

RUMANIA AND AMERICA, 1873: LEON HOROWITZ' RUMANIAN TOUR AND ITS BACKGROUND

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I

The problem of Rumanian Jewry was the principal international Jewish question in the late 1860's and in the 1870's. The anti-Semitic policy pursued by the Rumanian government and the incidents of mob violence aggravated the precarious economic position of the Jews and kept thousands of them in a state of personal insecurity. The political and economic difficulties of Rumanian Jewry were heightened by the burden of their legal status as aliens in which Rumania contrived to keep nearly all of them.¹ Thus, international Jewry had its dress rehearsal for greater problems in Russia only a few years later. The policy which Jews outside Rumania followed was to strive for the abrogation of discriminatory legislation and for the admission of the Jews to full Rumanian citizenship — in short, Western emancipation. Although small, selected groups of young Jews might be helped to settle elsewhere, emigration from Rumania was not placed upon any official agenda as a solution. The headquarters of international Jewish effort for Rumanian Jewry was the Alliance Israélite Universelle in Paris because Rumania was politically and culturally under French influence.

American Jews played a notable diplomatic role by securing the appointment of Benjamin Franklin Peixotto (1834–1890) as American Consul in Bucharest in 1870, — the first American diplomat accredited to Rumania.² He was to exert American influence on

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¹ On Rumanian Jewry, cf. Y. Kissman, *Studies in the History of Rumanian Jewry in the 19th and the Beginning of the 20th Centuries* (New York, 1944 [Yiddish with English summaries]); Isidor Loeb, *La situation des Israélites en Serbie et en Roumanie* (Paris, 1876); Zosa Szajkowski, "Emigration to America or Reconstruction in Europe" (*Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* [=PAJHS], vol. XLII, no. 2 (Dec., 1952), pp. 157–188.

² Peixotto pressed for both the creation of this position and his own appointment to it. The Palestinian messenger Rabbi Haim Zvi Sneersohn (1834–1882) may have inspired him to do so. Sneersohn, who had had a personal interview with Grant in 1869 (London

behalf of the Rumanian Jews, while his salary was paid by a group of wealthy American Jews. Peixotto, a lawyer who had been Grand Sar of B'nai B'rith, arrived at his post in 1871 and stayed until 1875. He performed his diplomatic assignment with utmost energy to the satisfaction of his sponsors. However, Peixotto took a further step which dismayed official Jewish circles. The American Consul advocated large-scale emigration of skilled Jewish workers to America, and suggested that interested Jews register at his office, which thousands soon did.³ The Brussels Conference, attended by Jewish representatives from Paris, Berlin, Vienna, London, Amsterdam as well as Rumania, was the immediate outcome of the proposal. It met on October 29 and 30, 1872, and rejected the notion.⁴

Jewish Chronicle, May 7 and 28, 1869), addressed a letter to the President on Jan. 19, 1870, proposing that the United States appoint a Jew as its consul in Rumania. (H. Z. Sneersohn, *Palestine and Roumania* [New York, Hebrew Orphan Asylum Printing Establishment, 1872], pp. 87-89). Peixotto's letter to Myer S. Isaacs volunteering his services in Rumania warmly refers to Sneersohn as his "counselor" in San Francisco. (Letter to M. S. Isaacs, June 7, 1870, in the Peixotto folder, Board of Delegates file, American Jewish Historical Society. All other letters to and from Peixotto, hereinafter cited, are from this collection.) Cf. Max J. Kohler and Simon Wolf, "Benjamin F. Peixotto's Mission to Roumania," *PAJHS*, vol. XXIV (1916), pp. 2-24. Peixotto's letters of June 28 and August 28, 1870, are also of interest for the genesis of his mission. Sneersohn, who was a great grandson of the Rabbi of Ladi, learned English and became an American citizen. Cf. Israel Klausner, *Rabbi Haim Zvi Sneerson* [Hebrew] (Jerusalem, 1943), pp. 91-94 and *passim*.

³ The ministerial statement, originally published in the Bucharest *Moniturul*, Aug. 18, 1872, is quoted in *Die Deborah*, vol. XVIII, no. 15 (1872) and reprinted in Rudolf Glanz, "Source Materials on the History of Jewish Immigration to the United States, 1800-1880," *YIVO Annual of Jewish Social Sciences*, ed. Koppel S. Pinson, vol. VI (New York, 1951), pp. 116-117. Peixotto complained that the entire matter arose from a simple query put by him to a Rumanian minister which was noisily taken up by the Rumanian government. While denying that he advocated "wholesale emigration," he expressed certainty that, with organized Jewish support, 20,000 Jews would have left at once and 30,000 more would have gone in the spring of 1873. (Letter to M. S. Isaacs, Dec. 3, 1872.) See *infra*, note 45, p. 80.

⁴ Notice was too short for anyone to be sent from New York, but Isaac Seligman of London represented the Board of Delegates, with Peixotto present in an unofficial capacity. Both men were told that there were no specific instructions because the Board did not know what the conference would discuss. Peixotto was assured, however, that the Jews of America would extend a "prompt, cordial and liberal welcome to the emigrants . . . they will get what the Germans and Poles of thirty and forty years ago did not enjoy — a warm, kind reception and a helping hand." (Letters from M. S. Isaacs to Peixotto and Isaac Seligman, Oct. 9, 1872.) Besides Peixotto, only Isaac Taubes, Rabbi of Berlad, upheld large scale emigration to America at Brussels and continued his advocacy after he was overruled. (M. Fluegel in *The Israelite*, vol. XX, no. 14 [April 14, 1873]; *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, no. 47 (Sept. 3, 1873), pp. 366-368; A. J. L. Horowitz, *Rumaniah va-'Amerika* (Berlin, 1874), t.-p. verso, pp. ii, 35.) On the Brussels conference, cf. Kissman, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-26, and literature there cited, and Szajkowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 172-174.

Whatever decisions were made in official circles, some emigrants, nevertheless, left and continued to leave Rumania on an individual, unorganized basis. The idea of emigration, once planted, could not be summarily expelled from their thoughts. However, much more knowledge about America was needed by Rumanian Jewry for their information about the new land was relatively slight. At the beginning of the 1870's, there was hardly any source to give a prospective Jewish emigrant an idea of how to go to America or what to expect there. Unless he knew German and thus had access to the substantial emigration literature in that tongue, information could come to him only from personal letters and by word of mouth. A Hebrew reader could consult notices from America in the Hebrew periodical press, especially in *Ha-Maggid*.⁵ All of this was too limited to reach more than a few prospective emigrants.

The spread of the first tidings from and about the new land in Rumania was accomplished by Leon [Aaron Judah Leib] Horowitz' tour of Rumania in 1873 and his book *Rumaniah va-'Amerika*⁶ in 1874. This Hebrew book is well described by a translation of its full title: *Rumania and America. A Book Containing My Travels in Rumania, the Goodness of the United States, and a Guide for Going to America*. Two Biblical quotations are significantly juxtaposed on the title page: "I beheld the land and lo, it is in chaos" (*Jer. 4:23*), and "And the land, behold, is ample before them . . ." (*Gen. 34:21*). The work contains an approbation by Isaac Taubes, the pro-emigration Rabbi of Berlad. Horowitz wrote an English dedication to Peixotto because of the

esteem and admiration which I have always entertained for your noble and self-sacrificing efforts in behalf of our suffering co-religionists in Roumania . . . [p. iii]

After an introduction of four pages, Horowitz relates his travels in Rumania in the following fifty-two pages. There are forty-eight pages more of description of American geography and civics, and the

⁵ Solomon Schechter, a native of Focsani, said that his first knowledge of America came from Henry Vidaver's letters from New York to *Ha-Maggid*. Cyrus Adler, "Solomon Schechter," *American Jewish Yearbook, 1916-1917*, p. 26, quoted in Moshe Davis, "*Ha-Zofeh ba-'Areẓ ha-Ḥadashah: A Source for the History of East European Jews in the United States [Hebrew]*" in *Sefer ha-Yobel li-Khבוד Alexander Marx* (New York, 1950), p. 122.

⁶ It is catalogued in B[enjamin] Friedberg, *Beth Eked Sefarim* (Antwerp, 1928-1931), p. 566. In the appendix to this article we have translated excerpts from *Rumaniah va-'Amerika* taken from chapters 2, 3 and 4 which give information on "Who Goes to America and Wages There," "Preparation for the Journey, and the Best Times and Ways to Travel," and "The Sea Voyage," *infra*, pp. 87-92.

final thirteen pages are an emigrant's guide. One page in front and six in back contain advertisements by steamship companies. It was privately printed in Berlin early in 1874.⁷

Clearly this is an unusual work. Who was Horowitz and what was he doing?

II

Leon Horowitz (1847-1926) was a wandering *maskil*, Hebrew writer, teacher, and finally, a businessman. Writing in the third person, he says that he was born in Minsk and

studied Torah with his father and afterwards with teachers in the *Yeshivot* of Vilna, Shklov, and the other Lithuanian cities. At the age of fifteen he left the *Yeshibah* and was a teacher in southern Russia for about three years. After this he went abroad to perfect himself in the sciences. In Vienna the scholars [Adolf] Jellinek, [Emanuel] Baumgarten, [Isaac Hirsch] Weiss and others aided him, and in Paris, Albert Cohn of blessed memory, and Rabbi Michael Erlanger. For approximately an entire year he visited the Eastern cities: the Greek islands, Egypt, Palestine, the Syrian cities. From there he went to Paris, where in the homes of the scholars B[er] G[oldberg] and [Senior] Sachs he again returned to our language and literature. Rabbi Jehiel Brill also stimulated him to write in Hebrew and the publisher [i. e. Brill] reimbursed him for his anonymous article.⁸

He also sojourned in Bucharest, which he left sometime in 1866.⁹ When Horowitz came to New York in 1870, he also gravitated toward its miniscule milieu of *maskilim* and Hebrew scholars. Other East European Hebraists who had but recently come to New York were men like Henry Gersoni (1844-1896), Zvi Hirsch Bernstein (1846-1907), Louis Schnabel (1829-1897), and Kathriel Hirsch Sarasohn (1835-1907). Soon to arrive were Arnold B. Ehrlich (1854-1919) and Judah David Eisenstein. Also in New York but somewhat out of this milieu was the learned Michael Heilprin (1823-1889), whose erudite *Semita* and *Hebraica* appeared in *The Nation*

⁷ The imprimatur reads: "Im Selbstverlage des Verfassers . . . Friedlander'sche Buchdruckerei, Neue Friedrichstrasse 25."

⁸ [Nahum Sokolow, ed.], *Sefer Zikkaron le-Sofrei Yisrael ha-Hayyim 'Itanu Ka-Yom* (Warsaw, 1889), pp. 30-31. Some autobiographical material, edited by M. I. Shulman, was published in *Ha-Doar*, vol. V, no. 18 (March 13, 1925); no. 19 (March 20, 1925); no. 21 (April 24, 1925); no. 23 (May 8, 1925). The remaining sections were not published. Cf. also his necrology in M. H. Tausner, "Abedotenu," *Ha-Doar*, vol. VI, no. 38 (Sept. 3, 1926), p. 724.

⁹ *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, no. 34 (June 13, 1873), p. 269.

from time to time. The most influential member of this little group was the nearly forgotten Henry Vidaver (1832–1883), minister at B'nai Jeshurun and author of learned notes on Talmudic and literary subjects which were frequently printed in the European Hebrew press. Vidaver also enjoyed substantial material success in leading pulpits in New York, St. Louis and San Francisco, and was reputed to be an able English preacher. He aided Horowitz to the extent of giving him a position at his congregation's school and befriended him personally. Vidaver encouraged his young friend to enter upon a rabbinic career but Horowitz felt unequal to preaching and regarded himself as heretical.¹⁰ The much-travelled young *maskil* became a prolific contributor to European Hebrew periodicals, to which he sent news of America and descriptions of American life and of the Jewish scene. Unlike the majority of American contributors, Horowitz' accounts of the state of Jewish religion and culture are generally favorable. They are written in clear, fluent Hebrew, fairly free of the banalities and conceits of many of his contemporaries.

Leon Horowitz was not content with contributing to other people's publications. He wanted to publish a Hebrew periodical himself which would have been the first in America. The hope was not realized and he blamed his patron Vidaver who had declined to invest money in it. The historic distinction of founding the Hebrew press in America went instead to Zvi Hirsch Bernstein and his *Ha-Zofeh ba-'Areẓ ha-Hadashah* (The Observer in the New Land), whose first issue appeared on June 11, 1871. Horowitz later alleged that he was the power behind the periodical — that he had invested money of his own to start *Ha-Zofeh* and that he had selected Bernstein as its editor.¹¹ This was denied by Bernstein who had been both business man and editor before publishing *Ha-Zofeh*.¹² In any case, the infant Hebrew weekly possessed a diligent contributor in Horowitz. The first number contained a poem of his in an apocalyptic style inspired by the Paris Commune entitled "The Vision of Victor Hugo Which He Prophesied Concerning Socialism and the Rule of the Reds in the Days of the Revolt in the Year '48, and Which Has Now Been Wholly Fulfilled in Paris, Nothing Nullified."¹³ Later contributions were rather more restrained, and included further poems, news, sundry translations and a set of exegetical

¹⁰ *Ha-Doar*, vol. V, no. 23 (May 8, 1925).

¹¹ *Ibid.* The claim was staked out years before in *Ner Ma'arabi*, vol. II, no. 4 (Dec., 1897), pp. 214–215, and in N. Sokolow, ed., *op. cit.*, *loc. cit.* Cf. Davis, *op. cit.*, n. 16.

¹² *Yalkut Ma'arabi*, vol. I (1904), p. 134.

¹³ *Ha-Zofeh*, vol. I, no. 1 (June 11, 1871). I am greatly obliged to Mr. Abraham Berger, Jewish Division, New York Public Library, for the use of these extremely rare numbers.

notes upon Talmudic passages. Upon one occasion, Bernstein appreciatively praised Horowitz, calling him

our learned friend . . . truly one of the survivors whom God has sent to us as His holy remnant, here in the New Land. Be strong, friend Horowitz, for the sake of our language and literature and be a blessing in the midst of the land.¹⁴

Meanwhile, Horowitz' relations with his friend and patron Vidaver underwent a further strain. Having abandoned much of traditional Judaism, Horowitz felt keenly the anomaly of teaching it to young children — with the added irony of knowing that the parents of his pupils did not practice what they expected him to teach their offspring. When he put his perplexities to Vidaver, the rabbi

laughed and ridiculed me, for he had already elevated himself to the heights of modern enlightenment which would not ensnare man in inward matters.¹⁵

Horowitz seems to be saying that he was sure that Henry Vidaver shared his skepticism but would not compromise his position as an orthodox minister. For his part, Horowitz was offended at this brusque dismissal of his conscientious qualms. It was at this time that he quit Bernstein and *Ha-Zofeh*, allegedly because of that editor's business incompetence.¹⁶

In mid-1872, Horowitz' interests were turned toward Rumanian matters. He had already drawn glowing vistas of American prospects for European Hebrew readers; he was now to present America as the panacea for the suffering Jews of Rumania. *Ha-'Ibri* (also known as *'Ibri 'Anokhi*),¹⁷ a Hebrew weekly in Brody, published his letter to his friend Akiba Hashmal, a prominent *maskil* in Bucharest. He tells Akiba that people in New York, "knowing that I have toured the whole land of Rumania," inquire of him, "Why don't they leave this murderous land and come to America? Why don't they leave Rumania the vale of tears, to experience the glow of life which shines throughout our free country?"¹⁸ Horowitz agreed with his questioners that America was indeed the answer but not for the wealthy or for the idler,

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. I, no. 2 (June 27, 1871).

¹⁵ *Ha-Doar*, vol. V, no. 23 (May 8, 1925).

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Ner Ma'arabi*, *loc. cit.*

¹⁷ The change of name started with vol. IX (April 23, 1873), p. 27. It was published in Brody by Baruch Werber and received extensive reports from Rumania.

¹⁸ *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. VIII, no. 42 (July 26, 1872), p. 169.

... but for those who go about in towns and in the countryside, in marketplaces and in streets, who go from door to door selling their wares, how well and good it would be to go to America. While in their country they generally work for a moldy crust of bread and remain paupers throughout their lives, it is not so here in America, where even in the first week of their arrival, without knowing the language and customs of the country, they earn more than they did at home

Those interested in emigration are advised to concert measures and organize mutual emigration societies in each town. Then, aided by Peixotto and other European consuls,

let them draw up a letter of application to a German or English company which sends boats to America to reduce the fare by a third or a half for every emigrant

They ought also to solicit the aid of Jewish communities in other lands and of the Alliance Israélite Universelle.¹⁹

These letters helped somewhat to augment the impression of America which Peixotto's presence was already creating in Rumania. Hashmal, their nominal recipient, visited the American Consul and replied to his friend in New York:

In the evening I went to see the Hon. Benjamin Peixotto, and spoke to him from two hours [past sundown] until midnight about your worthy article. He, too, praised your article in the *'Ibri 'Anokhi* and its purpose remarkably, and told me as follows before he left me: "Tomorrow I am going to the baths at Zeizan, where I shall stay for two weeks. When I return I will try to carry out the ideas of your friend and I hope that the evil government here will help me to reduce the number of Jews here and send them from the country. The Rumanian press has alleged more than once or twice that they would help the Jews to leave this country and settle in Palestine or somewhere else as they may desire!"

Peixotto also expressed his intention of discussing the matter with Prince Charles, the regent, with whom he was on somewhat informal terms.²⁰ Perhaps this was one of the moves which resulted in the Brussels Conference, where official Jewry made it clear that they wanted Rumanian Jews to stay where they were.

When the emigration question came to the forefront in discussions of the Jewish problem in Rumania in 1872, another destination was

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, no. 43 (Aug. 2, 1872), p. 173.

²⁰ The interview took place on 7 Ab = Aug. 11, 1872. *Ha-Habazzelet*, vol. III, no. 1 (Oct. 10, 1872), p. 3. Peixotto's letters, however, do not mention any discussion about emigration with either Hashmal or the Rumanian government.

also brought forward. The everlasting hope for Zion also had its supporters, most eminent among whom stood Zvi Hirsch Kalischer, Rabbi of Thorn. In America, the efforts of Sneersohn to secure support for the settlement of Rumanian Jews in Palestine caused him to break with Peixotto, once his associate in San Francisco. Across the pages of *Ha-Zofeh* in New York were spread his attacks upon Peixotto's purposes and even upon his integrity, and also upon Horowitz as an advocate of Peixotto's plans.²¹ However, the issue of Palestine or America, a central question in the history of Jewish migrations, was also discussed upon a higher level. Horowitz declared:

If it is your hearts' desire to lead a life of contentment and repose, but also of work and activity, leave Rumania, the vale of misery, and come to free America.²²

He was admittedly unhappy with the quality of arrivals to date, who were "the sediment of the wine, decanted of chaos and futility."²³ Rabbi Baruch Trani, then of Adrianople, replied for pro-Palestine sentiment:

Who thinks that all Jews will go or will want to go to America? Is America Jerusalem or Gilead that all Israel be gathered unto it? And why . . . did he not inform us what good it would do for Jewry everywhere [if Rumanian Jews come to America]?²⁴

Horowitz blandly replied that Palestine was the right place for persons of the saintly dispositions of Rabbis Kalischer and Trani, who are uninterested in material things. However, Jewish workers and businessmen would not flock to a land too backward to support them. The colonization of Palestine would be a viable project only when a great movement arouses the Jews' love for their ancient homeland, and when a great school is erected for higher Jewish and secular studies. Until then, America must be the haven of most Jews.²⁵

The last word was Rabbi Kalischer's:

²¹ The issues of *Ha-Zofeh* in which these derogations were printed are not available for the most part. However, they are discussed in *Ha-'Ibri*, for example vol. IX, no. 3 (Nov. 1, 1872), pp. 18-20; no. 12 (Jan. 3, 1873), p. 93; no. 27 (April 27, 1873), p. 215. Cf. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 137-141.

²² *Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, no. 10 (Dec. 20, 1872), p. 77.

²³ *Ibid.*, vol. IX, no. 7 (Nov. 29, 1872), p. 52.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. IX, no. 13 (Jan. 10, 1873), p. 100.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. IX, no. 23 (March 21, 1873), pp. 179-181. This lengthy piece contains interesting foreshadowings of later Zionist thought.

And now [Mr. Horowitz], the finished scholar of New York, listen to what I say. You express yourself very well . . . you have one foot on each side of the threshold . . . You ought to know that in our time there are also people of faith . . . when many more settle [in Palestine] they will enter into business, with God's help . . . And as to your saying that many people in Rumania want none of this holy matter, a remnant among them will migrate [to Palestine]; he who has not the holy spirit within him will go to America.²⁶

III

In the spring of 1873, there is a systematic change of emphasis in Horowitz' writings. Instead of pleading the cause of emigration from Rumania to America and answering its opponents, he presents a synthesis of needed knowledge for an emigrant, with a conspectus of American civics and geography and steady emphasis on the bright prospects of the American farmer.²⁷ Slightly more jarring is the enumeration of the virtues of the Pennsylvania Railroad and its steamship subsidiaries. For example:

. . . In the city of Philadelphia there are the main offices of the largest railroad construction company in the entire country, called Pennsylvania Rail Road Company [*sic!* — in Latin type]. This company's road is the best and most reliable for emigrants who are going to the American West and to the other states of our country. It has just established a company which sends its ships from Antwerp to Philadelphia. This greatly benefits foreigners going to America for, besides the company's lowering the fare, it is better for each emigrant to go via Philadelphia than to go via New York. In Philadelphia there is excellent protection for arriving foreigners, and the emigrant is vigilantly cared for, lest he be ensnared by the lawless who lay in wait to catch him and his money. It is not so in New York, where there are pitfalls at every step and many are victims of chicanery here in my city.²⁸

Horowitz acknowledged Jacob Yaroslavsky,

one of the journalists . . . who is being sent to Europe on an important mission by the great financial and commercial institutions of our country,

²⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 25 (April 1, 1873), p. 196.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, nos. 27, 28 and 29 (April 23, May 2 and May 9, 1873), pp. 211-212, 219-221, 228; *Ha-Maggid*, vol. XVII, nos. 16, 17, 18, 19 and 20 (April 23, April 30, May 7, May 14 and May 21, 1873). The two series are nearly identical.

²⁸ *Ha-Maggid*, vol. XVII, no. 19 (May 14, 1873). Similar terms of admiration are found in *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, nos. 27 and 28 (April 23 and May 2, 1873), *loc. cit.*

as his source of information.²⁹ The new shipping interests of the Pennsylvania Railroad make clear that the free advertising it enjoyed in a paper widely read in areas of high emigration possibilities was not merely a coincidence. Yaroslavsky heard of Horowitz' enthusiasm for bringing Jews to America, and doubtless learned that this young man was a regular contributor in two of the principal Hebrew periodicals in Europe. What was more, this young Hebrew writer had friends abroad and was sincere. He could very well be sent abroad as the honest broker who would guide Jews to America on the vessels of the right company. The steamship company could be persuaded that by granting a small discount on tickets, by making some suitable arrangements on board its ships, and by picking such an enterprising ticket agent, it could get the lion's share of an emigration traffic which might well reach tens of thousands yearly. And so Horowitz was to report that Yaroslavsky

proposed all these things to a new company which dispatches its ships from Antwerp (Belgium) to Philadelphia and New York. Through his efforts the aforementioned company entered into contract with me to reduce the fare from Antwerp to New York for Jewish passengers, to take care of their board and to supply kosher food as long as they are aboard ship. The Company requested that I go to Antwerp and establish my home there, in order to be a guide and agent for Jewish emigrants, to protect them from any harm.³⁰

The other party was the International Steam Navigation Company. Nothing is mentioned yet about going directly to Rumania at this Company's expense; his functions appear to be limited to Antwerp. This was the arrangement as late as April 27, 1873, four days before

²⁹ *Ha-Maggid*, vol. XVII, no. 16 (April 17, 1873).

³⁰ *Ibid.*, vol. XVII, no. 21 (May 28, 1873). Similar language is used in 'Ibri 'Anokhi, vol. IX, no. 30 (May 16, 1873), pp. 237-238. The Pennsylvania Railroad had entered into the maritime business in 1873 as the financial sponsor of the American Steamship Company. Each of the Company's three newly commissioned ships was built to accommodate 854 steerage passengers and would sail between Philadelphia and Liverpool. The Railroad went a step further when it also entered into an agreement with the International Navigation Company which was then planning to establish its service between Philadelphia and Antwerp. The Railroad was to provide it with free dockage or wharfage at its own piers and protection in its rate-making. Therefore, all parties were interested in drawing as much of the immigrant traffic as possible to Philadelphia. The International Navigation Company, whose lines also went to New York, was particularly desirous of attracting as much of the immigration traffic as possible from Antwerp. Thus, the contract with Horowitz represents one aspect of an attempt by the American Steamship Company to get a portion of the Continental emigration traffic. Cf. George H. Burgess and Miles C. Kennedy, *Centennial History of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company* (Philadelphia, 1949), pp. 270-271.

he left for Europe.³¹ When next heard from, Leon Horowitz is in Antwerp (May 22, 1873) and he has a somewhat different tale to relate:

Today I am going to Vienna, and from there to Rumania, at the expense of the International Steam Navigation Company. [I am going] not as an agent, as the company at first requested, but as an envoy sent to trace the roots of the Jews there, to be . . . a pair of eyes for them. [I am] to teach and explain to them for whom America is good and for whom it is a murderous land which consumes its inhabitants, how to conduct themselves while going there, to whom to turn when they arrive in America, and to which cities to go, all clearly explained. My expense allowance is small, and I am doing this for the general good, for the benefit of my miserable brethren . . . in order that they may know of America before their feet leave their native towns, and in order that they be not like the Italians who came to New York last winter through the deceit of agents who trafficked in human souls, and became a public charge and a curse to all the American people.³²

Leopold Bamberger, President of the Rumanian Emigration Society in New York, is quoted by Horowitz as having endorsed his mission, at least insofar as he kept the unfit away from America.³³ For reasons which could not be determined, the trip was thus transformed from one which was meant to open a passenger agency in Antwerp to specialize in the Jewish emigration traffic from Eastern Europe into a sort of lecture and inspection tour in Rumania. Whatever the reason for the change, Horowitz fulfilled his revised role avidly.

IV

Leon Horowitz arrived in Rumania on June 2, 1873, and left on September 2, 1873. The following is his itinerary:

June 2	Crossed the border at Giurgiu
June 2	Bucharest
July 12	Ploesti
July 12	Buzau
July 14	Braila
July 16	Galatz
July ?	Berlad

³¹ That is the date of his letter from New York, printed in *Ha-Maggid*, vol. XVII, no. 21 (May 28, 1873).

³² *Ibid.*, no. 22 (June 4, 1873); identical with *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, no. 32 (May 30, 1873), pp. 250-251.

³³ *Ibid.*

July 30	(approx.) Focsani
(10 Ab)	Bacau
August	Roman
August	Botoshan

During his six weeks in Bucharest, he became familiar with such local dignitaries as Rabbi Joshua Levi, rabbinic head of the Sephardim, who paid him a personal visit,³⁴ and Emmanuel Gaster, Honorary Director of the local Jewish school and hospital, who conducted him through those institutions.³⁵ As a devoted *maskil*, he noted with approval the modern Hebrew school conducted by another *maskil*, named Zvi Hirsch Kaiser.³⁶ The American visitor addressed a B'nai B'rith meeting in the capital city, the first of numerous addresses to the branches of the order. These chapters of the American Jewish fraternal order had been founded by Peixotto, who had served as its Grand Sar in the United States. Horowitz also spoke before one of Bucharest's two rival Alliance Israélite Universelle branches. He regarded the distinction between the two as that between an energetic group with a broad appeal and a lethargic rich men's club.³⁷ Horowitz gives few details of these addresses, some of which ran to several hours' length. Yet it is clear that they included denunciations of communal evils from a *maskil*'s point of view and furnished appropriate remedies, such as communal harmony and union, improved education for girls as well as boys, European dress — all in general accord with the classic Haskalah precept to be "a Jew indoors and a man outdoors."³⁸

He summarizes the address which he delivered at Galatz:

You will hear me say that America is a good, blessed and ample land . . . Hundreds of thousands of people stream thither yearly from every part of the world, but you must know that the dreams of America which *you* are dreaming are vain and idle. I have heard many of you say that your brethren in the new land will buy lands and vineyards and build homes for you when you arrive, and that all your wants will be supplied. But, brethren, you must know that this is a false dream; there is no society or company there to give you lands or homes or money, and "If I am not for myself, who is for me" is a great rule of American life.³⁹

Near the end of these talks he turned to the subject of America, first describing its geography, history and form of government. Then

³⁴ *Rumaniah va-'Amerika*, p. 1.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 12-15.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

³⁸ He summarizes the homiletic content of these attacks (*ibid.*, pp. 41, 43-44).

³⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

he told his audiences of the opportunities which the new land offered to skilled, industrious young men who would willingly adjust to the conditions of American life. He assured well-trained emigrants that they need not fear for their futures.

However, do not become discouraged if you do not make any money in the first two weeks, because all beginnings are hard . . . Only if you stay a month or more will you see, and I can promise you that you will certainly profit much. Just discard your filthy garments [cf. *Zechariah* 3:4] and I promise you that you will become rich there.⁴⁰

His principal theses were, thus, the contrast between the evils of the Old World and the countless blessings of the New. Besides formal talks to substantial groups of Jews, Horowitz also exerted a more direct influence upon the many individuals who sought him out for information about America. "Hundreds" came to see him in Bucharest, and "a few families" even left from that city for America during his sojourn there as a result of his persuasion.⁴¹

As Horowitz toured from town to town, the tidings of his arrival caused hasty impromptu meetings to be convened in the synagogues in order to see and hear the traveller from the distant land. From July 12th through July 16th, the traveller spoke in five synagogues in as many towns. "America fever" touched a high reading in many of his hearers. Some sort of climax was reached in Galatz, where "many" of the young men hastily established the probably short-lived "Jewish Artisans' and Workers' Emigration Society" and adopted a set of rules:

I. The undersigned have established a society where each member shall pay at least one franc a week, so as to set up a fund for the purpose of lightening [the expense of] our emigration to America.

II. The Committee . . . shall concern itself a) with enrolling those persons who declare their intention to emigrate, b) with depositing the money, c) and as many persons shall be sent to America as the means permit.

. . . .

V. In gratitude for the efforts of Mr. Leon Horowitz in bringing this society to life, we appoint him an honorary member and wish him happiness and success!⁴²

⁴⁰ Quoted by Meir Juster of Berlad in *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, no. 42 (Aug. 3, 1873), p. 241. The sartorial reference apparently enjoins his hearers to discard traditional Jewish garb at once.

⁴¹ *Rumaniah va-'Amerika*, pp. 1-2, 26; *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, no. 38 (July 11, 1873), pp. 299-300.

⁴² *Rumaniah va-'Amerika*, pp. 33-34.

These rules fell short of the Society's honorary member's proposal that the accumulated funds be lent to emigrants selected by lot, who would repay the loans from their first earnings in America. In any case, either scheme was unlikely enough under the prevailing conditions.

The relations between Peixotto and Horowitz are little known, although Horowitz brought a letter of introduction from Leopold Bamberger.⁴³ He fervently seconded Peixotto's outlook on the Rumanian Jewish problem and replied sharply to the American Consul's detractors, among whom were some leading Rumanian Jews.⁴⁴ Horowitz doubtless kept Peixotto informed of his movements about the country as is to be seen from the latter's reply to one such missive. It also shows that Peixotto held fast to his advocacy of large scale emigration, in spite of the rebuff at Brussels.

Bucharest, July 19, 1873, P.M.

Dear Mr. Horowitz,

Your letter from Braila came to me from Mr. Feder, and I am pleased and happy over your worthwhile activities as told to me by that gentleman. I am particularly glad that you are going to Moldavia to see with your own eyes the evil, wretched state of our oppressed brethren, and how great is their desire to leave the land whose laws and customs oppress and humiliate the Jews to the utmost, and force their honor and livelihood into the dust at the present time, with but little hope for the future. Although I firmly believe that God will aid me to improve their position here, I cannot shut my eyes to the evils which befall them every day. If 20,000 or 30,000 of them could leave Rumania to go to our good and blessed land of America, it would be a great boon to those who go and to those who remain . . .

BENJ. FRANKLIN PEIXOTTO⁴⁵

Horowitz received this letter in Berlad, where he found himself among friends, and in the company of his favorite Rumanian rabbi, Isaac Taubes, who had stood alone at Brussels in favor of emigration. Here Horowitz also heard some not too encouraging reports from several Rumanian Jews who had actually gone earlier to America and whom he had known in New York. One of them had returned

⁴³ *Ha-Maggid*, vol. XVII, no. 23 (Aug. 20, 1873).

⁴⁴ *Rumaniah va-'Amerika*, pp. 21-26.

⁴⁵ Translated from the Hebrew, *ibid.*, p. 19. The Peixotto letters in the Board of Delegates file at the American Jewish Historical Society do not refer to Horowitz. I have been informed that Peixotto's consular reports, deposited in the National Archives, also contain no reference to him.

although he was doing quite well, but it soon became known that the man intended only to take a wife and return. In any case, Horowitz consoled himself and others that they were not the types who ought to go to America; they had depended upon charitable aid rather than upon their own selves.⁴⁶

As Horowitz continued his speaking tour through Rumania, opposition of his activities began to mount. Leopold Bamberger, whom he had quoted as approving his mission,⁴⁷ now had second thoughts. In a statement dated July 16, 1873, Bamberger, speaking as President of the Rumania Emigration Society, told East European Jewish readers that eight months' trial had so thoroughly proved the futility of emigration from Rumania to America that

one must not wait even an hour to inform our Jewish brethren in Rumania that it is absolutely essential that the idea of emigration from there be abandoned.

Following the well-worn paths customary in such admonitions, a stark picture of hopeless destitution on the streets of New York was passed off as the sure fate of any foolhardy immigrant. Then, with obvious reference to Horowitz:

Our Jewish brethren in Rumania must be wary not to pay attention to the writers who paint the blessings of America in very attractive colors. Such writers really know very little of practical affairs in America, and an active imagination is their guide and beacon, so that they distort the facts and ensnare their listeners with a deceiving tongue!⁴⁸

While *Ha-Maggid* far to the north stayed clear of the subsequent controversy, *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, much closer in Brody, bristled with favorable and unfavorable opinions of Horowitz and his mission. Baruch Werber, its editor and proprietor, expressed his view unequivocally:

My people! Remember Horowitz' good advice to you, as he is sacrificing himself for the well-being of his distressed brethren in Rumania in order to save them from the depths. Such a man is one of the few lofty spirits . . .⁴⁹

Besides the opposition of those who desired Rumanian Jews to migrate to Palestine rather than to America, personal criticism was

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 37-38, 40-41.

⁴⁷ *Ha-Maggid*, vol. XVII, no. 22 (June 4, 1873).

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 33 (Aug. 20, 1873).

⁴⁹ *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, vol. IX, no. 39 (July 18, 1873), p. 308.

levelled at Horowitz by his former friend, Henry Vidaver of New York. Under the pseudonym *Pel'i* ["my secret" or "hidden," cf. *Judges* 13:18] he severely censured the motive of the Horowitz mission as that of a man "who leads . . . astray for personal advantage." Vidaver alleged that there had just arrived in New York

some people from Berlad, Jassy and Bucharest, in the expectation, infused into them by a traveller, that here they would find a "society" to support them and that they would be given a tract of land . . . They walk the streets and in their bitterness curse the day they were born . . . and you . . . But do tell me, here in the pages of *Ha-Ibri*, friend Horowitz, who sent you? What is the name of the Society established here [in New York, for the care of Rumanian immigrants]? . . . For who knows how many more will come here from Rumania and die of starvation, and why should many curse you, God forbid?⁵⁰

Horowitz' reply, bitter and detailed, need not detain us. It denounced Vidaver's charges and recapitulated the details of the trip to Rumania. He justly denied responsibility for having sent over persons who had left Rumania before he arrived there and who had disregarded his numerous printed warnings to unskilled emigrants.⁵¹ Henry Vidaver addressed another, private letter to Rabbi Taubes in Berlad and once more attacked emigration to America and its wandering exponent. Taubes' public reply was an expression of distress that the Jews of America were unwilling or unable to subsidize large scale emigration from Rumania. He stoutly defended Horowitz, and revealed that the young man had come to him with a letter of recommendation from Vidaver himself! Of Horowitz himself, Taubes averred that "the material and spiritual good which this friend of ours can do is incalculable."⁵²

After his last stop at Botoshan, Leon Horowitz crossed from

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 45 (Aug. 22, 1873), pp. 352-353.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, nos. 47 and 48 (Sept. 3 and 12, 1873), pp. 368-369, 376-377.

⁵² *Ibid.*, no. 47 (Sept. 3, 1873), pp. 366-368. Taubes was in correspondence with Maurice Fluegel (1833-1912), who was then a minister in Pine Bluff, Arkansas, and, with the emphatic support of Isaac M. Wise, was actively concerned with promoting Rumanian Jewish immigration to the West. (*The Israelite*, vol. XX, no. 14 [April 4, 1873].) Wise grandiloquently declared, "Bring fifty thousand of those persecuted men and women to this country, let them be fairly settled, and their letters sent to Rumania will do more for their coreligionists there than all the Brussels conferences can do in a century." (*Ibid.*, vol. XXI, no. 5 [Aug. 1, 1873].) See also *ibid.*, vol. XX, nos. 19, 24 and 26 (May 9, June 13 and June 27, 1873). Other grandiose settlement schemes are mentioned in an unidentified newspaper clipping dated Oct. 30, 1872, and in the *Philadelphia Inquirer*, April 24, 1873, both in the Moss Scrapbooks, volume I, at the American Jewish Historical Society.

Rumania into Galicia on September 2, 1873. From there he went on to Vienna and to Berlin, and by autumn had completed the account of his travels⁵³ which was published in Berlin early in the following year. Moritz Steinschneider promptly noticed it at some length in his *Hebräische Bibliographie*^{53a} and noted that this was the first general description of America written in Hebrew. Regarding another aspect of the little book, the great bibliographer was reserved and cautious:

. . . . Without desiring to impugn the . . . author's love of truth, we must mention that the advertisements taken into the book of means of travel to America are one of the things which even denote an outside interest. The remarks about emigration on page 51 are worthy of notice, and show that the author has not surrendered himself as the blind tool of the aforementioned interests, but rather uses them in order to spread his well-meaning advice. He does not wish to populate America with loafers.⁵⁴

Steinschneider put his finger on the most vulnerable part of the book. Doubtless in order to pay for the printing of *Rumaniah va-'Amerika*, Horowitz secured advertisements from an array of steamship companies and agencies: the American Steam-Ship Company of Philadelphia, the Norddeutscher Lloyd in Bremen, the Adler Line, the National Steamship Company of Liverpool, and the Hamburg-America Line. Besides these, several emigrants' hostels and money changers inserted notices. This outcome of what was probably the author's financial need casts a really unjustified blemish upon the integrity of the book. As we have seen, whatever were the personal arrangements when he last reported from New York, they had been largely cancelled by the time Horowitz arrived in Rumania. What does impair the usefulness of the book, besides the Hebrew which few emigrants could carefully read, is its author's naïveté about the emigrant's lot during the journey to America. Although Horowitz had been in Hamburg, he apparently contented himself with the face value of the prospectuses of shipping companies and the statements of their officials. In contrast with the clear-headed independence of the account of Rumanian affairs, there is fulsome praise for the supposedly enlightened benevolence of the shipowners and all others

⁵³ *Rumaniah va-'Amerika*, p. iv.

^{53a} Vol. XIV (Jan.-Feb., 1874), pp. 8-9.

⁵⁴ The book was briefly noticed in laudatory terms in *Ha-Maggid*, vol. XVII, no. 10 (March 3, 1874).

who dealt in the immigrant traffic. He writes of municipal governments which protect unknowing emigrants, of clean ships with food amply provided and of kindly ships' officers and crews. Voluminous accounts by many travellers, observers and emigrants, take an opposite view in most cases.⁵⁵ Yet, with all its exaggerations, there is some value for emigrants in Horowitz' report for it at least attempted to fill a need which grew from year to year. The analysis of America is accurate and helpful, resembling in organization if not in scope Edward Young's contemporary handbook for emigrants which the Federal Government published.⁵⁶ The figures of prevailing wages in New York seem to be based upon those given in Friedrich Kapp's contemporary book,⁵⁷ although Horowitz did not serve his readers very well by tending to give the higher reaches of the wages paid in many trades. All in all, Leon Horowitz wrote his book in a hot burst of enthusiasm at a time when emigration fever galloped across Rumania with him. That it is suffused with hope for the ambitious emigrant is a reflection of a man and a general mood, and hardly a fault.

Rumaniah va-'Amerika is not a unified book. For an emigrant's guide, the author's travels in Rumania are beside the point. On the other hand, as a report of conditions within Rumanian Jewry, the information given about America appears to be superfluous. There is a psychological bond which holds it all together, and gives the book much of its interest for the book essentially documents its author's conviction that Rumania is a land impossible for Jews to live in. He does this in part one, the narrative of his travels, while part two, "The Goodness of the United States," is antithetical, for it shows the unlimited opportunities in a land where all is liberty and good fortune. Part three, "A Guide for Going to America," expresses the necessary conclusion which lies implicit in the preceding sections.

According to the author, "the Rumanian Committee in Berlin decided to buy several hundred copies of his book in order to distribute them gratis among the Jews of Rumania."⁵⁸ Such a distribution

⁵⁵ Carl F. Wittke, *We Who Built America* (New York, 1939), pp. 113-119; in vivid general terms, Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (New York, 1952), pp. 37-62. For earlier years, see Marcus L. Hansen, *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860* (Cambridge, Mass., 1940), pp. 185-198, 290-293, and *passim*.

⁵⁶ Edward Young, *Special Report on Immigration Accompanying Information . . . to Which are Appended Tables . . .* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1872).

⁵⁷ Friedrich Kapp, *Immigration and the Commissioners of Emigration of the State of New York* (New York, 1870), pp. 239-240.

⁵⁸ N. Sokolow, ed., *loc. cit.*

of emigration literature would have been peculiarly at variance with their settled policy of discouraging emigration. We may at least doubt that the Rumanian Committee in Berlin did actually distribute the book even if it did buy up a large proportion of the edition.

The immediate question to be asked about the project is how many Jews came to America from Rumania on account of Horowitz' Rumanian tour and the propaganda before and after it. If immigration statistics for the period are to be credited, 240 persons at the most could have entered the United States from Rumania in 1873, contrasted with 127 in 1872, and a paltry 61 in 1874, the year after the tour.⁵⁹ The plaint of a Rumanian immigrant in Philadelphia casts some highly revealing light on the entire subject. Koppel Reiser, whom Peixotto had recommended to Sabato Morais' good offices, complained angrily of Peixotto's influence upon his decision to leave Rumania. Another person was also to blame, or as Reiser expressed it:

... at that time a certain *schnorrer* by the name of Horowitz travelled all over Rumania and preached in all the synagogues that one ought to go to America. This Horowitz was also at my son-in-law's and talked him into selling his house and store and going to America . . . Now I have learned why this Leon Horowitz preached; he took money from the Holländische Steamship Company, because the company thought that he would send all the Rumanian Jews to America on that company's ships . . .⁶⁰

Kathriel Sarasohn, the editor to whom the complaint was sent and who had known Horowitz in his New York days, commented that

nobody cares what Horowitz and his sermons intended to do, whether he was sincere and honest towards his brethren or whether he wanted only to make business for the steamship companies . . .⁶¹

Thus, a contemporary who knew him was uncertain of Horowitz' motives in undertaking the trip, while a disillusioned immigrant obviously thought the worst of the young man who had been hailed not long before as "one of the few lofty spirits." *Sic transit gloria!*

⁵⁹ Statistics of Rumanian immigration to the United States are merged in the census with "all other countries of Europe," a category which also includes Greece, Serbia and Bulgaria. The figures for the other proximate years are: 67 in 1871; 96 in 1875; 110 in 1876. *Tenth Census of the United States, 1880*, vol. I (Washington, 1883), p. 463.

⁶⁰ *Jüdische Gazetten*, vol. I, no. 44 (Sept. 8, 1876). B. F. Peixotto to S. Morais, from Bucharest, Jan. 27, 1874, American Jewish Archives, Cincinnati, Ohio.

⁶¹ *Jüdische Gazetten*, *loc. cit.*

Leon Horowitz' descent from the public pedestal was even speedier than his rise. In the year following the tour, *'Ibri 'Anokhi*, which had resounded with his opinions and activities, did not once mention his name. His contributions are scarcely to be seen in the Hebrew press. Horowitz retired to Hamburg soon after, where he established himself in business, and remained there to the end of his days.⁶² Although he contributed on occasion to the Hebrew press, he never set foot in America after his departure on May 1, 1873, until his death in mid-1926. From the viewpoint of the development of Hebrew cultural life in this country, it was a distinct loss.

An evaluation of the significance of the Horowitz mission is a more important question. To be sure, many failures of immigration projects are recorded in American immigration history, and it takes no strenuous effort to dig up one more unsuccessful scheme. American shippers, railroads and land speculators — often united in one enterprise — were unwearying in their encouragement of "America fever" in European countries, so as to provide themselves with passengers, fares and settlers, respectively.⁶³ By the 1870's, the network for enticing prospective emigrants reached into Russia. It need arouse no wonder that the enterprising Jacob Yaroslavsky should have persuaded the Pennsylvania Railroad and its steamship subsidiary of the commercial possibilities in stirring up "America fever" among the downtrodden Jews in Rumania, whose political and economic position was so precarious. He thought of Leon Horowitz as an earnest and knowledgeable young man, well qualified to carry out a key portion of the plan. We can only surmise what arose to cancel the arrangement before it got under way — second thoughts of Horowitz, the railroad, or Yaroslavsky. It is intrinsically significant that entrepreneurs who dealt in the immigrant traffic had serious regard for the business possibility of mass Jewish immigration to the United States from Eastern Europe.

⁶² N. Sokolow, *loc. cit.*; M. H. Tausner, *loc. cit.*

⁶³ Carl F. Wittke, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-113. Such propaganda addressed itself particularly to peasants in the hope of settling them on railroad lands. In 1883, the Northern Pacific Railroad had 124 agents on the Continent and 831 agents in the British Isles, and printed vast quantities of emigration literature. A. M. Schlesinger, *The Rise of the City, 1878-1898* (New York, 1933), p. 28. For the example of the Swedes, cf. Florence E. Janson, *The Background of Swedish Immigration, 1840-1930* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 233-247. Railroad land dealers recognized better than did many Jews that European Jews, lacking a peasant background, were not likely persons to settle on the soil. This accounts, no doubt, for the uniqueness of such a mission as that of Horowitz.

APPENDIX⁶⁴

CHAPTER TWO

WHO GOES TO AMERICA, AND WAGES THERE

Experience has taught us in these times that Jews from all countries of Europe come to America by the thousands yearly, for the spirit of emigration is lively among our brethren and they look hopefully toward this good and fortunate country. When it was announced in Rumania two years ago that American Jewry would assist Rumanian Jewry to leave their country to come to America, some 10,000 families enrolled to leave Rumania. Yet the great majority of them know nothing of the American way of life; many more among them believe that there is plenty of gold and silver in the streets of America and that anyone who wishes can come and partake [of it] without effort. The few families who went from Rumania to America last year and returned broken-hearted thought that in America they would find homes and wealth, field and inheritance without exertion or labor, and that roast fowl would fly right into their mouths. How essential it is for every man who wants to leave his country and go to foreign parts to first ask for help even before his feet are separated from his native place. "For it is evil and bitter for me (for one leaves his home to go to America not on account of wealth and pleasure, nor luxury and licentiousness, but on account of poverty and want, or expulsion and persecution) in my homeland, but how shall I make a living when I arrive in the new land?" But few so inquire, and instead grope in the dark like blind men, and thus, not infrequently, they stumble on their way. In America everyone is obliged to work very hard, but as he works he sees the fruits of his toil, more than in European countries, and in the United States one who works diligently will earn his bread honorably and amply, and will increase his wealth. Every artisan is certain to make a living there, although not all trades are alike and not all artisans resemble each other. Artisans in Russia, Galicia, and Rumania who cannot even earn a bare subsistence can make an ample and abundant living, because there are many trades in the

⁶⁴ Herein we have translated pp. 51-56 of *Rumaniah va-'Amerika* omitting extraneous passages. Another excerpt from this book (pp. 41-48), describing American Jewish life, appeared in English translation in Mendel Silber, *America in Hebrew Literature* (New Orleans, 1928), pp. 84-89.

United States which pay well. Yet farming is better than trades; farming in America enriches those who practice it, because the soil is rich and fertile and produces a large crop. Ploughing and sowing are easier than in Europe because everything is done by machine, and the farmers here sow happily and genially and reap their sheaves in song. Peddlers who go about the countryside with their wares on their shoulders can also earn their bread in America, but the work is exceedingly hard, and every peddler can sincerely say every day, "This is the bread of affliction!"

The following are the best jobs and trades in America and we will enumerate them in the jargon tongue [Yiddish] so that everyone, including those who do not understand the Holy Tongue, can find what he wants.

[*In Yiddish*] a) Laborers, if they be but strong and willing to work, can always find factory work and earn from \$1.50 to \$2.50 a day.

b) Bakers must work hard, but they earn from \$6 to \$12 a week besides board and lodging. Blacksmiths always find work and earn good monthly wages. Bookbinders find work with greater difficulty and earn from \$8 to \$18 per week. Beer brewers earn from \$10 to \$12 a week as journeymen.

c) Goldsmiths easily find work and good wages. Tanners earn \$1.50 daily. Glaziery is a poor occupation.

d) Turners in leather, hair, metal and artistic objects find work and appropriately good wages.

e) Glove makers find very little work. Hat makers, if they can sew by machine at all, not seldom can earn up to \$30 a week.

f) Saddlers find good work and good wages. Printers, however, must know English, and Hebrew printers seldom find work. Soap-boilers find factory work at up to \$2 a day.

g) Cabinet-makers always have work and earn from \$15 to \$20 a week.

h) Dyers, if they find work, earn up to \$2 a day.

i) Furriers find work only in the autumn at good wages.

j) Shoemakers always find work and earn from \$10 to \$18 a week. Tailors are sought even more than shoemakers and also earn more. Smiths will also be very well paid, and grinders, locksmiths, jewellers also find work at scanty wages.

k) Cigar-makers, if they can work rapidly and well, always find work at very good wages. [*end of Yiddish*]

These craftsmen, whose trades I have mentioned and whose earnings I have specified, if they have not aged and are still strong enough

to work, are certain to find employment and work, and to earn their livelihoods honorably, and to enjoy the complete and total freedom of these United States. Women also work in the United States and are well paid for their labor, and boys and girls aged ten years and up earn a few dollars a week, even while they learn a trade. Every artisan, whether single or with a wife and children, who lives in the dark and benighted land of Rumania, should leave the land which cannot support him and go to America, and he, too, can cry, "Fare thee well, Homeland, we are going to a better land!"

CHAPTER THREE

PREPARATION FOR THE JOURNEY, AND THE BEST TIMES AND WAYS TO TRAVEL

When you decide to go to America, don't rush to sell all your belongings for next to nothing and leave in haste as the Jews left Egypt, but sell bit by bit what you cannot take with you, because every single extra penny which you take with you adds up. Have your expense money ready before you leave your locality, for who is there to help you if you are short [of funds] en route. The most suitable time to travel on land and sea is from the month of May to the month of December, not in the winter when the winds at sea are very strong and the voyage is more hazardous. Therefore, let every man who is going to America see that he leaves before the cold "casts forth its frost like morsels." The summer months are also the best time for artisans and laborers in America; and those who desire to till the soil should arrive not later than the middle of April in order to be able to sow and reap in the year of their arrival.

The best routes to go to America are via Bremen in the ships of the great and famous Norddeutsche Lloyd; via Hamburg in the ships of the Adler Line; and via Liverpool in the ships of the American Steamship Company and the ships of the National Line.

The great Norddeutsche Lloyd, which sends forth ships on the high seas and rivers, has fifty-seven steamships, of which forty-three are seagoing and fourteen ply the rivers . . .⁶⁵ The municipality of Bremen inspects every single ship to determine whether it is seaworthy before it leaves shore to go to America.

The ships going to New York have three classes, and those going to Baltimore and New Orleans have but two, first class and a class

⁶⁵ Several lines, listing steamship facilities, are here deleted.

for the mass of travellers. The first class has rooms like a hotel, with two beds per cabin for two men, and special cabins for women travelling alone, and for a man and his family. Amidships there is a large room, called a salon, magnificently decorated like the homes of rulers and potentates, a special room like the former for the ladies, and a smoking room. The second class has arrangements like the first, although simpler. The third class, called steerage (*Zwischen-deck*), is also a large place where there are beds to sleep, and a special room for women travelling alone. Each ship has stewards and stewardesses, and a physician who treats the sick and also gives them medicine gratis.

The third class travellers are fed three times daily. In the morning and evening they are given bread and butter and tea or coffee, and in the afternoon bread, soup, meat, and vegetables or cereal. When I was in Hamburg I was promised by Herr C. Stockmeyer, the director of the company, that if there are many of our Jewish brethren on one ship they will be given kosher meat to eat in accordance with the laws of Moses and Israel. He has also just informed me that the fare has been reduced by \$10, and anyone can go third class from Bremen to New York or Baltimore aboard *Norddeutsche Lloyd* ships for 45 Reichstaler [= \$33.75] and to New Orleans or Havana for 55 Reichstaler [= \$41.25].

The municipality of Bremen will care for the safety and comfort of travellers in transit and will supervise and watch with the utmost attention that no wrong befall any traveller. Some policemen, posted by the city, constantly patrol the railway station to show any emigrant what to do and to guide him with advice, without accepting any payment. These policemen wear official caps upon which is a brass badge inscribed with [the words] *Auswanderungs-Bureau*, so that all who see them can recognize them. If an emigrant be wronged by a hostel-keeper or someone else, let him go to one of these policemen and they will come to his aid. The traveller will pay for food and lodging in Bremen in one of the hostels under municipal supervision, who alone have been granted permission to solicit the travellers in the railway station to stop at their hostels; only the charge which is 25 silver groschen, about 3 francs or 90 kopecks in present Russian currency, is fixed by the municipality. For this money he will be given coffee with milk and wheaten bread in the morning, soup, meat and vegetables in the afternoon, and bread and butter and coffee or tea with milk in the evening, and a bed to sleep in. The day is reckoned as 24 hours and begins from his arrival at the hostel; and if a man must economize still more and

cannot pay 25 silver groschen per day, he must settle in advance with the hostel keeper. Children pay less and infants pay nothing, and on board ship also the fare set for children under 12 is half and for infants under a year is nothing

Travellers from Rumania and Galicia en route either to Bremen or to Hamburg, should go via Cracow, Breslau and Berlin, but they should not go via Vienna, because it is a circuitous route. (Let me hereby warn travellers from among my Jewish brethren to take particular care not to buy steamship tickets in Vienna, but to go to Bremen, Hamburg, and Liverpool personally and there purchase steamship tickets for themselves.) And those from Russia and Poland should also go via Berlin to Bremen, Hamburg, and Liverpool. The fare of the railway trip from Berlin to Bremen and Hamburg is the same, 4½ taler [= \$3.37] third class, and 2 taler [= \$1.50] and some groschen fourth class.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE SEA VOYAGE

Once you decide to leave your country, be on your way voyager! Sell all your belongings which are too heavy to carry with you, go and kiss your friends and relatives, and trust in God to watch over you in the path you follow, and be happy and genial. When you leave your land, do not be sad and do not sigh, for sighs break half the body of a man; and do not look behind you throughout the journey to remember your town and country lovingly, your relatives and next of kin whom you have left. Rather keep your eyes forward upon everything you have with you so as not to overlook anything; be strong and brave and hope in God to bring you to a better land than yours where he will fulfill all of your heart's desires. Bring to mind that you are not fleeing your country because you committed a crime but because of the wickedness of the land which did not bare its breast to nourish you out of its goodness like a mother to her child, and because of the wickedness of inhabitants who persecuted you and made you wretched. So do forget your native land which only surfeited you with troubles and remember the Romans' saying, "*Ubi bene ibi patria*" (wherever you are well off, there is your fatherland).

When you come to the port city, go to the travel agents (you will find the names of these men in the advertising section in back of this

book of mine) and pay there the fare, and with your wife and children board the ship which is ready to bear you to the new land to which your eyes and heart aspire. When you board the ship arrange well the possessions which you have with you, make the bed which is prepared for you, put everything in one place, and guard your belongings with seven eyes before the ship sets out to sea, for people by the hundreds will be all around you whom you do not know or recognize, and "respect him and suspect him" is a great rule of our Sages