent judgment and action, and for the cooperation you have given from the first in vindicating the sacred principles of justice and humanity I beg you to accept the assurance of my lasting remembrance and most vivid esteem.

B. F. Peixotto

A P P E N D I X B

225 RESTRICTIVE LAWS AGAINST THE JEWS

APPENDIX B

225 RESTRICTIVE LAWS AGAINST THE JEWS

1) The penal code of December 2, 1864, which was amended in 1867, 1868, 1875, 1877 and 1902, excludes Jews from serving as jurors.

Article 259 reads: One can not serve as a juror as long as one does not enjoy citizenship and family rights.

2) The law of December 6, 1864, restricts Jews in their practice as attorneys at law. It provides:

Article 1: One can not practice as an attorney in the (lower) courts, in the courts of appeals and in the court of cassation if one is not a native Roumanian or naturalized citizen.

3) The law of October 25, 1865, excludes Jews from the profession of pharmacist.

4) The Constitution adopted under the law of 1866 contains the notorious Article 7, which made the Roumanian Jews aliens in their native land.

5) The election law of July 30, 1866, deprived the Jews of the right of participating in any election -- a right which they formerly enjoyed. It reads:

Article 17: In order to be qualified as an elector, one must be a native Roumanian, or must have been naturalized.

Article 23: In order to be elected Senator, one must be either a native Roumanian or a naturalized citizen.

6) The law of February 3, 1868, provides:

Article 1: In order to bid at public works (contracts), the bidder must show that he possesses political and civil rights. Only those aliens shall be exempt from the conditions of naturalized citizens who can prove that they are engineers, builders of roads and bridges, or are architects, also that they have practised their professions abroad in a satisfactory manner.

7) In the decree of October 16, 1869, regarding competitive examinations for license in pharmacy, the following was provided:

Article 1: The right to open a pharmacy will be granted only after competitive examination.

Article 2: Only Roumanians will be admitted to such competitive examinations. In the absence of Roumanians at the competitive examinations, aliens will also be admitted.

8) The law of December 15, 1869, for the admission of physicians to the government service, provides:

Article 1: All Roumanian physicians practising in the land will be admitted to competitive examination.

9) The law of February 6, 1872, provides that only Christian Roumanians may engage in the sale of tobacco.

10) The law of April 1, 1873, provides that only Roumanians may engage in the sale of alcoholic beverages in rural districts.

11) An ordinance of September 11, 1873, provides:

Article 2: Mayory circuit physicians will be appointed after competitive examination. Only Roumanian physicians will be admitted to such examination.

12) The law of September 11, 1873, provides that only Roumanians can obtain the title of chief medical examiner.

13) An ordinance of September 11, 1873, excludes Jewish physicians from competitive examination for appointment as circuit physicians. Only Roumanian physicians will be admitted.

14) The law of April 12, 1874, provides: Only Christian Roumanians or naturalized Christians may be promoted to the rank of lieutenant (and higher ranks).

15) The law of June 16, 1874, provides:

Article 31: Mayory circuit physicians will be appointed by the Minister of the Interior. Only Roumanian physicians will be admitted to such office.

Article 84: Up to 1878, alien pharmacists will also be admitted temporarily to the keeping of drug stores. But henceforth the right to keep such stores may be granted only where there are no Roumanian pharmacists available.

16) The law of 1875 amended the jury law of 1864, 1867 and 1868, excluding Jews from serving as jurors.

17) The law of 1877 amended the above law to the same effect.

18) The law of April 15, 1880, excludes Jews. It provides:

The governor, directors and the personnel of the Disconto Bank must be Christian Roumanians.

19) The law of April 7, 1881, provides:

Article 1: An alien residing or sojourning in the land, who is detrimental to the state, shall be detained in order to be deported.

20) The law of October 31, 1881, reenacted the restrictive law of December 25, 1868.

21) The law of March 17, 1882, provides restrictions as customs brokers and expeditors against Jews.

22) The law of April 19, 1882, excludes Jews from employment in the central administration office of the Minister of the Interior -- only Roumanian Christians are to be employed.

23) The law of April 21, 1882, excludes Jews from enrollment in the army as pharmacists, and as veterinarians with the rank of battalion physician -- only Christian Roumanians are eligible for that rank.

24) Under the law of July 4, 1882, brokers of the stock exchange, and their office help, and all other kinds of brokers, must be Christian Roumanians.

25) The law of November 21, 1882, excludes Jews from any military career.

26) In 1884 an amendment was made to the Constitution of July 1, 1866, which had been amended in 1879:

Article 7 of that law, paragraph 5, reads: Only Roumanians and naturalized Roumanians may acquire real property in Roumania.

Article 10: All Roumanians are equal before the law. Only Roumanians may hold public office. Aliens may be admitted to public office in exceptional cases, and only by a special law enacted for that purpose.

Article 65: In order to be elected to a public office, one must be a native Roumanian, or must have been naturalized.

27) Another law enacted in that year (1884) excludes Jewish lawyers from pleading before a justice of the peace court.

28) Another act of the legislature of that year made it unlawful for Jews to peddle their goods.

29) The law of 1886, which was subsequently amended in 1893, 1896, and 1898, contains the following provision:

Article 32: In order to be appointed to any branch of the sanitary service, one must be a citizen.

Article 82: Poor Roumanian citizens are entitled to free treatment in the communal hospitals of the state.

Article 83: Aliens may be admitted to these hospitals on payment only.

Article 84: The number of beds occupied by such aliens shall never exceed 10 per cent of the total number of beds in such hospitals.

Article 95: Physicians in the Eforia and in the Epitropia Generala shall be admitted only after a special examination held for this purpose. Only Roumanian physicians will be admitted to such examination.

Article 120: No one shall have the right or concession to run a drug store, unless the provisions of Article 130 are satisfied.

Article 123: The pharmacy concession can be granted to Roumanians only.

Article 124: Concessions are granted only to Roumanian druggists who possess the qualifications provided in Article 130.

Article 128: Existing druggists must have the following personnel: a responsible manager, and at least one Roumanian apprentice or assistant. An alien apprentice is permitted only to those who have only one alien apprentice.

Article 130: The pharmacy managers will be considered as such if they are Roumanian or naturalized citizens.

Article 131: Every assistant pharmacist working under a manager may also be licensed if he is an alien pharmacist.

30) The law of May 10, 1886, provides: Only Christian Roumanians may vote at the chambers of commerce and industry.

31) The law of May 16, 1886, provides that only Roumanians may be members of the chamber of commerce.

32) The law of June 4, 1886, provides that only Christian Roumanians may be registered as pharmacists and the like.

33) The law of June 24, 1886, forbids Jews to act as agents in the sale of property.

34) The law of July 15, 1886, provides:

Article 2: To qualify as a communal elector, one must be a native Roumanian or a naturalized citizen.

35) Regarding the collection of communal revenue, the law of February 20, 1887, provides:

Article 4: Farmers holding rural communal revenues (under contract) and their employees must be Roumanians or naturalized Roumanians.

Article 5: To qualify for judicial office or as an attaché thereof, one must be a Roumanian Christian.

36) An act passed in 1887 penalizes any Roumanian employing Jews in retail stores and on public works.

37) Another act passed by the legislature in that year forbids Jews to become members of life insurance companies.

38) Another act of the legislature of that year (1887) excludes Jews from important positions in the railway system.

39) The law of February 28, 1887, provides: Only Christian Roumanians may engage in the sale of government monopoly goods.

40) The law of May 12, 1887, provides: Six years after the establishment of a factory, two-thirds of the help must be Christian Roumanians.

41) The law of May 24, 1887, requires two-thirds of the personnel in factories to be Roumanians.

42) The law of March 28, 1889, limits the number of Jewish workmen to 40 per cent of the total number employed.

43) The law of April 19, 1892, provides:

Article 22: No one is eligible to any office in the central administration of the Minister of the Interior except Roumanian Christians.

44) The law of May 5, 1892, provides:

Article 16: To be eligible for the position of clerk, third class, in the postal telegraph service, one must be a Roumanian Christian or a naturalized citizen.

45) The law of June 22, 1892, treats of the organization of the rural postal service. It provides:

Article 6: To qualify for the position of rural letter carrier, the applicant must be a Roumanian Christian or a naturalized citizen.

46) The law of December 31, 1892, provides:

Article 43: Only Roumanians or naturalized citizens may be appointed to any office.

47) With reference to hospital interns the law of January 14, 1893, provides:

Article 12: Consultant physicians in the hospitals, in the dispensaries and in the department of infectious diseases must be Roumanian Christians.

48) The law of June 22, 1893, excludes aliens from the sanitary service. In order to qualify as midwife, the applicant must show an act of Roumanian nationality.

49) The law of September 29, 1893, in regard to rural gendarmerie, provides:

Article 19: The applicant must be a Roumanian (Christian) or naturalized.

50) The law of February 13, 1894, deals with the reorganization of the consular service. It provides:

Article 34: Excepting cases herein provided, no one may enter the service of the Minister of Foreign Affairs, except Roumanian Christians enjoying all political and civil rights.

51) The law of July 31, 1894, provides:

Article 67: To be eligible for communal service, one must comply with Article 22 and 23 of the order of the Minister of the Interior.

52) The law of September 1, 1894, provides:

Article 22: Only Christian Roumanians or naturalized citizens may be admitted to practice as veterinarians.

53) Another act passed by the legislature in that year (1894) forbids Jews to act as superintendents of estates.

54) The law of January 29, 1895, provides that only Roumanians may be employed as accountants.

55) The law of February 6, 1895, reads:

Article 7: Jews may also be admitted for treatment in the dispensaries (of St. Spiridon hospital) to the extent to which their sickness may be of interest to students; but only one-third of the beds may be available to them.

56) The law of March 18, 1895, provides:

Article 3: One must be a Roumanian Christian or naturalized citizen in order to open an employment agency. Aliens must have their papers for sojourn in order before opening such an office.

57) The law of May 1, 1895, provides: Only Christian Roumanians may open drug stores.

58) Under the law of May 23rd, of that year, public school instruction is obligatory and free for all Roumanians. Aliens, except those in the Dobruja, must pay a school tax. But in exceptional cases the Minister of Education may dispense with the tax.

59) The law of June 25, 1895, provides that only Christian Roumanians are eligible as accountants in the service of the Minister of the Interior.

60) The law of May 29, 1896, requires one to be a Christian in order to be admitted to the military school.

61) Under the law of June 6th, of that year, Jewish children are excluded from public schools, but they may be admitted on payment of a special tax.

62) The law of November 13th, of that year, limits to Christian Roumanians physicians or naturalized citizens to serve in institutions for the insane or in sanitariums.

63) The law of January 14, 1897, provides that interns at the Jassy hospital must be Christian Roumanians.

64) The law of February 28, 1897, forbids aliens to work in government factories.

65) The law of March 6th, of that year, limits the office of financial administrators to Roumanian Christians or naturalized citizens.

66) The law of March 23, 1898, excludes Jewish children from secondary and high schools.

67) The law of March 24th, of that year, makes intermediary high schools free for Christian Roumanians. After such children have been seated, alien sons may be admitted if seats are available, but they will have to pay a school tax. At the discretion of the Minister of Education, deserving poor students may be exempt from this tax. Only Christian Roumanians may be appointed professors or teachers.

68) The law of June 13, 1898, limits the examination for the office of examiner of rural physicians to Roumanians only.

69) The law of June 20, 1898, provides for the issuance of license to chemists by the university to Roumanians only.

70) Under the law of August 15, 1898, only Christian Roumanian native students, and such as were born after their parents were naturalized, are eligible as military medical interns.

71) Under the law of December 15, 1898, only Christian Roumanians may serve as professors in intermediary schools.

72) The law of February 6, 1899, excludes Jews: only Roumanians or naturalized citizens may serve in the state railways.

73) Under the law of March 31, 1899, Jews are excluded from agricultural and professional schools.

74) The law of February 18, 1900, decrees that only Christian Roumanians shall serve as court stenographers.

75) The law of March 11, 1900, demands of the candidate for the office of examining physician that he prove his history or the history of his naturalization.

76) The law of March 28, 1900, directs that operators and constructors of railways must employ 60 per cent of Christians in their works.

77) The law of March 29, 1900, is a repetition of the preceding.

78) The law of April 6, 1900, decrees that only Christian Roumanians may be members of press organizations.

79) Under the law of April 6, 1900, only Christian Roumanians may be employed in the bureau of the ministry of industry and commerce.

80) Under the law of April 7, 1900, only Christians may enter the sanitary service in the army.

81) The law of August 19, 1900, excludes Jews from administering state fisheries.

82) The law of November 29, 1900, provides that only Christian Roumanians or naturalized citizens may serve as marine mechanics.

83) Under the law of August 19, 1901, Jews are forbidden to act as foreign administrators.

84) The law of August 29, 1901, provides that trade schools are free for Roumanians. Alien sons may be enrolled after places are filled and pay a tax. But in no case shall the number of aliens admitted exceed one-fifth of the total number enrolled.

85) The penal code as amended in 1902 excludes Jews from serving as jurors.

86) The law of March 3, 1902, excludes Jewish workingmen from employment.

87) The law of March 5, 1902, provides: In all trade organizations, aliens (Jews) must show reciprocity treaties (with other Powers). (Roumanian Jews, not being able to show such treaty reciprocities, are therefore excluded from such organizations.) All artisans may organize, but 50 per cent of the membership must be Christian Roumanians. They must establish special and educational schools in which three-fourths of the pupils shall be Christian Roumanians. All citizens may participate in the general meetings. Only Roumanian Christian citizens may serve on the board; all committee members must be Christian Roumanians. Such Roumanians shall be given preference in all state undertakings, even if they charge 5 per cent above the price obtainable. The bond required may be half the amount called for. Restrictions against aliens are to be enforced.

88) The law of March 17, 1902, provides that aliens of countries having reciprocity treaties may engage in any business or profession.

89) Under the law of March 23, 1903, administrators, directors and liquidators in rural banks must be Christian Roumanians.

90) Under the law of April 1, 1903, only Christian Roumanians may serve in the police.

91) The law of June 20, 1903, provides that only Christian Roumanians may serve as state troopers.

92) The law of August 1, 1903, excludes Jews from commercial schools.

93) Another law of the same date imposes payment for tuition on alien pupils in the school of economics.

94) The law of August 14, 1903, prohibits adult Jews from enrolling in any profession.

95) The law of August 26, 1903, provides: Applicants for enrollment in the internal school for girls must show certificates of naturalization.

96) Under the law of February 11, 1904, only Roumanians may teach in the girls' school for literature and science.

97) The law of February 22, 1904, requires professors, teachers and lecturers to be Christian Roumanians.

98) Under the law, instruction in the elementary schools is for Christian Roumanians only. Aliens may be admitted if there be room, but they must pay sixty lei annually for tuition. By reason of that tax, aliens may receive only theoretical and practical instruction; maintenance and school accessories (which other children receive) must be provided by their parents.

99) The law of May 1, 1904, in regard to rural communities, provides:

Article 5: Before settling in a rural community, aliens must obtain authorization from the local council. This may be obtained on producing documentary proof from the authorities of the community where the applicant had previously resided, showing his good record, that he has fulfilled military service, was never convicted of any crime, and has a trade, or possesses a capital of 1,000 lei. All this must be reported to the prefect of the district, and subject to his decision; the council may then take action. Only Christian Roumanians may hold communal office.

100) The law of May 9, 1904, provides; In places where there is no bourse, Christian Roumanians may act as brokers, authority for which the local authorities will grant. In order to qualify as arbitrator, mediator, and the like, one must be a Christian Roumanian.

101) The law of May 23, 1904, provides as follows: Alien sons of the commercial high school shall be seated in the last benches (in the rear), and shall pay an annual tax of 150 lei.

102) Under the law of June 1, 1904, frontier guards taken from the army ranks must be Christian Roumanians.

103) The law of June 3, 1904, provides: Every Christian Roumanian is eligible for promotion in the schools. Aliens may be admitted to half of the seats.

104) Another act, under the same date, forbids Jews to engage in arts and in trades.

105) The law of June 10, 1904, contains restrictions against Jews too numerous to be recited here.

106) Under the law of July 4, 1904, sanitary inspectors must be Christian Roumanians.

107) The law of August 20, 1904, provides: Christian Roumanian sons in the school of commerce shall have preference to seats. Aliens must pay a tax and occupy the last seats.

108) An ordinance of November 20, 1904, reads as follows:

Article 16: The headmidwife of the Institute "Maternitate" will be appointed from among Christian Roumanian midwives.

Article 17: The midwife must be a graduate. In the absence of such, other midwives may be temporarily employed. In such cases, a Christian, not an alien, must be preferred.

109) An act of April 10, 1905, excludes Jews from serving in the police force. Only Christian Roumanians are eligible.

110) Under a law of that same date, only Roumanian Christians are eligible for any office in any organization.

111) Under an act of August 13, 1905, Jews are restricted in attendance at the Gymnasium at Craiova. Only Christians are admitted there.

112) Another act of that date applies to sons of army men at Jassy.

113) The law of August 14, 1905, decrees that only Christians are to be admitted to the military school for infantry and cavalry.

114) The law of September 6, 1905, prescribes that Roumanian sons in the secondary schools shall pay thirty and fifty lei per course; aliens shall pay sixty and ninety lei.

115) Under the law of December 4, 1905, the personnel of maritime vessels must pass an examination before being admitted to service, and must be Christian Roumanians.

116) Under the law of December 11, 1905, one must be a Christian Roumanian in order to open a pharmacy.

117) Under the law of March 5, 1906, Jews are restricted against military advancement in the army.

118) Under an act of March 6, 1906, only Christian Roumanians may enlist and advance in the army.

119) The law of March 17, 1906, requires the secretary and inspectors of the Board of Trade to be Christian Roumanians.

120) The law of April 25, 1906, requires captains, inferior sailors, officers, coal masters and coal feeders and oilers in seagoing vessels to be Christian Roumanians.

121) The law of April 29, 1906, requires every applicant for admission to a military school to produce birth, baptismal and naturalization certificates.

122) Under the law of May 21, 1906, only Christian Roumanians may be admitted to the high schools of art and trades; in their absence, aliens may be admitted. Roumanians shall receive instruction free; aliens shall pay a tax, and shall be admitted only as externs.

123) The law of June 7, 1906, provides that before an applicant can be admitted to the military school of artillery, he

must produce a certificate from the local mayor, showing Roumanian Christian nationality.

124) Under the law of August 2, 1906, aliens may be admitted to the school of bridges and road building, but only as externs.

125) The law of February 17, 1907, requires the "Board of High Commerce" to consist of sixteen members, all of whom must be Christian Roumanians.

126) The law of February 21, 1907, requires vessels sailing under the Roumanian flag to have one-third of their deck personnel Christian Roumanians.

127) The law of February 22, 1907, excludes Jews from the Culture League -- only Roumanians may be members.

128) The law of March 13, 1907, excludes Jews and permits only Christian Roumanians or naturalized citizens to practise law.

129) Under that law, lawyers' secretaries also are required to be Christian Roumanians.

130) The law of April 12, 1907, requires the officers of commercial organizations to be Christian Roumanians.

131) The law of June 6, 1907, provides: The applicant seeking admission to the military school at Jassy must be of Christian parentage, prove that he is a Christian, and obtain the consent of the Minister of War.

132) The law of June 15, 1907, creates two categories of persons to be admitted to the Grigory Ghica school of midwives;

interns and externs. The latter may be of Austrian nationality, the rest must be Roumanians.

133) The law of June 20, 1907, requires the applicant for admission to the examination for military engineer to produce a certificate from the mayor showing Christian descent, a biographical sketch, giving the name, grade (station), religion and nationality.

134) A ministerial decree of July 18, 1907, requires the applicant for admission to examination for the military school at Jassy to produce a certificate of baptism, an act of naturalization, giving date and place of birth, religion and naturalization certificate of the parent.

135) The law of August 19, 1907, leaves to the discretion of the Minister of Education to appoint aliens as teachers of foreign languages. But only in their own language. (This excludes Jews, who are restricted against teaching in a language not their own.)

136) The law of October 6, 1907, permits the admission of aliens to the conservatory school of music -- whenever there will be available room.

137) A ministerial decree of October 18, 1907, requires the applicant for enrollment in the military or marine school to show that his parent was naturalized or is a native Roumanian Christian.

138) The law of November 10, 1907, requires that rural midwives must be Christian Roumanians and of agrarian parents.

139) The law of November 29, 1907, permits the appointment of only Christian Roumanians as teachers in boys' schools and in commercial schools.

140) The law of March 7, 1908, requires all the personnel in corporations dealing in alcoholic beverages to be Christian Roumanians. Also tavern keepers, their managers, and servants must be Christian Roumanians.

141) The law of March 22, 1908, requires wholesale dealers in alcoholic beverages in rural districts to be Christian Roumanians.

142) Under the law of March 25, 1908, sergeants, corporals, and brigadiers of the rural gendarmerie must be Christian Roumanians.

143) The law of April 1, 1908, makes all Roumanian inhabitants subject to military service. Only Christian Roumanians may obtain the rank of lieutenant.

144) The law of April 4, 1908, permits only Christian Roumanians to be stockholders in rural banks.

145) The law of April 25, 1908, restricts Jewish children visiting parks.

146) Another law enacted on the same date permits aliens to be admitted to the school of Beaux Arts.

147) The law of April 29, 1908, places the control of aliens under the jurisdiction of rural authorities.

148) The law of May 9, 1908, restricts advancement in the army to the rank of sub (second) lieutenant to those who can

show a baptismal certificate and that they are of Christian descent.

149) The law of May 17, 1908, requires separate lists to be kept of Christian Roumanian interns, and that preference shall always be given to Christian Roumanians.

150) The law of May 18, 1908, requires the executive board of rural banks to consist of Christian Roumanians; directors and their assistants must also be native Christian Roumanians.

151) The law of May 23, 1908, contains similar restrictions against Jews.

152) The law of May 29th of that year requires the applicant for the office of regional administrator to produce documentary proof of his Roumanian nationality, and of his enjoyment of political rights.

153) Another law of the same date requires every army officer, and young men seeking such career, to be Roumanians (Christians).

154) The law of June 1, 1908, restricts the obtaining of any military construction work to Christian Roumanians only.

155) Another law enacted in that month requires every applicant for the position of teacher in a trade school to show his Roumanian origin.

156) The law of August 6, 1908, requires applicants for admission to medical institute to produce a certificate from the mayor of his locality in regard to the nationality of his parent, etc.

157) The law of September 3, 1908, restricts the conduct of a school for notaries to Christian Roumanians only.

158) The law of September 4, 1908, permits "alien" children to be admitted to public schools on payment of a tax. Christian children from abroad are to be admitted free. Roumanian Christian children possessing school certificates of attendance of the previous year will be accepted. "Alien" children can be admitted only up to October 15th.

159) A ministerial decree of September 17, 1908, permits "aliens" to be admitted to the conservatory of music, if there be room available.

160) Under the law of September 18th, of that year, alien children may be admitted to the rural schools, if there be room for them, and on payment of a tax. Roumanian children from abroad are to be admitted free. Certificates of previous school attendance will be accepted from Christian pupils, but not from aliens.

161) The law of October 8, 1908, restricts the obtaining of a license as a geometrical measurer to Christian Roumanians only.

162) The law of November 1, 1908 provides: Any applicant for examination to be admitted to the officers corps must show his nationality, proof of his baptism, etc.

163) The law of December 30, 1908, provides: Within three days after the opening of the school of commerce, aliens must produce tax receipts. The son of every alien must pay 150 lei annually as a school tax.

164) The law of March 24, 1909, excludes Jews from holding judiciary office. Only Christian Roumanians may hold judiciary office or be eligible to the staff of that office.

165) The law of March 28, 1909, restricts the office of the Minister of Agriculture to the employment of Christian Roumanians in that office.

166) The law of April 5th of that year decrees that only Christian Roumanians may be employed in commercial and industrial organizations.

167) The law of April 18, 1909, provides that only Christian Roumanians may run a bath house.

168) Another law of that date prescribes matters dealing with the petroleum industry to be conveyed at auction and to Christian stockholders.

169) The law of May 12, 1909, directs the Minister (of Education) to grant stipends to Christian Roumanian students attending the school of Beaux Arts.

170) The law of May 24, 1909, says: Only Christian Roumanians may compete for a stipend in the examination at the faculty of literature at Bucharest. Young Christian Roumanians from abroad may also be admitted.

171) Another act of that date provides: Only Christian Roumanians may receive stipends at the faculty of science in Bucharest and at Jassy.

172) The law of May 25, 1909, provides that all executive members in the financial administration must be Roumanian Christians.

173) The law of June 4, 1909, provides that Christian Roumanians shall be admitted free to the veterinary high school. Aliens may be admitted whenever there be room. Master horse-shoers must be Christian Roumanians.

174) The law of June 9, 1909, provides: Pupils in girls' trade schools shall be enrolled as follows: Christian Roumanians first; one-fifth of the total enrollment shall be alien pupils, who must pay a school tax. Deserving alien pupils may be admitted free.

175) The law of June 12th of that year decrees that teachers in kindergarden schools must be Christian Roumanians.

176) Another law enacted at that session restricts Jewish children in parks.

177) A ministerial decree of June 24, 1909, decides that Roumanian Christian children from abroad and the children of naturalized parents may be admitted free to the normal school.

178) The law of July 3, 1909, provides: To be admitted to the marine school, the applicant must show the nationality of his parents.

179) The law of August 2, 1909, restricts admission to the Craiova school to Roumanian Christians only.

180) The law of August 14, 1909, decrees as follows: Within three days after the enrollment list in the elementary trade school is made up, alien pupils must show their school tax receipts. Such pupils shall occupy the last bench.

181) The law of September 4, 1909, requires alien veterinary students to pay a tuition fee of 100 lei per annum.

182) The law of October 3, 1909 provides: Deserving and poor Christian students at the school of Beaux Arts shall receive a stipend.

183) The law of October 8, 1909, excludes Jews: Prison keepers must be Christian Roumanians.

184) Under the law of November 24, 1909, interns and externs who are to serve at the hospital St. Spiridon must be Christian Roumanians.

185) The law of December 20, 1909, decrees that Christian Roumanian artisans shall establish a trade board.

186) Under the law of January 30, 1910, only Christians may enroll in the military school.

187) In the law of February 12, 1910: The same provision is made as in the preceding law.

188) The law of February 24, 1910, permits only Christian youths to enroll in the army geographical school.

189) The law of April 15, 1910, excludes Jews, and only Christian Roumanians may be administrators, directors and liquidators in the people's bank.

190) Another law enacted on that date permits only Christian Roumanians to serve on Roumanian railways.

191) The law of April 16th, of that year, directs that candidates for examination in the highway service must be Christian Roumanians.

192) Another law enacted on that date provides that the personnel in the metric system must be Christian Roumanians.

193) The law of May 16, 1910, restricts the sale of government-built houses to Christian Roumanians.

194) Under the law of November 17th, of that year, instruction in the horseshoeing school is given free to Christians. Aliens must pay fifty lei.

195) The law of December 20, 1910, excludes Jewish physicians from the sanitary service.

196) The law of January 1, 1911, excludes Jews from serving as gendarmes. Only Roumanian Christians may serve.

197) Under the law of February 4th, of that year, only Christian Roumanians may enroll in the civil service organization.

198) The law of April 20, 1911, excludes Jews from acting as custom brokers at Bucharest and at Jassy. Only Christian Roumanians may act as such.

199) The law of July 31st, of that year, excludes Jews from the government service as physicians; only Roumanian Christians may be admitted to examination for such position.

200) A ministerial decree of August 12, 1911, excludes Jews from service as civil employees in the office of the Minister of War -- they must be Christians.

201) The law of September 11th, of that year, excludes Jews from work in the marine arsenal -- only Christians may work there.

202) The law of January 19, 1912, restricts enrollment in the military schools to Christians only.

203) Under the law of January 27, 1912, Jews are excluded from serving at the St. Spiridon hospital at Jassy either as physicians or as midwives. Only Christian Roumanians may serve as such.

204) Another law of that date provides: Every workingmen's organization shall be managed by a committee of three, each of them enjoying political and civil rights. By this act Jews who enjoy no such rights are excluded.

205) On the same date another law was enacted, which provides: In every enterprise of state, district, communal or other civil or military organization, involving no more than the sum of 30,000 lei, preference shall be given to Christian Roumanians, even when their bid be higher than those of others. Such Roumanian bidders shall be permitted to furnish half the amount of security required. All delegates and executives of such bidders must be Christian Roumanians.

206) The law of February 2, 1912, provides: Administrators of the Brancoveanu foundation must prove their Roumanian origin or naturalization; only Christian Roumanian citizens will be admitted to the examination. In order to be admitted to be examined as intern, student, nurse or clerk, in the pharmacy, one must be a Christian Roumanian.

207) The law of March 13, 1912, excludes Jews from the veterinary, medicine and pharmacy profession. It provides: Christian Roumanians may enroll to study medicine, for the veterinary profession and for pharmacy in the army up to the age of twenty-nine. The applicant will be examined for military

medical instruction among Christian students. The same also for veterinary and pharmacy.

208) The law of March 18, 1912, provides: Christian Roumanian sons and daughters shall be admitted free as interns in schools. Aliens may be admitted if there be room, and shall pay forty lei the first year and fifty per annum for the second, third and fourth years.

209) According to the law of March 20, 1912, all frontier guards must be Christians.

210) Another law of that same date provides: All industrial establishments must be Roumanian.

211) Another act of the same date (March 20, 1912) excludes Jews from the bureau of weights and measures -- the personnel of this bureau must be Christian Roumanians.

212) On that same date was enacted another law excluding Jews from the sale of monopoly articles: Only Christian Roumanians can obtain licenses to sell them.

213) The law of March 24, 1912, provides that medical intern Christian Roumanian students shall receive stipends.

214) The law of March 31st, of that year, provides: Passports issued to Roumanians and to non-Roumanian citizens entitle the holder to protection. Christian Roumanians residing within fifteen kilometers of the boundary line shall receive five-day passes to enable them to cross the line.

215) Public schools, under the law of May 5, 1912, are free for blind Christian children. Those of non-Roumanians are admitted on payment of the school tax. Teachers for schools for the blind must be taken from among blind Christian Roumanians.

216) According to the law of July 12, 1912, midwives and interns for the Grigory Ghica Institution shall be recruited from among Christian Roumanian externates, and may be of foreign origin (as long as they are not Jews).

217) Applicants for examination for admission to the Laboratory of Hygiene, under the law of October 17, 1912, must prove their citizenship (which Jews do not have).

218) The law of March 10, 1913, excludes Jews from the re-organization of state finances. Only Christian Roumanians may be admitted.

219) Under the law of March 12th, of that year, Jews are excluded from the postal telegraph service, which is a government monopoly. Those employed in this service must be Christian Roumanians.

220) In order to obtain a concession at a railway station, the law of March 14, 1913 says, one must be a Christian Roumanian.

221) The law of March 22nd, of that year, demands that members of the Roumanian writers' organization be Christian Roumanians.

222) The law of June 14th, of that year, provides: Brokers of the stock exchange must be in the proportion of three to two, or five to three, Christian Roumanians. Only Christian Roumanians may be brokers. The syndicus of the bourse shall be elected by licensed brokers. The board of arbitration shall be elected every three years; ten to thirty of its members shall

be Christian Roumanians. In such localities in which markets are held at fixed times, no one may sell or buy goods on the streets, in taverns, in hotels, and on the highways, within a radius of five kilometers. (This is especially aimed against the Jews, who do business on those market days almost exclusively, either as principal buyers, sellers, or as intermediaries.)

223) Under the law of July 14, 1913, Jews are excluded from the postal telegraph school. Only Christian Roumanians may attend. The lower grade personnel must be Christian Roumanians.

224) The law of August 2, 1913, requires that the conduct of any kind of bourse or market shall be by a commission consisting of three Christian Roumanians.

225) Under the law of August 17, 1913, restaurant owners and technicians of food, and manufacturers of perfumes, must be Christian Roumanians.

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APPENDIX C

NAPOLEON TO CAROL, 1867

Immediately after the accession to the throne by Carol 1st, in 1866, and with Bratiano coming to power, hostility against the Jews in Roumania was manifested and excesses were committed against them. The European press was bewildered and the Chancelleries tried to understand that Roumanian mentality. Napoleon 3rd of France was moved and he addressed the following note to the Roumanian prince:

"I must not leave your Highness in ignorance of the public feeling created here by the persecution of which the Jews of Moldavia are said to be the victims. I cannot believe that the enlightened government of your Highness authorizes measures so opposed to humanity and civilization."

To this Carol replied as follows:

"Your Majesty may rest assured that I am not less solicitous for the Jewish inhabitants than your Majesty. The measures which the government has thought necessary to take are not exceptional and are a matter of common law. I shall, moreover, institute a strict inquiry to ascertain whether the subaltern officials have exceeded their instructions. Those (found) guilty will be punished with the utmost rigor of the law. (Kremnitz, Maria, Charlotte Von Bardeleben, London-New York, 1879, page 147).

Prince Antoine, Carol's father in Germany was also annoyed by the conditions which his newly elected son had to face, and he wrote to his son under date of May 21, 1868, as follows:

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"The Jewish question has reached a stage which attracts the rapt attention of the whole of Europe. It is a most unfortunate episode in the otherwise peaceful development of Roumanian internal economy and is at the same time a great danger to the Dynasty. I have already pointed out that all Jewish affairs "noli ne tangere". This fact is a symptom of European weakness; but since it is a fact, it must be accepted. Nothing can be done as the whole press of Europe is controlled by the Jewish financial powers. In one word, the moneyed Judaism is a great power whose favor may have the most advantageous effect, but whose opposition is dangerous. From every side, from all corners and ends of the earth a cry of horror arose in unison about the Bacau incident, and nothing, not even the official denial, could mitigate the impression created by these incidents. It seems to me that Bratiano has not shown sufficient energy in this question and is inclined to stake too much"

"Innumerable petitions have reached me from all parts imploring my support in this most unfortunate Jewish affair. The Alliance Israelite (Cremieux), Paris has made most of the noise. This cannot be altered and you have gained nothing but increased experience". (idem p. 150).

Shortly after that Prince Carol wrote his father as follows:

"The newspapers accuse me again of persecuting the Jews because the recent license law forbids a Jew to keep a public house in a village. This is a reasonable measure, and we

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are determined to repel any representation or intervention in this matter. One must know the villages of Moldavia to be able to judge the noxious influence exerted on the rural population by the Jew with his adulterated brandy. In Poland and in Hungary the Jew is to this day forbidden to keep a village public house - and very rightly too. On the other hand, it is a pity that Roumania has excluded the Jews from holding licenses for the sale of tobacco, as they will now become the most arrant smugglers". (idem p. 153)

Emperor William 1st was considerably interested in what was going on in Roumania under Carol. After the riots of Ismail in 1872 the Emperor in a letter to Carol, touching upon the verdict of the Jury that convicted innocent Jews of a crime they had not committed, the Emperor wrote:

"The Jewish question was then discussed (with Minister Mavrogheni). It is a hard task to have to side with a race of men whose character I know only too well from the Russian Poles. Although in the most examples of guilt of the Jews according to your own government's showing the crime was not at all as heinous as it appeared at first; still the punishment was severe, and some show of mercy would certainly be advisable. On the other hand, it must be regretted that the repression of riots and Jew-baiting was not employed quickly or effectively enough. This, of course, creates the impression abroad that the internal politics of Roumania are not yet stable, and you will never eradicate this impression until you will have created a well organized, disciplined army able to enforce obedience to the order of the government....." (ibid. p. 172-3).

After the Congress of Berlin when Roumania had won her independence and was now seeking recognition by the powers, Prince Antoine wrote to his son Carol in February, 1879, as follows:

"In spite of the completed cessation of Bessarabia, Russia still appears to be hostile to you, and the remainder of Europe, including the German Empire, does not take a resolute attitude against that power. Every step taken by Roumania, conscious of her achieved independence, is hindered and opposed. It would be desirable to put an end to your ominous Jewish question, if only to remove every pretext from the powers".

A few months later the Prince wrote to his son as follows:

"There is nothing left for you but to carry through the Jewish question 'a tant prix' in spite of all the antipathies of the populace, and regardless of the mischievous nature of the whole measure". (p. 331).

To this Carol replied:

"In the event of an unsatisfied solution (to the Jewish question) they are determined in Berlin to intervene by means of a collective note which will dictate to us what rights we are to concede to the Jews. Such a step would of course arouse national sentiment, and only further increase resistance; but this might become a great danger to the country, apart from the humiliation which it includes. The question whether execution would follow intervention and what shape the execution would take? Italy contents its desire for the removal of article 7 of the constitution and likewise England with the natural assistance of a few Jews. Waddington, however, demands a radical solution, and Berlin insists on the repurchase

of the railways under the conditions imposed by her bankers. The German Chancellor is opposed to us and all the good will of the Emperor is of no avail ". (ibid. p. 332).

In the summer of 1879, Carol wrote to Farhi:

"Whilst the country considers me a defender of the rights of the Jews, the foreign powers complain that I do not champion with sufficient force ^{the} one path which can lead me to my goal and that is laid to me by the constitution" (ibid, P. 338).

In July 24, 1879, Prince Antoine wrote his son that Emperor William did not share Bismark's views in regard to the Jewish question.

In his letter to the Empress, Emperor William wrote in July 25, 1879.

"..... I have explained the attitude which I have adopted in regard to the Jewish question. I commission you to communicate this most exactly, and I also add that I think Charles of Roumania and his ministers which has just been changed should accept this method."

"You will remember that I always took the part of the Roumanian government whenever difficulties arose between Christians and Jews, while England invariably took the opposite side because she sees a refined Rothschild in every Jew". idem p. 341)

A P P E N D I X D

COGALNICEANU'S ADDRESS IN PARLIAMENT ~~IN 1857~~

COGALNICEANU'S ADDRESS IN PARLIAMENT IN 1857:

There is nothing so beautiful as to die for the principle and right. This means that we must be just to the children of Roumania. This is the most important part of the project (of a bill); because this alone can restore tranquillity to the country, and only reciprocal sentiments of affection can unite all elements in the country. Gentlemen, to me every child in the land, every indigen, is Roumanian. I am not disturbed by the manner in which they (the Jews) worship God. I hold strictly to my idea and I believe that it will triumph. I believe that the day will come when religion in Roumania will no more be a cause to expel any citizen; that the day will come when we will all be Roumanians in our dear Roumania.

I understand that those who yesterday were of the alien class can not become indigens by a wave of the hand.

As for the humble, for the Armenians, I fully agree with M. Sturza. I have political rights neither for the one nor for the other, and I say to the one and to the other:

If you are Armenian, you have nothing to do with the affairs of the Roumanian nation. Today, when the sun begins to shine for Roumania, its rays need not shine or warm, except its sons -- only those who have endured torture and tempest. Those who have not shared our pains, and found refuge under a foreign flag, in my opinion, can not be indigens.

The Organic Law says: Only those of orthodox religion may enjoy political rights. Need you be told who inserted these words? You can guess that it was no other than those who had an interest of their own in the question; these were Greeks and Russians who, until now, have had a monopoly of naturalization in our country. The nation is a creation of the modern world; a nation is not born and is not made, except where there is unity.

This grand idea ought to make us wish to see our land united. But neither our unity, nor our action will ever materialize as long as we have on our soil groups of inhabitants whom we keep away from us, depriving them of the fruits and of the rights which the land gives its children. Exclusion from rights can only create different interests, followed by hate, and bring discord. But we want to be one people, pursuing one goal -- the consolidation of the Roumanian people. Only the suppression of differences among us can bring harmony among us, and only harmony will give the nation power, and only power will create a real national unity among us. But harmony can exist only where there is equality.

History, gentlemen, shows us how dangerous it is to distinguish the inhabitants of a country, one from another, on account of religion.

This error was the cause of the loss of this country. But, say the opposition, by granting rights to Catholics we will remove the only bar that protects our nationality; the

aliens will overrun us, and our nation will disappear. Is this right to-day, in the century of justice and truth, that we should have to fear the death of our Roumanian nationality? To-day, when she has received the most holy consecration? To-day, when the principalities have been placed under European protection? By what rule of justice do we come to-day to declare that political rights can be accorded to orthodox alone, and deprive of the same rights indigenous inhabitants belonging to another Christian rite, and make them aliens in their country? I said that the orthodox religion to which one must belong will be an obstacle, and that only the Organic Law which we unceasingly deny would have decreed such an exclusion. But we must remind ourselves that in the past we have proclaimed liberty of cults, that a great part of the Organic Law wants us to destroy it; it did not intend that we apply it to every law which is against the spirit of civilization with which a people has started upward. We must recall that, only a few days since, we declared equality before the law, but what kind of equality will that be which is given to one and refused to another?

We are confronted by two classes. But the national bond alone is the strongest bond that can establish equilibrium and suppress antagonism. The third estate which must wholly rest in the nation does not exist at all, especially in Moldavia. Our markets are simply overwhelmed by Jews, and by a small number of strangers of different Christian faiths.

All the commerce in the markets and in the rural districts is in the hands of Jews, three-fourths of whom are foreign subjects. Please note, gentlemen, that the election law, in the regime under which you were convoked, entitles the markets to twenty deputies, that is to say, representatives of the middle class. Well, we have only one deputy merchant from Focshani, and four physicians who are also boyars.

Where is our middle class? We have none, and our duty is to have it. By adopting the bill drafted by the (constituant) commission we can have it. But let us do so by naturalizing all those aliens who have been living with us for a long time, who by their labor, their interest, their language, by the very love they have for our country, have really become indigen, do not swerve, and have been absolutely prevented by the Organic Law from becoming Roumanian citizens. And I do not believe that without this we shall ever be able to obtain a middle class.

In his description of Moldavia, Cantemir said, 140 years ago: "The alien merchants, Turks, Jews, Armenians, Greeks, have taken all the Moldavian commerce into their hands, as a result of our compatriots. But since the richest of them could not hold rural property, or own houses in Moldavia, the greater part of their fortunes left the country, and very little came back from beyond the Danube."

Once more, gentlemen, I beg you to think of the outside effect, to think of what Europe will say, to think of the future. What a sorrowful aspect we shall offer to Catholic

and Protestant Europe, which has done so much for Roumania, if we vote against the principle of point 9! O, gentlemen, I wish I possessed the eloquence to convince you how important it is for us to be just toward all the children of Roumania! We must know that in order to deserve liberty, we must first respect it in others, because in order to be able to enjoy rights, we must not begin by depriving others.

Open your books and read Articles 15 and 18 of the conference of the constitution which read: "Strangers can possess land in Moldavia and in Wallachia, on condition that they discharge the same obligations as indigenous inhabitants, and subject themselves to the law of the land. Therefore, all classes of the population, without distinction of birth or religion, will enjoy all civil rights, but the enjoyment of political rights will not be granted to indigens who are subjects of foreign protection."

And I ask myself: These articles unanimously inserted by the seven powers, do they not have to serve us as a compass in their future application? Those conferences have no more force, you may say. Truthfully speaking, no, in respect to these unmodified political provisions, but with respect to our internal organization. I believe that we will undoubtedly remain as we are now and time will prove it, because these points were fixed by the great powers which, about two years ago, forced the Sublime Porte to issue a solemn edict by which it granted the same rights to all its subjects, no matter of what station or creed.

Following this act, we have seen the Greek Orthodox Patriarch, the Catholic bishop, the Armenian bishop, and the great rabbis sit side by side with the Sheik-ul-Islam in the imperial councils. As a result of this act, we have seen high notables of all faiths entrusted with high functions of the empire.

If we look at other great states, we see that in Austria and in Prussia the same rights are granted to all indigens without exception. These are beautiful examples which we ought to remember. But we fear the alien ghost, and I, myself, have heard similar fears expressed.

But in that case we limit ourselves not to grant rights except to indigens of the Christian religion, as provided in the proposed bill, so that we may not be compelled to grant rights without distinction to all those who are neither indigens nor Christians. We will thus show the powers, on whom all our future depends today, that we have given all that we could give, and in this manner we can hope that they will permit us to stop at a point beyond which we can not risk falling into an abyss, and that they will not compel us to undertake other and greater reforms without having the time to study them, and experiment with them and patiently, little by little, consider them, but not all at once. In this way I believe that political tact must make allowance for our shortcomings in what we do.

As to the tenth point, of general interest, on which the Moldavian Divan has deliberated in its seventeenth session

of November 12, 1857, which had for its object the granting of political rights to indigens of every Christian faith, after long and stormy discussion, not being able to agree on the adoption of this principle, although pressed and warmly recommended to do so by the commission to which the question was entrusted to have it studied, the Divan finally decreed that the question at hand had to be set aside, it being a matter for future legislative assembly to deal with.

Finding this, the reorganization commission did not believe it possible to let the matter pass by in silence. The argument mentioned made the commission consider favorably the naturalization of all indigenous Christians without restriction as to faith. It seemed to them to require serious attention on the part of congress. It considered that in Moldavia most of the Christians belong to churches other than the Greek Oriental; that there are numbers of Armenian and Catholic populations in the principalities; that the last mentioned are more than 50,000 souls; that those populations are subject to the same imposts, statutory labor and military service; that the peasants belong to the Greek rite of the Eastern Church and that consequently it will also be as unjust and dangerous, on account of their religion, to deprive the said populations of political rights; and, finally, that the Catholic clergy and the Armenian community in Moldavia have filed complaint with the commission, basing their arguments most conclusively against the exclusion of indigens belonging to different Christian faiths from the enjoyment of political rights.

BOERESCO'S PLEA IN PARLIAMENT; 1864:

Let us deal with religious differences no more. Do you gentlemen not know in what century we are living: Do not Jews pay all the taxes levied on them, like the rest? If that is so, he who has a duty to perform has also rights. You have declared the Jews pariahs; you deprive them of every right, under the pretext that they are unworthy of them. I, on the contrary, believe that in order to make them worthy, we must emancipate them, and raise them above this degradation by giving them rights like the rest, and treating them as Roumanians. For what are they? They are Roumanians just as we are. I can not consider an Israelite, and any other alien living with us, be he Chinese or a son of Zoroaster, other than one of my compatriots, as long as they are established here and are not foreign subjects. In no country does there any more exist a classification of citizens by distinction of religion. Everywhere Jews are looked upon as citizens of the land in which they live. This distinction exists only here, in our country, and we must, once and for all, put an end to it. It is out of date. We must look upon Jews as pariahs no more; nor must we alienate them from communal rights, which are not political rights at all. If that is your objection, why do ^{you} impose communal duties on them? How long will you go on persecuting them? We must

sanctify the principle of equality here, without considering cult distinction. If we want to see them right, and loving this country, we must give them the same rights as the rest, otherwise we shall have only aliens, enemies, in them. (10)

Boeresco was not alone in his pleading for the Jews. Costaforo, in the Roumanian Parliament on March 5, 1864, joined him in asserting the injustice done to the Jewish nation:

What is there to fear from a people who lives as they do -- by commerce? Who among the Roumanians is engaged in business? Give them schools; place restriction upon abuse and immorality, not against Jews alone, but also against Roumanians. I do not impute such bad conditions to you. I only ask that they be placed on an equal footing with Roumanians.

You have brought an entire nation before the bar, and charged them with every crime on the calendar, and no one is coming forward to defend them. In the name of humanity, allow me to defend this people, as long as we have no right to maltreat them before we know that they deserve it.

You are loading them up with all kinds of levies: property tax, income tax, road tax, etc., and you hurl all kinds of insults at them. This I can not understand. This injustice is inhuman. It is incompatible with the spirit in which we live; with the state of civilization which mankind has reached; the charges of deception, clannishness, usury, animosity, which we hold against them, reflect no honor on us. And after all

that, we complain that this people holds us under their yoke, under the yoke of robbery, of lies, of treachery.

Now, gentlemen, perhaps they, too, have something to say. Would they not be justified in saying to you:

"Why should we not be against you when you subject us to every burden, to all kinds of suffering? But when it is a question of the smallest right, the right to give our voice in regard to sweeping the streets, to open a public park or a school; after you force us to contribute to all these, to shed our blood in defense of the country, you come, and under the pretext of religion you deprive us of everything."

Let not passion govern our judgment; these people are industrious. They work, they do something for a living. If we drive them out, who will do that work for us? Who will put up a cross on our churches? I admit that it is true what the prime minister said: "These people are horrible to behold." But that is not due to their religion, rather to the frightful struggle which they had in the centuries past, and to the condition to which they have been reduced. The vile things from which we suffer do not emanate from the Jews -- there are other, real causes.

While this agitation was continuing, Prince Cuza pursued his friendly policy toward the Jews. Parliament passed a law in 1864 under the terms of which indigenous Jews could vote, subject, however, to certain conditions. This was the sole concession made to the Jews; the promise which Cuza had given could not be fulfilled at that time, because he was outvoted. However, several

reforms of advantage to the Jews were instituted. Gymnasiums (colleges) were opened to the Jews, and some Jews were given ranks in the army, while others held governmental offices. When, in that year, Cuza compelled his cabinet to take up the Jewish question, there was a vote, in which the prince himself and the Aga (prefect of police) both voted affirmatively, as well as others. The Aga explained his vote in favor of the Jews as a testimony to their honesty and lack of criminality.

PETER CARP'S PLEA IN PARLIAMENT

What shall we do with the Jews? What do you want to make of them? What else is there left for us to do by way of persecution? If it is a question of naturalization, you do not want to do it. You are keeping them away from politics. They are compelled to serve in the army -- to pay the blood tax -- but they can not advance to any rank there. In spite of that, you force them, and say that we are overwhelmed by the Jewish element, that our nation is in danger. If this is so, we must drive out this element or slaughter them. But if you keep them in this country and can not exterminate them, the question then is: "Is it better that you have 200,000 ignorant persons, or that, through the medium of the school, we make this alien element come nearer to us and assimilate our habits and our morals?" Do you want this alien population to remain ignorant and then become a danger for us, or do you think it better to let them have schools of their own, in which case you will have aliens with an alien

culture, and not aliens with Roumanian culture? Do you want to go still further and say: "We do not let them open schools"? Can you do that? Not at all. Well, then, if you can not slaughter the Jews, or drive them out, or keep them forcibly in ignorance, or prevent them from opening schools, what is your goal?

For the last ten years we have done nothing but enact laws against them. What have you gained? Nothing. You say that I am advertising these facts abroad. How can you believe that the outside world is just now learning what we have done? Do you believe that it has not known it for a long time past?

I remarked once, en passant, that you drowned Jews in the Danube. This is true. In 1867 Bratiano instructed commissions in the country to drive the Jews out. One of these commissions functioned at Galatz. Mr. Lupasca was then prefect at Galatz. He forced the expelled Jews to get into boats and had them taken across the Danube. On the Turkish side they refused to receive them, but they were landed there just the same. The Turkish soldiers chased them back. The unfortunates were then ready to jump into the water in order to catch the boats, and seven or eight of them were drowned. Our officials saw the spectacle from their boats, but they did nothing to save those unfortunates; coldbloodedly, they let them perish.

His eloquent plea in behalf of halfway civilized treatment of the Jews was not Peter Carp's first speech of the kind. As Minister of Public Instruction, in 1868, Carp had said, in the Chamber of Deputies, that the Jewish question would be solved when the Roumanians learned to work hard instead of carousing:

Do you believe that we can solve the Jewish question by law and by regulations? No. For eight years you have been striking at them by every repressive means. What have we obtained? Nothing, absolutely nothing. Do you know how the problem can be solved? Permit me to tell you what I saw.

At a late hour at night, I and some of my friends were coming out from a ^{meeting.} ~~gathering.~~ We saw a poor Jewish cobbler, a workman, at the door of his house, working at three in the morning -- a true picture by Rembrandt. At the same time three Roumanians came out of a grog shop, well loaded. They were rather tipsy, and were singing patriotic songs. I turned to my friends, and said: "Here you have the Jewish question."

Do you want to wrestle with the Jews? Be as sober, as industrious, as economical as they are, and you will have nothing to fear from them. The solution of the Jewish question rests in the competition of work.

Once again, on February 28, 1879, in an address before the Senate, Carp reiterated and emphasized some of his previous assertions on the subject of the Jews. On this occasion he said:

I do not see the danger which you see in the Jewish population living in our territory. But I will admit that it

is so, and I ask you to show me what you have gained by the restrictions you have adopted until now. And I shall also ask, after you have failed to check the plague with all these measures, whether it is not time for you to realize that you were mistaken. I believe that the time has come, and I gather from the Treaty of Berlin the good things it contains, and one good thing is this, that it forces us to open our eyes to this question, to study it and see what means must be taken to prevent the ill effects, if such do exist. Like everybody else, we have seen that it indicates clearly that the means which we have so far taken are not good at all.

It is obvious that the attitude of those who advocated those means has proved only one thing: that from 1866 until this day, you have hardly forgotten anything, you have learned nothing, and if you are permitted to solve this question, the evil will increase instead of ceasing.

If you want to escape from the Jews, there is only one way: work, and civilize yourselves. I have said so at every session of Parliament whenever the Jewish question came up. I said that the only way of escape is to work in the economic field, because I see only a stimulant in the Jewish competition to develop in the economic field a more intense energy than that of today.

My conviction is that if we drive out all the Jews, instead of developing ourselves economically we shall return to our traditional sluggishness, and will find ourselves where we were fifty years ago. This, in my opinion, is how the Jewish question must be solved. (900) (27)

On May 21 and again on August 31, 1893, by a decree of 1895, Jews were forbidden to advance to any rank in the army. This decree was issued despite the fact that 25,000 Jews served in the Roumanian army.

The Jews believed that inasmuch as they have brought sacrifices to this country, they would, at least individually, be advanced to citizenship. Having lost this last hope, they protest energetically, and those who believe that the Jew has only the right to submit to oppression are wrought up over their protests.

Now, what does this mean other than to have a great part of our population declared a prey, and that on the ground of a theory which they know to be a juridical fiction?

You speak of "aliens"; are these aliens foreign or Roumanian subjects?

They are Roumanian subjects. They enjoy the protection of no other state.

And yet you fail to take into account the hatred which has accumulated in the heart of this population from generation to generation. You do not consider that, instead of gradually diminishing that hatred between Christian and Jew, you are instigating it still more. (2)

In 1867, pleading before the Court of Appeals at Jassy, Manolache Costache Epureanu said:

As long as the Jews fulfill all the conditions which the law demands from every member of society, we see in the accusation made against them and in their classification as vagabonds an intention of persecution. These people were born here in Roumania, consequently they can be nothing else but Roumanians for according to the rights of men, religion, which can not be changed, has nothing in common with nationality.

They can not be aliens because they were born on Roumanian territory and have brothers and sisters here.

It is true that some people said that these people ought to be arrested because they profess the Mosaic religion. In such case the question will change entirely, and will give us a lot to think of. But until then, as long as we have laws which we must respect, we cling to the hope that the high court will deign to take into consideration the fact that the accused have complied with the condition provided by such law, and will reverse the judgment of the lower court and acquit these defendants.

These are facts or acts of public notoriety which have acquired great importance because this case, which is merely designed under the title of "Case of Jewish vagabonds," does not have to be isolated as an ordinary case that offers nothing remarkable. On the contrary, this case was the result of certain extreme grave facts which have assumed such importance.

It has brought forth much uneasiness among the entire population and has entirely interrupted all commercial activities of this peaceable population. It has stirred up an agitation and dangerous superstitions all over the country; and the sad effects of this agitation were not produced in the country alone. All Europe is awake. The greatest powers, those who are kindly inclined toward us, are preoccupied with the Jewish question in general and consequently in this case especially. (775)

Pleading for Jewish emancipation by Senator Epureanu, in the Senate Chamber, Bucharest, on March 12, 1879:

The question is serious, but justice must be done to everybody. Jews have contributed to the general progress of civilization. This progress is not the work of one nation; it is the result of the work of many nations. Thus, Greece contributed art and philosophy; Rome is the mother of government and politics; Israel is the expression of the purest monotheism. Who represents science today? Germany. Who represents atheism? France. Who represents political history? England. In this manner does a French author explain himself: "The Catholic historian Cantu (Cesare Cantu, 1807-95) proclaimed Moses 'the greatest man in history' because he was a poet, prophet, historian, legislator, politician and liberator at one and the same time."

If we examine the different phases through which the Jews have gone, we shall find that they have remained true to their

religion. We see that, although persecuted, and constantly in the state of nomads up to the 17th century they have nevertheless uninterruptedly played an important part in science, in letters and in arts. Since the beginning of their decline and the violent persecutions in the west, they have spread over Oriental Europe, seeking an asylum in Poland and in the Orient.

Furthermore, Gentlemen, the inherent qualities of the Jewish population, the religious faith of their fathers, this family sentiment (since they are ostracized, they are reduced to the narrow sentiment of the family) have won for them all the sympathy of philosophers and historians.

But statesmen have other views than philosophers, and here is why the emancipation of the Jews was everywhere delayed.

It is said that, due to their tradition, Jews can not assimilate with other nations. It was even charged against them as a crime that, having lived as nomads for centuries, they have not acquired the habit of cultivating the feeling of assimilation, and that, by being reduced to depending on commerce only, they exploit other peoples. These objections presented today in the Senate and yesterday in the Chambers were made everywhere. The Jewish cause triumphed over these objections in England through the efforts of Lord Russell, who said: "How do you expect the Jew to be assimilated with the English people when he is excluded from every function in the State? To make a patriot of him you must give him a fatherland." On such conditions, thanks to the progress of civilization, their cause gained everywhere in the west.

If we have hesitated more than any other people to emancipate the Jews it may be explained by good reasons. We are a new people, and are ourselves not yet entirely independent; also, there are many Jews among us, however, not quite as many as in Galicia, where there are 900,000 of them in the midst of a population of 5,000,000.

The Jewish question does not date very far back. Take a glance at the map of Moldavia, and you will see numerous little towns there, the creation of which coincided with the coming of the Jews into our country.

✓ How ~~are~~^{were} these little towns created? I will take up one example:

The distance between Jassy and Vaslui is 20 kilometers. Midway between these two cities there was an estate, called Borosheshti. An idea came to the mind of the proprietor, that of creating a market place. What kind of market place should it be? He sent for two or three Jews; one he made a baker, the second a butcher, the third a tavernkeeper, and a fourth was to sell dry goods. Each of them was thus to engage in a trade. On similar conditions most of the markets and towns were created in Moldavia. It is wrong to say that these little towns are the remnants of the feudal regime.

Let us now see what has become of these little towns today, after 30 or 40 years. Are they occupied exclusively by Jews? No. The rich inhabitants of neighboring villages preferred to become merchants or small industrialists. They did business in the small communities where the farmers could

find all they needed for the agricultural exploitation of their land. The Jews' small business even rendered pecuniary aid to the farmers. And from this point of view these little towns rendered great service to Moldavia, and still are a benefit to Moldavia. You have but to go there and see them for yourselves.

But since when has the Jewish question come up? Since the Jews invaded the villages, since they came into contact with the peasants. This invasion dated since 1864, and it will take long to tell you the causes.

It is claimed that the breach created the Jewish question. I shall reverse the proposition, and I ask if it was not the Jews who created the breach?

The breach has denounced the invasion of the Jews into the country. Has anybody taken better measures to remedy the evil? This is another question.

I want to recall to you some of the restrictions adopted against the Jews. For instance: At Jassy they tried to forbid the Jews the sale of meat to Christians. Do you know what happened shortly thereafter? This is what happened: The Christian butchers bought the good meat from the Jewish butchers and sold it at a higher price to the Christians. That measure had no effect.

Here is another instance: They wanted to prevent Jews from leasing farms and this is what happened: A leasehold which brought 8,000 Ducats when rented to a Jew was put up twice at

auction at a price of 4,000 Ducates, when the Jews were no longer allowed to compete. The third time, when the Jews were admitted to the bidding, the same leasehold was sold at 10,000 Ducates. Who was the gainer in such a state of affairs? Certainly the Lessee, to whom it was sold at 4,000 Ducates. In other words, the Christian Lessee came out 20,000 Ducates ahead of the State. But where does the State come in? The State! This is the agent by whom the Christian Lessee was benefited. Can we make such sacrifices even if we obtain the desired results? I do not believe it.

They forbid the Jews to rent inns. There is a law on liquor licenses which says that only a Christian may keep an inn. What was the result? The Jews rent in the name of a Christian, and thereby becomes Cashier. You see, Gentlemen, that economic question can not be suppressed by means of the passage of a law. You ask what I propose; it is for the government to propose through its plenipotentiary. It knows the opinion of the European governments.

At the same time, I will say that by admitting article 44 of the treaty of Berlin affirms, as some suppose, that there are indigenous Jews in Roumania, it will be asked whether we will grant them civil and political rights en bloc, by categories, or individually. I admit that it will be individually. This is most favorable to us. But mark you, that even in this case, it will not be known whether the Jews are elected of the first or the fifth college. Therefore, the question will not have advanced.

Otherwise, you are mistaken if you think that the Jews want political rights. They know that we ourselves have but a shadow of rights, and that our elections depend on the prefects, but they attach a great deal to the getting of civil rights. Therefore you have nothing to fear from the political influence of the Jews. What you have to fear is that the Moldavian peasants may not be disinherited by the Jews, and that the Jews should not become proprietors. It is therefore necessary to secure the ownership of the peasants and the great proprietors, to prove to Europe, even to the Jews, that we do not persecute them, that we give a legitimate satisfaction to the spirit of the times -- all that only because of the desire to secure ourselves.

It must be deliberated in common until the next constituency, keeping in mind the principle that we will be faithful executors of the treaty of Berlin to the limit of the concessions which the government will be able to obtain from Europe, to prepare ourselves from our side to introduce economic measures for the defence of our nationality. (774) (4)

Pleading in a high court in 1897 for Jews who were expelled as vagabonds, Epureanu said:

...Jews were tolerated and protected in our country, and they have enjoyed all the rights in commerce, except the right to acquire land, and to hold inhabited land (towns and villages) on lease. It is also no less true, that a great part of the population of these cities, and especially the city

of Jassy, is composed of Israelites. This is a notorious fact, but the causes and the effects of these aforementioned have their *raison d'être*, so to speak, and are easily explained.

It is my duty to explain to you that this agglomeration of the Jewish population in Moldavia is not a detriment and is due to the economic condition of our country.

Our social and political regeneration does not date, as some may be inclined to believe, as a result of our latest reforms, since 1856. There is a fact, gentlemen, that marks our history, and which has called forth a social revolution, so to speak. This fact is connected with the immigration of a great part of the Jewish population into our country. It is the treaty of Adrianople (1829), the free navigation of the Danube.

If we take a glance thirty years back (1867), we will see that our country at that time was in a primitive state, lacking every means to exploit its agricultural richness. Thanks to the power that intervened in our favor, the richness of our fertile soil began to develop at once, and we were led to reform our agricultural life in western fashion. Instead of dealing with Constantinople alone, we now carried on our commerce with Leipzig, Paris, London. This change affected not only the high classes but also the lower -- the peasant.

Now that our commercial relations are changed, the necessity of new commercial agents was aroused, to put us into contact with the new commercial centers.

The Jews, these indigenous Jews, as well as those of adjacent countries, filled that place; they were the instruments who established connections with the outside world. This attracted a second immigration of Jews to us. The country was then in need of funds; the agricultural development required additional capital, and the Jews furnished it. (776) (5)

Carol wrote to his father, in November, 1878:

The situation is embarrassing, because for the present nothing can be done. It is only after the opening of the Chambers and the change of the cabinet, when the solution of the Jewish question will become inevitable, that I shall be enlightened on the internal situation.

In the course of the month of December, I shall call a meeting of the different parties and factions; I shall adopt towards this great social revolution an attitude which the treaty of Berlin imposes on us. The great powers believe that by retarding the recognition of our independence they will bring pressure on the country, but they are mistaken. Their attitude only serves to bring about Xenophobic sentiments here. The Jewish question can not be regulated that way, neither by haste nor by delaying it. And our politicians declare openly that it is necessary to await an opportune moment to do it. Surely, I could exercise a certain amount of influence; but I believe it is not advisable to precipitate and that it is better to wait for the first emotions to pass.

Great reforms can not and must not be brought about by violence. Above all, in a young country time must help to bring about an idea. Now it is only necessary to seek and correct the mistakes, to combat the prejudices and to make all unpleasant things bearable. (19) (6)

In February, 1879, Prince Antoine wrote to his son:

In spite of the complete session of Bessarabia, Russia still appears to be hostile to you, and the remainder of Europe, including the German Empire, does not take a resolute attitude against that power. Every step taken by Roumania, conscious of her achieved independence, is hindered and opposed. It would be desirable to put an end to your ominous Jewish question, if only to remove every pretext from the powers. (27)

A few months later, Antoine wrote to his son:

There is nothing left for you but to carry through the Jewish question "a tout prix" in spite of all the antipathies of the populace, and regardless of the mischievous nature of the whole measure. (73) (6)

To this Carol replied:

In the event of an unsatisfactory solution (to the Jewish question), they are determined in Berlin to intervene by means of a collective note which will dictate to us what rights we are to concede to the Jews. Such a step would of course

arouse national sentiment, and only further increase resistance; but this might become a great danger to the country, apart from the humiliation which it includes. The question whether execution would follow intervention and what shape the execution would take? Italy contents its desire for the removal of article 7 of the constitution, and likewise England with the natural assistance of a few Jews. Waddington, however, demands a radical solution, and Berlin insists on the repurchase of the railways under the conditions imposed by her bankers. The German chancellor is opposed to us and all the good will of the Emperor is of no avail. ~~(782)~~ (77)

In July 24, 1879, Prince Antoine wrote to his son that Emperor Wilhelm did not share Bismarck's view in regard to the Jewish question. In a letter to the Empress, on July 25, 1879, Wilhelm wrote:

... I have explained the attitude which I have adopted in regard to the Jewish question. I commission you to communicate this most exactly, and I also add that I think Charles of Roumania and his ministry, which has just been changed, should accept this method. You will remember that I always took the part of the Roumanian government whenever difficulties arose between Christians and Jews, while England invariably took the opposite side because she sees a refined Rothschild in every Jew. ~~(784)~~ (8)

Writing to his father, in 1879, Carol stated:

Here they were indignant, and the humblest of the people declared that at such a price (granting of equality), they would

rather forego independence. But when their temper cooled down, they showed better judgment and recognized the fact that they can not stand up against Europe. The Jewish question can be regulated only by a constituency, so that in the future the Jews, like every other stranger, may enjoy citizenship. (785) (9)

In a letter to his son, at about that time, the father said:

In order that the powers may not be given any pretext (not to recognize Roumanian independence) it would be advisable that you bring the Jewish question most speedily to a head and conclude the political equality of the Jews without the phrase. (786) (10)

In his reply, Carol wrote:

Russia is oppressing us in every way from without, and finds Germany on her side. Internally, the Jewish question creates the greatest difficulties, and will not be solved as easily.

In regard to Russia's attitude, I do not wonder. I prefer to have them (the Russians) as opponents rather than to have them in the role of spokesmen. But the unfriendly stand of Germany grieves me in my innermost. In Moldavia they fear revolt on account of the Jewish question. For two hours I pleaded with the Patriarch at Jassy to preach peace and harmony, to show himself more tolerant to others. But

he retorted that Christian Moldavia must not be turned over to the Jews. I told him how dangerous it is to harbor such ideas; that no one knows the actual difficulties better than I. I also told the foreign representatives what the difficulties are. But Herr Von Abendsleben, who came here a few days ago, and has hardly met the ministers, submitted an opinion to Prince Bismarck that the whole Jewish question is only a child's play, that it used only as a political instrument and that Russia must exert strong pressure, and he advised being on good terms with her. Germany sides with Russia. Those powers which have not as yet established diplomatic relations with us are held back by Bismarck. Another difficult question, on the solution of which the appointment of a German representative depends, confronts us: the repurchase of our railroads, which has been pending for several years, but which until now has been dormant through the connection of the Berlin bankers. The Jewish question and the redemption of the railway (securities) are two great problems that can hardly be met together. It remains to be seen to which side the Chancellor will lean. Whatever may happen, the sympathy with Germany suffers thereby, and this pains me a great deal.

(783) (11)

A P P E N D I X E

The Hay Note

Department of State,
Washington, August 11, 1902

Excellency:

In the course of an instruction sent to the Minister accredited to the government of Roumania in regard to the base of negotiations begun with that government looking to a convention of naturalization between the United States and Roumania, certain considerations were set forth for the Minister's guidance concerning the character of the immigration from that country, the causes which constrain it, and the consequences so far as they adversely affect the United States.

It has seemed appropriate to the President that these considerations, relating as they do to the obligations entered into by the signatory powers of the treaty of Berlin, of August 13, 1878, should be brought to the attention of the governments concerned and commended to their consideration in the hope that if they are so unfortunate as to meet the approval of the several powers, such measures as to them may seem wise may be taken to persuade the government of Roumania to reconsider the subject of the grievances in question.

The United States welcomes now as it has welcomed from the foundation of its government the voluntary immigration of all aliens coming hither under conditions fitting them to become merged in the body politic of this land. Our laws provide the means for them to become incorporated indistinguishably in the mass of citizens and prescribe their absolute equality with the native born, guaranteeing to them equal civil rights at home and equal protection abroad. The conditions are few, looking to their coming as free agents so circumstanced physically and morally as to supply the healthful and intellectual material for free citizenship. The pauper, the criminal and contagiously or incurably diseased are excluded from the benefit of immigration when they are likely to become a source of danger or a burden to the community. The voluntary character of their coming is essential; hence we shut out all immigration assisted or constrained by foreign agencies. The purpose of our generous treatment of the alien immigrant is to benefit us and him alike -- not to afford to another state a field upon which to cast its own objectionable elements. The alien coming hither voluntarily and prepared to take upon himself the preparatory and, in due course, the definite obligations of citizenship retains hereafter in domestic and international obligations the initial character of free agency, in the full enjoyment of which it is incumbent upon his adoptive state to protect him.

The foregoing considerations, whilst pertinent to the examination of the purpose and the scope of a naturalization

treaty, have a larger aim. It behooves the state to scrutinize most jealously the character of the immigration from a foreign land, and if it be obnoxious, to the point of objection, to examine the causes which render it so. Should these causes originate in the act of another sovereign state, to the detriment of its neighbors, it is the prerogative of an injured state to point out the evil and to make remonstrance; for, with nations as with individuals, the social law holds good that the right of each is bounded by the right of the neighbor.

The condition of a large class of inhabitants of Roumania has for many years been a source of grave concern to the United States. I refer to the Roumanian Jews numbering some 400,000. Long ago, while the Danubian principalities labored under oppressive conditions which only war and a generous action of the European powers sufficed to end, the persecution of the indigenous Jews under Turkish rule called forth, in 1872, the strong remonstrance of the United States. The Treaty of Berlin was hailed as a cure for the wrong, in view of the express provision of its 44th article prescribing that in Roumania the difference of religious creeds and confessions shall not be alleged against any person as a ground for exclusion in incapacity in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, admission to public employment, functions and honors or the exercise of the various professions and industries in any locality whatsoever, and stipulating freedom in the exercise of all forms of worship to Roumanian

dependents and foreigners alike, as well as guaranteeing that all foreigners in Roumania shall be treated without distinction of creed, on a footing of perfect equality.

With the lapse of time these just prescriptions have been rendered nugatory in great part, as regards the native Jews, by the legislation and municipal regulations of Roumania. Starting from the arbitrary and controvertible premises that the native Jews in Roumania domiciled there for centuries are aliens and not subject to foreign protection, the ability of the Jew to earn even the scanty means of existence that suffice for a frugal race has been constricted by degrees, until every opportunity to win a livelihood is denied; and until the helpless poverty of the Jew has constrained an exodus of such proportion as to cause general concern.

The political disabilities of the Jews in Roumania, their exclusion from the public service and the learned professions, the limitation of their civil rights and the imposition upon them of exceptional taxes, involving, as they do, wrongs repugnant to the moral sense of liberal moral peoples, are not so directly in point for my present purpose as the public acts which attack the inherent rights of man as a bread winner in the ways of agriculture and trade. The Jews are prohibited from owning land, or even from cultivating it as common laborers. They are debarred from residing in the rural districts. Many branches of petty trade and manual production are closed to them in the overcrowded cities where they are forced to dwell and engage against fearful odds in the desperate struggle

for existence. Even as ordinary citizens or hired laborers they may find employment only in the proportion of one "unprotected alien" to two "Roumanians" under any one employer. In short, in the cumulative effects of successive restrictions, the Jews of Roumania have become reduced to a state of wretched misery. Shut out from nearly every avenue of self-support which is open to the poor of other lands and ground down by poverty as the natural result of this discriminatory treatment, they are rendered incapable of lifting themselves from the enforced degradation they endure. Even were the fields of education, of civil employment and of commerce open to them as Roumanian citizens, their penury would prevent them from rising by individual effort. Human beings so circumstanced have virtually no alternative but submissive suffering or flight to some land less unfavorable to them. Removal under such conditions is not and can not be healthy, intelligent emigration of a free and self-reliant being. It must be, in most cases, the mere transplantation of an artificially produced diseased growth to a new place.

Granting that, in better and more healthful surroundings, the morbid condition will eventually change for good, such emigration is necessarily for a time a burden to the community upon which the fugitives may be cast. Self-reliance and the knowledge and ability that evolve the power of self support must be developed and, at the same time, avenues of employment must be opened in quarters where competition is already keen and opportunities scarce. The teachings of history and the

experience of our own nation show that the Jews possess in a high degree the mental and moral qualities of conscientious citizenship. No class of immigration is more welcome to our shores when coming equipped in mind and body for entrance upon the struggle for bread and inspired with the high purpose to give the best service of heart and brain to the land they adopt of their own free will. But when they come as outcasts, made doubly paupers by physical and moral oppression in their native land and thrown upon the long suffering generosity of a more favorable country their immigration lacks the essential conditions which make alien immigrants either acceptable or beneficial. So well is this appreciated on the continent that even in this country, where antisemitism has no foothold, it is difficult for these fleeing Jews to obtain any lodgment. America is their only goal.

The United States offers asylum to the oppressed of all lands. But its sympathy with them in no wise impairs its just liberty and rights to weigh the acts of the oppressor in the light of the effects upon this country.

Putting together the facts now painfully brought home to this government during the past few years that many of the inhabitants of Roumania are being forced by artificially adverse discriminations to quit their native country, that the hospitable asylum offered by this country is almost the only refuge left to them, that they come hither unfitted by the conditions of their exile to take part in their new life of this land under circumstances either profitable to themselves

or beneficial to the community, and that they are objects of charity from the outset and for a long time -- the right of remonstrance against the acts of the Roumanian government is clearly established in favor of this government. Whether consciously and of purpose or not, these helpless people, burdened and spurned by their native land, are forced by the sovereign power of Roumania upon the charity of the United States. This government could not be a tacit party to such an international wrong. It is constrained to protest against the treatment to which the Jews of Roumania are subjected, not only because it has unimpeachable right to remonstrate against the resultant injury to itself, but in the name of humanity. The United States may not authoritatively appeal to the stipulations of the Treaty of Berlin to which it was not and can not become a signatory, but it does earnestly appeal to the principles contained therein, because they are the principles of international law and eternal justice, advocating the broad toleration which that solemn compact enjoins, and standing ready to lend its moral support to the fulfillment thereof by its cosignatories, for the act of Roumania itself has effectively joined the United States to them as an interested party in this regard.

You will take an early occasion to read this instruction to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, and should he request it, leave with him a copy.

I have the honor to be,
Your obedient servant,

John Hay. (974)