

THE YEAR

5661

In the year 5661 there was no occurrence of supreme importance by which to characterize either the internal history of the Jewish people or their relations to the world at large, yet it is rendered notable by several features which stand out prominently.

Of greatest significance probably is the methodical work undertaken by the Jewish Colonization Association, which at present is unquestionably the most important single factor in Jewry, bearing within itself the possibility of far-reaching influence upon the future of the Jewish people as long as the world may endure.

The appearance of the first volume of the Jewish Encyclopædia marks the beginning of an enterprise which, if carried to a successful conclusion, will probably do more to make Jews known to themselves and to the world at large than all other attempts which have preceded it.

The reception by the Sultan of Turkey of Doctor Herzl and his associates, and the decorations bestowed upon them, though their real meaning has not been made known, may be taken as an evidence of the present Sultan's friendliness, in some form, toward the projects of the Zionist leaders, with regard to certain Turkish dominions.

The situation of the Jews in Roumania, whose distress becomes more acute, and the problems arising out of possible migratory movements from that country, are the gravest questions before the Jews of the world, and for that reason a

considerable proportion of the space in this volume is given up to a discussion of the Roumanian question.

THE UNITED STATES

The Encyclopædia can hardly be called an American work, it is really international in character, having its collaborators in all parts of the world; but the fact that its publication was undertaken by a firm in New York and that its management is largely in the hands of American scholars, has made it, in a certain sense, an American enterprise. There has not yet been time for detailed criticism of the first volume, but its appearance has elicited much interest, and the initial reception is distinctly favorable. It is the capital event in the history of Jewish learning in America, and may have far-reaching results.

At only two points of importance were the Jews of the United States as such concerned specifically with public affairs. In the Legislature of the State of Massachusetts a bill was presented to allow observers of the Seventh Day Sabbath to work on Sunday, but it was finally defeated, part of the opposition, strangely enough, coming from a Rabbi; and the attempt to secure the removal of the word "Christian," as qualifying benevolence, from the Bill of Rights of the State of Virginia, was also unsuccessful.

The two Theological Institutions, at Cincinnati and New York, have been seeking funds whereby to strengthen their respective faculties, with fair success. At the moment of writing it seems likely that a sufficient endowment fund will be secured for the New York Seminary, to render possible the election of a successor to Dr. Morais as President of the Faculty and reconstitute the governing body, which has been

without a president since the death of Joseph Blumenthal; and the Cincinnati College, through gifts and a bequest, has been placed upon a fairly permanent basis.

The second convention of the Orthodox Union and the meeting of the Central Conference of American Rabbis were without unusual incident, save that both were the subject of unfavorable criticism from their friends. Lewis N. Dembitz declares the Orthodox Union ineffectual, and both the *American Israelite* and the *Reform Advocate* are dissatisfied with portions of the proceedings of the Central Conference. An attempted Conference of Southern Rabbis failed.

Two educational institutions, the National Farm School and the Gratz College, sent forth their first graduates.

For good or ill, philanthropic work is being more and more methodized. Philadelphia has "federated" her charity system, and Baltimore is following suit.

A Jewish Exhibition, to be held in New York in 1902, is being organized by the American Jewish Historical Society. Fifty-seven periodical publications of all natures and degrees were currently issued in the United States, and sixteen synagogues and five homes of societies dedicated.

The United States has witnessed an exceptional year in its history, politically and commercially, and seems at a bound to have taken its place among the greatest nations of the earth. The Jewish community has participated in the fever of expansion, and, like the rest of the nation, is suffering from an attack of overconfidence. Born of such a feeling, no doubt, is the scheme for a Jewish University, which, though put forward with much detail, is not known to have any real support, nor is it likely to be realized.

ENGLAND

English Jewry has been largely concerned with the great events stirring the Empire: the death of Queen Victoria, the accession of King Edward, and the war in South Africa.

To the deputation of English Jews to congratulate the King upon his accession, he used the expression: "It will always be my care to maintain and promote the extension of equal liberty to all races and denominations among my subjects," weighty words for a ruler of a country which still recognizes an Established Church, and which numbers among its subjects adherents of every faith and representatives of many races.

The Bi-centenary of Bevis Marks, the Jewish Census, the renewed interest in the study of Hebrew revealed in an active discussion as to the best methods to be employed, the increase of interest in Jewish education as shown by the collection of £13,000 for the Jews' Free School at a single dinner, and of £14,000 for the Jewish Industrial School upon a similar occasion, are among the significant events of the year.

The very extraordinary "Four Epistles to the Jews of England," by Dr. Schechter, have excited much comment, and rightly, since they deal plainly with elementary questions at all times agitating Jews in the dispersion, and which, because of exceptional conditions in the British Empire, are immediately present to the Jews of England.

THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

On the continent of Europe it can be said with pleasure that in the main the outlook is brighter than it has been for several years, always excepting, of course, Russia and Roumania, but the recrudescence of mediævalism, which

swept over France and Austria, and appeared in spots even in Germany, has subsided.

France has again been tranquillized. The general amnesty bill putting an end to all proceedings growing out of the Dreyfus affair, and the Associations Bill forbidding the presence of educational corporations in France controlled by foreigners or in foreign countries, are conclusive evidence that the Republican party, through its present ministers, has secured firm control, and that neither the army nor the reactionary clericals are feared. This has in turn brought about a better state of affairs in Algeria. The new governors of Algeria, two of whom have held office within a year, have both discountenanced anti-Semitic agitation, and have snubbed the anti-Semite mayor, Max Régis, who was defeated for the Chamber of Deputies, and more lately has resigned the mayoralty. One Jewish officer, Samuel Paul Naquet La-roque, Colonel of Artillery, was promoted to be General of Brigade. It is evident that the extreme caution exercised during the past few years is no longer necessary, as witnessed by the fact that an attack made upon the Jews in the Chamber of Deputies was resented by the Chief Rabbi of France, who sent a strong letter to the President of the Chamber.

Paris is again apparently regaining its central position in the Jewish world, due to greater activity on the part of the *Alliance*, and still more, probably, to its being the virtual seat of government of the Jewish Colonization Association, and it is there that several international conferences have been held to consider the Roumanian question.

German nationalism, reacting upon the Jews of Germany, is probably responsible for the formation of the "Hilfsverein der deutschen Juden," to take the place of the

active propoganda hitherto made for the *Alliance* in Germany. The general preponderance of conservative feeling among the Jews of Berlin is shown by the fact that at a meeting of the representatives of the community, two propositions for Sunday service, one for a religious service, and the other for a simple religious lecture, were defeated.

The death of Baron Willy von Rothschild, of Frankfort, scholar, financier, and man of great piety and many good works, involving, as it does, the disappearance of the famous Frankfort house of Rothschild, is notable. The city of Frankfort benefited by his death in the bequest of one million marks and by the gift from Mr. George Speyer of a similar amount.

The Prussian Government shows an occasional sign of hostility, as in the discrimination of the matter of appointment of notaries, and one municipality, that of Potsdam, has prohibited the killing of animals according to the Jewish rite, in the public abattoir.

Italy is the especially favored country, where the happy condition prevails that the Jews have had no history. The most noteworthy events have been the appointment of Senor Leone Wollemborg as a member of the Cabinet with the Portfolio of Finance, and the dedication of a great new synagogue in Rome. The Italian Government was the only one to enter a public protest with the Porte against the restrictions laid upon foreign Jews traveling in Palestine. The ambassador asserted that for his Government "there existed only Italian subjects without distinction of creed."

In Austria, the anti-Semitic party lost distinct ground in Parliamentary elections, and just as definite is the decline of anti-Semitism in Vienna.

Roumania is so fully treated elsewhere that nothing need be said here except that conditions show no improvement.

As for Russia, where at least one-half of all the Jews of the world reside, the most significant fact is the almost impenetrable darkness which surrounds important events during the year—the outside world is practically in ignorance of conditions there. The agitation among students and workingmen which, according to some brief reports, was of the greatest moment, and by others has been minimized into a mere trifle, was supposed at one time to indicate the growth of a more liberal sentiment, at least among the inhabitants of St. Petersburg. This was accentuated by the news that the performance of an anti-Semitic play had been violently objected to by the audience in the theatre, and here and there, too, have been occasional indications of more favorable treatment on the part of the authorities. The very considerable body of Jewish soldiers who went to China with the Russian troops were the recipients of special words of praise from General Bortianoff, but on the heels of this come two announcements—the decree that the Government will hereafter limit the number of Jewish students in Russian universities to three per cent. of the total, except in the University of Moscow, where they are entirely prohibited, and the publication of a secret rescript from the War Office appointing a commission to deal with all cases of friction between the Jews and the military, the trials to be by court-martial. As if the horrors of Government were not sufficient, there has been added a serious famine in Southern Russia, with many thousands of people in actual distress.

The communities heretofore cut off have attracted more than usual attention, and the proposition has been made in

Germany to send a commission to the Falashas of Abyssinia, and at Shanghai there has been formed a society for the rescue of Chinese Jews, and active communication has been entered into with the remnants of the colony at Kai-Fung-Foo.

The colonists in Argentina are fairly prosperous, and their number is steadily increasing under the auspices of the Colonization Association. The Dutch Government appointed Mr. Tobias M. C. Asser a member of the Dutch Section of the International Arbitration Commission, and the Shah of Persia has selected a Karaite Jew as tutor for his son.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE

In this survey there remains but a single general topic to consider, that relating to the Jews, present or prospective, in the Ottoman Empire. The good-will of the Sultan to some of his Jewish officials was shown, on the occasion of the celebration of his Jubilee, by the bestowal of one of the highest orders known in the Empire upon Daoud Effendi Molko, First Dragoman of the Imperial Divan, and later by a concession to the Jews who have been settled in the Holy Land for some time, to hold agricultural land in their own name, which had heretofore been denied them.

The only untoward event reported was the great fire at Hasskeui, a distinctly Jewish quarter in Constantinople, which rendered over two thousand persons homeless. The dedication of a German Jewish synagogue, with a seating capacity of 1500, marks the growth of emigration of Ashkenazim partly from Russia, principally from Austro-Hungary, into what has been in modern times the most important stronghold of the Sephardim.

The vintage of the Jewish Colonies in Palestine was very

satisfactory, but in the fall there was much distress in Jerusalem due to smallpox and typhus, later to the drought and inadequacy of the water supply.

Two Jerusalem Jews, both with missions of a public nature, have visited the Jewish communities of the West: Mr. D. Yellin came to secure support for a building for the Central Library of Jerusalem, and M. Nissim Béhar, head of the Technical School of the *Alliance* in Jerusalem, is on a more extended trip to make propaganda for the *Alliance*. Both have met with encouragement and success.

The Zionist movement has proceeded on the lines of previous years, strengthening itself in various countries by better methods of organization and by adopting the "culture" program in addition to that of simple agitation for the original Zionist propositions. The acerbity of tone in the discussion has in the main departed, though to a certain extent it has not been eliminated in England, due to the injection of the Zionist question into the general elections in October last. In December, what appeared to be a very important pronouncement was given out by Youssof Bey Krieger, a Jewish Turkish official, for more than twenty years Secretary Interpreter to the Government of Palestine, who declared Zionism impracticable and injurious to Jews now living in the Ottoman Empire. This statement from such a source had considerable weight in many quarters, but it was entirely overshadowed by the audience accorded Dr. Theodor Herzl and two of his associates by the Sultan of Turkey, together with the announcement that Dr. Herzl had received marks of favor from the Sultan. In Zionist quarters much hope was derived from this incident, and rightly, since an audience with the Sultan of Turkey is not easily obtained,

nor had the Sultan any apparent reason to grant marks of favor to these men except for the distinct purpose of giving the world the impression that he held no unfavorable disposition to their projects.

During the last year, Dr. Herzl's utterances have been marked by greater sobriety of tone. In an address delivered at a Maccabean banquet, he confessed that he should not now make the almost definite statements given out by him at the great meeting in the East End of London in 1898, when his hearers got the impression that some actual step looking to the practical realization of the Zionist program was to be expected in the immediate future.

The year 5661 has witnessed several events of favorable import to the Jews of the world, and practically no retrogression.

AUGUST 15, 1901.

THE JEWS OF ROUMANIA
FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE PRESENT DAY

BY DR. E. SCHWARZFELD

The history of the Jews of Roumania, or, to put it more correctly, of the Roumanian principalities, has not yet been written; nor will it be written in the near future; for no chronicles or accounts of any kind have been handed down by earlier generations; and it was only with some difficulty that a few Hebrew documents of secondary importance and of comparatively recent date were brought to light. This strange condition is without doubt due to the numberless scourges with which the country was afflicted—unceasing wars between neighboring powers, intestine feuds, periodic invasions of the Tartars and the Cossacks, recurring conflagrations, which destroyed whole cities one after the other, famine, and plague, and the intolerable exactions of the princes and the boyars, who forced the population to seek refuge in the forests and the mountains, and sometimes in neighboring countries.

The question arises how the Jews could continue to exist in these countries, in the face of so many hardships. But for the inherent tenacity of the race and the comparative tolerance which they enjoyed, they must certainly have given way.

The Roumanian chroniclers, occupying themselves solely with the wars and the intestine conflicts, and with the relation of the prince to the boyars, paid no attention to the

Jews, and made only the barest mention of them in certain passages. Moreover, the official documents were for the most part destroyed in the conflagrations; and those which escaped destruction are still hidden away in the archives. Some few documents have appeared in rare collections, or in literary and political magazines; and it is to these sources, the collections and the magazines, as well as to the accounts of travelers, that the writer must resort to compile a sketch, however brief, of the history of the Jews in the Roumanian principalities.

I

If some historians may be believed, Jews lived in Roumanian territory as early as at the time of the Dacians. They say that after the destruction of Jerusalem and the dispersion of the Jews by Titus, Decebalus received Jews into his country, and assigned to them the city of Talmus or Talmaci on the border of Transylvania, generally known under the name of the Rothethurm. Other Roumanian historians contest this fact, because the word Talmus is by some derived from the Talmud, which did not exist at that time. The argument is weak. A false interpretation of the name of a place does not necessarily imply that the history of the place is unauthentic.

[However that may be, it is admitted that Jews inhabited Dacia after its conquest by the Romans; for it is an established fact that many Jews followed the Roman legions in their triumphal marches across the continent, as purveyors to the army, and that they settled in the countries favorable to their trade. Moreover, Jews had lived in the places scattered along the shore of the Black Sea a long time be-

fore the Christian era, and after the dispersion their number increased. Gradually, the Jews penetrated into the interior of the countries. Some of the coast cities later formed an integral part of Wallachia and Moldavia.]

In the eighth century the Khozars, a people partly Finn and partly Tartar, who had become converted to Judaism, made their appearance in southern Russia. Soon they extended their conquests in the east of Europe as far as Pannonia, and traces of them still exist in the Roumanian principalities and in Transylvania, a number of places bearing the names *Jidova*, *Jidovchitza*, etc. The Khozars left a strong impress also on Roumanian poetry and tradition, in which "Jew" is synonymous with "giant" or "hero," an epithet which can date only from the time of the Khozars.

[At an early period, too, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland, and the principality of Kiew, all adjacent to and enclosing Moldavia and Wallachia, were inhabited by Jews. The shortest and most frequented route for those countries in their traffic with one another naturally lay through Moldavia and Wallachia, and at least part of this traffic was in the hands of the Jews. There is no doubt that they inhabited, since its foundation, the principality of Berlad, which, in the twelfth century, included the commercial cities of Little Halicz (*Galatz*) and *Tecuci*, under the dominion of a Galician prince. In addition, it is certain that they inhabited places in the northern part of Moldavia and in Bessarabia, in which there were Wallachians as early as the twelfth and the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Jews also lived in the *banat* (domain) of Severin, which was under Hungarian suzerainty.]

II

There is no doubt that Tugomir Basarab, known as Rădu Negru (Rudolf the Black), was followed by the Jews when he left Transylvania, crossed the Carpathians in search of a new country, and founded Wallachia in 1290. This is the explanation given to the statements of the chroniclers, who say that Rădu Negru, duke of Amlash and Fogarash, left the country with a large following of Roumanians, Catholics, Saxons, and all sorts of individuals, in order to found a new state. Another immigration of Jews into Wallachia took place at the beginning of the reign of Vladislav Basarab, between 1365 and 1367, when they were driven from Hungary by Louis the Great. Many of them came to Wallachia, and were well received by Vladislav, who assigned to them the town of Turnu. According to some historians, Turnu was built by the Jews. They made it a commercial centre from which they reached all the Danubian countries.

[When the principality of Moldavia was founded (1348 or 1349), Jews were already living there, at least in certain localities. At the moment of its appearance on the scene of history, Moldavia came under the suzerainty of Poland; and immediately thereafter it accorded facilities and privileges to the Polish traders, the greater number of whom were Jews. In order to people the towns and villages, privileges were granted to all invited to settle there. When Roman I (1391-1394) founded the city bearing his name, Jews took up their abode in it, doubtless the first to do so. Roman I and his son Alexander the Good (1401-1433) issued decrees permitting the Jews of Roman and the rest of the country to establish themselves wherever they chose and to pursue any kind of trade or industry.] They were ex-

empted from military service, and all that was asked of them was the payment of three *Loewenthaler* a person. These decrees were confirmed by the successors of Roman and Alexander.

[Information concerning the Jews of Wallachia during the fifteenth century is very scanty, especially as the history of the principality itself is wrapped in obscurity. The Jews were for the most part traders, and the commerce of the country was principally conducted through their agency. They shared the lot of the whole population, who were subjected to the caprice and the despotism of the princes succeeding each other on a slippery throne. The reign of Vlad Tzepesh (= the Impaler), 1456-1462, was particularly baleful. He was a veritable monster of cruelty, who took pleasure in the cries and tears of his victims—gypsies, Turks, pagans, and Jews. He hacked them into bits, or crammed them into great pots with a hole in the lid, through which he poured boiling water, or he impaled them on their sides—all, as he said, out of zeal for the Christian faith. Every one suffered at his hands, boys, girls, men, women, old and young. During his second reign (1476), he seized Turkish Jews who came to the country on business, imprisoned them, and demanded their whole fortune as a ransom; and if any would not or could not pay a ransom, he put out their eyes or cut off their ears or hands.]

[The Moldavian princes displayed more wisdom, and treated the Jews with favor. Under Stephen the Great (1457-1504) they traded freely, even at Suchava, the capital of the principality, where they made large profits in their traffic with cattle. They also negotiated the ransom of captive Christians. They willingly paid the war taxes in money and in

produce, and rendered many services to the prince, whose reign was one constant warfare against the neighboring peoples. Isaac ben Benjamin Shor, a Jew of Jassy, was steward to the prince. He was even raised to the rank of Logothete (chancellor), and held the same position under Bogdan (1504-1517), the son and successor of Stephen. Before his death Stephen was cared for by a Jew, the physician of the khan of the Tartars, and Bogdan acknowledged the Jew's services by sending him back to his master after Stephen's death, while detaining against his will an Italian physician who had also attended Stephen.]

[It is probable that many Jews settled in Moldavia in 1498, when Stephen, after his incursion into Poland, carried away with him one hundred thousand prisoners in order to establish them in his own country. The treaty of commerce concluded with the king of Poland in April, 1499, expressly stipulated that the traders be allowed to carry on commerce in the two countries freely.]

III

[With the sixteenth century came new immigrations, composed of Polish and Turkish Jews. The religious dissensions which broke out in Poland at the beginning of the century encouraged the Jews to make proselytes, and they sent the converted Christians into Moldavia and Wallachia in order not to bring upon them the hatred of the Christians. These proselytes formed an addition to the voluntary immigrants.]
[Other immigrants came from Turkey. Wallachia had fallen under the suzerainty of Turkey at the end of the fourteenth century, and in 1513 Moldavia shared the same fate. This was exactly at the time when the Jews of Turkey began to

play an important rôle in the State and to gain diplomatic influence at the court, in the harems, and with the pashas and the grand viziers; and the princes of Moldavia and Wallachia turned to these influential Jews to obtain the throne or to strengthen themselves in possession. Commerce with Turkey was extended, and the Jews of Constantinople and other places frequently visited the principalities. Many established themselves there permanently. But the situation of the Jews varied with the prince, and depended upon the favor which he obtained from an influential Jew or Jewess at Constantinople.]

[In Moldavia Bogdan (1504-1517), following in the footsteps of his father, treated the Jews kindly; but his successor, Stephen the Young, accorded privileges to Christian merchants of Lemberg to the detriment of the Jews, whose influence he wished to weaken (1522).] [When Peter Raresch was driven from his throne, he was helped back to it again, in 1541, by a Jewess, the confidante of the mother of the Sultan, who even advanced him a sum of money. This did not prevent him from seizing the horses of Jewish traders; and his successors did not fail to imitate him in this respect whenever they were short of money. He also imprisoned many of the Polish merchants in order to extort money from them. The exactions of Alexander Lapushneanu (1552-1561), a cruel tyrant, were so severe that the Jews uttered shouts of joy when he was dethroned by Jacob Heraklides, despot of islands in the Ægean, whose reign was favorable to the Jews. In spite of his ill-treatment of the Jews, Alexander Lapushneanu obtained a gift of ten thousand ducats from Joseph, Duke of Naxos, to help him in getting back his throne (1563). During his second reign he seems not to have molested the Jews to the same extent.]

[The orthodox clergy, usually less unfriendly, and very often favorable to the Jews, assumed a hostile attitude in the reign of John the Terrible. They oppressed them, extorted money from them, and placed them under the ban. The bishop of Roman ordered them to be expelled from the city and to be burned in the cemetery on Purim, 1574; but they were saved by Isaiah ben Joseph, secretary of the prince; and the prince granted them the right to have an official to represent them before the provincial authorities of the country.]

[Peter the Lame (1574-1579), emboldened by the support of Saitan Oglu Cantacuzene, who was a rival of the Duke of Naxos, pitilessly exploited all the inhabitants, and did not spare the Jews. He put a heavy tax upon the wines transported through Moldavia (1578), the trade in which was for the greater part in the hands of the Jews; and in order to rid himself of the Jewish cattle dealers from Poland, he decreed their expulsion from the country. He was dethroned shortly after, in 1579; but assumed the throne again in 1582, through the help of the physician Benvenisti, who went so far as to have one of his rivals maimed in 1584. Benvenisti's help as well as the increasing influence of Solomon Ashkenazi seems to have made Peter the Lame more prudent in his conduct toward the Jews.]

[There is little information concerning the Jews of Wallachia during this time. The secretary of Alexander Mircha (1567-1577) was Isaiah ben Joseph, whom he dismissed, probably in 1573, in consequence of intrigues conducted by the Duke of Naxos to dethrone Alexander and put himself in his place. Isaiah ben Joseph then entered the service of John the Terrible in Moldavia.]

[While the Duke of Naxos was intriguing without success to obtain the throne of Wallachia, Solomon Ashkenazi succeeded in placing on the throne of Moldavia a prince of Jewish extraction, Emanuel Aaron, a natural son of a Moldavian prince. Although Aaron was a good Christian, he was branded by the chroniclers as the most cruel of tyrants.]

[The end of the sixteenth century was marked by massacres of the Jews in the two principalities. The princes of Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania allied themselves under Austrian influence. In 1594 Michael the Brave of Wallachia assembled his creditors, Turks, Greeks, and Jews, and had them all massacred; and then he informed certain individuals that they all would be released from their debts. This was the signal for a general slaughter of Turks and Jews. The entire community of Bukharest perished. At the same time Emanuel Aaron had nineteen Turkish Jews put to death at Jassy. On the strength of their victories at the beginning of their campaign, both the princes, Michael and Emanuel Aaron, massacred the Jews wherever their armies passed—the Wallachian, at Giurgewo, Rustchuk, Brai-la, and Plevna; and the Moldavian, at Kilia, Bender, and Ismail.]

[The Jews left Wallachia with most of the inhabitants; but in Moldavia they were soon after delivered through the fall of Aaron and the accession of Jeremiah Movila, a creature of the king of Poland. The Jews could once more breathe freely; in fact, a new immigration took place. The Polish army which established itself in Moldavia in order to protect its master's protégé, was accompanied by Jewish purveyors.] Nevertheless, the Jews of Soroca were massacred by the Cossacks, who made a raid on the town, and led men, women, and children into captivity

and slavery. The purveyors of the army suffered also at the hands of the Moldavian people, who profited by the victorious entrance of Michael the Brave to rob them of their cattle. Even the native Jews were soon forced to leave the country for a time in consequence of Tartar incursions and the plague, which broke out at Roman, Bakan, Piatra, Neamtz, and Suchava.

IV

[The accession of Stephen Tomsha (1611-1615) was propitious to the Jews of Moldavia. His treaty with Poland assured them entire commercial liberty; and in 1614 he invited the Jews of Lemberg and probably of other places to settle in Moldavia. He excused and explained the decree of expulsion issued against them by Peter the Lame.]

Under the successors of Michael the Brave, the Jews returned to Wallachia, and led a tranquil existence there; but they were far from attaining to the number and importance of the Jews of Moldavia. With difficulty traces of them are found at long intervals during the seventeenth century. The Greeks and the Armenians, more numerous, monopolized commerce as well as the trades, and the legislation of Matthew Basarab bears witness to the inferior condition of the Jews.

In Moldavia the reign of Basil the Wolf (1634-1653) was favorable to the Jews; and they probably would have been happy but for the insurrection of the Cossacks against the Poles. Basil the Wolf had kept in touch with Constantinople. Early in his career he seems to have had connection with the Dr. Cohen who in 1656 was sent by the Porte to Moldavia in order to negotiate peace with the king of

Sweden. [In 1660 Dr. Cohen became physician to Basil the Wolf at Constantinople, where the prince lived after his fall. The code decreed by Basil the Wolf shows that a considerable degree of protection was accorded the Jews; it lacks all signs of hostility towards them. It is true, he granted facilities to converts, but the high opinion he had of Jewish physicians made him attach great importance to their testimony. Traders enjoyed perfect security, and the law protected all others equally with the Christians.] The insurrection of the Cossacks, however, was as disastrous to the Moldavian as to the Polish Jews. An especially severe attack was the incursion into Moldavia in 1650. They pillaged, and sacked, and sowed terror among the Jewish population. The Jews of Jassy were treated with such cruelty that all must have perished but for the intervention of the Patriarch of Antioch, who was passing through the city. The Cossacks shut them up in the towers, and tortured them night and day in order to make them reveal the place where their treasures were hidden. Even when the Cossacks entered Jassy as friends, in the train of Timush, son of Chmelnitzky, who came to marry the daughter of Basil the Wolf (1652), the Jews were forced to hide themselves; for if the Cossacks caught a Jew, he had to ransom himself with a good round sum in cash.

In Wallachia Matthew Basarab (1633-1654) encouraged the baptism of the Jews, and conferred high dignities on converts. One of these was appointed Porter of the Court. The codes which he decreed in 1640 and 1652 were not favorable to the Jews, except in the part which was modeled after the code of Basil the Wolf: all the other parts are in the spirit of the middle ages and of the Councils of the Church

Fathers. The Jew was treated like a leper or as though pest-ridden. No one might approach him, or come in contact with him, or sit with him at the same table, or touch the objects which he touched. The Christian might spit upon the Passover bread; he was forbidden to consult a Jewish physician; the testimony of a Jew, except that of a physician, was refused; and his conversion was encouraged.

[But little is known concerning the situation of the Jews under the successors of Matthew Basarab. They engaged in commerce, and in the making and the sale of brandy, and some practiced medicine. Under Constantine Brancovean (1689-1714) a Jew, surnamed "the saltpetre maker," furnished the prince with powder for the army. The Jews constituted a corporation with a provost at their head. At Bukharest, and probably in the other cities, they were confined to certain quarters, and paid more taxes than any other body of people in the city. They were not compelled to wear a special garb, but the color of their clothes and shoes had to be black.]

[Although the condition of the Jews in Moldavia was better, their religion was not officially recognized. For the erection or rebuilding of their synagogues they had to obtain the authorization of the princes; the synagogues had to be made of wood, and be built on side streets at a certain distance from churches; and the Jews paid higher taxes than any other corporation. Nevertheless, they enjoyed commercial and industrial liberty; commerce and the petty trades were for the most part in their hands. The Russian and the Polish Jews continually traversed the routes leading across the country to Turkey. They traded in cattle, horses, honey, and wine, imported manufactured articles from

Germany, and also farmed large estates. They left the practice of usury to the Turks, the Greeks, and the Moldavians.]

V

[With the beginning of the eighteenth century the condition of the principalities underwent a great change. From the end of the seventeenth century the princes became fragile instruments in the hands of the pashas, who appointed and recalled them at will in order to extort as much money as possible from them. To satisfy the increasing desires of the pashas and the harem at Constantinople, the princes pressed the people; but when their exactions became unbearable, they were deposed. Often they were transferred from the one principality to the other, or, after an interval, they were restored to the same throne. Some princes were appointed and deposed six times within a short period. It is difficult to follow their actions amid all these revolutions and to obtain a distinct idea of the situation of the Jews.]

[On April 5, 1710, the Jews of Neamtz (Moldavia) were accused of ritual-murder. Given the cue by a renegade Jew, some Christians killed a Christian child on Passover eve, and threw the body into the courtyard of the old synagogue. The next day the people, with the renegade Jew at their head, attacked the Jews, killed five of them, and pillaged without restraint.

Twenty-two Jews were imprisoned by order of the *parcalab* (prefect). A Jewish deputation waited on the prince at Jassy; an investigation was made, the charge was found to be false, the Jews were set free, and the guilty punished.]

In 1714 the same false charge was made at Roman. Some Poles abducted a Christian girl, a servant in a Jewish

house, and the master was arrested. The mob plundered Jewish houses, two Jews were hanged, and the others would not have escaped massacre, if a Pole had not given information of the rape and led to the finding of the girl.

In Wallachia it was the prince himself who arraigned the Jews. Stephen Cantacuzene (1714-1716), in order to obtain the people's pardon for his exactions, donned the religious mask, and in 1715 caused the synagogue at Bukharest, situated in a retired corner of the city, to be torn down. The Jewish provost was killed in the riot that broke out on the occasion. It was only through great sacrifices that the Jews obtained permission to rebuild the synagogue and resume their religious practices.

The successor of Stephen Cantacuzene, Nicholas Mavrocordatos (1716-1730), a cultivated and enlightened man, healed the wounds which the attitude of Cantacuzene had caused the Jews. He invited to Bukharest a Jewish banker, Celebi Mentesh Bally, whom he overwhelmed with favors, and exempted from taxation, but he was most closely connected with the physician and diplomat, Dr. Fonseca. Dr. Fonseca had been the physician of the Sultan, and the intimate friend of the French ambassadors at Constantinople; and in 1719 he went to Bukharest as physician to Mavrocordatos. He aided the prince with his counsel, and his influence was so great that it aroused the rancor of the Austrian internuncio at Constantinople.

During his reign in Moldavia (1714) Nicholas Mavrocordatos succeeded in keeping the people in check, and he punished the guilty persons who had reopened the question of ritual murder; but there was frank hostility to the Jews on the part of Michael Racovitza, who succeeded to the throne in

1716, occupying it for the third time from 1716 to 1726. Once when a church was being erected at Olasheni, the authorities seized the necessary building materials from the Jews by force. Racovitza was the type of a cruel and oppressive ruler, and history stigmatizes him as a repugnant personality. In order to extort money from the Jews he took advantage of the murder of a child by some rascals at Onitzkani to accuse the Jews of ritual murder. The Jew charged with being the author of the crime protested in vain. He was led to Jassy, and maltreated and tortured in the presence of the prince. The bastinado was administered to the so-called accomplices, the synagogues were destroyed, and the rolls of the Law were burned. Finally, after having extorted enormous sums from the Jews, Racovitza set his victims free. In consequence of the complaints which they lodged against him at Constantinople, Racovitza was removed and thrown into prison. Nicholas Mavrocordatos and Gregory Ghika, both aspirants to the Moldavian throne, contributed to his downfall. Later, he succeeded in having himself appointed in Wallachia (1730-1731), but, taught by experience, he did not oppress the Jews more than he oppressed his other subjects.

Gregory Ghika, who succeeded him in Moldavia (1727-1733), was more tolerant; and one of his successors, Matthew Ghika (1753-1756), seems to have been entirely well-disposed towards the Jews. He was very fond of amusements, and took pleasure in the dancing of certain Jewesses whom he invited to his court.

John Mavrocordatos in Moldavia (1744-1747) was the type of a dissipated and debauched prince, who passes his time in orgies. At the end of his reign he carried with him

the curses of the people. His entanglement with a Jewish farmer of a village in the district of Suchava is a matter of history. He ravished the man's wife, daughter, and sister-in-law, and when the Jew complained at Constantinople, John Mavrocordatos had him hung. This aroused the anger of the pashas, and cost the prince his throne.

VI

Under Constantine Mavrocordatos, who occupied the throne of Wallachia four times and that of Moldavia (1730-1763) six times, the Jews led a peaceful existence. He decreed reforms which show his desire to promote the welfare of the lowly and the humble. The charter promulgated by him in Moldavia, in 1741, granted the Jews the same protection as the rest of the people. Their homes were to be inviolable; lodgers were not to be quartered upon them without due payment; no claim was to be made upon them for their bedding, for their plate, for post horses, or for any kind of sustenance, under penalty of a fourfold compensation; they might settle in all the cities and villages, and follow whatever craft or trade they chose; and they could appeal directly to the prince against any injustice. At the same time, they as little as the Turks could employ Christian servants under thirty years of age, and Jewish women as well as Christian women might not sell spirituous drinks.

Although the terms of the charter were never literally executed, its good effects made themselves felt. The Jews lived in all the cities, villages, and market-towns of Moldavia, and their activity was perceptible everywhere. Many went to Hotin at the border of Moldavia and Poland, with

leather belts, embroideries, textile fabrics, and carpets, and brought back furs from Russia. Others exported cattle, saffron, cotton, carpets, dates, and other fruits as far as Breslau and Frankfort, and imported silver and merchandise. The Jews were engaged in all the crafts; the cultivation of the land was in their hands; the wayside inns on the main routes of travel belonged to them, and, according to the travelers, these were the only places which offered comfortable quarters. The best houses in the cities were those of the Jews, and they were chosen for lodging distinguished guests.

Gregory Alexander Ghika (1764-1767), however, expelled them from the rural districts, and forbade their renting inns or land. It is true, he authorized the Jews to repeople the city of Tirgu-Frumos; but his ill-will toward the Jews encouraged the population of Roman to accuse them of having profaned a church, though the crime was actually committed by three Hungarian Christians. The people fell upon the Jews, and would have massacred them, if the guilty persons had not been discovered in time.

His namesake, Alexander Ghika, who reigned in Wallachia (1766-1769), at the advice of Ephraim, Patriarch of Jerusalem, destroyed the second synagogue erected at Bukharest. In addition, the Patriarch, who was on his way through the city, pronounced his anathema against the Jews.

The Russo-Turkish war (1769-1774) brought sad times to the Jews of the principalities. After massacring the Jews of Uman, the Cossacks advanced as far as Balta-Roumania, and demanded the Polish Jews who had taken refuge there. When the Turkish garrison refused to give them up, the Cossacks murdered the garrison along with the Jewish popu-

lation. The Russians entered Moldavia; and the Russian and Turkish soldiers vied with each other in making exactions and in pillaging. Jews and Christians fled the country, those who remained enduring the maltreatment of the janizaries. At Botoshani the rabbi fell a victim to their brutality. At Bukharest the people, taking advantage of the disorder induced by the Turks, fell upon the Jews (1770), who took refuge with the boyars. A Jewish woman seized by the mob saw her children slaughtered before her eyes, and this at her own request rather than let them be baptized. It was during the Russian occupation that the first anti-Jewish pamphlet appeared at Jassy in 1771. It is a Roumanian translation of the *Opus Aureum* of Samuel Maroccanus, written in Arabic in the fourteenth century.

Tranquillity was not restored in the principalities until nearly the end of 1774, when peace was concluded. Alexander Ypsilante was appointed in Wallachia (1774-1782), and Gregory Alexander Ghika for the second time in Moldavia (1774-1777).

The code of Ypsilante contains no restrictions upon the Jews except in regard to their testimony against Christians. Nevertheless, he destroyed the synagogue which the Jews had built at Bukharest during the Russian occupation, and he granted privileges to converts, which were confirmed by his successors.

Gregory Ghika renewed his decree expelling the Jews from the villages and forbidding them to rent farms or inns. By the law which determined the functions of officials, he abolished the guild of petty dealers at the markets, thus depriving the Jews of the cities of a profitable occupation in which they had been engaged.

[His successor, Constantine Moruzi (1777-1782), continued to enforce the prohibition against the settlement of the Jews in the rural districts, and in a decree issued at the secret instigation of the Porte, he forbade the importation of spirituous liquors, a severe blow to the Jews engaged in this trade.]

[The prohibition against the importation of spirituous liquors into Moldavia caused the boyars to erect distilleries, whose management they left to the Jews. Alexander Mavrocordatos (1782-1784) decreed the destruction of these distilleries, provided that the Jews derived the greatest profit from them. Moreover, he refused Jews the right to live in the rural districts, though he permitted them to rent farms. During his reign an accusation of ritual murder was brought at Botoshani (1783), and the prominent men of the community, the rabbis and the *Dayanim*, were imprisoned. They obtained justice from the council of the prince. The community decreed that *Lag be-Omer*, the day of their deliverance, should be a festival.]

Under the successor of this prince, his namesake Alexander Mavrocordatos II (1785-1786), the Jews of Moldavia received better treatment. He had a Jewish physician who enjoyed his entire confidence.

In Wallachia, Nicholas Mavrogheni (1786-1788) was likewise well-disposed toward the Jews; and at last the Jews of Bukharest were permitted to build a second synagogue. But forced by the demands of war, the prince imposed heavy taxes upon corporations and, consequently, upon the Jews.

The Jews of Jassy were less fortunate. They had to undergo all the torments of the Russo-Turkish war. Fifteen thousand janizariés entered the city in November, 1787,

drove the merchants from their shops, sold their wares, broke in the casks of wine, and killed all who offered resistance.

On the renewal of the Russo-Turkish war, in which the Austrians took part, the Russians took Ismail by storm, November, 1790, and massacred a great number of Jews, sending others as prisoners into the interior of Russia. The Austrian occupation of Wallachia was disastrous for the Jews. In consequence of the frequent requisitions made for agricultural products, the distilleries, which were almost exclusively in the hands of the Jews, could no longer be run, and many Jews were ruined. Commerce stopped, and the traders were heavily burdened with taxes. A special and severe order was given by the authorities of the districts to take a census of the Jews, including even the purveyors to the imperial army, and to impose large taxes upon them.

[Under Alexander Moruzi (1793-1796) the Jews of Wallachia experienced all the severities of an oppressive ruler. Moruzi renewed the privileges of the converted Jews, destroyed the synagogue, which had been constructed on one of the principal streets of Bukharest, and inflicted the bastinado on those who defended themselves against their aggressors. He forbade the settlement of Jews at Bukharest; and the people, influenced by his acts, became so inflamed against the Jews that he was compelled to adopt protective measures, and inflicted the bastinado on a tailor who had forcibly baptized a Jewish child. At the same time Moruzi recognized the services rendered by the Jews engaged in industries. He granted privileges to a Jew by the name of Moses, who was a manufacturer of glassware; he exempted certain artisans from taxation; and he even appointed a Jew to the post of *Giwaergiu-Basha*.]

In Moldavia the Jews were subjected to fewer vexations. Nevertheless, Alexander Kallimachos in 1796 drove from their shops the Jews that lived about the mother church of Jassy, under the pretext that they defiled the sacred precincts. At Galatz the never-dying accusation of ritual murder was made in 1797. The Greeks attacked the Jews, beat them, pillaged their houses, killed four, threw others into the Danube, and burned the synagogue with the rolls of the Law. The Jews escaped entire destruction only through an old priest, who gathered them together, and sheltered them in his church.

VII

In spite of the wars, and the Cossack and Tartar incursions, the pest, the floods, and the famine, the number of Jews in Wallachia and Moldavia, especially in Moldavia, increased. Whenever a calamity threatened the country, those who were in good circumstances crossed the frontier, and returned after the storm had blown over. One advantage of the wars was that the Jewish purveyors came into the country, and established themselves there, attracted by the commercial and industrial liberty which they were allowed to enjoy.

[In Wallachia, during the eighteenth century, the number of Jews increased through immigrants from Hungary, Russia, and Turkey. Though they were traders, they engaged in all kinds of crafts—tailoring, shoemaking, tinning, lace-making, working silver, making jewelry, bookbinding, engraving (in which they excelled), making pipes, and manufacturing potash and glassware. They joined the guilds of artisans and craftsmen, on an equal footing with Chris-

tians. They were also the best distillers, as such enjoying certain privileges. They rarely engaged in money changing. The people at large, however, despised and insulted them; yet they were well received by the boyars, the high dignitaries of the State, and even by the princes and the court, at which the artisans through their skill succeeded in obtaining exceptional positions, in acquiring privileges, favors, and influence, and exemption from taxation.] Several princes appointed the provost of the Jews of Bukharest as *Cuiungi-Basha*, or grand provost of the silversmiths. In 1792 a Jew named Eleazar was made *Giuvaergiu-Basha*, grand provost of the jewelers. These were high positions, which conferred upon the holders a certain authority and certain judicial powers over all the members of the guild, of which they were the natural defenders.

Authors are agreed in declaring that the Jews were good husbands and fathers, seeking happiness in their families. Beneficence, practiced especially toward their kindred, was one of their virtues, and their probity was beyond question. Their religious practices often affected strangers strongly, and challenged their admiration.

The same is true of the Moldavian Jews, whom neither prayers, threats, nor bribes could move to depart from their customs.

[The Jews of Moldavia exerted a still stronger influence on the social and economic condition of the country than the Jews of Wallachia. Here hindrances were frequently put in the way of their settlement, but in Moldavia the people summoned them with eagerness. Many a village and town and some cities, like Folticheni and Mihaileni, were founded or re-peopled by them or their agents in the eighteenth century.

After obtaining the authorization of the prince, the boyars, that is, proprietors of estates, generally made an agreement with certain foreign Jewish families, by which these bound themselves to people the town within a limited time, and in case the engagement was not fulfilled, to pay a severe penalty. Privileges were granted the founders and their descendants, and the land and the material for the construction of synagogues and the management of cemeteries were given them gratuitously. They were assured the independent administration of their internal affairs, and they took an active share in the communal affairs with rights equal to those of the other citizens.

They followed all the professions and crafts. There were Jewish physicians, surgeons, barbers, midwives, wholesale and retail merchants, bankers, brokers, traders in cattle, grain, tobacco, wines, fruits, skins, and fish, inn-keepers, and middlemen. Among the artisans there were Jewish clock-makers, coppersmiths, workers in hides and furs, cap and hat makers, keepers of coffee houses, shoemakers, tailors, tanners, silversmiths, jewelers, glaziers, engravers, bookbinders, butchers, housepainters, masons, drivers, lacemakers, bakers, etc. Among the manufacturers, there were distillers on a large and small scale, manufacturers of liquors, butter, glassware, potash, paper, and textile fabrics. In Wallachia the artisans were absorbed by the Christian guilds, but in Moldavia Jewish artisans formed independent organizations, each with a provost and councillors, and they were absorbed only by the great guild called the Jewish corporation.]

VIII

The only Phanariot princes who openly showed themselves by their actions to be hostile to the Jews were the

Moruzi. In 1799 Alexander Moruzi again mounted the throne of Wallachia. The people of Bukharest, probably encouraged by his presence, raised the charge of ritual murder, and, aided by the soldiers, attacked the Jews, spreading the rumor, whether true or false, that it was the will of the prince. They assaulted the Jews, pillaged their houses, and killed one hundred and twenty-eight persons (April 8, 1801). In this way, with veritable Sicilian Vespers, was inaugurated the nineteenth century. The prince, awed by his responsibility to Turkey, was compelled to send the instigators of the massacre to do enforced labor at the salt mines.

[Soon after, Moruzi left the throne of Wallachia and ascended the throne of Moldavia. His presence immediately made itself felt. A Jew of Neamtz was accused of ritual murder (1803), and three of his coreligionists were imprisoned and tortured. On February 8, 1803, a libelous publication against the Jews, *Infruntarea jidovilor* ("The Insolence of the Jews"), appeared at Jassy. It was printed by the presses at the residence of the Metropolitan, with the blessing of this high dignitary of the Church, and probably with the consent of the prince. It contains the old absurd accusations and slanders, and gives silly interpretations of the customs of the Jews. The pamphlet was spread among the people; and at Jassy it provoked mob violence against the Jews, which threatened to become a massacre. The Jews were saved by the Metropolitan, who sheltered them in the court of his archiepiscopal residence. In order to increase the taxes which the Jews paid as a corporation, Moruzi had the boyars address a request to him against the overrunning of the country by the Jews (1804). In addition, he forbade Jews to rent farms (1803).]

Wallachia, also, was excited by the accusation of ritual murder. The charge was carried from mouth to mouth; and to put a stop to it, Constantine Ypsilante in 1804 was forced to address a rescript to the Metropolitan, requesting him to draw up an encyclical which the priests should read from the pulpit, proclaiming that the charge is false, that the Jewish law permits no such practices, and that the accusation is an invention of the rabble seeking for a pretext to pillage the houses of Jews.

In December, 1806, war again broke out between Russia and Turkey; and the Russian troops occupied the principalities. As soon as they approached Bukharest, Ypsilante left the city, the wealthier of the residents following his example. Taking advantage of the disorder resulting from this departure, the people fell upon the Jews, penned them up, and gave them the choice between baptism and death. They were saved from their terrible plight by the entrance of the Russians.

[The accusation of ritual murder, however, did not cease in Wallachia. In 1808 the Metropolitan was again forced to protest against it; in 1811 a Jew of the district of Jalowitza was imprisoned on a similar charge; and in 1815 an abortive attempt to raise the cry was made at Ploeisht.]

The Russian occupation, ill-fated for the Roumanians, was still more baneful to the Jews of the two principalities. They had many vexations to undergo at the hands of the authorities and the army. Commerce was paralyzed; the traders were burdened with taxes; and the Jewish artisans were prevented from working on Christian holidays even at their own homes. At Bukharest a Christian provost was forced upon them. The Russian army made all kinds of

extortionate demands, and when the Kalmucks entered Bukharest in 1812, they went through the streets inhabited by Jews, and spitted Jewish children on their lances; then roasted and ate them. In order to free themselves of these monsters the Jews offered money to their general to induce him to withdraw them from the city.

After peace was concluded, the simultaneous reigns of John Caradja in Wallachia (1812-1818) and Charles Kallimachos in Moldavia (1812-1819) were marked by the ravages of the plague in both principalities. In Wallachia, Caradja, needy and avaricious, profited by the calamity to drain money from the Jews, while accusing them of filthiness. He forbade them to employ Christian minors as servants, or to rent or buy shops in the vicinity of churches. In Moldavia, Kallimachos, kinder and more disinterested, treated them well; but the ritual murder calumny was repeated at Piatra (1816). The authorities maltreated the Jews, and extorted money from them, using the plague as a pretext.

Nevertheless, the codes issued by the two princes show that fault was found with the pocket not the person of the Jew. The code of Caradja is thoroughly mediocre. It treats of all matters and exhausts none. But it contains only one restriction against the Jews, by which they were not allowed to testify against Christians. The code of Kallimachos was drawn up on a purely civil basis, modeled after the Austrian code; but it has the one great merit of having eliminated from the Austrian code all the shameful clauses in which the Jew is regarded as a pariah. Nevertheless, Jews were forbidden to own estates or vineyards. This regulation was derived from the common law of the Mol-

davians, but had never been strictly executed. By the terms of the code, the Jews enjoyed all civil rights; they could marry and divorce at will; they could give, bequeath, inherit, administer their property, and act as mandataries and as mandators, even before the law; they could buy and sell and engage in all pursuits and industries; and every community, as soon as it was recognized as such by a princely decree, constituted a legal person.

IX

[In 1821 a tremendous storm broke out bringing mortal terror to the Roumanian Jews. It was the epoch of the hetæria, of the Greek revolution, when the Greeks sought to free themselves from the Turkish yoke. Some high-minded youths enrolled themselves in the ranks of the insurgents, called hetærists, but the rest were of the scum of humanity, who were forced into service if they did not join of their free will. They were undisciplined bands of plunderers, of gallows-birds, who stole, sowed destruction, and pillaged the houses of Jews. They killed and massacred those whom they met on their march to Piatra, Neamtz, Folticheni, Hertza, Fokshani, etc., and their route through Moldavia and Wallachia was flooded with Jewish blood. These wretches found assistants in the Greek monks of the Moldavian monasteries.]

The entrance of the Turks put a stop to the carnage; but then the Turks and the janizaries took their turn at pillaging; on occasion they even put persons to death in spite of the strict orders of their superiors. The Jews lived in a constant state of dread; terror reigned in the two countries, especially in Moldavia. The well-to-do crossed the frontier;

but the poor wandered about in the forests and the mountains. The city of Jassy, at first partially destroyed by conflagrations, was converted into a furnace of living coals before the departure of the janizaries (August, 1822). All the Jewish houses and synagogues were reduced to ashes, and thousands bewailed their vanished fortunes and lost kindred.

The reign of John Alexander Sturdza in Moldavia (1822-1828) was characterized by indecision. He treated the Jews according to the impulse of the moment, sometimes well, then again badly. Taxes were doubled, they were forbidden to engage in certain trades or to buy houses in the cities; the authorities maltreated them; and an accusation of ritual murder brought desolation to Bakau (1824). On the other hand, Sturdza permitted them to rebuild some synagogues, won their cause for them against the inhabitants of Roman, and authorized them to repeople certain villages and to found towns.

The Russo-Turkish war and the consequent Russian occupation (1826-1834) brought with it all the suffering incident to a foreign occupation, and, more than this, the plague and the cholera. The Jews on their part endured the terrible consequences; but a worse scourge for them than this was the influence of Russia. Hate and chicanery were introduced, and the spirit of exclusiveness and of persecution henceforth pervaded the legislation of the two principalities, especially of Moldavia.

[The princes, Alexander Ghika (1834-1842) and George Bibescu (1842-1848), besides passing some exceptional laws, made no change in the situation of the Jews of Wallachia, and they gained in number and importance. It was not so

in Moldavia. Michael Sturdza (1834-1848) had spent his whole fortune in the effort to ingratiate himself with Russia and to gain Turkey's recognition of him as prince. Now he had to fill his empty coffers, and a perpetual hunting down of the Jews began, with their purses as the final object of pursuit. The "Organic Law," a charter drawn up under the inspection of Russia, provided him with sufficient pretexts. He availed himself of its provisions, elaborated them, and invented and decreed all sorts of measures, of which the most annoying and effective was the law on vagrancy. This law was sometimes strictly executed and sometimes wholly neglected. During the fourteen years of his reign hardly a year passed but brought with it some decree to harm the Jews: the objects of their machinations were the inn-keepers of the villages; Jews were forbidden to inhabit certain streets or districts in the cities; restrictive measures were passed against merchants, peddlers, brokers, and artisans; and they were forbidden to rent certain shops or build their synagogues in certain places. These laws or decrees depended on the willingness of the Jew to unfasten his purse strings, or on the interests of the boyars. The accusation of ritual murder was brought in several places, and riots against the Jews were frequent. Hatred of them was entertained in all quarters, and to crown their ills, the abduction of a child is recorded, prototype of the Mortara case, the government taking the guilty under its protection. Yet there was need of the Jews; the boyars, with the authorization of the prince, summoned them to found and people market-towns; and at this time they established some small towns in Moldavia, which are flourishing to-day.]

The revolution of 1848, which had overturned several thrones, also swept over Wallachia. The Jews took part in it, and were most worthily represented by Daniel Rosenthal, the painter, whose attachment to the revolution and the revolutionists later cost him his life. The Jews contributed to the cause in different ways, some giving up their fortunes to help the proscribed revolutionists; and at the entrance of the Turks into Bukharest they sealed their love of liberty with their life's blood.

In the struggle for the union of the two principalities, which agitated the country after the Crimean war, many Jews of Wallachia and Moldavia ranged themselves on the side of union. In Moldavia they were the scapegoats of the two parties, the unionists and the anti-unionists, each of whom wanted to attach them to its side (1857-1858).

(It is an open question whether the reign of John Alexander Cuza (1859-1866), the first prince of the united principalities, was as favorable to the Jews as has been pretended. The history of the time has not yet been written, and the documents are for the most part unknown. Both anti-Jewish excesses and accusations of ritual murder took place under this prince as well as before; and decrees and circulars bearing the earmark of persecution were drawn up in his reign. Later these served as models for the governments of Prince and King Charles; and certain laws made by Cuza contain the germs of present restrictions. It is just to admit, however, that an article of the civil code promulgated in 1864 foresaw the gradual emancipation of the Jews; but, it is proper to add, the application of this clause was suspended.)

X

The organization of the Jews in Roumania merits special attention. The internal administration of their affairs did not differ greatly from that obtaining in the Jewish communities of Poland; but the same is not true of their representatives before the constituted authorities of the country. These bore titles borrowed from Poland and Turkey, but they had different functions from those of the Polish and Turkish officials of the same name.

The community was known to outsiders as the *Breasla* (corporation); and its most ancient representative was called the *Starosté* (provost), who, by the end of the sixteenth century, acquired the right to represent the community officially before the authorities of the city. The title has been preserved in Wallachia. In Moldavia, since the beginning of the eighteenth century and probably before, the highest position is that of the *Hahambasha*. After 1750 this position was occupied chiefly by rabbis, though its character and functions were essentially secular. Probably it arose out of the predominance acquired in the course of time by the *Starosté* of Jassy over his colleagues in the province. This is more likely than that it was created by the central authorities and the prince. The Jews conferred upon the holder of this office the title of *Rosh Medina*, regent of the country: and as his authority and influence increased, he was recognized as chief also by the Jews of Wallachia. Thus a kind of union was established between the two countries before their actual political union.

The *Hahambasha* was appointed by a princely decree, which had to be renewed with the accession of each prince. He represented the Jews before the prince and the central

authorities, and was freely admitted to their presence, enjoying many privileges and immunities. Each head of a family owed him an annual sum, and a certain sum was due him at betrothals, marriages, and divorces, and from Jewish butchers for each head of cattle slaughtered. He himself and his near kindred were exempt from taxation on the beehives, wine, cattle, and drinks belonging to them, and he owed no *corvée*, even to the prince. The decree by which he was appointed invariably contained a reference to important services previously rendered by him to the prince.

The *Hahambasha* had absolute authority in religious questions and very great authority to decide questions in litigation, both civil and criminal. An appeal could be made from his decision only to the *Vel-Camarash* (the chamberlain of the court) or to the *Divan* (the supreme court, over which the prince presided), and this solely in questions of importance. In all the larger cities of Moldavia, as well as at Bukharest, he had a direct representative, *Vekil-Hahambasha* (*locum tenens*), appointed by a princely decree on his recommendation. This representative collected the fees granted the *Hahambasha* by the prince.

It was at his recommendation, also, that the prince appointed the *Starostés* in the communities of the province. There were three in Jassy and one in every other city. The *Vekil-Hahambasha* and the *Starosté* were his intermediaries with the authorities of the district, and, like himself, they enjoyed certain privileges and immunities.

Although the rabbis were nominated by the *Fruntaski* (notables) of the Jewish community and all its members, they had to be recognized and appointed by the *Hahambasha*, who had the absolute right to revoke their appointment.

For a long time in Wallachia there was only one *Starosté*, at Bukharest, for the whole country. Later there were *Starostés Vekils* (*locum tenentes*), and these were not elevated to the rank of full *Starostés* before the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The *Starosté* of Bukharest was in addition *Vekil-Hahambasha*, under the authority of the *Hahambasha*, and charged with collecting his fees. At the accession of each prince the decree by which he was appointed had to be renewed. Though the *Hahambasha* was his superior, he had free play in certain questions. During the reign of Michael Sutzu (1818-1821), the *Starosté* of Bukharest emancipated himself entirely from the domination of the *Hahambasha* at Jassy, and assumed the title of *Hahambasha*, at the same time preserving the title of *Starosté* in his official relations with the authorities.

Though the office of *Hahambasha* was not hereditary, it remained with some slight interruption in the hands of one family. About 1740 Bezalel ha-Cohen, a distinguished rabbi, brother or nephew of Naphtali ha-Cohen of Prague, known for his disputes with Chajon, became *Hahambasha*; and after 1750 or 1752 the office was handed on to his descendants, and with some exceptions did not leave them until 1832. In this year the office was abolished in consequence of intrigues and hot contests over the incapacity of the last incumbent, Isaiah ha-Cohen, also called Naftulowich.

In Moldavia, the office of *Starosté* was abolished at the same time, but only in so far as it involved the functions of chief official of the Jewish corporation in one place. The representatives of the community took the name of *Epitropi* (administrators). On several occasions the communities

were reorganized by the princes Michael Sturdza and Gregory Ghika.

In Wallachia the office of *Starosté* was officially retained until 1851; but various statutes decreed by the princes subtracted from its importance, and finally the *Epitropie* (council of the community) was introduced into Wallachia to the exclusion of every other governing agency.

XI

Researches concerning Jewish literature in Roumania have not yet been made. Indeed, doubt may well be entertained whether any such literature worthy of special attention exists. For circumstances were by no means favorable to its production; during the troubled course of Roumanian history the people lived a hand to mouth existence. The epitaphs in the cemetery at Jassy, the only one which has been examined, give evidence of a series of scholars, rabbis, and *Dayanim*. But the epitaphs prove nothing—the rabbis were generally recruited from Poland or, later, from Russian Poland; even those who were native Roumanians had to resort to the *Yeshiboth* of Poland, and were lost among the mass of rabbis there; and most of them left their positions to go to other countries or to end their days in Palestine.

Among the rabbis the following two may be mentioned: Jacob ibn Arvani, of Jassy, described as a physician and profound Cabbalist by Joseph del Medigo, who visited Jassy; and Nathan Nata Hanover, rabbi at Fokshani and at Jassy, author of *Jawan Mezula*, an excellent, trustworthy document on the sufferings of the Jews during the Cossack insurrection.

There can be no question of a Jewish literature in the Roumanian language during the middle ages, in view of the fact that the Roumanian literature itself consisted of little more than inedited chronicles, or religious and popular works, most of which are of quite recent origin.

Jewish authors writing in Hebrew, who were natives of Roumania or lived there from early youth, do not appear until the second quarter of the nineteenth century. These were poets and prose writers, some of whom displayed a fair amount of originality, and handled the Hebrew language with ease and elegance. Such were: Hillel Kahane, M. Pineles, M. S. Rabener, Benjamin Schwarzfeld, D. Wexler, Baron Waldberg, and recently, M. Braunstein-Mebaschan. The rabbis for their part repeated and repeated their superannuated commentaries.

The first Jew who took a place in general Roumanian literature is Dr. Julius Barasch; he created a scientific Roumanian language and popularized the sciences for the Roumanians. The best writers on folklore and on Roumanian philology are Jews, namely: Dr. M. Gaster, Haham of the Sephardic community at London, author of a work on popular Roumanian literature; Aureliu Candrea, author of a work on surnames; M. Schwarzfeld, author of a critical work on popular Roumanian poetry; Lazar Shineanu, author of several works crowned by the Roumanian Academy; and H. Tiktin; the last two recent converts.

Joseph Brociner, lyric poet, is the first Jewish poet who wrote in the Roumanian language; and Ronetti Roman is the most gifted of all Roumanian poets. His poem *Radu* is epoch-making, and gives him rank among the best poets. Others are Dr. A. Steuermann, poet and prose writer; B.

Giordano (Goldner), a writer of excellent epigrams, unique of their kind; Stephen Cruchanu; Richard Torchanu, and Senea (Frumeshanu alias Schoenfeld).

[Among the writers who publish their works in foreign languages are: Dr. M. Gaster; Dr. Solomon Schechter, Reader in Rabbinic at Cambridge and Professor of Hebrew at University College, London; Dr. Marcus Brociner; Dr. Paul Weisengrün; Oswald Neuschatz; Dr. B. Lebel; and Dr. C. Lippe.

The Judeo-Roumanian literature is almost exclusively represented by the *Anuarul pentru Israelitzi*, a year book for Israelites, mainly literary in character, under the editorship of M. Schwarzfeld; and by the publications of the present writer and his brother, M. Schwarzfeld.

Homiletics is represented by Dr. M. Beck; Talmudic exegesis by Dr. C. Lippe; and Jewish folklore by Dr. M. Gaster. M. Schwarzfeld has published essays in the last-mentioned science, but he is chiefly occupied with biographical studies.]

The present writer is the only writer of Roumanian Jewish novels. The object of his tales is to paint the soul and the manners of the Roumanian Jew, and they aim at presenting the persecutions and scenes of the past. S. Janovich publishes sketches of the Roumanian Jew. He is a good Roumanian stylist, but is not sufficiently acquainted with Jewish customs.

The historians of the Jews in Roumania are Moses and William Schwarzfeld (the latter of whom is dead), and chiefly the present writer. Mention must also be made of Jacob Psantir, author of a Judeo-German book, improperly entitled a history of the Jews in Roumania. It is a history of Roumania drawn from second-rate sources, and containing some notes upon the Jews. Its interest resides in the

accounts he has gathered from the mouths of old men, and in the publication of certain epitaphs. Joseph Kaufman has published notes on the communities of Piatra, Neamtz, and Roman; the traditions collected by him are the only ones of interest.

[Jewish journalism extends back as far as 1856, when the first Judeo-German journal appeared at Jassy. In 1857 the *Israelitul-Roman*, in Roumanian and French, appeared at Bukharest. Other journals, whose existence was ephemeral, followed; they were written in Judeo-German, in German, in Roumanian and German, in Roumanian, and in Hebrew. Among the journalists the following may be mentioned: Dr. Adolph and Dr. Leopold Stern, brothers, Dr. M. Beck, Julius Schein, A. S. Gold, and San Cerbu. The present writer may claim the honor of having definitely traced the path for Jewish journalism in Roumania by the *Fraternitatea*, which has served as a model for all Jewish periodical publications. He was aided in the task by his brother Moses Schwarzfeld, who for twelve years has edited the *Egalitatea*.]

Pamphlets in defense of the Jews or in the interest of Roumanian Judaism have been published, chiefly by the present writer.

Some writers voluntarily left Roumania in consequence of the persecutions of the Jews there. Dr. Gaster and the present writer were expelled in October, 1885, in consequence of the law against aliens, which was applied to native Jews.

Following is a list of the articles and studies which have been published on the history of the Jews in Roumania and which partially serve as the basis for the present article:

Dr. E. Schwarzfeld: "The Jews during the Hetæria" (1884); "A Jew on the Throne of Moldavia in 1591" (1884); "The Institutions of the Jews of Moldavia in the Eighteenth Century and during the first part of the Nineteenth Century" (1885); "The Massacre of the Jews under Michael the Brave and Aaron of Moldavia" (1886); "A Chronicle of the Jews in Roumania from 1801 to 1866" (1887); "The Jews of Moldavia under the Code of Kallimachos" (1888); "The Jews under the *Organic Law*" (1890, 1891), eight studies in the legislation of the time; "Jewish Physicians in the Roumanian Principalities" (1890); "The Jews in the Legislation of Matthew Basarab of Wallachia" (1895); "The Situation of the Jews under Michael Sturdza" (1896); "The Abduction and Baptism of a Child at Jassy in 1843" (1896); "The Jews of Moldavia during the Plague and the Cholera" (1896); "Prince Alexander Sturdza and Dr. Drey" (1896); "The Excesses against the Jews of Galatz between 1840 and 1853" (1898); "The Jews of Bukharest in 1852 to 1853" (1898); "The Tribulations of Rabbi David Halperin of Bukharest" (1898); "A Prohibition forbidding the Jews to inhabit Certain Quarters" (1898); "An Act of Revenge of Isaiah Hahambasha" (1898); "Statistics of the Jews of Bukowina in 1781" (1898).

M. Schwarzfeld: Three communications to the historical society Juliu Barasch in 1887, 1888, 1889; "A Memorial Roll" (*Megilla Lezikoron*, 1890).

W. Schwarzfeld, "Education among the Jews of Jassy from the beginning of the Nineteenth Century to 1866" (1889); "Jewish Scholars and Writers at Jassy, from the earliest times to the present" (1890); "Epigraphical Researches" (1895), four studies.

THE SITUATION OF THE JEWS IN ROUMANIA SINCE THE TREATY OF BERLIN (1878)

BY DR. E. SCHWARZFELD

I

[The reign of Prince Charles, the present King of Roumania, had an unfortunate beginning. The capital gave him a brilliant reception, but very soon it afforded him the spectacle of a riot against the Jews. An assembly had been convened to confer a constitution upon Roumania. The rough draft submitted by the government stated, in Article 6, that "religion is no obstacle to naturalization." It added, "With regard to the Jews, a special law will regulate their admission to naturalization and thus also to civil rights."

This article was superfluous; the question had been settled in the civil code. But the government wished to draw the attention of the Judæophobes—anti-Semites were not yet known—to this fact so that they might demand its abrogation. The purpose was more than realized. The hangers-on of the government organized bands, and fell upon the Jews on their way to the synagogue recently erected, demolished it, and desecrated the holy precincts (June 30, 1866). The government withdrew Article 6, and put to the vote Article 7, which stated that "aliens of the Christian persuasion alone can obtain naturalization."]

[From the Roumanian cities the Jews were already banished. Soon they were to be placed beyond the law, too. Called to absolute power, John Bratianu had the archives ransacked in order to bring to light the ancient circulars and decrees pro-

mulgated against the Jews in the two principalities. By a series of new circulars he brought them back into force, and the hunting down of the Jews was begun. Jewish inns were shut down; prefects, sub-prefects, and mayors took measures for the wholesale expulsion of the Jews from the villages. Atrocities were committed: with the butt-end of muskets and at the point of the bayonet, men, women, and children were cruelly driven from their homes. In the towns the Jews were brutally seized by the police and the agents of the law, were caught with a lasso, abused, and imprisoned. Some were hunted out of the country, others were condemned by the courts as vagrants. Roumanian subjects though they were, they were forced across the Danube, and, Turkey refusing to receive them, they were drowned in the river.]

These barbarities shocked the whole of Europe. Energetic remonstrances were addressed to the Roumanian government, and Bratianu was dismissed.

The conservative ministry succeeding him was no better. Under the mask of tolerance it made the preparations for a legal persecution. This was the very ministry that passed the first restrictive laws on the subjects of the tobacco monopoly and spirituous liquors. Thousands of Jewish families forfeited their livelihood. At the same time riots broke out. Ministers, prefects, all the constituted authorities, made it their duty to harry the Jews. Disgraceful and barbarous scenes were enacted everywhere. The European press denounced these proceedings; the Powers wrote peremptory notes. Nothing came of it. Soon thereafter these same Powers signed commercial agreements with Roumania, a semi-sovereign principality, in which they sacrificed the interests of their own Jewish citizens, impressing Roumanian

statesmen with the conviction that civilized Europe itself would not yield the slightest material profit for the sake of the persecuted Jew's cause. Moreover, Bratianu had resumed the leadership, and the man who had allowed himself to be put into confinement as a lunatic in order to escape the consequences of complicity in the attack upon Napoleon III, knew full well how to set about allaying the wrath and the scruples of diplomats. The situation of the Jews was lamentable. It was the eve of the Russo-Turkish war.

II

[After the war, in 1878, the European areopagus was convoked for the purpose of recasting the Treaty of San Stefano. The opportunity was seized to regulate the Jewish question in Roumania. The Congress of Berlin proclaimed the equality of all creeds before the law. A man's religion was no longer to constitute an obstacle to the enjoyment of civil and political rights, still less to the pursuit of any of the professions or trades. More than that, all nationalities, owing allegiance to no matter which of the Powers—merchants as well as others—were to be treated, in Roumania, without distinction as to religion, on a footing of perfect equality.

Ignorant of Roumanian affairs and of the knavery and duplicity of Roumanian statesmen, the diplomats of Europe and the Jews of foreign countries openly rejoiced. They soon saw cause to moderate their exultation. Article 44 of the Treaty of Berlin will ever remain a monument to human fatuity, which plumes itself upon legislating according to the abstract formula of the law, without a searching study of men and things. Outsiders might have been astonished at the failure to execute the formal provisions of the Treaty of

Berlin; in those who knew the disposition of Roumanian statesmen, it did not awaken surprise. Rather were they taken aback by the wording of the article, which bore in its womb the exceptional laws and the persecutions which Roumania was shortly to display to the civilized world.]

Article 44 called forth indignant outcries in the Roumanian press. Fists were clenched, and the Jews of the land were threatened with a general massacre—one bit of knavery the more, by way of preparation for the farce which the Roumanians were going to play before Europe; and as the politicians, of whatever party, were animated by intolerance, they all joined hands behind the scenes to enact it with adroitness and diplomacy.

The government organized diplomatic missions, and, while it was exciting the masses at home, its emissaries, in their negotiations with foreign cabinets, used the artificially fomented dissatisfaction of the people as a pretext to obtain the recognition of Roumanian independence without fulfilling the conditions attached to it in the Treaty of Berlin. Nevertheless they promised, in the name of the Roumanian government, religiously to fulfil the stipulations of the treaty—which did not hinder the government from secretly urging its own supporters and partisans to oppose the government with the utmost bitterness, to yield not a hairbreadth, and to hold high and firm the flag of intolerance and exclusivism.

[Thus it came about that Article 7 of the constitution was abrogated after many a throe simulated for the gallery, and thus was born the new article, a model of jesuitism, duplicity, and rascality. The Jews disappeared with a stroke of the pen. Thenceforth Roumania had no Jews, but only *aliens not subject to alien protection*—pariahs, vagabonds, the targets

of any chance passer-by. It was a return to the good old times of outlawry, whose victims might be annoyed, tormented, deprived of life itself, and justice not take cognizance of the wrong.]

The limitation of space does not permit me to review the situation of the Roumanian Jews in detail. I can but present to my readers a succinct account, bare of all the finer shades which alone make the picture real and vivid. For, it must be remembered, we are not dealing with a legislation frankly hostile to the Jews, as in Russia, nor with an avowed persecution. For the greater part we are engaged with an adversary who conceals his game, and strikes from behind.

The persecution of the Jews takes on every possible form, it shows itself everywhere. It appears in the restrictive laws; it is incited by the legislative chambers; it emanates from the ministers of the cabinet; it is frankly directed by the bodies corporate of the departments and the communes, by the police, by the administrators of justice, by the army, by the teachers and professors, and by ordinary private individuals. Everybody tracks the Jews, and woe to the Jew who defends himself.

III

[And what of naturalization?

According to Article 7 of the constitution in its modified form, naturalization is accorded only by a vote of the two Chambers, and then only to individuals. Naturalization conferred upon a father does not involve the naturalization of his minor children; the Chambers may vote or may refuse it. At one time, if naturalization was voted by one Chamber, the vote stood, even if the other Chamber failed to endorse it.

The rule has since been changed. If one of the Chambers rejects the law of naturalization, the favorable vote of the other Chamber becomes ineffectual, and the whole matter must be gone over again from the beginning. Besides, in contravention to the provisions of the constitution, the Senate accords naturalization only by a two-thirds majority.]

[Roumania, desiring the recognition of her independence by the European Powers, threw dust into their eyes. To mislead them, the government compiled a list of 883 Jews, participants in the war of 1877, on which the Chambers voted as a whole, and in addition 57 persons, voted upon as individuals, were naturalized in 1880. A shameless traffic had established itself; some of the deputies kept open shop, and naturalization was granted to such Jews as paid down cash, a practice which elicited the remark from Kogalnichanu, that "the Jews had not eaten Roumania, but her representatives had eaten many a Jewish purse."]

Thereafter, it was tacitly agreed, no more Jews were to be naturalized. In point of fact, the following figures constitute the tale of Jewish naturalizations since then: 6 Jews naturalized in 1881; 2 in 1882; 2 in 1883; and 18 from 1886 to 1900; in all, 85 Jews in 21 years, 27 of whom have in the meantime died.

[The lot of the above-mentioned 883 soldiers deserves to be told. As no one could set forth his own claims, and as the ministry had arranged the list of names on their own responsibility, it is easy to imagine that the choice was determined by caprice. The survivors of the war for independence were, for the most part, passed over; the dead, however, were inscribed. One could be sure that they would not claim the patents of naturalization, for the good reason that they were

interred in the soil of Bulgaria. As for the survivors, they were required to bring documentary evidence which they could rarely produce. Moreover, the letters patent were sent to the regiments with strict and confidential orders not to deliver them, and more than half of them were later annulled by the Council of ministers. Such was the end of this farce.]

IV

[However, the mere withholding of naturalization from the Jews was not enough. It was necessary to render their life so bitter as to disgust them forever with Roumanian citizenship and land. But as barbarous acts and brutality were apt to make too much noise and arouse the attention of the civilized world, recourse was had to the *law*.

The watchword henceforth was to cut off from the Jew his means of support. Ministers, deputies, senators, and even the press, put their wits to work to propose laws and regulations that would slowly but surely lead to the goal. Under the impulse proceeding from the authorities, the fever took possession even of private individuals. So-called economic societies were formed with the object of embittering the life of the Jews and eliminating them from the country—all summed up in the shibboleth: *Nici un ac de la jidani* ("Do not buy a pin from the Jews").] There is even a vast anti-Semitic league, with Masonic organization, in a country in which whoever exercises the slightest power is nothing more than an avowed anti-Semite.

[Beginning with 1880, restrictive laws are passed. Gradually all the occupations in the hands of the Jews are constituted political rights, which only Roumanians by birth and by naturalization may exercise.] From the disclosure of

motives made by the court reporters, in the debates in the Chambers, and in the ministerial declarations and circulars, it appears, beyond a doubt, that civil, social, and natural rights are transformed into political privileges only for the purpose of smiting the Jews. If the air is not turned into a monopoly, and bottled for the exclusive use of Roumanians and Christians, it is because Roumanian statesmen, in spite of their ingenuity, have **not** yet invented the means of doing it.

V

[The laws and regulations promulgated against the Jews are of diverse kinds. In the first place, they aim at commerce and at the middle-men. The Jews were engaged in business at the exchanges; they acted as the middle-men. The law of July 4, 1881, robbed them of this means of gaining a livelihood; to be a money-broker or a commission merchant, it is necessary to be a Roumanian. The Jews are agents or forwarders; the draft of the law of 1882 made this occupation a political right. The law was passed by the Chambers, but as it affected veritable aliens equally with the Jews, the restricting clause was withdrawn. However, it reserves to the government the right to grant the authorization for the pursuit of these occupations, and this authorization is withheld from Jews as much as possible. And in order that the law may not be circumvented, ministerial circulars of 1896 enjoin commission merchants and shippers not to resort to alien mandataries in their business affairs.]

[Some Jews earned a livelihood by the sale of lottery tickets—the law of January 18, 1883, prohibits lotteries, and from the parliamentary debates it appears clearly that the object of the law was not to put a stop to gambling, not to moralize

the people, but to deprive a thousand Jewish families of their living. Moreover, although tombolas and raffles for charitable purposes are permitted, the government usually turns down applications in behalf of Jewish charitable and educational institutions.]

To ruin a thousand Jewish families assuredly is a meritorious deed, but there is one still more meritorious—to ruin five thousand families. The liberal government brought this result to pass by the law of March 17, 1884, on “peripatetic commerce.” The Jewish peddler of the towns was completely suppressed by the law, and as for his confrère of the country, practical usage did the same for him.

VI

[In order to justify the laws against the middle-men, the argument had been advanced that they competed with the class of stable merchants, though parenthetically it should be said that to a great extent, especially in Moldavia, the regular commerce is in the hands of Jews. The ministry presented a law (1884-85) on the reorganization of the chambers of commerce and trade, which was promulgated March 1, 1886. This law provides that Roumanians by birth or by naturalization alone can serve as electors and are eligible in these chambers; the Jews are excluded from them, because, to quote the court reporter, “a chamber of commerce composed of aliens or Jews cannot well be imagined.”]

[Imbued with these ideas, the compilers of the code of commerce, recast and promulgated May 10, 1887, decreed that in commandite (limited liability) and joint stock companies, the sole manager or, in case there are a number of managers, at least one more than half the managers, as well as one more

than half the auditors and assistants, must be Roumanians. This provision was modified; it was harmful to the interests of the State, and defeated its own purpose. Nevertheless, in the final form, the sole manager, if there is but one, and in other cases one-third of the managers or auditors must be Roumanians, so that Jewish capitalists cannot form limited liability companies for commercial or trade purposes of any kind, even such as have in view educational or benevolent objects. Likewise, they cannot create a commandite company with a Jew as sole manager.]

[The law of February 16, 1887, in turn dealt with the collection of communal revenues. A ministerial circular of 1886 had forbidden the communal authorities to award to Jews the collecting and receiving of communal revenues; this was disastrous to the finances especially of small communities. Accordingly, the law of 1887 did not attack the Jewish farmer of taxes, it contented itself with ruling out Jewish employees; the employees had to be Roumanians, in the possession of political rights. Many a Jewish family thus lost its means of existence. Very soon there was a return to the terms of the circular of 1886, and the law recast in 1889 forbids Jews to farm the communal revenues.]

VII

[Now that the Jew in business had been dealt as severe a blow as the interests of the country permitted, the workingman Jew was taken in hand by the law of May 12, 1887, for the encouragement of manufactures. As it was a question of establishing industries in a country with but few, it was not politic to ostracise Jewish manufacturers, and the whole rigor of the persecution fell upon the workingman.

If a manufacturer wishes to profit by the multifarious advantages of the law, two-thirds of his employees must be Roumanians, and only one-third may be aliens, and when new industries are concerned, the aliens are naturally taken from abroad. Similarly, Jews are excluded wholly from employment on the State railways; the law of February 6, 1899, provides that Roumanians alone shall be admissible to positions connected with their management or their works. The law of March 28, 1900, on railways owned by private corporations, likewise forbids the administration to employ more than forty per cent. of alien officials and workingmen, and as these lines are established exclusively on the territory of rural communes, in which Jews are arbitrarily prohibited from living, Jews cannot benefit even by the forty per cent. exception made in favor of aliens, any more than the manufacturer, if his factory is established in a rural district, may include them in the third part of his workingmen permitted by the law to be aliens.]

VIII

[At the same time with the above, other laws were promulgated, having in view the liberal professions—lawyers, physicians, pharmacists, veterinarians, etc. A spectacle of ferocity was unrolled before the civilized world, ferocity that stopped neither at a Jew sick nor at a Jew in the agony of death.

The law of 1864 had debarred the Jews from entrance into the corporation of lawyers. In order to plead before the tribunals, the courts of appeal and cassation, one must be a member of the bar, a privilege reserved for Roumanians alone. The law of June 8, 1884, in turn deprived the Jews of the

right of pleading before justices of the peace, and in 1894, the same right was withdrawn from the Jewish superintendents of estates.) The purpose was above all to make Jewish managers undesirable to the proprietors and farmers of estates, by stripping them of the ability to represent their employers before the justices of the peace when business requires it, as it frequently does.

[The law on sanitary service of 1885, which was promulgated in its final form on June 14, 1893, is devoted to physicians, veterinarians, pharmacists, whatever relates, intimately or remotely, to public health. No Jew may be employed in the sanitary service in any position whatsoever that depends upon the State, the communes, or any institution which has the least connection with them. At most, the Jew may be engaged as country physician, provided he gives up his place the moment a Roumanian physician claims it. Jews are accepted at hospitals as externs and as interns only in default of Roumanians. In competitive examinations, they are put into the lowest class, no matter if they obtain the best marks. Jewish pharmacists may neither acquire nor manage pharmacies, and pharmacies may employ Jewish apprentices only if they already have one Roumanian apprentice.]

[Jews may not be received as free patients in hospitals, except in case of sickness at once serious and urgent, and as pay patients only so many may be taken in as can be accommodated in ten per cent. of all the beds, provided, of course, that no Christian aliens are applicants for these places reserved for aliens. The same regulation obtains in the private hospitals and in those of the communes, although the Jews contribute to the defrayal of the expenses of the latter.] After all the above, it is superfluous to add that the Jews are

not admitted to the medical service in the army, and contrary to law, Jewish physicians are forbidden to conduct asylums for the insane.

IX

Beginning with 1893, the persecution assumes a new aspect. To reduce the Jews to misery and famine was not enough; it was necessary to brutalize them. [Up to 1860, the mass of the Jews had lived outside of the circle of modern civilization; the Roumanian governments invited them to enter the schools of the State. They accepted the invitation, and the number of Jewish pupils grew quickly; the primary and secondary schools were literally overrun with them. In 1882 they formed a contingent of fifteen per cent. of the whole number of pupils, and in districts in which Jews lived in large numbers, the Jewish contingent was from thirty to seventy-five per cent. In 1891 the Jewish children constituted thirty-nine per cent. of all pupils. In order to exclude them from the schools the law of May 23, 1893, modified by the law of June 6, 1896, was passed. It provides that instruction in the primary grades shall be free for Roumanians only; aliens are to pay a tuition fee, and even so, they are to be received only if there are places available. Now, there are not enough schools, and the exclusion of the Jews follows.]

[The law of March 23, 1898, in the same way excludes Jews from the secondary and the upper schools, and the law of April 9, 1893, recast March 31, 1899, debars them from all professional and agricultural schools, and admits them only to the schools of commerce and of arts and trades, in which all aliens may at most occupy one-fifth of the total number of places, and that only after the payment of a tuition fee so

exorbitant that it is cynicism to speak of the admission of Jews into these schools.]

[Moreover, when Jews founded schools of their own, obstacles were thrown in their way, and finally, contrary to the law, they were prohibited from teaching on Sundays and Christian feast days, and were forced to keep their schools open on Saturdays and Jewish holidays. The children are forbidden to cover their heads during the lesson in Hebrew.]

X

[Besides the laws, there are the interpellations of deputies and senators, and the ministerial circulars and decisions.

The interpellations bear on all sorts of questions, if only they have connection, immediate or remote, with the Jews. Their object is to urge the scrupulous application of the exceptional laws and to instigate the passage of new laws of the same kind. Sometimes the ministers bring about the interpellation through the agency of friends, with the purpose of giving the protection of parliamentary procedure to arbitrary and persecuting measures. Interpellations are made concerning the invasion of the Jews and the exodus of the Jews, concerning births and mortality, concerning failures in business during commercial crises and monopoly, concerning the influence of the Jews and the lawsuits won by them. There is no subject, however trivial, but furnishes material for an interpellation and opportunity to its author to manifest venomous hatred against the Jews.

The object of the ministerial circulars is to remind the authorities and their subordinates of the punctilious and severe execution of the exceptional laws. Often, too, they serve as the occasion for a Draconian interpretation of legal

provisions, and they are frequently followed by decisions of the Council of ministers which draw closer the iron circle traced around the Jews, and strike them in places not covered by the provisions of the law.]

[The law of March 28, 1873, on spirituous drinks, is a striking example. This law forbids the Jews to sell liquors in the villages. A ministerial circular, approved later by a decision of the Council of ministers, interdicted this traffic to the Jews of the small towns and market-towns, under the pretext that they are rural communes, and so was brought about the ruin of two thousand families.]

[By similar circulars, the tobacco trade was cleared of Jews: gradually the Jewish officials and clerks in the offices under public administration were eliminated, the Jewish workingmen and workingwomen in the public factories were dismissed, and the retail merchants were forbidden to make use of Jewish employees and domestics, although the law of February 3, 1872, provided that only the retailers of tobacco were to be Roumanians. The law of February 28, 1887, sanctioned these arbitrary measures, and fixed penalties for all retail merchants who should take non-Roumanians into their service.

The circulars assume every possible form, and incite the subordinate government officials to all sorts of brutalities.] The law of 1869, concerning the rural police, had ordained that vagrants may not establish themselves in rural communes without the authorization of the communal councils. The communal law of 1887 re-enforced this article by decreeing that whatsoever person wishes to establish himself in a rural commune must obtain the authorization of the communal council. Although these regulations did not have in view persons already established in rural communes, the ministers

periodically send circulars to the prefects, enjoining upon them the expulsion of the Jews from the country districts. The prefects transmit the circulars to the sub-prefects, and these to the communal councils. The last are not slow to invite the Jews to leave their homes within a stated time, sometimes not more than twenty-four or forty-eight hours. Inhuman, barbarous scenes ensue. The doors of Jewish houses are battered down; men, women, and children are piled on carts, their baggage is flung in after them, or sometimes it is looted, and the unfortunates are forced from their hearths at the point of the bayonet, often enough to rap at the gates of towns and find that entrance is denied them.

XI

[The Jews are not driven out from the villages alone. On April 6, 1881, parliament passed the law concerning aliens, which permits the government to expel individuals who trouble the public peace, who endanger the domestic or foreign security of the State, or take part in intrigues with the object of overturning the political or social order at home or abroad. Directed in the first instance against political agitators, this law has been applied to the Jews since 1885; it has become a means of blackmail and fraud in the hands of the politicians and the police agents. A suspicion, a malevolent denunciation, the ill-will of an official, suffices to have a Jew expelled the country within twenty-four hours, by a simple ministerial decision. Journalists, rabbis, merchants, workingmen alike have fallen victims to such proscriptions. Since 1885, the Jews have been living in continual fear of expulsion on the morrow. It is a law of terror and proscription paralleled only in the middle ages.]

Basing their action on this law, the ministry, in 1880 and 1881, issued a regulation concerning tickets of free sojourn. The cabinets of the foreign Powers protested, and the regulation fell into desuetude, as applied to Christians. The Jews not having any protectors, the order continued to be enforced in their case. The agents of the police could molest them, deprive them of their personal liberty, persecute them, without let or hindrance. On their arrival at railway stations, or at ports, they are pressed for tickets of free sojourn, for tickets of identity, for passports. As the police does not give such documents to Jews, its agents arrest them, send them from place to place, and lead them about as vagrants. This regulation, connected with the communal law of 1887, serves as the pretext for expelling Jewish proprietors of houses, or those settled in houses owned by Jews, from the market-towns and the small places.

XII

[The communal councils in their turn persecute the Jews. In vain for the Chambers to naturalize Jews; the communal councils refuse to carry their names on the electoral lists. In some localities these councils vote taxes imposed on Jews exclusively; in others they deny them the ground for cemeteries. (Here they are forbidden to slaughter according to the Jewish rite, and are forced to use the cephalic puncture; there they are deprived of the *gabella*, the revenue of which is applied to the support of charitable undertakings. Elsewhere the communal councils forbid them to bake bread for sale and to sell meat, or at least meat not ritually slaughtered (*kasher*). Here and there the little houses of the Jews are demolished, on pretence of a hygienic measure; or the

councils take possession of the synagogue, the hospital, or other communal building, and withhold the indemnity under the pretext that the Jewish community is not a legal person.] Certain councils prohibit the Jews from taking Christian domestics into their service, or they ordain a distinctive costume for Jewish water-carriers, or a distinctive pail for carrying the water on their shoulders. It need hardly be mentioned that the communal councils exclude poor Jews from all the benefits of public charity, and refuse to exempt Jewish benevolent undertakings from taxation.]

XIII

[The police not only is vexatious, it is actually fierce. It breaks into the houses of the Jews, is guilty of excesses, abuses its power, commits outrages and rape. It stabs, maims, and slays at will. Prefects, sub-prefects, commissaries, and sub-commissaries, mere agents, vie with one another in brutality and ruffianism. In one town, the police orders the Jews to paint their doors red and not to make purchases at the market until the Christians have done their marketing. In another town, funeral corteges are stopped, the coffins, the holy vessels, and the synagogues are profaned.] Elsewhere, the police treats Jewish drivers brutally, throws carbolic acid or sulphur into the synagogues, at once closing the doors and posting sentries outside so that the worshippers cannot escape. It draws up a list of offences, and exacts the payment of penalties. The police agents sometimes torture the Jews to such a degree that the press is forced to institute inquiries, and deputies address interpellations to the ministry. They commit murders gaily, but the crime is hushed up; at most, the police agent is temporarily suspended, or a ridicu-

lous punishment is inflicted. Naturally, it is the police that holds up the Jews at the railway stations. In case of complaint, the answer made by the prefect of police at Bukharest in 1883 is returned: "Liberty, equality, and fraternity are for us Roumanians, not for the Jews."

XIV

Roumanian justice inclines the scales to the side opposed to the Jews. Many an assassin has been acquitted by a jury after pleadings that are a disgrace to civilization. A Jew has been assassinated by a Roumanian? asks the lawyer. What of it? Only one leech the less. Such is the justice of the people.

[Whenever possible, the state's attorney fails to prosecute, or prosecutes mildly, those who have committed criminal acts against the Jews, though he lays a heavy hand upon Jews who have made themselves liable to prosecution. The court of assizes does not always do better; its attitude towards Jewish business failures in crises is revolting. It holds out as long as possible against declaring a Roumanian with Jewish creditors insolvent, but a Jew is generally condemned as a bankrupt. However, this is not always the fault of the court. Is it not within our ken that judges were dismissed because they seemed to the minister to have rendered judgments favorable to the Jews, and have not ministers of justice issued circulars demanding statistics on suits at law in order to discover the number of Jews that have won suits in proportion to Christians?] Moreover, justice condemns the Jews at random. The oath *more judaico* flourishes in the most disgraceful form: the bath, the cutting of nails, tapers, blasphemies, all is imposed upon the most respectable Jews, and

the rabbis who refuse to countenance these outrageous practices are condemned. [And what impudence, what iniquity, when these rabbis appear before the judges! This president cuts off a Jewish witness brusquely, and orders the windows to be opened after he leaves, to dissipate the odor of onions and garlic; another president insults the Jews when they present themselves to regulate certain acts. Judges have been heard to say that they could see their way clear when a Jew and a Christian were arraigned before them, but that they were embarrassed when both suitors were Jews; how were they to proceed to ruin the one as well as the other?]

XV

[The temple of instruction is not any better than the temple of justice. The school is a galley, which a Jewish child enters with an oppressed heart, and leaves with tears on its cheeks, broken physically and morally. Even before the day of academic laws, pupils and teachers embittered the life of the Jews. The pupils tortured them physically, and the teachers spiritually, by means of vulgar expressions, allusions, direct and indirect, which inflamed the hatred of their Christian companions, and wounded their sensibilities to the quick. Since the passage of the restrictive laws, it is still worse.]

Private individuals, encouraged by the example of all invested with the slightest modicum of power, made it their duty to imitate them. It is not astonishing, then, that here, there, and everywhere the silly ritual murder charge starts up, that synagogues are desecrated, that Jews are brutally treated, that pleasure is taken in insulting Jewish funeral corteges. Whenever the occasion presents itself, soldiers and civilians strike the Jews down, emasculate them, beat them unmerci-

fully, and kill them. The director of a paper factory, in Bakau, attained to celebrity by tattooing Jewish drivers. Bands of pillagers and cutthroats are formed, and at times when the police and the government find it necessary to revive their popularity, disgusting scenes are enacted, as at Botoshani, in 1890, or riots are fomented in the populace, as at Bukharest in 1897 and at Jassy in 1898. For several hours there was fighting, merciless blows, pillaging, and devastation, all under the paternal eye of the police authorities and the army, which interfered only to hinder the Jews from defending themselves.

XVI

[But the very Jew who is refused the rights of a man and a citizen; who is robbed of the means of living; who is persecuted by everybody; who is without land and without protection; that Jew is considered good enough to serve as food for powder. Consequently the recruiting law applies to him.

Before the Treaty of Berlin the Jews were recruited like Roumanians, aliens were excluded from the military service. After the Treaty, and before the invention of the jesuitical formula, "aliens not subject to alien protection," there was perplexity. The Jews were turned down as recruits between 1878 and 1882. Those who had enlisted were dismissed, and those who presented themselves as recruits were made by main force to put their signature to documents stating that being aliens they did not wish to serve in the army. In December, 1882, the law of military service was changed. An article was inserted providing that the children of aliens born in the country cannot be exempted from the service, unless they affirm that they are under obligations to render military ser-

vice in another country. By virtue of this cynical remodeling of the law, making it a worthy companion law to Article 7 of the constitution in its jesuitical modification, Jews are accepted as recruits. And a prefect could dare say to a body of Jewish recruits that during the time of service they were soldiers, and Jews after their time was up.]

[Thus it comes about that thirty thousand Jews, forming part of the army in active service, of the reserves, and of the militia, Jews though they be, bear the cross of Calvary, yet they may not, even under the flag, forget their character as Jews. According to law, they cannot advance beyond the grade of a non-commissioned officer; the other grades are closed to them. The caprice and unlimited power of some of the chiefs prevent them from reaching even these modest honors. Nor is that all: chicanery, brutality, persecution, ruffianism, are practiced upon the Jew in the army as upon the Jew elsewhere. He drags his character as Jew with him like a cannon ball. From the general down to the corporal, everybody maltreats him. Often enough it happens while he is serving his country in the army, that the authorities pitilessly chase his old father, his old mother, his wife, and his children from their homes in the villages or the market-towns.

Military justice is even harsher towards the Jew than civil justice.]

XVII.

The impossible situation into which the Roumanian Jews have been put suggested to them the idea of emigration. It is a general scramble for safety, and the economic crisis of 1899 merely accentuated it.

[The idea of emigration was for the first time thrown out

in 1872. To the atrocities and barbarous persecutions of 1867-1870—brutal expulsions from villages, annoyances of all kinds, and *noyades*—there were added, in 1871, the riots of Kahul, Vilkow, and Ismail, the end of which was the acquittal of the guilty and the condemnation of the Jews. Benjamin F. Peixotto, consul-general of the United States at Bukharest, in agreement with his friends in America, then requested the Roumanian government to countenance emigration to the United States. The government cynically assented, and had Prince Charles sign a decree according free passports to poor Jews who should leave Roumania. Few persons made use of them; about thirty families found their way across the sea. This was the beginning of Roumanian-Jewish settlements in the United States.]

For some years, the emigration movement subsided; here and there a few families left the country at their own expense. After the Treaty of Berlin, however, when the persecuting spirit was gradually embodied in the laws, the aspect of affairs changed. The closing of inns in market-towns (1881) and the continual expulsions from the villages ruined thousands of families. At that time, the Palestinian project agitated the minds of the unfortunates, and was warmly espoused by all of them. Colonization societies were founded, several hundreds of individuals left for Palestine, and founded the first agricultural colony there (1882). Other families betook themselves to the United States. The number of immigrants in that year was approximately 3500 souls.

Since that time emigration is the only refuge. The law on peddling cut off a living from twenty thousand souls, the expulsions from the villages continued, the misery was enormous in 1884. Committees were formed in Roumania to aid

those who could no longer support themselves. Some of the impoverished left the country on foot, entreating the help of their coreligionists in comfortable circumstances. Many of them directed their steps towards the United States, others towards the principal cities of Europe, in which they founded important colonies, notably in London and in Paris. The movement revived again in 1886-1887, seven thousand persons emigrating during those two years.

The laws whose enactment followed in rapid succession increased the number of candidates for starvation, and emigration became regular and continuous. There are no official statistics of emigration, but it is safe to estimate the number of emigrants from 1882 to 1894 at 45,000 souls at the lowest.

[According to the official statistics of 1876, there were 218,304 Jews in Roumania. The excess of births over deaths from 1876 to 1894 being 70,408, the number of Jews at the end of 1894 ought to have been 288,712. But the census of December, 1894, shows only 243,225 souls, that is, 45,487 less than the number expected. Again, the total of Roumanian immigrants disembarking at New York, from 1882 to 1895, is about 11,700, and these figures are incomplete.]

The financial and economic crisis which overtook Roumania in 1899, growing worse in 1900, and which is not yet relieved, but added fuel to the flame. It took the bread out of the mouths of those left unaffected by the exceptional laws and the persecution. The fever of emigration transformed itself into a delirium. All the Jews wanted to leave, leave the hellish country in which life had become intolerable. Groups of tatterdemalions and starvelings, stripped of all means, formed themselves, and left the country afoot, to beg their way to the seaports. Those who were still in possession

of a few remnants of their fortune, sold all and emigrated at their own expense. They repaired to Turkey, to France, to England, to Canada, to the United States. At New York alone nearly nine thousand of the unfortunates were disembarked. Thus a living illustration of the misery of the Jews in Roumania was afforded Europe and America; and their coreligionists abroad are in a position to judge of the beneficent consequences of the Treaty of Berlin.

THE ROUMANIAN JEWS IN AMERICA

BY D. M. HERMALIN

I

Previous to the Russo-Turkish war (1877), in which Roumania took an active part, gaining her independence from the Sultan's suzerainty, the Roumanian Jew was not often heard of as an emigrant. Sporadic migration, however, brought Roumanian Jews to every part of the globe, with the exception of America, which, for no particular reason, did not attract their attention. India and Egypt seem to have been more favored than other countries, and Palestine was holy ground, to which rich and pious Roumanian Jews resorted in their old age to die and to be buried in its sacred soil. America was spoken of as a country almost beyond reach, and of its material advantages the average Roumanian Jew knew nothing.

As early as 1840, according to the testimony of a few Roumanian Jewish residents of New York, some Roumanians at Bombay, hearing of fortunes amassed in North America and not finding India to their liking, sailed for New York. Arriving at their destination, they thought themselves the pioneers of Roumanian Jewry on the American Continent, but they were told that others of the same type had been their forerunners.

Diligent inquiry fails to ascertain the exact names, occupations, and dates of the earliest comers. However, it remains an undisputed fact that even the sporadic emigration

of Roumanian Jews to the United States did not commence much earlier than 1850.

II

As late as 1870, a Roumanian Jewish immigrant might wander about the country for months without meeting one of his countrymen. But after 1877, the emigration to America began to increase, and almost at once the peculiarities of the immigrants obtruded themselves in American life. These peculiarities were not religious and not national in character, they were chiefly gastronomic—the first impression made by the Roumanian Jew upon the American Jewish community was in the culinary department.

The religious cohesion that manifests itself in the formation of separate congregations was very late in coming. This strange behavior, so unlike the course pursued by other Jewish immigrants, is susceptible of explanation. The early arrivals from Roumania were nearly all unmarried men and rather lax in the matter of religious conformity. Either they were indifferent to religious practices, or if they intermarried with the Jews from other countries, they permitted themselves to be absorbed by the congregations with which the families of their wives had affiliated.

After 1878, when the Jews of Roumania were hard pressed by her government, and were compelled to seek a permanent home elsewhere, they began to take great interest in the letters of their scattered countrymen. Comparing the different reports with one another, they came to the conclusion that America, distant though it was, was best suited for their purpose.

The records show, however, that their migration to America

continued to be spasmodic. From 1878 until 1882, the immigration gradually increased from 261 to 1052, forty per cent of the whole number being women and children. In the next year, 1883, there was a decrease of a hundred, and since that time, though on the whole there has been a constant increase, the percentage of increase has varied most irregularly. In fact, if it is desired to know when the Roumanian Jews are more than ordinarily persecuted by their government, it is not necessary to look up the Roumanian edicts against the Jews; we have but to study the annual variation in the number of arrivals in this country. In 1888, for instance, there was an increase of nearly two thousand as compared with the immigration of the previous year, but the next year showed an increase of only four hundred over 1887. This irregular course continued until 1900, when the Roumanian Jewish immigration reached amazing proportions.

III

During all these years, although Roumanian Jews went to nearly every part of the Union and the Dominion of Canada, the city of New York was, as it still remains, the goal of their wanderings. Almost all the Roumanian Jews in America either were residents of New York, or had passed through the metropolis in seeking their fortunes elsewhere. This rule has been broken only since 1900, when well-known European benevolent associations transported a considerable number of the Roumanian wanderers to Canadian shores.

After all, however, the bulk of Roumanian Jewish immigrants still remain in New York, and whatever peculiarities of theirs survived expatriation can be studied nowhere as in the metropolis, in which they have established congregations and societies, and developed individual traits.

As has been said, the earliest Roumanian Jewish immigrants did not attempt to separate themselves from other Jews in religious affairs. But as soon as the more orthodox class began to arrive, and some of them became prosperous in worldly affairs, they thought of indulging in the luxury of a synagogue of their own, and they devoted themselves to the formation of societies somewhat on the model of those they had had in their Roumanian home.

But the creature comforts were provided for earlier than the satisfaction of spiritual cravings. As early as 1884, two Roumanians occupied a basement on Hester Street, where they manufactured grape wine, and served it in Roumanian fashion. Then they installed a complete Roumanian kitchen, whence issued all a Roumanian palate could desire. Others were encouraged to follow suit, and the Roumanian *carciuma* (wine house) and *brutaria* (restaurant) became a lucrative business in New York. The first patrons naturally were Roumanians, but soon other Jews flocked to them and paid homage to Roumanian culinary art.

In the same year, 1884, a few youths established the *Roumanisch-Amerikanischer Brüderbund*, for the purpose, as set forth in their constitution, of devoting themselves to the study of social science. This society can hardly be called an original manifestation of Roumanian needs and character; it rather mimicked similar societies in the neighborhood, organized for pleasure and entertainment.

IV

At the end of 1885, a score of Roumanian Jews assembled in meeting decided to hire a hall on the Bowery for the purpose of holding religious service in the manner they were

accustomed to in the old country. They called themselves simply "The First Roumanian American Congregation," without the usual addition of a Hebrew name.

Even at that late date the motives that led them to form a congregation of their own were not of a compelling nature. The Roumanian Jew in America who clings to his religion differs from almost all other immigrants of his calibre. They are eager to have their own rabbis or expounders of the Law, but he is satisfied with the religious authorities existing, so long as they are orthodox. The foundation of the first Roumanian congregation rests on other than purely religious reasons. The Roumanian Jew is wont to pronounce the Hebrew language in a manner peculiar to himself. He differs even from the Galician Jew in this regard, nor does his pronunciation agree with the Hebrew of the South Russian, who is careful at least in the matter of accentuation. A loose and careless way of pronouncing the Hebrew language became somewhat of a fad with the Roumanian Jew, and when he hears prayers recited with precision, he feels repelled. Besides, the Roumanian Jew conducts divine service according to the Sephardic ritual, and as most of the East Side congregations consist of Ashkenazim, it was natural that he should provide for his own religious needs as soon as he could. Again, the Jew in Roumania is accustomed to resort to the synagogue on Saturdays at his leisure, as a place at which to meet and converse with the friends and acquaintances whom he could not see during the week. Once established in America, he longed for the old time synagogue which was his club as well.

V

The first Roumanian congregation, which met on the Bowery, consisted of about fifteen members, who were not sufficiently blessed with worldly goods to purchase a scroll of the Law; they had to hire one of a Hebrew book-dealer on Canal Street. The congregation rarely met during the week. If one of the members had to recite *Kaddish*, he either had to gather a *Minyan* himself, or visit the synagogue of another congregation. But on the Sabbath day the little hall was well filled. If a Roumanian Jew wanted to see any one of his countrymen; he was sure to find him there, or at least meet some one who knew his whereabouts. And in the synagogue foreign and domestic politics were discussed, and above all the fate of those left behind in the "country of Amalek," as the Roumanian Jew in America is fond of calling his native land.

Contrary to expectation, this first Roumanian congregation did not thrive, and had it not been for the great masses pouring in from Roumania, and for the benevolent purpose which it added to its religious objects, it would have decayed entirely. It continued to meet on the Bowery until 1893, when it took a ten years' lease on the building at 70 Hester Street, and established a synagogue at which the full quota of religious services was held. At this moment its membership does not exceed two hundred. On a similar basis, the congregation *Kahal Adath Yeshurun*, or the *Yassier Sheehl*, was established in 1897. It also leased a building, 79 Hester Street, for a period of ten years, and its membership runs up to about the same number as the membership of the other.

Recently a third Roumanian Jewish congregation was established in the section of Brooklyn called Williamsburgh, but

it is not of more consequence than its predecessors in New York City.

In short, the Roumanian Jew has not been very successful in forming congregations in America. They have not, in fact, even exerted the attraction of a club house upon him; it has been demonstrated lately that he has given up seeking his friends at the synagogue. He now looks them up at the Roumanian coffee-houses, wine-cellar, and restaurants. Such Roumanian Jews as desire to affiliate with a religious body prefer the congregations formed by the South Russians or Bessarabians. They have even learned to overlook "short-comings" in pronunciation and liturgy. And the conditions that prevail in New York characterize Roumanian Jewish communities wherever they exist in the United States; no matter in what numbers Jews from Roumania may have gathered, they are not inclined to form congregations.

VI

As early as the beginning of 1889, there were a number of Roumanian Jews in New York who were very proud of their American citizenship. When they visited their newly-arrived compatriots, they would display the document that entitled them to participation in the political affairs of the United States. The dream of the Roumanian Jew, to be a naturalized citizen, was at last realized. When he was able to grasp the novel situation, he not only prided himself on his citizenship, but looked back with horror and contempt upon his native land, which had robbed him of his rights. Besides the oath sworn before the American Judge, he took another, never to desert the country of his adoption.

It is a fact that in devotion to country, the naturalized

Roumanian Jew in America excels almost every other foreign Jew. The reason probably is that the Roumanian Jew has suffered more through being considered an alien in the country of his birth than any other persecuted Jew of the present day.

The first Roumanian Jewish citizens of New York called a meeting at 104 Orchard Street, and after a short debate concluded to form a political organization. A discussion arose as to the party to which the club was to belong. Not one of the persons present was sufficiently conversant with the principles of the different political organizations to be in a position to advise to which to give their support. Yet they had been told that unless they took sides with the one or the other party, their organization would amount to a mere farce.

At this juncture a youth asked permission to speak. He was a student from a Roumanian University, and had but lately arrived in America to join his parents, who had left him behind to finish his studies. The young speaker delivered a clever address on Abraham Lincoln, dwelling principally upon the efforts made by this President of the United States to establish equality among men, to level the barriers of race, religion, and color. The speaker concluded thus: "And now, my dear countrymen, this noble American, this friend of the enslaved and oppressed, was a member of the Republican party."

He was warmly applauded for his speech, which was delivered in the Roumanian language, and many voices exclaimed in the same tongue: "*Traiasca memoria lui Lincoln!*" ("Long live the memory of Lincoln!"). Without further deliberation, the association concluded to give its political support to the party that had produced a Lincoln, and so

“The Roumanian American Republican Club” was formed. But next year, after the members had had some political experience, the name was changed into “The Roumanian American Independent Citizens Association.” Later the association took active part in the political reform movement in New York City. At the end of 1891, contact with professional politicians bred quarrels and disharmony, and the association disbanded. Subsequently it was reorganized as a Democratic club, but the original enthusiasm had evaporated, and it degenerated into an office seekers’ society, lying dormant all year, and awakening only when candidates are in the field, and promise rewards in return for votes. In short, the Roumanian club sank to the low degree occupied by the typical political organizations that infest the entire East Side of New York.

VII

A prominent figure in Roumanian-American Jewry worthy of honorable mention is the late Michael Rosenthal, who arrived here early in the “eighties.” Though a cobbler by trade, he plunged into business, first as a peddler; then he opened a saloon, and in a few years he had accumulated a little fortune. He was himself almost illiterate, but he loved men of education, and he sought their society and advice. With the aid of such, he established, in 1885, a benevolent and endowment association, called “The American Star.” The earliest members of the order were Roumanian Jews exclusively, but later others joined it. It is still flourishing, and it bears the reputation of being one of the best managed benevolent associations in New York City.

In the same year, lodges composed entirely of Roumanian

Jews were formed in connection with the older Orders, and a number of societies sprang up with the double purpose of entertainment and charity. Most of the latter were of short duration. One of the exceptions is the "Carmen Sylva Dramatic Association," which, however, is now about to share the fate of the majority. This association was formed in honor of the Roumanian queen, whose *nom de plume* is Carmen Sylva, and who bears, among Roumanian Jews, the reputation of being a liberal woman. It was composed of young men and women, and one of its purposes was the cultivation of Roumanian language and dramatic literature. Several dramatic performances were given during the winter season, which were well patronized by the countrymen of the young actors. But as the persecutions of the Jews increased in Roumania, hatred of Roumanian language and literature grew with them in America, and the performances lost their patrons and the society its prestige.

VIII

It is proper to devote some space to the Roumanian Jewish actors, who began to arrive in New York as early as 1881. They played in a concert hall, on the Bowery, at that time known as the "Oriental Theatre." At the end of 1886, the best Jewish company of actors and actresses came to New York, and took up their headquarters at another concert hall, renamed in their honor, "The Roumania Opera House." The company soon attracted the attention of the entire Jewish population of New York; nevertheless the income was not sufficient to support the members of the troupe, and they suffered many hardships.

This company of actors was fully equipped with plays,

wardrobe, scenery, and even playwrights from Roumania. The authors composed all manner of plays, but the undertaking languished until 1894-95, when skill began to command its due price. At present, the three greatest theatres on the Bowery, the People's, the Thalia, and the Windsor, are Jewish, and some actors have actually become rich; all others are making a decent living. One manager, as poor as a church mouse on his arrival in America, and at first dependent upon what his wife could earn as a soubrette, has amassed a fortune of two hundred thousand dollars. His wife only recently retired from the stage.

In fact, it may be said that the Yiddish press and literature, though not founded by Roumanian Jews, owe their present material and literary success greatly to Roumanian Jewish influence.

IX

A movement which attracted great attention throughout the country was started in 1890 by a Roumanian Jew named Jacob Ochs. His movement purposed to introduce a new Masonic Rite in this country designed to oppose the old York Rite in vogue in England and in the United States. This Jacob Ochs had been initiated into the mysteries of freemasonry while yet in Roumania, a circumstance which goes to show that he was possessed of exceptional intelligence and attainments, for in Roumania Jews are rarely accepted into the Masonic fraternity. When he arrived in New York, he was recognized as a lawful Mason in good standing by the York Rite lodges. But according to his notions, the American Masons did not perform their duties as such, and he protested against their course. He was drawn into an altercation with the grand officers, and he reported their actions to

several European grand lodges, at the same time asking permission to organize new lodges under a European Rite, in order to show Americans what real Masonry is.

Strangely enough, of all the European grand lodges only the Spanish Rite of Madrid seized the opportunity, and invested Mr. Ochs with full authority as its representative in the United States. The first Masonic lodge formed under Spanish jurisdiction consisted only of Roumanian Jewish immigrants, but later Mr. Ochs invaded American territory and organized Masonic lodges among native Americans. His influence spread rapidly, and lodges were organized in New York by Jews, Italians, Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, and Americans. After the field had been so well covered in New York, he went to Brooklyn, and then to Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and other large towns, everywhere meeting with great success.

After four years of unceasing labor, he was arrested on the charge of fraud; he was accused of having collected initiation fees for a society, without authorization. The American press of New York and its vicinity, influenced by York Rite Masons, was very bitter against him. But the trial never came off; his credentials showed that he had acted honorably and lawfully, and the case was dismissed on motion of the District Attorney. In the meantime the lodges he had formed fell into a state of neglect and disorganization. However, some of them, consisting of Roumanian Jews, who knew the integrity of Mr. Ochs, weathered the storm, were reorganized, and became most efficient agents of charity and benevolence. Recently, they set themselves free from Spanish sovereignty, and with much difficulty they established "The Grand Orient of North America of Free and Accepted Masons," and the order is recognized by almost all European grand lodges.

X

The occupations of the Roumanian Jews in the United States do not differ materially from the occupations of others, with the exception of their wine-cellars, coffee-houses, and restaurants. On the whole, it should be said, the Roumanian Jewish spirit is inclined towards commerce, although thirty-five per cent. of the immigrants are artisans, chiefly tailors and carpenters. When they arrive in America, they speedily find work at their trades; they work hard, and accumulate as much as possible, and after a few years of industrious labor they nearly all start some business. If they succeed, they continue to strive; if they fail, they return to their original calling. Among the others, who have been engaged in commerce all their life, there is rarely one to be found who applies himself to the learning of a trade on his arrival in this country, a practice so common with other immigrant Jews. As a rule, they become peddlers, dealing in all kinds of merchandise, chiefly notions, dry goods, and jewelry. In this capacity they journey, not only through the State of New York, but almost all over the country, and then settle down to a permanent occupation, either in New York City or at some other favorable spot. Among them are successful merchants, with establishments, not only on Grand and Canal Streets in New York, but also on Maiden Lane and Broadway. They are engaged in the wholesale diamond and woolen trades, and some in the banking business on Wall Street.

Roumanian Jews follow similar occupations in the larger towns of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts. In other localities they have not yet succeeded to such a degree as to attract attention, unless an exception be made in favor of some noteworthy business establishments in a few Southern towns.

After the recent war with Spain, a considerable number of Roumanian Jews went to Cuba and Puerto Rico, and report has it that their business is thriving on both islands. Some five months ago a party of six young Roumanians left New York for the Hawaiian Islands. Nothing definite is yet known about them.

Roumanian Jewish young men who came here with their parents, after having striven in vain while in Roumania to attain to one of the learned professions, take up special studies immediately upon their arrival, and qualify themselves as physicians, lawyers, dentists, and engineers. Above ten per cent. of East Side lawyers and physicians in New York are Roumanians. It is said that the Philadelphia Dental College is always attended by a fair percentage of Roumanian students. Dentistry seems to be a favorite profession with them, and the famous Philadelphia institution attracts them. Not a few of the dentists have returned to European countries after graduation, and are practicing their profession there with considerable success.

XI

The Roumanian *café* as well as the Roumanian wine-cellar and restaurant is being conducted in New York more or less in the same way as in Roumania. The Roumanian Jews gather at these public houses for many purposes besides eating and drinking. They serve as meeting places for friends, where they discuss business and social matters, and where, above all, in Oriental fashion, over a cup of black coffee and through the blue smoke curling up from their cigarettes, they indulge in a game of cards or chess. The *café* is a perfectly innocent resort, and it is the only place at which the Roumanian Jew finds enjoyment. Latterly the custom has grown

up of having Roumanian music in the public houses, and another touch is thus added to the homelike surroundings, arousing sweet memories in the frequenters.

The owners of the *cafés* and similar places are doing a thriving business in the East Side of New York, some have even accumulated fortunes. By a moderate estimate there are in New York one hundred and fifty restaurants, two hundred wine-cellar, with lunch rooms attached, and about thirty coffee-houses kept by Roumanian Jews. During the last three years the Roumanian resorts have been frequented by all classes of Jews and lately by not a few non-Jews.

XII

With the growth of the Roumanian Jewish population, the wealth of the earlier immigrants has increased. The situation of their brethren in Roumania appealed to their generosity, and two years ago, under the leadership of the active and talented Dr. P. A. Sigelstein, one of the prominent physicians of New York, the admirable "Roumanian Hebrew Aid Association" was formed. The association was called into existence in 1898 by a few Roumanian Jews, for the express purpose of ameliorating the condition of the poor immigrants arriving from Roumania. It has quickly grown into a powerful charitable institution, and when the great influx of Roumanian refugees came in 1899 and 1900, it was able to extend a helping hand to the unfortunates. It has attracted the attention of many charitably inclined Jews, and large sums have been entrusted to it for distribution among its wards. According to the last report of the association, \$1201.76 was expended from dues collected from members. But the whole sum disbursed was approximately \$30,000.

In 1900, the association sent 1362 persons to almost all the States of the Union; 402 of them were married, and twenty-two persons, who had become invalided through their hard journey and exposure, were furnished with means of transportation to return to their native cities in Roumania. During the same year, 269 applications for relief from Roumanian Jewish residents in New York were received; twenty-four were denied, and the remainder cost the association \$330. Of the new arrivals, nearly two thousand were started as peddlers, and for about the same number of artisans work was procured. The association has already made a good record for itself, and it is continually preparing for the new emergencies to be expected.¹

By a moderate estimate, there are nearly forty thousand Roumanian Jews on American soil, twenty-four thousand of whom are living in Greater New York. On the whole, they are an industrious class of people, and grasp at every opportunity to Americanize themselves. They have a proper appreciation of American institutions, and learn to speak and read the English language in a shorter time than other foreigners. They regard the United States as their permanent home, and do everything within the bounds of possibility to qualify themselves to be worthy citizens of the great Republic that has offered them a secure haven of rest.

March 20, 1901.

¹ In a letter to the Editor of the YEAR BOOK, Mr. Leo N. Levi, president of the Order B'nai B'rith, which has put its machinery at the disposal of the relief agencies dealing with the problem of the increased Roumanian immigration, estimates that during the twelvemonth ending July 1, 1901, the Order distributed 2400 Jews, principally Roumanians, to about 220 different towns in the United States. Most of the immigrants were adult males, but since their establishment many who have become self-sustaining and even prosperous have sent for their families [Ed.].

A PROPOSED AMERICAN JEWISH HISTORICAL EXHIBITION

Several years ago Judge Mayer Sulzberger, of Philadelphia, suggested the holding of an exhibition of objects relating to American Jewish history. Shortly after this suggestion had been made, the Anglo-Jewish Exhibition was held in London, in 1887, and the latter was carried out on so elaborate a scale that the American project was soon abandoned, mainly because it was believed at the time that there was not sufficient material in this country for such a purpose.

Since 1887, however, owing largely to the work of the American Jewish Historical Society, so much material has been discovered that the plan of holding an exhibition was naturally revived, and it has long been felt that though the society referred to has published a great deal in a descriptive way, yet the actual seeing of historic objects, or even the very fact that an exhibition is being held of objects dealing with the history of the Jew in this country, is something impressive in itself. In other words, an American Jewish Historical Exhibition is bound to attract far more wide-spread attention than a dozen learned volumes can ever bring about, and it is such an exhibition that it has now been definitely decided to hold in New York City, probably during the winter of 1902.

ORIGIN OF THE PLAN

At the annual meeting of the American Jewish Historical Society, held at Philadelphia, in December, 1900, Dr. Cyrus Adler, in the course of an elaborate address, called attention to the good results which might be expected to follow an exhibition of objects relating to the history of the Jewish race in America, results beneficial not only to the society by bringing out new material, but to the Jewish community as well.

At the same meeting, Mr. Joseph Jacobs, of London, presented an interesting paper entitled "A Plea for an American Jewish Historical Exhibition," in which many well-considered arguments were advanced for holding such an exhibition in this country. It would further the ends of historical research, and the study of American Jewish history would undoubtedly be stimulated by the sight of so many historical objects illustrating the part played by the race on the Western Continent. A mass of new material would be brought out, for, as was suggested,

while many of the old families might be very reluctant about allowing individual students to examine objects of family history, this reluctance would at once vanish when the same objects were desired for a general exhibition such as the paper outlined.

"An exhibition," said Mr. Jacobs, "affords an occasion for the systematic collection of historic portraits and other historic relics, which the transactions of a society can seldom offer. . . . It can appeal more directly, too, to all institutions having connection with the history and archæology of the country."

Still another feature of the proposed exhibition must appeal even more readily to the Jewish community at large, and that is, that it will show that the Jew is not a newcomer to American soil. The objects exhibited must impress the fact, far more than many learned volumes can, that the Jew has been identified with American history from its very beginning, that he played his part, and most worthily, too, in colonial times, in the days of the Revolution, and later on during all periods of trial and transition.

Aside from being instructive to the non-Jewish public, however, the exhibition must prove no less instructive to the Jews themselves. "It would cause as much surprise to Jews as to others to find how closely they have been connected with American history from its very beginning."

Those who had the pleasure of listening to these addresses were much impressed, and at the conclusion of the meeting they were referred to a special committee which was to report to the Executive Council of the Historical Society as to the advisability of holding such a proposed exhibition. This special committee consisted of the following gentlemen: Hon. Oscar S. Straus, Judge Mayer Sulzberger, Mr. Max J. Kohler, Dr. Cyrus Adler, Dr. Herbert Friedenwald, Mr. Jacob H. Schiff, Mr. Joseph Jacobs, Mr. Arnold W. Brunner, Rev. Dr. William Rosenau, Rev. Dr. G. Gottheil, Hon. N. Taylor Phillips, William J. Salomon, Esq., Leon Hühner, Esq., Mr. Mendes Cohen, Julius Rosenthal, Esq., Rev. Dr. Philipson, and Mr. Clarence I. De Sola, who, after several months' deliberation, reported that they were "convinced that the historical material was in a way far more varied and interesting than could at first be anticipated."

The conclusions of the committee were embodied in the following statement: "The committee are strongly of the opinion that an exhibition such as has been sketched out would do credit to the Jewish name in America, and convince the American people that its Jewish section has played a worthy part in its annals from the very beginning, and is an integral part of it, would greatly stimulate and advance the study of American

Jewish history, and above all, would awaken interest in Jewish matters, not alone in the outside world, but among Jews at large themselves." New York was recommended as the place for holding the exhibition.

Following the adoption of this report and of a resolution by the Council to hold the exhibition, an executive committee of fifteen was appointed, with power to appoint subcommittees from among members of the society and other cooperating organizations.

WHAT WILL BE EXHIBITED

The intention is to exhibit "historical records illustrating the history of Jews in America, including such objects as Columbus' earliest accounts of his discovery, written in the form of letters to secret Jews of Spain; Inquisition records; Washington's letters to Jews; portraits, miniatures, and prints of American Jewish celebrities; historical relics, photographs, charts, and prints of Jewish synagogues and institutions; histories of institutions, manuscripts, autographs, works by American Jewish artists, etc." As it is also proposed to collect and publish a bibliography of Jewish Americana, there will be included collections of all books and pamphlets written by Jews in America, or pertaining to American Judaism. An exhibition of objects of Ecclesiastical Art and of Jewish Antiquities, not confined to the United States, is also under consideration.

COOPERATION OF ALL NATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

It has already been stated that it has been decided to hold the exhibition during the winter of 1902. It was felt, however, that such an exhibition should not be narrow in any sense, nor should it for the same reason be held by the American Jewish Historical Society exclusively. To do credit to American Judaism it must not be limited to objects that are curious or ancient merely, but it should in the full sense of the term be a general and a national exhibition.

While of course relics and records of colonial and revolutionary times will form a most interesting part of the project, it was felt, nevertheless, that the great influence of the German immigration of 1848 and that of the later Russian influx of 1880 are factors of prime importance in American Jewish history and must be properly represented; nor should the mighty influences of our great national organizations be ignored.

For the reasons stated, the exhibition will be given by a distinct body, and merely under the auspices of the American Jewish Historical Society. The cooperation of all national

organizations is therefore not only desirable but essential. The Jewish Publication Society, the Baron de Hirsch Fund, the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, the Central Conference of American Rabbis, the Orthodox Jewish Congregational Union, the Hebrew Union College, the Jewish Theological Seminary, the B'nai B'rith, the Free Sons of Israel, the Sons of Benjamin, the Order Brith Abraham, the Keshet Shel Barzel, the Jewish Chautauqua Society, the Hebrew Sabbath School Union, the National Farm School, the Council of Jewish Women, the National Conference of Jewish Charities, and the Federation of American Zionists are among the organizations which have been invited to participate. It is the desire of the Executive Committee that such organizations nominate committees of their own, so that in this way the General Committee for the exhibition may be formed. By this means all phases of Jewish thought and activity in this country will be properly represented.

The Executive Committee has already entered upon its work, and the various committees on site, on publicity, on bibliography, etc., have already been organized.

LIST OF COMMITTEES.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE: Chairman, Cyrus Adler; Honorary Secretary, Max J. Kohler; Oscar S. Straus, Mayer Sulzberger, Herbert Friedenwald, Joseph Jacobs, N. Taylor Phillips, Leon Hühner, R. J. H. Gottheil, Morris Loeb, G. S. Hellman, J. Voorsanger, Wm. Rosenau, B. Felsenthal, David Philipson, Henry Cohen.

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SITE: Chairman, Joseph Jacobs; A. W. Brunner, Jesse Straus, I. S. Isaacs, Leon Hühner, A. S. Solomons.

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INSTALLATION OF EXHIBITS AND ART: Chairman, Herbert Friedenwald; Richard Leo, G. S. Hellman, Edgar J. Nathan, Louis Loeb.

CLASSIFICATION: Chairman, Joseph Jacobs; Charles Gross, Leon Hühner.

BIBLIOGRAPHY: Chairman, Herbert Friedenwald; R. J. H. Gottheil, A. S. Freidus, Joseph Jacobs, J. H. Hollander, Samuel Oppenheim, Max J. Kohler, Sol. Foster.

COMMITTEES OF COOPERATING SOCIETIES

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HEBREW SABBATH SCHOOL UNION: M. Mielziner, Simon Greenebaum, Harry H. Mayer, Chas. S. Levi, D. Philipson, ex officio.

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UNION OF AMERICAN HEBREW CONGREGATIONS: Bernhard Bettman, Josiah Cohen, Louis Gans, Louis Krohn, Moritz Loth.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF JEWISH CHARITIES: I. S. Isaacs, Hannah Marks, Julian Mack, I. L. Leucht, Meyer H. Levy.